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**Assembling Images:
Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album
with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album**

by

Andrea Kunard

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History**

**Carleton University
OTTAWA, Ontario
December, 1996
Andrea Kunard**

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of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
**"Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic
Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album"**

Submitted by Andrea Kunard, B.A., Honours
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Ruth Phillips, Thesis Supervisor

John Shepherd, Director: SSAC

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
December 1996

Abstract

Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album

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**Andrea Kunard
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This thesis examines the fluid relationship between the public and private presentation of self as displayed through the nineteenth century photographic album. It argues that these albums cannot be fully understood without placing them within three specific historic contexts: the conditions of their production within the commercial studio, their historical genesis from the commonplace book, and the gendered construction of public and private space that prevailed during the Victorian era. As albums were created to contain photographs, it is first necessary to examine the public arena in which such imagery was produced. In the period prior to the invention of the hand held camera in 1888 commercial studios provided individuals with photographs of how they wished to appear publicly. Yet an examination of the period's photographic journals reveals that the generation of photographic imagery took place within a volatile climate. Those who operated studios were part of a larger industry divided along economic, social and gender lines. Commercial photographers had to struggle with both constantly shifting consumer demands, and problems inherent in the industry itself, such as employment, health and aesthetic issues. Discussion then centres on the uses to which individuals put this product in their assembly of family albums. Within the family album assemblers combined photography and the domestic arts in order to display their private perceptions on family members and acquaintances. A section also examines the photographic album's precursor, the commonplace book or sentiment album. Research into women's magazines reveals a direct relation between the two; the commonplace book confused social categories as its contents were acquired through public circulation. In contrast, the photographic album was compiled in the privacy of the home; assemblers therefore gained more control over how they wished to publicly present their family and acquaintances. The final chapter is dedicated to a study of the largely unknown album assembled by Sir Daniel Wilson. Wilson, a prominent Canadian ethnologist, used the family album format to display his professional interests. I will use the album as a test case as it combines the public and private presentation of self in a unique way that reveals how aspects of the domestic sphere intersected with larger issues of colonialism, nation building and ethnology.

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Introduction

During the nineteenth century it was common for those who commissioned and collected photographs to insert or mount them in albums. Subject matter included photographs of family members and friends, landscape views and tourist shots, pictures of the royal family and other famous celebrities of the day, such as actors, actresses, musicians, painters and poets. For the modern viewer, these albums often appear enigmatic. As photographs were only briefly captioned, if at all, the exact relation between the images is unknown. Many of the facts concerning the choice and arrangement of imagery have been lost as such information was orally transmitted. In addition, albums are rarely signed and little, if any, supporting documentation exists.

This thesis will discuss nineteenth century photographic albums and provide methods for their interpretation. My intention is to view albums as objects produced within historically specific processes in order to show how the album allowed individuals to negotiate a sense of self as composed in both public and private spheres. My analysis will focus on three interrelated factors: the role and constitution of the commercial photographic industry, the assembly of imagery in the family album, and the use of the album format to display professional interests.

(i) Commercial Photography: The Importance of Conditions of Production

As both the album and its contents were commercial products, the first chapter will be

dedicated to a discussion of the commercial photographic industry. Prior to the invention of the hand held camera (first marketed by George Eastman in 1888), the general public could only purchase or have their photographs taken in photographic studios. Commercial photographers, in turn, were affected by a number social and economic factors many of which were related to a market based on consumerism.

Although public demand for imagery created a large and viable market, it also created difficulties. As the industry's very continuance was based on consumerism it had to be attentive to public perception of its product. This included both maintaining a standard of quality and introducing novelty to sustain public interest in the medium. Yet those involved in the industry were not in agreement as to how to address these factors. The industry was divided in its response to aesthetic, gender, employment and health issues. The public arena in which the generation of photographic imagery took place, therefore, was unstable. The industry had to both contend with internal divisions and respond to ever changing public demands in terms of its product.

The commercial industry produced mounted and unmounted photographs which individuals could purchase for their albums. The former was of various dimensions and consisted of a photograph with a card backing. The majority of these types were cartes-de-visite (measuring 4 x 2 1/2 inches) and cabinet photographs (measuring 5 1/2 x 4 inches). Unmounted photographs were known in the trade as "scraps." Two basic types of albums were available to contain either type of photograph. Albums were specifically manufactured with cut out windows, or apertures, for the collection of mounted

photographs. Albums with blank pages were also available for unmounted photographs. Individuals would buy such images, cut, arrange and paste them onto pages in creative and innovative ways.

The mid-Victorian period experienced a huge influx of photographic imagery largely as a result of the popularity of the carte-de-visite. The exact reason why the carte-de-visite captured the popular imagination is unknown, but one important aspect of the studio photograph which can be acknowledged is that its public presentation of self cannot necessarily be viewed as a truthful document of an individual's social status. The studio portrait often contained "exotic" elements such as Greek column props and painted Italian villa backdrops which allowed individuals to indulge in fantasies of bourgeois affluence. The assembly of such photographs in albums also gave individuals more control over how they wished their interests to be presented. In terms of the family album, assemblers could arrange photographs in such a manner as to display their family and acquaintances as a coherent group. In addition, the photograph preempted the need to write anything down. Information was orally transmitted with the result that certain facts concerning those represented could be either be conveyed or withheld depending on who was the viewer.

(ii) The Operation of Gender: The Commonplace Book as Precursor and the Assembly of Photographic Imagery in the Domestic Sphere

My research into the photographic album has discovered that its nondiscursive aspect also had a historic basis. The second chapter will begin with an examination of other types of

albums and publications that existed in the nineteenth century. I will discuss the previously unconsidered link between the photographic family album and its precursor, the commonplace book, or sentiment album. The commonplace book was largely assembled by young women and contained poems, drawings and apothegms. Little research has been undertaken on the commonplace book. However, an examination of the period's women's magazines, such as Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine and La Belle Assemblée, reveals a substantial amount of information regarding this phenomenon.

I will argue that the popularity of the photographic family album was, to a great degree, in reaction to the difficulties created by the commonplace book; young women, in their enthusiasm to assemble these albums, confused social, artistic and literary categories. The family album was less distressing to view as studio imagery allowed individuals to present themselves publicly within the parameters of established visual codes.¹ In addition, the photographic family album was usually assembled by one or two members within the household. In contrast, the commonplace book acquired its contents from being passed around between friends and family members. The commonplace book, therefore, was open to public scrutiny. In terms of a public presentation of self the commonplace book was also problematical for both the assembler and contributor as an indiscrete entry could prove embarrassing to either party.

Discussion will then centre on the domestic use of photographic imagery in an analysis of family albums. As women were mainly responsible for the assembly of family albums, this chapter will investigate the album's composition in terms of the influence of

the domestic arts. Such analysis entails an understanding of the fluid relationship between private and public spheres. The domestic arts provided individuals with a visual lexicon by which to negotiate the public presentation of self with a private understanding of personal relationships. In the case of the scrap album, assemblers cut, manipulated and grouped studio portraits of family members to display their understanding of the family unit. The studio portrait, and its public presentation of self, was augmented to express a more personal understanding of an individual. In addition, images of the same person could be repeated and placed in a number of different groupings; through such repetitions the individual is seen as both defining and defined by their relations with other members of the family group. The album, at one and the same time, allowed assemblers to present the family unit as integrated, yet also show that relationships were malleable within the changes circumstances of family history.

(iii) Negotiating the Public and the Private: The Daniel Wilson Album

The same means by which assemblers created imagistic constructions of the domestic could also be used to portray professional interests. The third chapter will condense the above issues of the commercial photographic industry and the influence of the domestic arts in a case study analysis of an album assembled by the Canadian ethnologist Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-1892). The Wilson album contains photographs of indigenous peoples taken in studios from around the world. It is difficult to say with certainty why the images are grouped in the manner they are, but it appears that Wilson based the organization of his

photographs according to racial and craniological types.

The album is revelatory on a number of levels. As occurs in the family album, Wilson arranged images to depict an understanding of his personal circumstances. At the time the album was assembled, Wilson's theories on ethnology were atavistic. The album provided him with an outlet through which he could disclose, and yet in many ways keep private, his thoughts and perceptions on this field of inquiry. In this respect, his use of the album was related to its application in the domestic sphere where assemblers used imagery both to reveal and conceal perceptions of the relations between individuals who comprised the family unit.

In addition, the album indicates that there was not a strict division between public and private spheres. Wilson's conscious use of the latter for the semi-professional presentation of his ideas indicates that the domestic sphere was defined as an appropriate space for personal expression through assemblage rather than rationalist discursive conventions. This being said, it must also be recognized that given Wilson's self-consciousness with respect to a larger scientific community the album operates somewhat on the level of fantasy. It allowed Wilson to engage in an expression of his beliefs under an assumed mask of objectivity.

Although Wilson's album has much in common with the family album, in other ways it is dissimilar. The basis of organization differs from that which occurs in the family album and thus directly affects the album's interpretation. In terms of the family album, images were added, deleted, grouped and regrouped as a means to represent the ongoing

process of family history. For the most part, little documentation exists in the form of letters or diaries to explain the presence of certain images or their relation to other photographs. In Wilson's case a limited understanding of his album can be gleaned from his published writings. Wilson's public life, therefore, gives both a means of interpretation and an authority rarely granted to the family album.

(iv) The Family Album: Approaches to Research and a Brief Review of Literature

Throughout my research I have considered albums as part of larger historic processes many of which have been little considered or overlooked by photographic historians. Cartes-de-visite have received some attention but, for the most part, only those produced by well-known photographers. Discussion in these cases has been limited to the artist aspect of their product. This has precluded examination of the thousands of other photographers engaged in the business. By focusing attention simply on the photograph itself, and whether or not it displays aesthetic qualities, the actual conditions of labour inherent in the photograph have been ignored.

Both the commercial photographic industry and photographic albums have also been largely neglected by photographic historians. In terms of the latter, secondary sources consulted for this thesis have been Janice Hart's "The Family Treasure: Productive and Interpretive Aspects of the Mid to Late Victorian Photographic Album"; Susan Finkel's Victorian Photography and Carte de Visite Albums; and Alan Thomas The Expanding Eye: Photography and the Nineteenth Century Mind.² Hart's article discusses

the many types of albums available in the Victorian era, and some information regarding the type of imagery which comprised their contents. Finkel examines the use of the album in the domestic sphere, and both she and Thomas provide a case analysis of albums based on their research into supporting manuscript material. My thesis will expand on these studies by employing art historical methodologies to provide a more detailed interpretation of visual imagery. In addition, I will also supplement my analysis with theoretical approaches developed in other disciplines such as women's studies and sociology.

In Canada a number of books and articles have provided case studies of commercial photographic studios. These include: Michel Lessard's The Livernois Photographers; Jim Burant's "Pre-Confederation Photography in Halifax, Nova Scotia"; Stanley Triggs', William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio; Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds and Stanley Triggs', The World of William Notman; and Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds and Stanley Triggs', The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens.³ For the most part, these have highlighted specific studios and have provided some information on the commercial industry in Canada. In terms of the history of Canadian photography, much more research is needed.⁴ This thesis does not provide a specific analysis of the Canadian industry. Rather, I will give a general account of the international commercial industry. Given the fact that the industry was standardized in terms of its product, it is my belief that the various factors and conditions of work described in this thesis are equally applicable to those involved in Canadian studios. It is my hope that an awareness of these factors will provide future researchers with a basis on

which to analyse and compare the local conditions in which specific photographers operated. Such research could include examining a history of Canadian copyright law, availability of photographic supplies, and a more detailed analysis of studio operators from a demographic basis in order to map the trends of the industry as they relate to settlement patterns.

A comprehensive study of the commercial photographic industry has yet to be undertaken. The most exemplary research in this area to date is Elizabeth McCauley's Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871.⁵ In some cases I will follow McCauley's approach. However, much of my discussion will complement her use of archival sources by examining the period's photographic journals. These include British publications such as the British Journal of Photography, the Journal of the Photographic Society of London, Photographic Notes, Photographic News, Notes and Queries, and the British Journal of Photography. American publications consulted were the Philadelphia Photographer, Photographic Mosaics, Humphrey's Journal, Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, the Photographic Journal of America, the Photographic and Fine Arts Journal, and the Photographic Times. Such journals contain a wealth of information on the day-to-day issues confronting the commercial photographer. They represent an important, yet largely untapped, resource in terms of photographic scholarship.

The nineteenth century experienced a dramatic rise in the number of journals published. As Robert Sennett has written about the photographic press in this period, after the Industrial Revolution, paper became available in quantity. The intellectual climate,

itself a product of rationalism, created the necessary conditions for detailed inquiry into every facet of any discipline. These factors, as well the particular circumstances of photography's origins (i.e. its roots in both art and science), allowed for the publication of numerous discourses about photography. Readers, both photographers and those with a general interest in the medium, eagerly bought journals for insights into current issues and for instruction in various aspects of the medium.⁶

However, neither the editors or writers, nor the readers who bought such journals, had an objective overview of the industry. Taken as a whole, journals represent the numerous stances, some complementary, others contradictory, maintained by individuals within a context of shifting economic and social circumstances.

(v) Women's Presence in the Industry

The divisions which occurred within the industry are particularly evident in discussions surrounding the employment of women. One section in the first chapter is dedicated to examining this issue in order to both further acknowledge the presence of women in the history of photography and supplement recent scholarship in this area.⁷ A close reading of photographic journals provides a substantial amount of information concerning women's practice of photography both amateur and professional.

I will argue that women were active participants in the field of photography, but remained largely invisible within the profession as they were constrained by socially prescribed notions of femininity. In this sense, my argument differs somewhat from other

research in this area such as that proposed by Diana Pederson and Martha Phemister.⁸ In their article "Women and Photography in Ontario, 1839-1929" the authors maintain that the technological difficulties associated with early photography limited women's involvement largely to that of consumers of photographic imagery. On the one hand, it is true that many women did enter studios to be photographed and thus confined themselves to a more passive role. However, the numerous articles and letters addressed to photographic journals indicate that many women also ran studios, participated in photographic societies and publicly exhibited their work. For these women, the medium was not difficult to "master." The issue was more how to present oneself as active and competent and maintain all the comportment associated with a "lady."

(vi) The Album: Issues of Interpretation

The active role of women in the public sphere also extends to the domestic sphere where they assumed the role as assemblers of albums. In both cases, the history has been difficult to reconstruct. In the case of the public arena, photographic journals present women involved in the medium, both professional and amateur, more as a curiosity. As was mentioned earlier, in the case of their domestic role few clues exist for the modern researcher as to arrangement of photographs as such information was orally transmitted. In addition, as the oral transmission of information is fragmentary in Eurocentric culture a disjunction often occurs between the experiences of one generation and another. In the example of family albums, the recounting of circumstances surrounding the taking of

photographs on the part of one generation presupposes its significance to another in terms of its experience. This may or may not exist with respect to family history and therefore is not a cultural given.

This raises certain problems for modern researchers who depend on supporting textual documentation to explain or reconstruct the meaning of historic objects. As the assembly of albums was so common, individuals rarely described this activity in diaries, letters or other types of manuscripts. Given such conditions, the albums under consideration in this thesis can only be partially elucidated.

My research, therefore, has involved consulting a number of disparate sources in order to provide methods of interpretation. These include manuscripts, photographic journals, women's magazines and, in the case of Wilson, published writings and texts. I have viewed dozens of albums in museums and archives (a complete listing of which is found in Appendix I), in order to inform myself of the variety of albums which existed in the nineteenth century. I have also included a section (Appendix II) which examines issues of modern research and how the mandates of collecting institutions affect interpretation of historic objects. For both the reader and future researchers I have listed the contents of the Daniel Wilson Album (Appendix III), to indicate the complexity of the cultural issues at play in this work.

My study of albums, based in the history of visual imagery, has allowed an appreciation of these objects as rich cultural and historical expressions. It is my hope that the discussions which follow, and the information I have discovered in the course of my

research, will aid and supplement studies in other disciplines, such as feminist studies, sociology and anthropology.

Throughout this thesis I have regarded albums as challenging larger issues of historical research where understanding fluctuates between that which is known and that which is forever lost. As objects produced within historical processes, they express a number of cultural concerns, yet their very constitution operates against complete disclosure. In terms of their modern viewing, the album involves the researcher in what Margaret J.M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe have termed "a dialectic of creation and reception." This dialectic includes not only the creator's assembly of an object and the circumstances surrounding its viewing, but the recreation of its purpose and conditions of its reception by the modern viewer. It is through the comparisons of these altered perspectives that one obtains an awareness of and insights into both past and present values.⁹

Endnotes for Introduction

1. As photography, for the most part, was only available to those who could afford to have their pictures taken, the photograph confirmed to individuals that they had attained a certain level of social status. As John Tagg has written: "The portrait is...a sign whose purpose is both the description of an individual and the inscription of social identity. But at the same time, it is also a commodity, a luxury, an adornment, ownership of which itself confers status." (John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographic Histories [Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988]: 37).

However, my argument differs from Tagg's in that my emphasis lies not in how photography was used as a social controlling mechanism (be it through class structure or policing devices), but rather on the personal uses of imagery. Such analysis allows one to study the ambiguous and sometimes contradictory ways individuals expressed an understanding of their circumstances within larger social processes. My discussion of the commercial photographic industry also follows these lines. It examines the industry in terms of those involved, and the manner in which they gained insight into, but still remained trapped by, the many social and economic conditions that defined their practice.

2. Janice Hart, "The Family Treasure: Productive and Interpretive Aspects of the Mid to Late Victorian Photographic Album," Photographic Collector 5:2 (1986): 165-180; Susan Finkel, Victorian Photography and Carte de Visite Albums (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1986); Alan Thomas, The Expanding Eye: Photography and the Nineteenth Century Mind (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1978).

3. Michel Lessard, The Livernois Photographers (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987). Jim Burant, "Pre-Confederation Photography in Nova Scotia," Journal of Canadian Art History 4:1 (Spring 1977): 25-44. Books published on the William Notman studio contain some information on this subject: Stanley Triggs, William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985); Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds and Stanley Triggs, The World of William Notman (Toronto: McClelland Press, 1992); Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds and Stanley Triggs, The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens, forward by Robert MacNeil (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1993).

4. No comprehensive text exists on the history of Canadian photography, although there is one publication on the amateur tradition in Canada. See Private Realms of Light: Canadian Amateur Photography 1839-1940, Lilly Koltun, ed. (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984). A partial history of photography in British Columbia has been examined in a special issue of B.C. Studies. See "The Past in Focus: Photography & British Columbia," Joan Schwartz, ed. B.C. Studies 52 (Winter 1981-1982).

5. Elizabeth McCauley, Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). For an interesting case study on the intersections of colonialism and commercial photography see Keith McElroy, Early Peruvian Photography: A Critical Case Study (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

6. As Sennett also points out, some journals display a blatant conflict of interest. The Photographic Times was published by the Scoville Company, one of the largest distributors of photographic supplies in the United States. Its pages were filled with advertisements for Scoville merchandise. The same applied to Anthony's Photographic Bulletin which was a product of the E.& H.T. Anthony manufacturing and distributing company. Editors would also find themselves in ambiguous positions. William Crookes edited the diametrically opposed Journal of the Photographic Society and the Photographic News. In France, the success of La Lumière was largely a result of Abbé Moigno's efforts, who, in turn, started his own journal Cosmos as a means by which to criticize the former journal's editor Ernest Lacan. (Robert S. Sennett, The Nineteenth-Century Photographic Press: A Study Guide [New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987]).

7. Previously published writings on women's presence in the history of photography include: Laura Jones, Rediscovery: Canadian Women Photographers, 1841-1941 (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983); Val Williams, Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present (London: Virago Press, 1986); Jane C. Gover, The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Camera Fiends and Kodak Girls: 50 Selections By and About Women in Photography, 1840-1930, ed. Peter Palmquist (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989); Eugenia Parry Janis, Women Photographers, Constance Sullivan, ed. (New York: Harry H. Abrams Inc., 1990); Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994); Anna Maria Carlevaris, "Edith S. Watson and Romantic Canada (1922)," History of Photography 20:2 (Summer 1996): 163-165; Frances Rooney, Working Light: The Wandering Life of Photographer Edith S. Watson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995); Colleen Skidmore, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio: 'Young Ladies of the Printing Room'," History of Photography 20:2 (Summer 1996): 122-128.

8. Diana Pederson and Martha Phemister, "Women and Photography in Ontario, 1839-1929," Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. Marianne Gosztonyi (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1990).

9. Margaret J.M. Ezell, and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image and the Body (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994): 3.

Commercial Photography: The Importance of Conditions of Production

1

Introduction

The photographic album gained widespread popularity when the carte-de-visite became popular in the early 1860s. The carte-de-visite was an albumen photograph measuring approximately 4 x 2 1/2 inches. It was first patented in 1854 by André Adolphe Disdéri who invented a four lens camera which produced multiple images of the same subject. These photographs were then cut and mounted on cards which usually had the name of the studio embossed on the back.¹ Albums were specifically manufactured to contain cartes-de-visite whose subject matter included celebrity figures, family members and friends.

The material construction of the album was directly related to its contents. As one writer perceptively noted in 1862: "We think there can be no question about the probability that card portraits and the albums intended for their reception have mutually tended towards the popularity of the other....Of what use is an empty album? Evidently it must be filled: hence the increasing demand for card portraits."²

In order to keep photographs affordable, the commercial photographic industry quickly conformed to capitalist modes of production by segmenting labour, creating a continuous market, and standardizing products. These conditions, in turn, affected the type of imagery produced. The majority of studio photographs are generic in terms of

pose, lighting and decor. For the most part, the entire industry was engaged in a type of assembly line production. In terms of the studio, its success depended on a large clientele, which meant that patrons had to be moved in and out quickly and efficiently. The studio, therefore, established stock sets, props and lighting. These conditions limited the expressive capacity of the photograph unless the patron was willing to pay extra for the time necessary to create more "artistic" effects.

To better appreciate both the album and the photographic imagery it contained, it is necessary to examine the social and economic context in which they were produced. This chapter will discuss the constitution of the commercial photographic industry from a number of points of view in order to elucidate the conditions in which most photographers operated. An examination of the period's photographic journals reveals a wealth of information regarding the industry, and provides insights into how commercial photographers balanced the realities of business with the constant shifts of a market predicated on consumer demand.

I. The Commercial Photographic Industry

(i) Overview

In the public eye, photography was a dubious business practice.³ Many viewed individuals who practised photography as a varied lot, and as failures from other professions. To some extent this was true. Many came to photography after being employed in other forms of business in which they had been unsuccessful. Others had simply left their former

occupations as they held to the common belief that one could become rich quickly as a commercial photographer.⁴ In addition, public perception may have been swayed by the fact that many could not count on a steady income from photography for a variety of reasons and combined it with other forms of business. An examination of photographers listed in Ontario directories between 1851 and 1900 reveals that many individuals did not earn their living exclusively from the practice of photography. For example, Mrs. Sarah Foy of Blyth is listed as both a photographer and a vendor of oysters. Other photographers are also recorded as being druggists, booksellers, stationers, watchmakers, dentists, and one, a saloon operator.⁵

As the industry was composed of individuals of varied backgrounds and expertise, the quality of the product varied. Although some commercial photographers could produce fine examples of portraiture, commercial photography was far from homogenous in this respect. Such contrasts in terms of product was a result of a number of factors. Although it appeared that rudiments of photographic practice could be easily learned, this was not in fact the case. There were neither apprenticeship programs nor established institutions in which individuals could study the technical and formal aspects of the medium.⁶ Those who entered the business relied on clubs, associations, photographic journals and learning through work experience to inform them about both the basics, and the latest techniques and innovations. Personal trial and error was another form of education, and one which was the most financially risky.

Given such conditions, writers and editors of photographic journals often emphasized the successful studio or manufacturing company both in order to instruct their readership and present the industry as viable to the public. The next section will examine these discussions as they reveal much about the working conditions in which photographic imagery was produced; the industry could only control the means of its production, and thus its market, through standardization, both in terms of its product and through the segmentation of its labour force. The consequences of this for the photographic album will then be discussed. This will be followed by sections which counterpoint idealized representations of the industry with an examination of the various problems which beset commercial photography and how these affected the daily lives of those employed.

(ii) Models of Success

The successful studio or manufacturing establishment was often characterized in articles and publications as a product of efficiency and enterprising spirit. For example, in 1854 the American photographic supply company, E. Anthony Co., published A Comprehensive and Systematic Catalogue of Photographic Apparatus and Material, Manufactured, Imported and Sold which described "the Manufacture of Daguerreotype Apparatus and Material." The production of daguerreotype cases, cameras, lenses, buffing wheels, etc. is recounted in sections which emphasize the specific type of labour involved. Woodcut illustrations are included and display both men and women involved in piece work. The catalogue is a testament to both quality and efficiency. The result, in the words of the

author, was that Anthony's "furnish[es] articles at the very lowest cash prices"⁷ -- a benefit that was directly passed on to the purchaser.

An article which appeared in 1852 in Humphrey's Journal discussed the production of photographic products within a model factory. The author described the idyllic setting of the establishment in the Hudson River valley; nature and industry, he suggested, were harmoniously integrated. The factory was "a cluster of neatly arranged buildings," its machinery run by the harnessing of the river's power through the actions of "a ponderous water-wheel, performing its revolutions with a strength of thirty horse power." Within the building, men performed specific tasks: on the first floor were the saws and planers for the production of daguerreotype cases; on the second, the machine shop, for the manufacturing of camera stands, head rests, etc.; on the third, the wood shop where camera boxes, frames and chemical boxes were constructed; the fourth and fifth floors were dedicated to finishing products, making camera tubes and grinding lenses. Such an establishment, the author wrote enthusiastically, was "but a single instance of progressive improvement in our country...and we are highly gratified on witnessing the success of these enterprising and worthy practical mechanics."⁸

In 1859, the editors of the same journal wrote appreciatively on the Scovill Manufacturing Company which was "one of the most substantial in the commercial circles in America, and stands in high estimation on the other side of the Atlantic; it is known in every country on the globe." The stock value of the company was noted, floor plans included to demonstrate the efficient division of labour, and an account given of the

generous and enterprising spirit of the owner, James Mitchell Lampson Scovill: "Much credit of the success of this Company is given to Lampson Scovill, as he is familiarly called, who was bold, energetic and sagacious, giving vent to enlarged views and possessing foresight which guaranteed success...."⁹

In England, the Photographic News published a series of articles in 1868 entitled "Visits to Noteworthy Studios." The author, self described as a "pilgrim visiting photographic shrines," outlined in detail the specific studio operations which led to prosperity in business. A visit to Mr. Burgess's establishment in Norwich revealed that "photographic excellence" was a result of the owner's invention of a new photographic process, his attentiveness to developing procedures, the consideration given to lighting conditions and the attractiveness of the reception area.¹⁰

The well organized establishment was prepared for any circumstance. As Humphrey's Journal reported in 1860, hard times had hit many, but certain photographic stock dealers were: "Able to furl their sails quickly when a squall comes; they have always men enough to man the yards, and plenty of shot in their lockers." Factors which had contributed to these companies' survival were listed as being their variety in stock, "abundant capital," quality of product, "prompt execution of orders," and a determination not "to be undersold by anyone."¹¹

In terms of the product, the industry had to both create a standard format and introduce novelty to maintain consumer interest. Insights into the breadth of product standardization can be obtained by examining the advertising section of photography

journals such as The Philadelphia Photographer. For example, the Martin and Wm. H. Nixon company of Philadelphia manufactured and sold carte envelopes in lots of one thousand. The company also distributed their product through dealers and large photographic supply companies such as Wilson, Hood & Co. of Philadelphia and E. & H.T. Anthony & Co. of New York. Another company, the Edward L. Wilson establishment of Philadelphia, promoted a variety of albums as well as cards for mounting photographs, mats, envelopes and frames which could be bought in lots of a dozen or hundred.¹²

The industry quickly developed specialized products which were either new or collectible. Companies, such as C.F. Rice of Chicago, advertised their latest studio props, cottage windows or scenic landscapes (complete with artificial rocks and tree stumps), whose excellent quality and novelty, it was stated, would entice customers back to the studio. Studio proprietors could also obtain catalogues from distribution warehouses listing a variety of carte-de-visite subject matter. For example, the Edgar Lincoln establishment of London sold portraits of the royal family, political figures, artists, actors and actresses, as well as literary, scientific and medical personalities of the day. Studios would acquire a stock selection of photographs to sell to customers seeking celebrity portraits to place in their albums.

Although journals emphasized the efficiency and success of the industry, they often included letters from those who recommended improvements of certain articles. Such recommendations, however, were not directed to manufacturers, but to photographers:

"Photographers may possibly be disposed to say that this is a question for manufacturers....But this is not so: it is a matter that demand must proceed supply. If photographers once let it be understood that they desire improvement in a certain direction...manufacturers will not be slow to meet the demand." ¹³

Although in some cases it fell to the commercial photographer to be attentive to the need for improvements, it was also true that photographers depended on manufacturers to introduce new products in order to attract customers. The success of the industry pivoted on the ability of photographers to meet public demand. Problems inherent in the industry therefore had to be addressed. The following section will discuss these issues and their ramifications for the industry at large.

II. Trouble in the Trade

(i) An Uncertain Industry

Standardization allowed photography to flourish, and at the same time, created a number of difficulties for those involved in the industry. The mass production of photographic images meant that its very continuity depended on both the financial ability and continued interest of individuals to buy its product. In terms of the former, the nineteenth century experienced times of economic affluence and depression. As one British author wrote in 1867: "Money has not been circulating with that freedom which a general feeling of mutual trust always ensues. Hence persons engaged in business have not been earning their usual profits, and both skilled and unskilled labour have been at a discount. The

effect on photography is obvious. The working classes and the lower stratum of the middle classes of society -- which are the principal supporters of photography, inasmuch as they constitute the great bulk of the population -- have in most cases had enough to do to provide a supply of the necessaries, without indulging in one of the luxuries of life, viz. photography."¹⁴

Magazines dedicated to the promotion of photography as a serious endeavour understood the commercial photographic industry as precariously balanced between consumer demand and the ability of photographers to produce a reliable product. These, combined with the debates surrounding photography's artistic integrity created an uneasy climate for those engaged in the industry. The lack of artistry in many studio photographs caused consternation on the part of some. The above quoted author argued that the varied fortunes of the photographic industry were a direct result of the presence of numerous untalented photographers who flooded the market with photographs of poor quality. Commercial photography was an occupation too easily entered into and its profitability based on the volatile whims of "public fancy." The article noted that the establishment of the industry began in 1854 as a result of increased public demand for stereoscopic pictures.¹⁵ As this was a profitable business, many individuals turned from their former professions to photography with the result that "the photographic furor introduced too many incompetent men within the precincts of the noble art; and these were they who, to a great extent, disgusted the public -- already beginning to distinguish between what was good and bad in photography...." With the introduction of the carte-de-visite public

demand for photographs once more increased: "This new mania again threw an immense host of incompetent adventurers into the photographic arena....All this necessarily brought photography into disrepute, which has continued to haunt it ever since."

According to this author, the commercial photographic industry was dependant on producing a quality product in order to maintain public interest and thus a consumer base. Slipshod working methods were all too common: "The utter carelessness that some photographers display in fixing and washing their proofs is very astonishing." Upon questioning a photographer on "the extreme slight washing the prints received -- that the hyposulphite could not possibly be removed, and that they must soon fade. 'Never mind,' he replied, 'they look well enough now, and the sooner they fade the sooner will my customers have to come back to me for another set; besides, they have put on a water metre, and I am charged for every drop I use.'"¹⁶

Although journals consistently included articles which complained about the large number of untalented photographers in the industry, their very existence depended on a large subscription base. The survival of commercial photographers, in turn, depended on public patronage. The question of the public's perception of photography was a constant preoccupation and it fell to the commercial photographer to balance artistry, science and sound business sense in order that photography be perceived as a profession. Writers therefore understood one of their roles as educating photographers to the latest technological advances. Photography thus gained the credibility of a science with its emphasis on chemistry, analyses of the nature of light, and the mechanics of lenses, to

name a few subjects found in the journals. In addition, professionalism also included other factors such as the comportment of the photographer when dealing with patrons, and certain expectations in terms of imagery.

An article written in 1872 outlined the conditions necessary for the success of the profession: "We must treat our visitors and customers with the utmost kindness and respect, and remembering that we are not working simply for dollars and cents, we must treat all classes alike....Another, and perhaps the most effective, means of elevating the character of our profession in the eyes of the public is to treat each other with due respect, not only in our intercourse with each other, but in speaking of our competitors and their work." In terms of the latter, the author stated that membership in photographic associations, attendance at photographic conventions and the reading of photographic journals were of utmost importance. In addition, "the character of our work, of course, will depend to a very large extent [on] the estimate that the public will place upon us and our profession." The "character" of a photographer's work was tied to the increasing erudition on the part of the public as to the photograph's artistic integrity: "Public taste is being rapidly educated, and a much larger number of people are beginning to have some knowledge of the true principles of art; and therefore the photographer who is satisfied to continue running in the same old ruts that he has been for years...needs not be surprised to find himself deserted by his customers and left out in the cold."¹⁷

Although photographic journals published articles emphasizing the factors necessary to maintain a successful studio,¹⁸ they also included stories of studios which had

failed. One article written in 1875 recounts the story of a destitute British provincial photographer. The author visits his photographic studio and discovers a pathetic scene. The studio was ill kempt; the owner had just pawned his lens and sold most of his possessions; his wife could not work as she was in the last stages of consumption. Various factors led to the gradual decline of business. The photographer had little business acumen, and had set up shop in a town where he was a complete stranger. For a while, trade was good until another photographer arrived. "What was he to do, without money and without friends, he could not tell; he was ill himself." The tale ends with the death of the photographer's wife, and the intervention of the hero author in obtaining help for the photographer and his daughter.¹⁹

Although the story was somewhat overstated, it was meant to be instructive. Photographic journals regularly published articles concerning the means by which the quotidian photographer could avoid the pitfalls of the industry. One such story published in 1875 entitled "A Tale of Tight Times," recounts the trials of an American photographer named "Jones" who is presented as being erratic with respect to business. The author faults his protagonist on several grounds: he had little training in photography; he established himself in a town with too much competition; his studio was dishevelled and there was not a proper division of working and reception areas; he was cavalier with his product and would give away his best photographs; when it came time to sell his business, he was impertinent with prospective buyers. Jones had "high notions," ones far too unrealistic for the business of photography. Perhaps, one day, he could "sell out at his own

price to an appreciative customer, and if so he should like to build a fine gallery to suit himself, that is, smaller and more convenient."²⁰

The frustration of writers for journals could sometimes reach an impassioned pitch. "Photographers -- Wake Up!" was an appeal to all those in the industry to keep up with the times. Under the guise of promoting the next convention of the National Photographic Association, the article emphasized that photographers "not[e] the progress of your art, and learn possibly a 'wrinkle' or so that may be of use and withal profitable." The article ended with a pointed plea to remember that: "Progress is the watchword of the craft, and to keep up requires busy hands, busy brains, hard work, persistent study, and last, but not least, your attendance on the conventions and expositions of our art. Go!"²¹

The industry was beleaguered on a number of fronts, the most important being its dependence on an economy rooted in consumerism. New products had to be introduced in order to maintain public interest in the medium. By the late 1850s, business was waning.²² The introduction of the carte-de-visite captured the public imagination, and the industry responded in kind. "One of the most pleasing forms of photographic portraiture is the Carte-de-visite[" one journal reported. "Fashion may have much to do with the great demand for this kind of picture, yet its inherent attraction together with its cheapness are sufficient to account for its great popularity."²³ Articles were published to guide the photographer in dealing with this new phenomenon. One, written in 1861, stated that: "Cartes de Visite are the rage now-a-days, and the photographer who is not prepared to make them may consider himself behind the times." The article then proceeded to outline

the various ways in which photographers could excel in this new state of affairs. Be attentive to the background and props surrounding the subject. In some cases, these elements should be dispensed with altogether. As the author admonished: "Now my own modest opinion is, that the fewer the surroundings of the figure the better; and I have made some Cartes de Visite where the figure appeared alone against a plain background, which seemed to me in better taste than any of those where other objects were exhibited." In addition, the author noted that the photographer should "take a good negative and print it on albumen paper," a fact which may seem obvious, but, in the eyes of this author, a piece of advice worth repeating.²⁴

The carte phenomenon provided the industry with a boost in commerce. In a letter directed to the editor of Humphrey's Journal a photographer of a western American town noted that: "When I came to this place, and took the gallery I present occupy, it was not paying expenses. I gradually got through the year got it to [sic] what I thought a fair paying business, but judge the agreeable surprise to find myself doing a business at present far exceeding my sanguine expectations, last month's receipts amounting to over five hundred dollars for Card pictures alone!"²⁵ To publish such a letter served the interests of both magazines and photographers. It substantiated the industry as viable and economically active. Magazines could therefore continue to serve as a forum for the exchange of information and provide guidance to those engaged in the industry.²⁶

Although the carte industry provided more work and income for photographers, some areas of the industry suffered. As one article written in 1861 noted: "The mania for

card portraits has seriously injured many of the commercial branches of the art, as neither cases, passe partouts, nor frames are required for these miniature portraits." The author recounted that one Birmingham house which used to employ one hundred fifty persons had reduced its staff to twenty-five, and even they were not fully employed.²⁷

Another problem which occurred was that some photographers were not receiving payment for their product. In a letter to the editor of Humphrey's Journal, an established photographer outlined the dilemma. He noted that the card photograph was in "universal demand" and "has in fact produced a revolution in the photograph business." Yet there was much "mischief" afoot in the industry: "I mean the practice of making sittings of persons...printing proofs of each, and allowing the sitters to carry them away to be examined and criticized by their brothers, sisters, parents, etc; and, if satisfactory, an order was given...." The author observed that such practices could continue ad infinitum as the patron might never be satisfied, keep the proofs without payment, or worse, come back for another sitting, keep those proofs, and leave again without paying for the photographer's services. The writer suggested that a rule of half payment be imposed for proofs in order to compensate photographers for their expenses in terms of time and materials.²⁸

In the United States, journals also expressed concern about government tax imposed on photographs. There was a distinct prejudice against photographs as opposed to other works of art: "The law says that a photograph, plain, or expensively colored and elaborately framed, must pay a tax of five cents on every dollar for which it sells. Now this

is manifestly unjust. There is no tax on paintings, and the taxes on all frames are paid once by the manufacturer, and yet the operator who sells a colored photograph, expensively framed, must pay a tax on the whole value, although part of it has been taxed once before...."²⁹ Such taxes created more difficulties for photographers already feeling the pressure of competition and rising operating costs. Dishonesty was another concern. In a letter to the editor of the Photographic and Fine Art Journal, the Canadian photographer William Armstrong complained of those who purchased "excellent" photographs in the United States, and then proceeded to frame and display the work as their own in their gallery shops.³⁰ The copying of another photographer's work and selling it at a reduced price was another problem as prior to the enactment of copyright law, photographers could not protect their work from piracy.³¹

(ii) The Cabinet Photograph

Around 1866, the industry underwent another transformation with the introduction of the cabinet card. The cabinet photograph, which was larger than the carte-de visite (measuring 5 1/2 x 4 inches), was immediately seized upon by journals as providing a better format for portraiture. As one author wrote in 1866: "The cabinet portrait is...a little wider in proportion than the card, in which it possesses a great advantage....The new size is symmetrical in itself, and, whilst offering facilities of bold and graceful portraiture, admits of such introduction and arrangement of accessories as contribute materially to pictorial effect."³² The improvement and continuance of the industry through the cabinet card was a

theme often reiterated by those who published in photographic journals. As the editors of the Philadelphia Photographer wrote in 1867: "When the size was first suggested to us, we saw its advantage, and at once began to urge it upon our readers for several reasons. First, we believed it would revive a declining business. Second, we believed that the size would give the photographer more chance to display good taste and skill in his work than the cartes do, and thus have a gradual but sure tendency to improve the photography of this country."³³

Writers realized that photographers would have to be prodded into the production of cabinet portraits. Although editors emphasized the artistic advantage of the cabinet size, they also understood that commercial photographers were reticent about switching to the new format. As one author wrote about the cautious interest in the cabinet photograph: "Some of our leading city men are very slow about it, declaring in their belief that 'it will not take,' or that 'it will take something more than a new size to revive business.'" The article proceeded to appeal to the enterprising spirit of photographers: "As we stated, when we first recommended the project to the public, success, in such a matter, must depend on the hearty, unanimous efforts of photographers themselves. It rests with them to give the necessary impulse to this, or the introduction of any novelty, which may revive the waning demand for portraits, consequent upon the satiety produced by the card mania." The author continued to encourage the doubters: "Make the effort then, American photographers. Do not be timid....Make arrangements that leave no doubt as to your belief in success."³⁴

(iii) Health and the Photographer

The underlying anxiety expressed in these journals was the reality that most photographers barely earned a living³⁵ and could lose their business through a number of circumstances.³⁶ Health was another issue. Throughout 1868, the Photographic News included articles on photography and disease. The editors were concerned about the increasing problem of ill-health which was occurring in the industry, and used the magazine both as a forum for discussion and as a means to instruct photographers against the danger of certain studio practices. The journal published a number of letters from photographers in order to demonstrate the seriousness of the problem. One individual inquired about the effects of collodion, acids, and nitrate of silver on the body as certain symptoms had been noted: "Attacks of biliousness; inaction of the liver, with a great deal of wind and spasms in the stomach; very acid stomach, and general indigestion." Another individual suffering from other symptoms blamed the washing water in which prints were immersed prior to toning: "Or rather the cause is the chloride of silver there formed. My blood appears thoroughly contaminated with it, and causes my limbs to be as though they were paralysed, and often almost helpless."³⁷

The exact relation between the use of chemicals and symptoms manifested was much debated. Although some photographic chemicals were deleterious to health, the editors firmly believed that photography in itself was not a dangerous profession. What appeared to be the problem was that photographers were careless with their use of

chemicals, neglected to take proper breaks for nourishment and exercise, and did not ventilate their dark rooms properly. One letter provided a case in point. The writer confessed that he had been so involved in the practice of the medium that he had overtaxed his system. "Indigestion, wind spasms, violent colic pains, extreme nervousness, and something like local paralysis" had resulted. He reported that the pain, at times, was extremely violent, and "symptoms not unlike poisoning by strychnine produced. The face assumes a leaden hue, the limbs become rigid, with the hands tightly clenched, and the back arched...." He noted that his symptoms disappeared with a few weeks residence in the country. Upon returning to the dark room, the symptoms reappeared. Another visit to the country returned him to sound health, and he was now more attentive to his eating habits and worked in a well- ventilated room.³⁸

The journal offered a number of solutions to their readers. In one letter, a photographer noted that commercial collodion contained high concentrations of methylated ether and alcohol. Breathing such fumes resulted in ill health, and, in addition: "I am constantly told, when away from work, that I smell horribly of collodion: to such an extent does the vapour impregnate everything that comes in contact with it, and, of course, the breath also." The author provided a recipe for a better solution of collodion, and reassured the editors that the mixture was not only of higher quality, but cheaper than those already on the market.³⁹

The editors protested against the use of cyanide of potassium for the cleaning of plates,⁴⁰ and suggested photographers use other, less toxic chemicals. Articles repeatedly

warned about the absorption of chemicals through the skin. For the toning process, india rubber gloves were recommended by one writer, the use of forceps by the editors. The overall message was abundantly clear. In order for photographers to remain in business, they had to assume responsibility for themselves by taking preventative measures. As another magazine reported on the same subject: "Again, we are often requested to assist in the sale of 'a first-class photographic business -- sold on account of ill-health -- almost given away to a cash-buyer,' because the poor broken-down photographer has to give up for the reason that his greed for gold has driven from his mind all consideration for health." The editors stated impatiently that photographers should ventilate their dark rooms and eat at a regular hour, warning that: "You are killing yourself if you do not."⁴¹

(iv) Employment

Those seeking employment in the industry often posted advertisements in photographic journals. The "Situations Wanted" section of the Philadelphia Photographer is useful to examine in this respect: "By a young lady, position in a photograph gallery as negative retoucher; would attend show-room, and be willing to make herself generally useful. Kate D. Wilson, Bergen Point, N.J."; "By a German operator, retoucher and general assistant; speaking little English; three years in New York; good references. Address Paul Scheere, 48 Barclay Street, New York."

Although the industry provided many with employment, there was also a great deal of opportunism on the part of employers. A letter published in Humphrey's Journal written

by a photographic operator epitomized the problem. The operator sent samples of work and letters of reference to a prospective employer, was engaged, and moved three hundred miles to the employer's place of business. Yet, as the author recounted: "In the short space of two weeks I was treated to a great surprise, that of one week's notice to leave, the excuse being -- the truth of which I do not for one moment doubt -- that owing to disappointment in some money matters my employer would not be able to continue my services any longer, although he admitted my capabilities as a first class operator." The author conceded that there was little recourse in terms of the law to such treatment. What was suggested, however, was that those who advertise for positions be well established in their business and "have the means at their disposal to battle against the many ebbs and flows to which the photographic business is prone...." The writer bitterly disparaged advertisements which misled operators and added that: "I am thoroughly convinced that many of them are only put forth as a trap to catch some first-class operator, and, after well picking his brains, in a few weeks discharging him with sundry excuses amounting to nothing." What was needed was a register of employment opportunities wherein both parties completely understood the requirements of the other, specifically in terms of wages.⁴²

The issue of secure employment produced a heated debate in the 1871 issues of the Photographic News. One writer stated emphatically that: "I would give one piece of advice to my fellow assistants: do not say anything about a month's trial: you are weekly servants at the best, and if you do not like the situation, or they do not like you, a week's

notice makes an end of the bargain."⁴³ The author added that wages were dependant on what an employer could honestly afford to pay. Another writer discounted this altogether and argued that all assistants were a disgrace to the profession and that many lacked the rudiments of composition; assistants should be required to attend courses at the Art and Science Department at South Kensington.⁴⁴

Those who believed in the fairness of the industry contended that wages were reasonable. Others argued that those who found themselves in a poor paying position could either seek other employment, or work hard, learn the craft, save their money and open a studio of their own. The heart of the problem, the editors of the Photographic News wrote, was that there were few standards in the industry. To ensure that assistants were paid properly, there had to be some means of assessing their qualifications. A system of apprenticeship would be one method, a course of training which led to a diploma or certificate, another. Yet even these solutions were not without problems, as the implementation of such standards would prejudice those already working in the photographic community.⁴⁵

(v) Employment of Women

In 1855, the Liverpool Photographic Journal published two articles entitled "Photography for Ladies" which outlined the rudiments of photographic practice. It appears this was written in response to demands by women that they be instructed in the technical aspects of the medium. As the author condescendingly noted, the purchase of equipment "will of

course be most gladly selected and presented to our fair pupils by their Photographic husbands, brothers, &., as a peace-offering." The author listed chemicals needed, and the proportions in which they were to be mixed, but stated that: "It is not to be supposed that ladies will trouble themselves with the preparation of these various necessary articles, yet we propose to give the formulae, that they may, by having them thus prepared, always attain desired results."⁴⁶

Despite this author's patronizing attitude, women had already entered the business of photography on a number of levels, including establishing their own studios.⁴⁷ Some, such as Élise L'Heureux Livernois (1827-1896), ran studios in partnership with their husbands and continued to maintain them after their husbands' death.⁴⁸ Hannah Maynard (1834-1918) also operated her own studio, and taught her husband Richard (1832-1907) the rudiments of the medium. While he travelled extensively throughout Western Canada, she, for the most part, continued to maintain the studio, excelling in portrait photography.⁴⁹

The issue of women's involvement in photography received a mixed response on the part of journals; articles were both supportive and insulting. Women photographers received notice in journals and articles, but their presence was often regarded as a curiosity. For example, in an article which appeared 1859, the editors appeared surprised to see women attending the soiree of the Council of the Photographic Society. The ladies were "animated" in their conversation, and apparently knew a great deal about photography. In their attempt to understand this phenomenon the editors could only

comment that "the photographic art appears to gain increasing favour with the fairer sex."⁵⁰ In another article which appeared the following year, a reviewer of the London Photographic Society's Exhibition noted that the number of works done by women photographers had increased. The author acknowledged that "photographic printing is an employment particularly adapted to female industry, and when once sufficiently interested in the occupation to undertake it, it is not surprising that some at least of our photographic sisters should like to their skill at producing negatives." The reviewer praised one woman's work in particular, stating that it was by far the best in the show.⁵¹ Such remarks, although often indirect in their acknowledgement of women's achievement, indicate that women had been active for some time in both learning the medium and exhibiting their works.

The sophistication of women with regard to photography was sometimes noted by the publication of their letters. For example, the British Journal of Photography included a letter from "a lady photographer" in its September 15, 1860 issue. The question concerned the enlarging of prints by means of the solar camera. The response on the part of the editors was polite and to the point, and seemingly, from the nature of the woman's detailed inquiry, given the seriousness of consideration due to any practitioner.⁵²

In other cases, the response to women's interest in the medium was sceptical. In an article entitled "The Future of Photography to be in the Hands of the Gentler Sex," the author noted that young ladies were receiving instruction in photography by Prof. Hecker at the Cooper Union Building in New York. They were making rapid progress and would soon be either opening studios of their own or seeking employment through the "situations

wanted" column. This, the author conceded, was desirable, yet added: "We congratulate three-fourths of the 'fathers of photography' engaged in this juvenile enterprise, and wish them much comfort and profit in their investment. The other fourth interest is our own."⁵³

By this time, women were already posting advertisements in magazines, mainly for work as attendants, retouchers and colourists.⁵⁴ Yet the education of women in this regard was lacking, and many depended on the patience of their employers to learn such skills on the job. In 1865 the Standard published a letter from Madame Una Howard which was picked up by photographic journals. She wrote that there should be some systematic method to teach the art of colouring photographs as it was "calculated to afford employment to many young ladies who, being in straitened circumstances, have yet, while their natural protectors were living and could afford it, received lessons in painting." She noted that other associations had been formed by philanthropic individuals to ensure that such young ladies be able to secure employment. Madame Howard proposed to undertake the establishment of classes to promote this field as she herself had been "engaged for several years in colouring for the most distinguished photographers in the United Kingdom."⁵⁵

Even though women with experience in colouring and retouching could find employment, the worth of these skills was debated by the profession and, in some cases, disparaged. In an article written in 1872, H.H. Snelling scoffed at the practice of retouching: "Retouching Negatives!" Pshaw! What a device of the photographic enemy to belittle nature's scientific art!" Retouching was trickery; the photographer who could not

through the camera alone make a pleasing photographic portrait was obviously a failure and lacking in skill.⁵⁶

The article received pointed criticism in a letter which appeared in the next month's issue from "a photographer's wife." Obviously Mr. Snelling had no concept of the realities of photographic business. To seek the sublime and beautiful in portraiture was well enough, but not all had the complexions of angels. To retouch a negative for the purpose of erasing a freckle or blemish could do no harm, and would please the customer, which, of course, was the nature of business. The woman noted that many were simply trying to earn a living and reprimanded Mr. Snelling for his egotistical tone.⁵⁷

The editors of the Photographic News published a series of articles and letters on the issue of women's employment in photography.⁵⁸ In the leader article for the January 25, 1867 issue, they made several important points concerning the present state of women's employment and the perception of their work by their employers and other members of the community. It was noted that women found work as attendants, retouchers, tinters, and print mounters. However, except in the case of those who operated their own studios, women were never employed as camera operators. As printers, they were generally a disaster. As the authors wrote: "The attempt to employ female labour in various handicrafts usually pursued by men have failed. It is certainly not from inaptitude, or mental or physical incapacity, that imperfect success is due. We fear that the cause lies deeper...."

The editors noted that there was a distinct difference in the way men and women approached their work. Young men regarded the learning of a trade as the commencement of an occupation which would support them for the rest of their life. For young women, employment was a temporary state, a means by which they could earn income for a few years until they married. Given such conditions, men usually applied themselves to various tasks to learn all aspects of the trade. Women, from the beginning of their employment, were generally given a specific duty, and either thought little, or were given few opportunities, of rising above it. The editors concluded that: "So far as this reason has weight, we are afraid it will remain in continual operation. Nevertheless, we believe that there is extended scope in photography for the employment of women, and that many duties in connection with the practical branches of the art may be performed by them...."⁵⁹

On the one hand, it was true that many women entered the profession with different intentions than men. They were not obliged, for the most part, to view such an occupation as a life long means of support. However, it was also evident that women could have little pride in their labour as long as their activities in the studio remained unacknowledged. The invisibility of women was due, in part, to the fact that they were involved in piece work. As one author noted: "A photographic establishment is a factory where labour is subdivided for economy's sake, and where no one person performs all the operations."⁶⁰ Photographers were only as good as their assistants, and some in the profession understood this as it applied specifically to their female employees. In 1873 the Photographic News noted that there had been "some talk of showing at the approaching

International Exhibition a collection of work representing female industry, and M.J. Löwy, a well-known Viennese photographer, has given his opinion that the work done by female assistants in the studio ought not to be forgotten."⁶¹

Exactly which types of duties women could perform in the studio were subject to debate, as arguments were linked to social perceptions of womanhood. As one author noted: "There are, perhaps, few industries better suited to the power of women than photography, and few in which they are more generally employed....Most of the duties require taste and skill rather than strength, and might be pre-eminently fitted to the feminine capacity."⁶² The more progressive journals, such as the Photographic News, felt obliged to address the issue of women's employment, yet were trapped in socially prescribed models of femininity: "In every growing civilized community the question of providing employment and independent means of subsistence for women increases in interest seriously every year." The means by which women could attain such independence, however, resided in their feminine qualities: "Neat-handed skill, rather than strength -- taste and tact, rather than heavy physical exertion -- are required."⁶³

Women's understanding of their socially circumscribed roles created a conflict for both themselves and men who wished, at one and the same time, to differentiate their activities from those of women, and yet appear supportive of issues surrounding women's labour. Emphasis, therefore, was put on whether or not women could actually take photographs, or develop them properly. However, it was also manifestly obvious that women could take control of the camera, and the circumstances in which they did were

noted by the Photographic News. In a letter addressed to the editors, one individual under the pseudonym of "Photo," appeared curious about the existence of female photographers: "I would be much obliged if you, or some of your readers, will inform me whether women are employed in this art."⁶⁴ The editors replied that women found work as retouchers, colourists, etc. Yet this was obviously pandering, and the editors assumed responsibility for this attitude by publishing a letter from a "working woman" in their next issue: "Sir, -- I perceive 'Photo' is not aware that women are employed in photography, and that you are doubtful whether it would be advantageous for them to operate in the studio or the dark room. 'Photo' may rest assured that it is practised by women, and that not only in reception rooms and touching-out."

The woman proceeded to describe her knowledge of the "business in all its branches" as "I have for the last three or four years had the sole manipulation to attend to personally, owing to my husband's failing health." She proudly described her studio, acknowledged the importance of photographic journals, and included photographs for evaluation. The editors had the final word: "We are glad to report that the specimens enclosed by our correspondent are average good work."⁶⁵

Women who ran studios had to combine business with all the qualities becoming to a lady. In 1873, Mrs. E.N. Lockwood outlined the manner in which this was done in an article written for Photographic Mosaics entitled "Women's Rights." A woman had the right to fill any station, Mrs. Lockwood declared, if she were capable and efficient. A woman's concern for her family, and the health of her husband was another reason to learn

the business. If a woman saw her husband, brother, or father failing in health from overwork, the author asserted that women should: "Go into the gallery and become familiar with every branch of it....By so doing you assist your friends to prolong life and health, and happiness comes to you tenfold when you can feel the independence that always comes to a woman when she knows she is necessary to her nearest and dearest friends...." Women, by their very "nature," had qualities better suited to camera work than men as they were more observant, "quick to catch impressions," more comfortable with children and able to settle them quickly. Women could also be useful in the dark room as chemicals would be found in a better state of organization. "Now gentlemen," Mrs. Lockwood declared, "don't be afraid your wives will want to turn you out of doors or set you to washing dishes if you allow them the privilege of being a more earnest and useful helpmeet...." The health and happiness of all could be bettered if women were allowed to be equal partners in business. To her "sisters," Mrs. Lockwood maintained that they study the trade, and prove their competence to their husbands. Women should also attend photographic conventions to make themselves visible within the profession and "also still further prove to you that a woman has a right there, and a right to fill just as large a space in this mundane sphere as she has brains, energy, and perseverance to sustain her."⁶⁶

Conclusion

The above discussion has outlined the various difficulties and problems which beset the commercial photographic industry. Yet much more research must be done in this area to understand the complexities of the industry, and provide a greater understanding of the conditions in which many individuals worked.

My approach is based on the seeming "muteness" of the commercial photograph. The carte-de-visite was ubiquitous; why it appeared in the specific format it did, and the uses to which it was put, have been little considered by photographic historians.

It has been seen that the public arena in which such imagery was produced was divided along economic, aesthetic and gender lines. Commercial photographers depended on the general public's sanctioning of its product but the industry's lack of structured education, training and professional standards, combined with the period's economic fluctuations, created an uncertain climate for the industry. Photographic journals were the major public forum for discussion of these issues. Yet a close reading of their articles reveals little consensus among practitioners as to how to present photography as a viable occupation.

In terms of the sale of photographs, the industry experienced periods of growth and recession. Journals credited growth periods to the introduction of new products and changes in the photograph's format. Periods of recession were attributed to lack of public interest or boredom with the industry's product. Whether this was true or not is difficult to

ascertain. However what can be noted is that the industry was in a constant process of self-examination. Underlying this inquiry was uncertainty as to how to respond to public demand for imagery. The commercial photograph gave individuals a tangible and, for the most part, constructed depiction of their social status. The industry, in turn, had to both comply with this demand and create newer representations in order to continue selling its product. The commercial photograph therefore is resonant with instability, both in terms of the conditions of its production and the very subject matter which it represents.

This chapter has discussed a variety of issues which affected the production of photographs in the public sphere. The dynamism of the photographic industry's productive capacity provided individual consumers with a whole new realm of possibilities in representing themselves and their positions in the social world. The second chapter will investigate the uses to which individuals put such imagery in their assembly of albums. The historic basis of the photographic album will be examined in relation to its earlier counterpart, the commonplace book or sentiment album. Discussion will then centre on the family album and the manner in which photographs were arranged to depict the ongoing process of family history. Photographs allowed assemblers both to represent the family as a coherent group and integrate changes which occurred in the family unit through marriage or the birth of a child. This represents an exciting period in the history of visual imagery as individuals seized upon the huge influx of images created through the photographic industry to develop visual lexicons through which they could creatively express aspects of personal relationships.

Endnotes for Chapter One

1. Naomi Rosenblum, A World History of Photography (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984): 62.
2. "Drawing-Room Photographic Albums," British Journal of Photography 9:167 (June 2, 1862): 204.
3. At first, to have one's "likeness" made as a daguerreotype was an excruciating process, with sitters clamped in position for fifteen minutes at a time. As McCauley has stated about the initial reactions to photography: "For many visitors to the new studios perched on rooftops to take advantage of the light recalled the anxiety of visiting a dentist, a man of dubious professional skills who forced his clients to undergo incomprehensible, painful procedures." One caricature of the time depicted the chair in which one sat for a portrait session as composed of pointed screws and clamps. "As long as the operations behind the black cloth remained mysterious, the public had difficulty judging whether the studio sitting was normal and the final product acceptable." (McCauley, Industrial Madness..., p. 17. See also Lessard who describes the public's first reaction to the camera, the "enormous one-eyed monster." Lessard, Livernois Photographers..., p. 137).
4. Ibid., p. 35.
5. The Ontario Photographers List, Glen C. Phillips, ed. (Sarnia: Iron Gate Pub. Co, 1990). Other directories which can be consulted include: Carl Mautz, Checklist of Western Photographers: A Reference Workbook (Brownsville, CA: Folk Image Publishing, 1975); David Mattison, Camera Workers: The British Columbia Photographers Directory (Victoria: Camera Workers Press, 1985); Michael Pritchard, A Directory of London Photographers 1841-1908 (Bushey, England: ALLM Books, 1986); Peter Palmquist, A Directory of Women in California Photography Before 1901 (Eureka, CA: Eureka Printing Company, Inc., 1990); David Karel, Dictionnaire des artistes de la langue française en Amérique du nord (Québec: Musée du Québec, Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1992).
6. In a letter to the editor of the Photographic News, one individual wrote that a regular system of apprenticeship would "fairly revolutionize the whole business." As the writer noted: "A proper education to fit a student and practitioner of any profession is an absolute necessity, and I am one of (I hope) a great many who are not willing to allow that photography can be taken up and successfully practised without proper instruction." ("Apprenticeship," Photographic News 14:632 [Oct. 14, 1870]: 491).
In another article which appeared in the same journal in 1872, the writer noted that: "It is much to be regretted that we have no system for the proper education of

photographers." The author wrote that the best a beginner could do was to find employment with a first class studio and learn from work experience. However, this kind of education left individuals incapable of applying themselves to other more specialized fields of photography, such as landscape and astronomical photography and photolithography. What was needed was a system of education to instruct nascent photographers in chemistry, optics, mathematics and art. The author noted that some foreign societies had already organized such a system, notably the Vienna Photographic Society. The writer urged that the Photographic Society of London undertake more responsibility in this respect. ("The Education of Photographers," Photographic News 16:700 [Feb. 2, 1872]: 50. See also a letter published in the same journal where the writer noted that establishing a school in the United States would be profitable as "...photography has finally become fixed the world over...In America alone, over 20,000 people find employment in this branch in one way and another, and over \$3,000,000 is employed in carrying on the business in its various branches." Out of those who find work in the 7,000 photographic galleries which existed, many were in need of further instruction. D.D.T. Davie, "Educational Institute for Photographers," Photographic News 16:715 [May 17, 1872]: 238.

The subject of education received early attention in one journal. M.A. Root [Marcus Aurelius Root, a well known daguerreotypist], published two such articles in the American Journal of Photography in 1860. Root noted the need of photographers to understand both the technical and artistic aspects of the medium, and quoted Ruskin as to his belief that "...you cannot manufacture your artist any more than you can manufacture gold. You must find him, and refine him..." M.A. Root, "The Heliographic School -- Its Importance," American Journal of Photography 3:1 [June 1, 1860]: 11-14; "The Heliographic School," American Journal of Photography 3:3 [July 1, 1860]: 41-42).

7. H.H. Snelling and E. Anthony, A Dictionary of the Photographic Art and A Comprehensive and Systematic Catalogue of Photographic Apparatus and Material, Manufactured, Imported and Sold By E. Anthony (New York: H.H. Snelling, 1854): n.p.

8. "Daguerreoville Manufactory," Humphreys Journal 4:1 (Apr. 15, 1852): 11-12.

9. "Photographic, Daguerreotype and Ambrotype Stock Dealers. Scovill Manufacturing Company" Humphrey's Journal 10:19 (Feb. 1, 1859): 295-296.

10 "Visits to Noteworthy Studios," Photographic News 12:521, 522 (Aug. 30 & Sept. 4, 1869): 410-411, 422-424.

11. "Photographic Stock Dealers," Humphrey's Journal 12:16 (Dec. 15, 1860): 245-245.

12. In 1871, the editors of the Philadelphia Photographer wrote that photographers would find it valuable to consult trade catalogues. It was noted that there was no excuse for

shoddy work "on account of bad chemicals or tools to work with," as dealers seemed to be "vying with each other in the production of elegant price-lists and catalogues of photographic goods." It appears that the editors equated quality of presentation with that of products sold. However, the comprehensiveness of articles listed was impressive: "Everything is carefully included and illustrated, making the whole a most desirable book of reference, without any hackneyed photographic articles to grease it down." ("Trade Catalogues," Philadelphia Photographer 8:88 [Apr. 1871]: 110).

13. "Albums for Cards and Other Portraits" Photographic News 14:640 (Dec. 9, 1870): 577.

14. "Commercial Photography," British Journal of Photography 14:352 (Feb. 1, 1867): 47-48.

15. The author apparently chose to ignore the phenomenon of *daguerreotypomanie* or the sudden craze for photography which occurred shortly after the invention of the daguerreotype.

16. Ibid., pp. 47-48.

17. J. Perry Elliott, "Our Profession: What Is It?" British Journal of Photography 19:625 (April 26, 1872): 197.

18. Other publications appeared to guide those entering the business. In 1858, H.H. Snelling published A Guide to the Whole Art of Photography, Including the Daguerreotype, Ambrotype, Melainotype, Photography on Glass, Albumen, Paper, &c. which listed the prices of articles necessary for the practice of photography. Sections included detailed lists for outfitting both the amateur and the professional, the latter group being broken down into those who wished to produce portraits of quarter size, half size or all sizes (size here referring to the diameter of tubes and lens). (H.H. Snelling A Guide to the Whole Art of Photography... [New York: H.H. Snelling, 1858]).

19. E.D. "'The Ladies of the Profession'," British Journal of Photography 22:816 (Dec. 24, 1875): 621.

20. Carl Meyers, "A Tale of Tight Times," Philadelphia Photographer 12:137 (May, 1875): 143-146. Another important consideration was to find a strategic location. As Lessard has written, the successful studio was accessible and part of a "commercially, artistically, and culturally vigorous part of town." (Lessard, Livernois Photographers..., p. 130).

21. "Photographers -- Wake Up!," Philadelphia Photographer 10:110 (Feb. 1873): 44.

22. See McCauley, Industrial Madness..., pp. 50-55 where she includes graphs which indicate peak years for the business. One based on the number of photographs registered in Paris for public sale demonstrates that prior to 1856, the number of photographic registrations were low, after which they increase substantially, peaking at 1858 with the introduction of the stereoscopic view; there is then a slight dip until 1860 and then a dramatic increase with the carte phenomenon which peaks in 1864. Registrations fall off dramatically after this period, with a small burst of activity in 1869.

The growth curve of another graph indicating the number of photographers registering works in Paris for public sale closely follows that of the number of photographs registered. In other words, more photographers were either working or registering works with greater frequency due to increased public demand.

23. "Carte de Visite Portraits (From the new edition of The Principles and Practice of Photography, by C. Jabez Hughes)," Humphrey's Journal 13:12 (Oct. 15, 1861): 187.

24. S.R. Divine, "Hints on Card Pictures," Humphrey's Journal 13:16 (Dec. 15, 1861): 241-242. As was mentioned above, the carte photographs were created with a four lens camera, or to use the parlance of the time, a double quarter tube camera. Articles also appeared on using the stereoscopic camera to create four photographs of the same subject. See "Cartes de Visite," Humphrey's Journal 12:20 (Feb. 15, 1861): 305-306; Prof. Towler, "How to Take Two Card-Pictures with a Single Lens Endowed with Stereoscopic Effect," Humphrey's Journal 16:21 (Mar. 1, 1865): 321-322.

The author's comments on backdrops was part of a larger issue in the industry as to its proper usage. Some advocated the absence of a background, others felt the "tasteful" addition of suitable articles aided the overall composition. As Jabez Hughes wrote: "Great scope is also afforded for the introduction of appropriate accessories, draperies and backgrounds, so as to form not only accurate likenesses, but also pleasing pictures." ("Carte de Visite Portraits. [From the new edition of The Principles and Practice of Photography; by Jabez Hughes], Humphrey's Journal 13:12 [Oct. 15, 1861]: 187).

25. "Card Photographs," Humphrey's Journal 13:22 (Mar. 15, 1862): 351.

26. The editors of photographic journals understood that their survival depended on their readership's recognition that they stay informed about the business. In 1866, the editors of Humphrey's stated that the recent demise of a number of photographic journals most likely resulted from the "stupid" public who either did not wish to be instructed, or were too "stingy" to pay for instruction. As the authors warned: "If you wish to see photography thrive, yourselves well-seeming and sleek, your progeny numerous and healthy, support the journals that feed you the manna of your profession, the ambrosia and nectar of the heliographic science. If you don't already subscribe to a journal in your art, it is your duty to do so instant. Don't be a dolt to the end of your days!" ("Defunct Photography

Journals," Humphrey's Journal 18:5 [July 1, 1866]: 73).

27. "Card Portraits and The Trade'," Photographic News 5:171 (Dec. 13, 1861): 598.

28. Plus Ultra, "Letter from Down East," Humphrey's Journal 15:1 (May 1, 1863): 12.

29. "Government Tax on Photographs," Humphrey's Journal 16:9 (Sept. 1, 1864): 136.
For more details on the tax, see also the same journal, 16:12 (Oct. 15, 1864): 181-182.

30. William Armstrong, "New Black Varnish," The Photographic and Fine Arts Journal 10:1 (Jan. 1857): 23.

31. The issue of photographic copyright was legally complex and the debates surrounding its incorporation revealed much about public perception of the medium. The Photographic News reported several arguments discussed in the House of Lords concerning this matter, many of which circulated around the idea that the camera was merely a recording device. For example, one member argued that: "One person might make a copy of a photograph of the Coliseum, originally produced by another; but who could say that the copy was not an original photograph? How could any one assert that the person who published it did not go to the Coliseum, take his stand upon the same spot of ground as the other photographer, and commence his operations at the same hour?" The editors retorted that the "noble earl" knew nothing about artistic individuality in photography. In addition: "The pirated copies possess the style and manner of the artist who is plundered, but the work is bad, flat, mealy, and fading. Thus the original artist is not only robbed, but his works are travestied, and his reputation damaged."

With copying, photographers incurred a loss of sales and were thus not properly recompensed for time and investiture of money into certain photographic projects. The article noted that the London Stereoscopic Company paid fifteen hundred guineas for the sole right of photographing a certain building, and were delaying publication of the works until the passage of the bill. Without copyright protection, "they are at the mercy of all who are sufficiently unscrupulous to profit by pirating this property of others."

The editors also admitted that some photographers had publicly voiced their opposition to the bill. These were the small shop keepers who made their living selling pirated works. It had been argued that such dealers did not have the acuity to discern between original and copied work, and thus would be innocent victims of such a law. The editors could only retort: "To this we may reply in the first place, that however ignorant some of the dealers may be of photography, they are not so entirely ignorant of the difference between copies and originals as might be supposed. They generally know how it effects the price." ("Copyright in Photographs," Photographic News 5:195 [May 30, 1862]: 253-254. The bill was passed in England later that year. The Photographic News followed the arguments closely. For more information see especially Volume 6 and subsequent volumes under the headings of "copyright" and "piracy.")

In the United States, copyright law came into effect in 1865. For more information see Humphrey's Journal Volume 17. In both countries, the method of securing copyright entailed registering the photograph. A small fee was paid for both the form and the registration of the work, and the signed document held at the Register's Office.

For a detailed discussion of copyright law in France, see McCauley's section "Photography and the Law," pages 30-34, where she discusses specific cases surrounding the issue, and the confusion which resulted in attempts to delimit photography as either an artistic or commercial activity.

32. "Cabinet Portraits. -- A New Impulse for Portraiture," Humphrey's Journal 18:10 (Sept. 15, 1866): 152.

33. "Cabinet Portraiture," The Philadelphia Photographer 4:44 (Aug. 1867): 247.

34. "Cabinet Portraits," The Philadelphia Photographer 4:40 (April, 1867): 113-114. British photographers were also hesitant to switch over to the new format. The editors of the Photographic News gently reassured their readers: "So far as we can learn, notwithstanding the prognostications of some to the contrary, whenever the cabinet portrait has been fairly introduced it has been a success.... We notice, too, that wherever a publisher's or printseller's shop-window contains cabinet portraits they are certain to monopolize the interest of persons examining the contents of the window. We hear of some friends engaged in professional portraiture, who -- whilst admitting the advantages of the new size, were unwilling to interrupt the regular course of their business in cards by the introduction of any novelty so long as the demand for cards kept up -- have recently commenced to push the cabinet portrait, and with a degree of success for which they were scarcely themselves prepared. ("Cabinet Portraits," Photographic News 11:475 [Oct. 11, 1867]: 486).

35. As the Photographic News reported in one of its columns about the profitability of commercial photography: "We know of but three operators in all New York or Brooklyn who may be said to have laid up money in the business. A large portion of the operators in the country get a bare living at the practice of the art. Taken as a whole, we do not think photography can be said to be a money-making business." ("The Commercial Aspect of Photography in America," Photographic News 6:177 [Jan. 24, 1862]: 48).

36. The Philadelphia Photographer regularly published lists of studios destroyed by fire. In the February 1873 edition, the editors noted that eight studios had been destroyed in a period of less than six weeks. ("Photographers Burned Out," The Philadelphia Photographer 10:110 [Feb. 1873]: 470).

Weather could also strain the industry. Prior to artificial light, which did not come into common usage until the 1880s, photographers had to rely on natural light for portrait sessions. Consistent bad weather or foggy conditions could prove disastrous as there

would not be enough light to do business. Winter months were also slow. Available sunlight decreased both in intensity and hours with the sun's lower position in the sky. Extremely hot weather made dark room work intolerable, and adversely affected the action of photographic chemicals. Studios, which were located on the top of buildings to take advantage of natural light, were also vulnerable to damage by hail storms. In the summer of 1870, the Photographic News reported that Massachusetts had been hit by such a storm and that the consequences for photographers were serious: "Of course, anything like a skylight suffered, and, therefore, the poor photographers came in for their full loss of breakage, and, worse than all, by the drenching torrents of floods that followed. Many places were flooded, and much damage to furniture." ("American Correspondence: "Another Hail Storm," Photographic News 14:619 [July 15, 1870]: 328. The article also notes that in some cases the storm was advantageous as it forced many photographers to clean up their dingy studios and buy more modern equipment.)

37. "Photography and Disease," Photographic News 12:495 (Feb. 28, 1868): 98-99.

38. "Photography and Disease," Photographic News 12:496 (March 6, 1868): 117-118.

39. "Health Versus Chemicals," Photographic News 12:496 (Mar. 6, 1868): 119.

40. Ignorance of the mortal effects of potassium cyanide was astonishing. In one letter to Notes and Queries, "A. V.G." discussed the danger of certain photographic chemicals, especially potassium cyanide. Thomas Rose responded in a subsequent issue that although absorption of this chemical through cuts had caused pain and inconvenience, little else had happened. (A. V.G. "Poisoning by Photography," Notes and Queries Series 2, Vol 3:68 [April 18, 1857]: 313-314. Thomas Rose, "Cyanide of Potassium," Notes and Queries Series 2, Vol. 3:71 [May 9, 1857]: 375). For more information on the debates surrounding poisoning see Bill Jay's section on Poisoning in Cyanide & Spirits: An Inside-Out View of Early Photography (Munich: Nazraeli Press, 1991). Jay points out that many died of potassium cyanide poisoning, either through inadvertent drinking of the fluid, dramatic suicide, or through absorption in cuts.

One of the earliest comprehensive warnings of poisoning was published in the British Journal of Photography in 1860. Samuel Higgins, "late lecturer on medical mineralogy," drew up a table of poisons, symptoms and treatment for the benefit of photographers. As Higgins noted, "prevention is better than a cure." For many poisonings, there was no antidote. (Also noted in Jay, Cyanide & Spirits..., p. 164).

41. "Photography and Health," The Philadelphia Photographer 10:110 (Feb., 1873): 39.

42. Justitia, "Caution to Operators Answering Advertisements," Humphrey's Journal 12:8 (Aug. 15, 1860): 121-122. This letter was first published in the British Journal of Photography. The editors of Humphrey's noted that their American journal did in fact keep

a register, and that such a system worked well.

It should also be noted that the autocratic behaviour of the studio proprietor had larger consequences. In most cases, division of labour resulted in lack of individual recognition within the studio. Those employed as photographers and colourists rarely had the opportunity to sign their name to their work. The final product, the photograph, was attributed to owners of the studio, even though they relied heavily on the skills of their employees, and often had little to do with the actual taking and developing of the image. (Lessard, The Livernois, p. 143).

43. A Little Photo, "Photographic Assistants," Photographic News 15:669 (June 30, 1871): 310.

44. D. Welch, "Apprentices and Photographers' Assistants," Photographic News 15:671 (July 14, 1871): 334.

45. "The Status of Photographers and Assistants," Photographic News 15:682 (Sept. 29, 1871): 457. The editors called upon its members to hold a conference and discuss the issue from all points of view.

46. "Photography for Ladies.," Liverpool Photographic Journal 2:17 (May 12, 1855): 63.

It should be noted that although many women, such as Anna Atkins, Constance Talbot, Lady Clementina Hawarden, and Julia Margaret Cameron, were not employed by the industry they substantially contributed to the photographic profession as serious amateurs. Atkins, for example, produced thousands of botanical cyanotypes which she bound together and distributed to friends and scientific bodies. (Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers [New York: Abbeville Press, 1994]: 41). The demarcation between amateur and professional photographer sometimes fluctuated in photographic journals, with the former, in the case of women, used as a term of derision.

47. In 1857, in Kemptville, Miss Kelly is listed as being an ambrotypist and daguerreotypist. (The Ontario Photographers List, p. 39).

In 1858, a young woman posted a notice of her services in the classified section. She noted that she was "perfectly competent to take First Class Negatives, and is au fait at all the best Printing Processes, Mounting, etc." She had at this time five years experience (meaning she started in 1853, or even earlier in terms of apprenticeship). ("To Established Photographers and Artists," Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal 2:17 [Sept. 1, 1858]: 220).

48. In the 1857-1858 edition of the McLaughlin Quebec Directory, Élise Livernois advertised her services as a daguerreotypist. Five days after husband's death she published a notice informing the citizens of Québec City that the studio would continue to run under her direction. Four months later she hired a skilled photographic assistant who "...excels in

the art of taking graceful, comfortable poses, a feature which is generally lacking in most portraits." (Le Canadien, Feb. 7, 1866. Quoted in Lessard, The Livernois Photographers: 81).

49. Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers, p. 46.

Husband and wife teams were common. The man was usually responsible for taking and developing the picture, the woman washed plates, worked as an attendant, and coloured and retouched prints and negatives. As occurred in the above noted case of Élise Livernois, women sometimes listed their name in city directories as proprietors after their husbands died. (In other cases they continued to run the studio under their late husbands' names, making research difficult in determining the number of women who actually ran studios. See McCauley, Industrial Madness..., p. 37.)

In one case, a woman announced that even though she was getting a divorce, she was still open for business. The editors of the Photographic Times and American Photographer were uncertain as to how to respond: "There being no precedent to establish a code of etiquette, we are at a loss whether we ought to offer our condolence or congratulations to our brother and sister, but we will venture upon the latter." ("General Notes," Photographic Times and American Photographer 13:147 [March, 1883]: 107).

It should also be noted that even if the wife did not directly engage herself in aspects of studio photography, she often supported the business indirectly through a second income.

50. The Photographic Journal 6:87 [Feb. 1, 1859]: 30.

51. "London Photographic Society's Exhibition," British Journal of Photography 7:111 (Feb. 1, 1860): 41. In some cases, women had been invited to attend and be members of photographic society meetings from the very beginning as seen, for example, in the minutes of the first meeting of the Photographic Society of London. ("Rules of the Photographic Society," Journal of the Photographic Society 1:1 [Mar. 3, 1853]: 4). Women, such as Madame Le Ghait and Madame Vaude Green, were listed as medal winners in exhibitions. (Journal of the Photographic Society, 3:49 [Dec. 22, 1856]: 172). In the thirtieth meeting (Sept. 9, 1861) of the American Photographic Society in New York, a motion was passed to invite women to the meetings as "there are a good many ladies in the City interested in photography, and some of them would be pleased to meet with us." ("American Photographic Society, Photographic Notes 6:134 [Nov. 1, 1861]: 311-312).

52. "Enlarging," British Journal of Photography 7:126 (September 15, 1860): 278.

In another earlier letter to the Liverpool Photographic Journal in 1854, two women, Lucy and Emma, wrote of the difficulties they were encountering with their latest purchase, a camera. They outlined their developing procedure, and asked if it was correct.

The editors responded that their methods were essentially right, but suggested adjusting the intensity of certain chemical mixtures. (Lucy & Emma, "To the Editor," Liverpool Photographic Journal 1:9 [Sept. 9, 1854]: 96. See also correspondence surrounding Mary Harris' technical difficulties: Journal of the Photographic Society 1:13 [Jan. 21, 1854]: 164 and 1:17 [May 20, 1854]: 211; Lydia's questions concerning the "honey process" (which entailed coating a wet plate with honey to keep it from drying too quickly): Journal of the Photographic Society 2:32 [July 21, 1855]: 206 and 2:34 [Sept. 21, 1855]: 225; and editorial responses to "lady amateurs" (Journal of the Photographic Society 2:37 [Dec. 21, 1855]: 280 and 4:60 [Nov. 21, 1857]: 100).

53. "The Future of Photography to be in the Hands of the Gentler Sex," Philadelphia Photographer 10:113 (May, 1873): 9.

54. In terms of the division of labour, larger studios employed a hostess, or receptionist who dealt with customers; an operator who set up poses, adjusted backgrounds and lighting, and sensitized plates; a developer-printer; a retoucher and colourist; and a mounter framer who glued, cut or embossed prints. (Lessard, The Livernois, p. 143).

55. The article appeared in both British and American photographic journals: "Female Employment in Colouring Photographs," Photographic News 9:339 (Mar. 3, 1865): 108. "Female Employment in Colouring Photographs," Humphrey's Journal 17:3 (June 1, 1865): 31-32.

56. H.H. Snelling, "Retouching Negatives," Philadelphia Photographer 9:99 (Mar. 1872): 71.

H.H. Snelling (Henry Hunt Snelling, 1816-1897) is credited with writing the first history of photography in 1849, and was editor of the Photographic Art-Journal (which began in 1851, and merged with the American Journal of Photography in 1862). Snelling's displeasure with retouching may be due to the fact that he saw such an activity as compromising the quality of photography as a craft. As Sennett has written in The Nineteenth-Century Photographic Press, Snelling's intention as editor for the Photographic Art-Journal was to elevate the practice of photography, both in its technical and artistic capacities. (Sennett, pp. 10-11). As Sennett also notes, Snelling was employed with the E. Anthony Co. for many years, and the above quoted catalogue describing the activities of Anthony's (A Comprehensive and Systematic Catalogue of Photographic Apparatus...) was bound in with Snelling's A Dictionary of the Photographic Art (New York: H.H. Snelling, 1854). Other publications of Snelling include the above quoted A Guide to the Whole Art of Photography, and The History and Practice of the Art of Photography; or the Production of Pictures Through the Agency of Light (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1849) which was reprinted in 1853 (both editions including a dedication to Edward Anthony). This latter publication was reprinted again in 1970, and included an

introduction by Beaumont Newhall (Henry H. Snelling, The History and Practice of the Art of Photography, with an introduction by Beaumont Newhall (New York: Morgan & Morgan, Inc., Publishers, 1970).

57. A Photographer's Wife, "Retouching the Negative," Philadelphia Photographer 9:100 (Apr. 1872): 101. Considering the stature of Snelling in the profession, the publication of such a letter almost appears as a comeuppance on the part of the editors.

Another article written from the viewpoint of a woman named Jennie appeared in the May 1873 issue of the same journal. The author took issue with the censure retouching provoked from the photographic world, and asked that sympathy and understanding be granted those who were employed in the "lesser" capacities of the profession. The article provides a well rounded account of those involved in the day-to-day aspects of commercial photography. In addition, it also provides insight into the precarious position of women who could suddenly find themselves without means of support. She had always desired to become a painter: "But when I suddenly awoke from being a petted, spoiled child to find myself orphaned and dependant on my own resources, or the charity of wealthy, but taunting, jeering relatives, I determined to try the former, and following the bent of inclination, which of course, turned to pictures, and being impressed with the beauty produced by the manipulation of the negative, I determined to master the art...." She then proceeds to give an account of her success in this regard. (Jennie, "What a Retoucher Can See on This Touchy Subject," Philadelphia Photographer 10:113 [May, 1873]: 139-141).

58. In the August 10, 1866 issue of the Photographic News the editors published a story entitled "Alexander Dumas on Photography." Taken from a larger work, the editors pick up Dumas' story at the following point: "I have, in leaving Vienna, forgotten to describe a curious enough fact. At Vienna photography is generally practised by women." It is difficult to ascertain whether or not this was true, and the statement appears to have been written in order to embarrass Parisians as to their lack of progress in this regard. (See, for example, an article which discusses the employment of women in studios in Vienna. There is no mention of women operating their own studios. "Female Assistants in the Studio," Photographic News 17:764 [Apr. 25, 1873]: 199.) Nonetheless, the tale recounts Dumas' experience, both with photography in general and its practice by Viennese ladies. The description of his encounter with women photographers has its twists of condescension yet Dumas makes an observation which would capture the attention of the editors of the Photographic News for the next several years: "The plague of modern society is, that there is not enough employment for women. For the most part, the careers of art and industry open to men, they are closed to women....Why should not the women make photographers?" ("Alexander Dumas on Photography," Photographic News 10:414 [Aug. 10, 1866]: 379-381).

59. "Employment of Women in Photography," Photographic News 11:438 (Jan. 25, 1867): 37-38. The editors felt it necessary to repeat this same argument six years later. See "Employment of Women in Photography," Photographic News 17:766 (May 9, 1873): 222-223.

The editors would also publish letters from those who completely discounted the usefulness of women in the business in order to challenge their prejudices. Studio proprietor Theodore Hicks proclaimed that women were "totally unfitted for the work," to which the editors retorted that not all women were incompetent, that many had great skill, applied themselves seriously to their work, and, in addition, suggested that the conditions of employment and demeanour of the employer often contributed to the seriousness with which any employee took to his or her work. ("Printing, Toning, Female Assistants, Etc." Photographic News 18:769 [May 30, 1873]: 262-63).

60. Jabez Hughes, "Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women," Photographic News 18:765 (May 9, 1873): 218.

61. "Female Assistants in the Studio," Photographic News 17:764 (Apr. 25, 1873): 199.

62. "Echoes of the Month by an Old Photographer: Female Labour in Photography," Photographic News 14:604 (Apr. 1, 1870): 147.

The awareness of women as to the conditions of their own labour was also involved in such characterizations as seen in Colleen Skidmore's discussion of the approximately two dozen photographs of women employed by the Notman studio in Montreal. As Skidmore notes, it is difficult to obtain information from the photographs about the women's activities in the studio as they are represented more as customers than workers. In some cases, such dress would conform to their duties as attendants and receptionists. Women were expected to present the studio as a domestic setting in order to make customers feel more relaxed. For other types of duties, such as the washing of plates in the printing room, the frills, ruffs and necklaces seen in the photographs would be impractical. Those workers whose tasks demanded less elaborate dress would likely feel uncomfortable wearing such outfits for a portrait session as such attire was not suitable for the public presentation of a "lady." (Colleen Skidmore, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio: 'Young Ladies of the Printing Room'," History of Photography 20:2 [Summer 1996]: 122-128).

63. "The Employment of Women in Photography," Photographic News 18:766 (May 6, 1873): 222.

See also an article published by Jabez Hughes who argued from the same basis. Although Hughes admitted that women could be employed in every aspect of the business, certain duties where "ill-smelling chemicals and dress-disfiguring solutions [were] used...[were] better conducted by the rougher sex." Women were "neat" in habit, "nimble"

in manipulations, and "delicate" of touch. (Jabez Hughes, "Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women," Photographic News 18:765 [May 9, 1873]: 217-218. This article is reprinted in Camera Fiends and Kodak Girls: 50 Selections By and About Women in Photography, Peter Palmquist, ed. [New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989]). The article is somewhat useful for Hughes' recounting of wages earned by women at different levels of the industry, although there is a lack of comparison between those earned by women and men. In addition, Hughes categorizes women's roles in the studio in a rather curious way, being the "maid-of-all work," "the shopwoman," and "the governess," in order to justify wage differences.

Lessard has noted that men normally earned more in the business as camera operators. For example, Emma Bienvenu's annual income remained pitifully low for her entire term of employment (from 1867-1918), as a laboratory technician. The income of Thaddée Lebel, photographer, fared slightly better, while that of Émile Pelchat, a cousin and manager, rose dramatically (Lessard, The Livernois..., pp. 144-145). Women in the Notman Studio also earned less than their male counterparts. (See Colleen Skidmore, "Women in Notman's Studio," p. 127.) For another listing of wages see McCauley, who states that women earned considerably less than men. Women generally remained at the bottom of the wage scale (even below that of men's minimum wage), while men had the opportunity of obtaining an increase in salary. (McCauley, Industrial Madness..., pp. 38-39).

64. Photo., "Female Photographers," Photographic News 14:603 (Mar. 25, 1870): 142.

65. "Female Labour in the Studio," Photographic News 14:605 (Apr. 8, 1870): 164-165.

66. Mrs. E.N. Lockwood, "Women's Rights," Photographic Mosaics 1873: 25-27.

Lockwood's arguments belonged to the wider phenomenon of the growing women's movement which advocated greater access to jobs, education and civil rights. Awareness of such issues evolved out of the domestic sphere where, in the running of the household, women were expected to be efficient, organized, neat in their habits, tasteful, attentive to the needs of others, and supportive of their husband's careers. Photographic journals promoted women's labour in exactly these terms, and although such womanly qualities were in many cases oppressive, they also helped women gain self-confidence to question, change and promote their presence in the professional world.

The Philadelphia Photographer included a series of articles written by Lockwood. In one, she described her attendance at the National Photographic Association meetings and conventions with her husband, and wrote that she came home with "new ideas" especially on retouching. She felt confident in her ability to learn this new skill as: "I had done ink-work for nine years, and was also used to operating and printing, it was much easier for me to learn, and I practised with care, determined some time to make pictures as good as some I had seen in Cleveland." (Mrs. E.N. Lockwood, "Does it Pay to Attend the

N.P.A. Meetings? What a Lady Photographer Thinks," Philadelphia Photographer 9:106 [Oct. 1872]: 337-338).

It could be argued that the editor, Edward L. Wilson, included this article as Lockwood promoted N.P.A. conventions, an event with which he was intimately involved. However, Lockwood's description of her duties, and her perceptions on the profession, reinforced the presence of women in commercial photography. Lockwood also challenged the N.P.A. by advocating it create a mutual life insurance plan for photographers. The article, which appeared in the Philadelphia Photographer was taken up at the fifth annual meeting of the N.P.A. and a committee appointed to study the matter. (Mrs. E.N. Lockwood, "Photographic Mutual Life Insurance," Philadelphia Photographer 10:115 [July, 1873]: 194-195; "Fifth Annual Meeting and Exhibition of the N.P.A.," Philadelphia Photographer 10:117 [Sept., 1873]: 353-354. See also Lockwood's article "How to Elevate our Art," Photographic Mosaics 1874: 53-54).

I must also be noted that Lockwood's article "Women's Rights" appeared in the British journal, the Photographic News. The article begins by praising Peter Cooper of the Cooper Institute in New York in his efforts to train women as photographic operators. Lockwood's article is then reproduced in full. Even though the article is anonymous it seems that Wilson sent the letter to the editors of the Photographic News as a challenge. After Lockwood's text ends, the following statement appears: "If this language is too intense for your readers, reduce it." ("American Correspondence," Photographic News 16:743 [Nov. 29, 1872]: 568-569).

The Operation of Gender: The Commonplace Book as Precursor and the Assembly of Photographic Imagery in the Domestic Sphere

2

Introduction

A large portion of the albums contained in museum and archival collections are family albums of the carte-de-visite, cabinet and scrap type. Their subject matter varies. They include studio portraits of family members, but also landscape scenes, reproductions of works of art, and celebrity portraits. In albums, assemblers chose, arranged and manipulated studio-generated images to depict their personal circumstances.

The precursor to the photographic album was the commonplace book or sentiment album which was compiled largely by young women and included drawings, poems and apothegms. The vogue of assembling these albums spanned a period of approximately thirty years from the 1820s to 1850s in both Europe and North America. Women's magazines of the day display varied responses to the commonplace book. These commentaries will be examined below, but it can be generally stated that contemporary debates about the value of these albums centred on their contents, and particularly the written entries. With the establishment of the commercial photographic industry in the 1860s, albums again became popular. However, the textual component dropped out; the album was now almost completely composed of visual imagery which included photographs, drawings, paintings and chromolithographs.

Little research has been done on the relation between the commonplace book and the photographic album. Yet an examination of the period's journals reveals a direct connection between the two. Issues surrounding the commonplace will be discussed in the first section of this chapter. The commonplace book is expressive of the various mores and attitudes surrounding social and familial interests in the early nineteenth century. A small section will also be dedicated to the annuals and their relation to the commonplace book. This discussion will allow a further understanding of the interaction of the publishing industry and the domestic sphere, and provide an analysis of the changes in social sensibilities which occurred in the mid-Victorian period. By providing such a context, I hope to argue that on the one hand, the photographic album gained popularity as a reaction to certain difficulties generated by the commonplace book. On the other hand, its format was continuous with that of its precursor. The photographic album was a means by which individuals could respond to their understanding of familial relations in the context of larger social concerns. It can be viewed as a composite of the cultural factors which dictated its contents and the limitations of such characterizations imposed by the demands of personal relationships and experience.

I. The Commonplace Book or Sentiment Album

(i) Contemporary Responses

The commonplace book or sentiment album was a bound volume containing blank leaves on which friends were invited to write poems, draw pictures, paint watercolours or simply autograph. As Marc Lebel has written about the album phenomenon in the Saint Lawrence Valley: "Tout comme en France, elle est essentiellement féminine et le propre de jeune filles de bonnes familles, avec, il est vrai, quelques exceptions masculines."¹ The album was used largely by young women as a means to consolidate both male and female friendships. Some women, such as Lady Belleau (1811-1884), maintained such books throughout their lives.² As one anonymous individual wrote in 1840: "L'on me dit qu'en Europe, parmi le beau monde les dames distinguées soit leur rang, leur talents, ou leur goût, ont un album qu'elles envoient à leurs amis ou à leurs connaissances, peintres, écrivains, orateurs, musiciens, les priant d'insérer une pensée, un souvenir."³

The commonplace book was a rich composite of writing and imagery descriptive of the social life of middle and upper class women. Yet articles and fiction stories dedicated to the commonplace book phenomenon display a mixed response. Some authors sanctioned the social usefulness of the commonplace book, others viewed it as a nuisance. In particular there was apprehension that what was contained in the album would cause confusion about the proper relationship between the sexes, especially with respect to marriage. For example, as Mrs. C.W. Denison wrote in 1856: "Oh, did you know, ye

album-keepers (especially young and blooming ones), the sorrows of a 'poor young man' when called upon to contribute to your cherished mental herbals....Forth goes the emanations, and the darlings pass it around with a 'sweet,' and a 'pretty'....That young man is now in a fair way to matrimony...."⁴

The majority of writers, male and female, agreed with Mrs. Denison; the album especially placed young men in a socially awkward position. A fiction story written in 1855 by A.E. Stewart entitled "My Friend Muggins's Experience in Albums" describes the dilemma of Mulberry Muggins who must pen a verse for Miss Nelly Jones' album. Mulberry soon discovers he is in competition with a rival, Samuel Sawbuck. Although the latter has composed a rather bumbling poem for Miss Jones, he has, nonetheless, flattered her. In the end, Miss Jones rejects Muggins' entry, begins to court Sawbuck, and an exasperated Muggins can only proclaim: "Confound the album!"⁵

Album entries could also cause consternation on the part of female contributors. In 1830, Miss Anna Maria Porter described in gothic verse her dread of having to write in a friend's album. Rising from her bed in a half-wakened state she sees that what has appeared at her door is not some "mocking fiend, with madd'ning laugh..."

But my sister pale, with a gray-goose quill,
And an ALBUM -- sight of sorrow!
"Get up!" she cried, "and a long page fill,
"For this book must go back tomorrow!"⁶

Although the poem was written by a woman and appeared in a woman's magazine, it could appeal to impositions felt by both sexes when confronted by the commonplace book.

One difficulty created by the album was that it was privately assembled yet open to public scrutiny. An ill chosen verse could reflect badly on its owner, and reveal much about the character of the contributor. As one anonymous author wrote in 1827: "The Album is a very pretty book; it catches many fine scraps of writing. The loving swain will sometimes select this mode to discover his affection: but you may go further, and detect the character of all men who write in it...." The author then proceeds to relate character to choice of verse with the admonition that: "The Album is a valuable part of a lady's paraphernalia; it serves to relieve an hour's ennui...and it affords the best and most delicate opportunity to become acquainted with any favorite they may wish, without risk of being charged with too much curiosity or fondness."⁷

To write in an album was obviously a delicate matter. In order to control what comprised its contents, poems were published both in ladies' magazines and small handbooks. One such publication entitled Original Album Verses and Acrostics warns of the repercussions of indiscrete entries: "A young lady's album should be approached with all the respect due its owner. In exhibiting it to any one of her friends, she virtually discloses in a great degree who and what are her chosen acquaintances." In addition, badly written entries could embarrass the album's owner: "Fulsome praise, if exaggerated or used without due discrimination, becomes caricature; and, if misapplied, may be ridiculous and even suggest a meaning the very opposite to that which was intended."⁸

The album not only disclosed acquaintances, its contents also revealed both the owner's and contributor's education and taste. To be considered well-assembled, an album

must contain discriminating quotes and snatches of verse, not fripperies. The authors of the above mentioned Original Album Verses and Acrostics respected the album as a means by which individuals could display their social standing and sophistication; their publication was meant to provide a choice of verse which was "strikingly appropriate, and abound[ing] in beauty of sentiment and wittiness of expression." The authors justified their selection of poems with the assertion that: "This book is unhesitatingly commended to the appreciation of all Album writers; and, through them, to the most discriminating and exacting portion of an intelligent public."⁹

The contents of an album in this respect was subject to much commentary. To underscore the necessity of writing tasteful entries, the authors of Original Album Verses relate the story of a young lady whose album was viewed unfavourably by a "gentleman caller." He responded with the following poem:

I write not for your album, but to try
How I your album writers can outvie.
The task's not hard -- it's mostly wretched dribble;
And any shallow pate as well can scribble.
As neither they nor I write well enough,
Better write nothing than such maudlin stuff!¹⁰

The young lady, the authors noted, was humiliated. As for the gentleman caller, his "love of truth was probably stronger than his respect for the fair sex."¹¹

The authors' comment on the gentleman caller's disgruntlement with albums is revealing. In many cases, discussions concerning an album's contents circulated around the manner in which "serious" literature suffered at the hands of women's "sentiment." As one

anonymous author wrote in 1825: "To define a Lady's Album were like analysing the alcahest of the old philosophers, which contains every thing, and destroys every thing....The only etymology which hits off its true description, is blank, meaning white and vacant at the same time."¹² The lady's album confused the writing of accomplished poets with those of amateurs. The album contained, in the words of the same author: "Verses on stilts, and prose run mad -- elegant extracts without elegance, apothegms without instruction, epigrams without point, and repartees without meaning...."¹³

For many, the album was too much a product of a young lady's whimsy. Young men, in desperation, would assemble a hodgepodge of lines to impress the lady whose album in which they had been asked to write: "A line from one, a stanza from another. No need of trying to improve on Burns, or polish Shakspeare [sic]. Here are 'blue eyes' and 'tresses,' plenty of 'skies' and 'blesses'....He gathers them in his bosom...and with dainty fingers...spreads ambrosia in thin slices over scented pages."¹⁴ Such an activity, many lamented, was an embarrassment to all, and was certainly not literature.

(ii) Literary Annuals

The public alternative to the privately assembled album were the literary annuals and keepsakes, such as Friendship's Offering, which first appeared in the early decades of the nineteenth century. These publications contained the works of well-known poets and authors and included high quality engraved illustrations. The books were bound in either silk, plush, Moroccan leather, or gilt cloth.¹⁵ At first they were published annually as gift

items for the Christmas season, but soon became available for events occurring throughout the year.¹⁶

The annuals, keepsakes and commonplace books share much in common. All were a mixture of writing and pictures indicative of young women's taste and education. The annuals had the advantage in that their contents were pre-selected; as gifts they would incur little embarrassment on the part of the receiver.¹⁷ For example, in the preface to the 1831 Friendship's Offering the publisher upheld the instructive and cultural aspects of the annuals by stating that the works chosen represented: "Solid literary excellence, rather than the showy trifling of genius...it has been his ambition to qualify them in a moral, as well as physical, point of view...he imagines that a work like 'Friendship's Offering,' may be rendered fit to impress the mind, and to assist in forming the taste, exercising the judgement, and improving the heart."¹⁸

Yet the annuals, like the commonplace book, were also subject to criticism. Although publishers promoted the instructional value of their contents, they also included works designed to appeal to a young lady's romantic imagination. The popularity of the annuals indicates that by the early nineteenth century young women were seeking literature more reflective of their social circumstances. Many who benefited from the rising standard of living were little content to devote their leisure time to reading manuals of strict conduct dedicated to the promotion of womanly ideals.¹⁹ The enormous popularity of annuals indicates that young women wished to be entertained.

One must also consider how the annuals corresponded to aspects of women's education. It was understood that familiarity with art, poetry and music was beneficial. Women of cultural sophistication could enrich the lives of men whose business lives afforded them little opportunity for such pursuits.²⁰ However, women were never to pursue cultural activities as ends in themselves.²¹ Nor were they to appear over-zealous in their interests. Women were to complement, not compete with, the male's role. It appears that many commentators took issue with the commonplace book and annuals on precisely this point: young women were displaying unabashed enthusiasm in assembling their albums and were devoting too much time and attention to publications containing what were considered mediocre and maudlin works.

In terms of their imagery, annuals received less criticism. Improvements in printing techniques allowed publishers to include high quality reproductions of famous art works in their annuals, a phenomenon which in itself was a novelty and thus a selling point for a curious public.²² Such works also had the added value of educating young women as to what comprised good taste without incurring the stigma of appearing a bluestocking.²³ As with women's magazines and lady's books, works of moral value were also included. The instructional value of such imagery was considered critical. As one anonymous author wrote in 1845: "Next to subjects of religious interest, we consider scenes in domestic life as most pleasing for the 'Lady's Book.' The moral power of pictures is of great importance, both as it regards instruction of the young and the self-improvement of the

more advanced in life...far the greater part of the original designs introduced have been calculated to induce this sweet spirit of domestic love and social peace and happiness."²⁴

In contrast to published imagery, writers considered those contained in young women's albums to be of dubious value. As one previously mentioned author wrote about such artwork: "Next you have a sketch of a Swiss lake scenery from Clarens...as for the trees, they all resemble large onions and cabbages, rather than such as wave their foliage on lake Leman's shore."²⁵ In a fiction story written in 1834 by Miss Leslie, a young lady who has collected such "amateurish" artwork in her album is depicted as vain and foolish. The story concerns a young officer, Lieutenant Sunderland, who is conversation with his current romantic interest, Orinda Melbourne. The latter wishes Sunderland to make an entry in her album. Sunderland refuses and recounts a story of his previous encounter with an album, one owned by a young lady with whom he had a passing amatory preoccupation:

The lady in question had a splendidly bound album, which she produced and talked about on all occasions, and seemed to regard with so much pride and admiration, that if a lover could possibly have been jealous of a book, I was, at times, very near becoming so. It was half filled with amatory verses by juvenile rhymesters, and with tasteless insipid drawings by boarding-school misses: which drawings my Dulcinea persisted in calling paintings.²⁶

At the heart of Sunderland's comments, and those of others writing about the commonplace book, is an annoyance with the audacity of young women to persist in assembling albums which were more suited to their tastes than those of society. To argue

that women of the period had little or no access to academic training and instruction to create acceptable artwork is to miss the point. Dulcinea assembled her album through choices predicated on personal relationships which overrode literary, aesthetic and moral boundaries. As such, she was accused of lacking sufficient knowledge and appreciation to distinguish between "good" and "bad" art and literature. Young men who displayed little talent with their artistic entries also suffered derision. However, it appears that the focus of commentaries in this respect resided in the embarrassment young men endured at being put in a position whereby their lack of talent could be made so manifestly obvious.

(iii) The Relation of the Commonplace Book to Young Women's Social Development

The phenomenon of the commonplace book was related to concerns surrounding the proper course of young women's moral and intellectual development. In terms of the latter, in the early Victorian period women's education was variable and largely dependant on the quality of instruction given by family members or hired tutors.²⁷ Education was designed to prepare young women for their future occupancy of the domestic sphere in the roles of wives and mothers; it did not include acquiring skills to allow them to seek gainful employment in the competitive world of business.²⁸ Their moral instruction, however, was paramount. Women were to provide a refuge from materialist concerns by embodying the period's ideals of femininity such as innocence, self-sacrifice, purity, patience and submissiveness.²⁹

The feminine ideal, however, was often at odds with a society divided along class, economic and political lines. Most young women had to balance societal expectations with personal circumstances.³⁰ A young woman could receive a superior education, and rise to social prominence if her familial circumstances and inherent intelligence allowed. Most, however, received only cursory instruction and had little opportunity to pursue other routes. As education for young women was not standardized, learning could range from excellent to abysmal.³¹

With such varied backgrounds, the proper moral and intellectual development of young women could not be assured. Writings on the commonplace book reveal an anxiety as to whether the album distracted young women from attaining the necessary skills needed to prepare them for their chief roles as mothers and wives. In one sense, men and women who wrote for magazines understood their function as providing guidance and instruction to young women to enhance their social sophistication. In another sense, women's magazines were profit-based. Articles dedicated to albums reveal a variety of stances indicating a need to appeal to a broad public in order to maintain a large readership.³²

Although women of this period were constrained by their lack of standardized education, limited social mobility and the stringency of religious mores, society was being reshaped along new institutional lines, themselves unfixed in their boundaries. This had both positive and negative effects in terms of the commonplace book. The uncertain status of art and literature gave young women a creative outlet and a means of self-expression

reflective of their social circumstances. At the same time, however, such free handling of text and imagery created confusion and apprehension in terms of the social roles demanded of young men and women.

By the 1850s interest in the commonplace book had waned. Although this can be understood as the passing of a fad, consideration must be also given to societal changes which occurred in the mid-Victorian period. The commonplace book belonged to an age affected by the repercussions of social dislocation and economic uncertainty due to industrialization and urbanization. By mid-century, the middle-class had become increasingly more self-assured and economically stable. This social group consolidated their values through codes of personal behaviour and conduct.³³ The role of commercial photography in this process was complex. For the most part, the studio portrait, in terms of pose and lighting, varied little from individual to individual. However, the studio photograph also allowed individuals to express differences in social rank. In some cases, this would be a true expression of the social status of the sitter. More often it would be a fantasized or desired presentation. The studio provided individuals with props, backdrops, and costumes which would make it appear that the sitter was more affluent than perhaps was the case in reality.³⁴ The photograph, in this sense, supported the period's belief in social mobility. One could begin at a lower level in the social hierarchy and, through the efforts of hard work, achieve a higher, more prosperous state.³⁵

The studio produced imagery expressive of how an individual wished to appear publicly. As will be discussed in the next section, in the family album, assemblers used

these same photographs to express more intimate and personal bonds. The arrangement of photographs in albums was dependent on how the assembler wished to depict an integrated history of familial relationships.

Again, as with the commonplace book, most assemblers were women. However, in contrast to the commonplace book, the family album was assembled within the confines of the home. Its contents, therefore, could be more controlled as it was not distributed among the assembler's friends and acquaintances. In addition, as little was written down, assemblers could limit or cautiously convey information pertaining to the photographs. Portraits of mothers, wives, sisters, brothers, husbands, children, aunts and uncles could be sorted through and grouped in presentations in keeping with the assembler's view of family history. In this sense the photographic album, unlike the commonplace book, did not confuse social roles. Rather, it presented the family as an integrated and consolidated unit in which each member was positioned in terms of their relationship to other individuals.

As the photographic family album was, with certain exceptions, assembled by women, it can be viewed as descriptive of their social circumstances in the mid- to late Victorian period. Recognition of the role of women in maintaining the domestic sphere is essential to understanding the family album. The following section will discuss how women represented these aspects of their lives through the album and further, how these expressions intersected with larger social uses of photography.

II. The Photographic Album

(i) Initial Responses and Relation to the Commonplace Book

When the photographic album appeared on a large scale in the 1860s writers responded with a variety of comments. For some, the photographic album was greeted with relief. As one author pronounced: "Albums have once more claimed their place on 'the Centre-Table'; not those of the persecuting order, that made the visitor tremble as he surveyed the touching tributes of affection therein recorded, lest he should, in turn, be bored for an 'original' contribution which robbed Moore and Byron of much of their well earned fame; but the album photographic, which all delight to honor, inasmuch as few people are averse to seeing their faces or names in print!"³⁶ For this writer, the photographic album, unlike the commonplace book, was less distressing to view as it contained little text and did not submit the integrity of works published by renowned poets and writers to any disgrace.

Another author, writing in 1862, sardonically agreed. Collections of photographs are "very useful; they supply a fund of talk to people who have nothing to say." In comparison, the commonplace book provoked too much anxiety:

Thirty years ago, young ladies used to keep albums, and people used to be decoyed or frightened into writing in them. Authors of all sizes and degrees of reputation were entreated to add their mite....But the weak point of albums was that, where they were not occupied by magnificent water-color representations of perfectly round roses in the fullest bloom, they were too intellectual. People in an ordinary drawing room think there is a sort of plot to find them out if any demand is made on their intellect; and to write

verses, or even to copy correctly a piece of poetry out of a standard author, is dangerous and embarrassing.

With photographic collections, the author concludes, "all is plain sailing. All that has to be done is to make gossiping remarks about other people, and this is a duty to which the most timid intellects feel competent."³⁷

Other writers found even less worth in photographic albums: "A dismal parallel might be drawn between photographic albums and catacombs..." one author wrote in 1862. "When we have deposited the pale effigies of our friends in their narrow abodes, we revisit them with interest for a time, and drop a tear over their fate if they are bad, rejoice if they are glorified or flattered....Indeed, the album has superiority over the churchyard. There there is distinction of place....Here there is no barrier of rank, no chancel end; the poorest owns his three inches of cardboard, and the richest can claim no more."³⁸ The contents of the photographic album relegated all to the same dull status.

A number of writers voiced their opinion in this regard, and in some cases mourned the loss of the commonplace book and its usurpation by the photographic album. One author writing in 1873 blamed the commonplace book's demise on its popularization and the indiscretion of assemblers to include entries displaying a woeful lack of talent. The article underlined the importance of certain commonplace books as they contained works of well known authors and poets and gave testament to the cultured lives of the upper-classes and aristocracy:

Those who can look back for a half century, will remember the rage there was in their youthful days for albums.....It has been truly said that legion was not a name multitudinous for them; literary men wrenched under their tyranny, young maidens wielded them as rods of iron....Splendid books they were in their day, bound in rich morocco and gold and containing contributions from Scott, Moore, Montgomery, and Praed; whilst Prout's beautiful sketches adorned their pages side by side with other artists. The photographic albums have superseded them, a much less interesting thing to those who turn over the books on a drawing-room table.³⁹

For some, the photographic album was too plebian in its contents. Magazines dedicated to the edification of their readership were particularly dismayed as they deemed the photograph only a superficial rendering of an individual:

We all know how little trust is to be placed in a mere exterior, in the look and outward fashion; and this untrustworthiness is almost infinitely aggravated in a photograph which does not even give an ordinary and unaffected exterior, but merely a sham-copy of a man as he appears in a particularly inconvenient moment, got up for the occasion, awkwardly self-conscious, theatrically posed, and perhaps indelibly labelled with an ill-concealed look of impotent rage and disgust at the impertinent adjustments of an officious photographer.⁴⁰

The author found it incomprehensible that these images were eagerly sought after and preserved in albums as such instantaneous and contrived portraits could never portray the deeper and more subtle aspects of human character.

The author's indignation with the commercial photograph's superficiality was part of a larger argument as to whether photography was an art, a science, or simply a mechanical recording device. Although the intricacies of these debates are beyond the confines of this thesis, certain general observations can be made. The massive social

upheaval created by the industrial revolution created both faith in and distrust of technical innovations. Charles Baudelaire viewed photography in terms of the latter. He regarded the continued interest in photography as a product of the "stupidity of the multitude" with the result that it corrupted the arts and their ability to express the "domain of the impalpable and the imaginary."

Could you find an honest observer to declare that the invasion of photography and the great industrial madness of our times have no part at all in this deplorable result? Are we to suppose that a people whose eyes are growing used to considering results of a material science as though they were the products of the beautiful, will not in the course of time have singularly diminished its faculties of judging and of feeling what are among the most ethereal and immaterial aspects of creation?⁴¹

Another writer, Marcus Aurelius Root, was more generous. He argued that photography "conferred various and important benefits on society." His observations are worth quoting in full as they directly relate to the family album:

In the order of nature, families are dispersed, by death or other causes; friends are severed; and the 'old familiar faces' are no longer seen in our daily haunts. By heliography, our loved ones, dead or distant, our friends and acquaintances, however far removed, are retained within daily and hourly vision. To what extent domestic and social affections and sentiments are conserved and perpetuated by these 'shadows' of the loved and valued originals, every one may judge. The cheapness of these pictures brings them within reach, substantially, of all.

In this competitive and selfish world of ours, whatever tends to vivify and strengthen the social feelings should be hailed as a benediction. With these literal transcripts of features and form, once dear to us, ever at hand, we are scarcely more likely to forget, or grow cold to their originals, than we should be in their corporeal presence. How can we exaggerate the value of an art which produces effects like these?⁴²

Although many commentators found little instructional and moral value in commercial photography, it is precisely in terms of Root's remarks that the general public found such images, and their ready availability, suited to their own tastes and needs.⁴³

(ii) Artistry, Industry and the Photographic Album

In terms of the history of albums, the 1850s represented a transition period. The photographic album had yet to replace the commonplace book, even though the latter was declining in popularity. It was during this decade that certain technical advancements occurred which allowed for the generation of photographic imagery on a large scale. With the invention of the wet collodion process in 1850 by Frederick Scott Archer, clear, highly detailed glass negatives became available.⁴⁴ In addition, exposure times were greatly reduced in comparison to the more lengthy sittings one had to undertake for the daguerreotype process. Image clarity also improved with the discovery of albumen silver printing paper.⁴⁵ The albumen print, combined with the wet collodion negative, allowed for the mass production of paper images.

In the early 1860s, the carte-de-visite gained immense popularity, providing the necessary spark for the mass production of photographic albums.⁴⁶ As one writer in 1862 noted about the proliferation of albums and cartes-de-visite: "At Appleton's crowded counters, during the holiday season, these graceful volumes...were the chief centre of attraction.... This shows the unprecedented popularity of this new phase of the

Heliographic art....It would pass belief, if we could gather the number of thousands of carte de visites [sic] exchanged during the holiday season." ⁴⁷

The standard carte-de-visite album contained pages of heavy card, overlaid with paper into which windows were cut. The pages were often a neutral cream colour, with windows framed either in gold leaf or ink. More specialized albums contained elaborately lithographed pages. Photographs could be placed in windows surrounded by floral designs,⁴⁸ or portraits could be set within lithographs of ceramic patterns⁴⁹ (plate 1). New designs for albums were advertised in photographic journals. In 1881, the British Journal of Photography noted the arrival of the "Album Renaissance" about which the editors stated: "The style of ornamentation is rich in the extreme, every page being artistically illuminated in various styles and colours. The binding, too, is strong as well as handsome, combining beauty with utility; and the album is fitted with an elegant clasp, with lock and key, to preserve the contents from the eyes of the curious, if needful."⁵⁰

Albums combined artistry with affordability, even though they were mass produced. The editors of the same journal praised E. Mander along these very lines: "A manufacturer on a large scale, with every mechanical appliance at his command, he has brought to bear upon the various articles produced in his manufactory a very high degree of skill directed at enlightened taste." In addition, Mander's new line of cabinet albums "furnished to photographers an article which, while fitted by its elegant exterior...for the table of a nobleman, is yet supplied at so low a price as to be 'within the reach of all.'"⁵¹

Customers could choose from a wide range of sizes,⁵² and an assortment of bindings such as leather, velvet, silk, lacquer with mother of pearl inlay, and wood. Leather bindings could be plain or tooled in elaborate designs, embossed with decorations and trimmed in gilt. Endpapers were sometimes marbled, and in the more expensive albums, made of silk.⁵³ Some albums included musical devices which would play a short tune when the album was opened. One unusual album folded out from a mirror; portraits of friends and family appeared in conjunction with the reflection of the person examining the album's contents. Wholesalers purchased lots of albums which they sold through retail outlets such as stationary supply stores, giftware shops, fancy goods shops, printers and booksellers which also kept a stock supply of photographs.⁵⁴

Both the editors of journals and their readers continuously commented on the need for improvement in albums. In one article which appeared in 1870 in the Photographic News, the editors discussed the suggestion of Mr. Faulkner that an album contain "apertures varying in size and proportion to suit the character of different pictures." In another article written in 1872, the author noted that albums suffered from a number of bad qualities: both the sizes of cards and apertures were inconsistent; album covers were "tawdry" and should be replaced with something strong and durable; photographs were not easily inserted or removed resulting in their damage and the soiling and tearing of pages. The author suggested a variety of methods which would allow for the "quick and easy removal" of cards, and emphasized the need for securing mechanisms, such as studs,

screws, small mother-of-pearl half buttons or gilt catches, to keep cards from slipping out.⁵⁵

The industry, for the most part, viewed albums as a successful example of a product which combined mass production with artistry. Improvements to its format resulted both from consumer demand and concern on the part of those involved that the preservation of their product be assured. The manner in which the public used photography did not seem to concern editors. There was little, if any, discussion on how individuals might assemble albums, or suggestions as to the methods of fixing or creatively displaying photographs on the page.

(iii) The Album as Visual Testament

The commercial photographic industry flooded the market with a variety of subject matter which included individuals' portraits, local landscape scenes and views of exotic lands and peoples. Albums now rarely contained poems, anecdotes or other kinds of written testimony. Sometimes the carte-de-visite has the names of individuals written on the back. However, as the person who assembled the album knew the individuals concerned, there was often no need to record names. Photographic images allowed individuals to visually organize their world with the result that detailed information was orally transmitted.

The photographic album quickly became popular as a means to represent familial relationships. Unlike the textual and imagistic contents of the commonplace book, photographs provided "faithful likenesses" of persons comprising the family unit. Through

both the collection and organization of photographs, individuals substantiated their family history; the album provided the family with a sense of continuity to its past.⁵⁶ The importance of the album to the family unit is indicated by the fact that it was often given a central location in the home. Albums were placed on the centre table in the parlour which was the room set aside to receive guests.⁵⁷ However, even though the album was located in an area of high visibility, its very format prohibited casual or impromptu viewing on the part of non-family members. Many albums had clasps which kept its contents private. The viewing of albums was considered a social and entertaining activity, but one controlled and supervised only by a family member.⁵⁸

Generally speaking it can be stated that the family album was maintained by women. However, there are exceptions. For example, in the Ross family album in the McCord Museum collection, it is difficult to determine whether the album was assembled by Emily Ross or her brother George.⁵⁹ The album format allowed individuals to express their feelings and thoughts on family relationships and friendships and provided an outlet for either sex dependant on their relationship, in this case that of brother-sister.

Photographic albums allowed individuals to more freely explore feelings of sentiment towards either sex, as seen in two pages taken from the Topley Album Botanique contained in the Photographs Collection of the National Gallery of Canada⁶⁰ (plates 2 & 3). For the assembler, the portrait of the man could not stand in isolation. It was placed within an elaborate frame of lithographed flowers. The two women were set in

a stylized natural world of flowers and butterflies to symbolize a harmonious relationship and underscore their intimacy.

(iv) The Scrap Album: Manipulation and Creative Play

The other type of album popular at this time, the scrap album (plate 4), was composed of blank pages on which the assembler could paste unmounted photographs and other images available through studios.⁶¹ Photographic warehouses provided a wide variety of images for such albums including landscape scenes, crests, monograms, reproductions of paintings, portraits by English and Italian masters and photographs of drawings from opera scenes. One could also buy embossed and lithographed prints of oval medallions of sacred subjects, flowers, angels, fern borders, and floral wreaths. The idea was to cut and paste such images and incorporate them with photographs.⁶²

The scrap album allowed the assembler to be more interactive in terms of the presentation of imagery. In some cases, this allowed for the confirmation of the "separate spheres" of femininity and masculinity. One page in the album substantiates men as a group through a strict formal arrangement of photographs (plate 5). The image of the woman on the opposite page stands alone. On the one hand, as the entire page is dedicated to this woman, her presence is given priority in the album. On the other hand, she is not grouped with other women, an arrangement which would confirm a larger female society. As she stands alone, she is somewhat aestheticized; one is more attentive to her choice of dress and accessories.

Such arguments also apply to the wan woman whose image is set in a hand-drawn leafy frame (plate 6, right). Again, as hers is the only photograph on the page, one focuses on her downcast facial expression and her choice of costume or dress. The leafy frame complements her elaborate attire. It also indicates that there was a need to augment the image to convey a more private and personal understanding of this woman. On the page opposite her, the image of the man on the horse is also prioritized as it is the only photograph to occupy the page (plate 6, left). However, in contrast to the woman, his image is not embellished. The photograph alone confirms the man's presence and attention is drawn to his public accomplishments associated with the accoutrements of military life.

One can say that the family album was a type of visual "document" where photographs were chosen, placed and manipulated in order to express the personal concerns of its assembler. For women, it depicted their understanding of the family unit and the roles of the various members that comprised it. As it was the woman who organized the household and provided the moral basis for the establishment of familial relations, the family album can be understood as evidence of the woman's success in this regard.

Although the family album can, for the most part, be considered a "female space," the assembler was still dependant on studio photographs in order to provide her with material to assemble her album.⁶³ In addition, public studio conventions and private expression overlapped especially in the scrap album whose format allowed for the manipulation of imagery. Certain studio photographs were also manipulated, as seen in

composite photographs. The composite method was a practical response to the limitations of the photographic medium. In a scene such as "The Skating Carnival" done in 1870 by William Notman, Henry Sandham and Edward Sharpe, the indoor lighting was inadequate (plate 7). The movement of people would have resulted in a blurred image. The purpose of the composite was to indicate the presence of the individual in social gatherings. Each person wanted to be able to identify themselves as having participated in this event. These images often strike the modern viewer as rather odd. Yet for the Victorian public, the naturalism of the image was less of a concern than its confirmation of the individual's acceptance by certain social groups.

The composite image also appears in family scrap albums. The collaging of imagery, which was well developed in the commonplace book, extended both to the studio and scrap album. In the Sewell Family Album⁶⁴ (plate 8), the assembler cut up studio photographs and pasted portraits of family members on paintings of playing cards.

The manipulation of images derived from a larger, socially accepted way of handling photographs. In the studios, there was greater control over the final product as images were touched up and rephotographed.⁶⁵ One could say that in the album, the composites are crude in comparison to these slick and highly finished works. Yet the composite convention provided assemblers with a creative outlet. The representation of family members was comparable to the message the composite photograph conveyed in society: it confirmed the presence of the individual within the group or institution.

Although studio and private presentation of imagery could be similar in format, the import of presentation differed. For example, when one work taken from an album is compared to that produced in a studio (plates 9 & 10), certain observations can be made. In the Sewell album, one could interpret the grouping as a grape cluster. In this sense, the family unit is "fruitful." The arrangement could also be seen as a pile of coins. It could therefore express an understanding of the family as a source of value or treasure. Such groupings were also used publicly as seen in 1866 Livernois studio work entitled "Galerie des contemporains." One hundred forty-one oval medallions of prominent national figures were assembled to make this composition. Such presentations were common in this period. Universities, medical schools, legal firms and many other institutions produced such renditions of the members who comprised their profession. This arrangement could also represent the family's constitution. In the Sewell album, the oval medallion is made into a circle and organized in a specific way. Through overlapping, certain individuals are given more prominence as seen, for example, by the placement of the men at the top of the pile or cluster. Other family members "fall back," perhaps in importance, as one moves into the grouping. In the Livernois composition, each individual is clearly identified. This does not occur in the album. Again, the Livernois work was meant for public sale; it substantiated the social importance of individuals. These same conventions are used in the album, but altered to make a more personal statement. The manipulations indicate an understanding of individuals as composed within both public and private spheres. The studio tradition confirmed the importance of the individual within Victorian society. In the

album, priority is given to familial bonds, something rarely acknowledged in the institutional presentation of persons as the Livernois composition indicates.

The assembler could also draw upon other formal arrangements to visually represent relationships. In the Sewell album, photographs are often placed in patterns. For example, on one page, the intersection of two lines of photographs in a cross shape gives central importance to the photograph of the woman. Card games also gave the assembler a means to visually indicate relationships. On one page (plate 11), the photographs have been grouped in such a way as to give priority to the young man, identified as Edward Bonner. The positioning of the photograph of the young woman, identified as Connie Sewell, beneath him indicates a specific connection between these two people. They are also represented as being associated with other family members through the card pile motif. Perhaps this indicated a change in relationships. For example, if someone married, he or she could be incorporated into the family group through photographic groupings to portray its new constitution.

The hierarchies which composed the family unit could also be "shuffled." In one grouping placed at the upper right corner of one page, a man identified as Jack Heigham is placed at the top of a pyramidal arrangement of photographs. He is found again, a few pages later, but in the lower right-hand corner. His importance is further lessened later in the album, where his portrait is positioned at the bottom of the card pile motif.

What exactly these manipulations of groupings mean is unknown. But what can be stated is that relationships were understood as malleable and dependant on the

personalities of the individuals involved. Further, their perceived social status as conveyed by the studio photograph was relative within the changing circumstances of family history.

The cut-and-paste convention could also be used to create more "artistic" portrayals of the family (plate 12). At one point, the assembler created a flower motif and placed at its centre a young girl with a baby. At each quarter is a photograph of a man. In between are images of children. The page metaphorically presents the family in terms of reproduction, flowering and preciousness. Other creative settings for family members are found in the album. In one arrangement which could be titled "The page of one disappointed in love" or "The page of longing," the assembler painted a frame of arrow pierced hearts for somebody's portrait. Who this love-lorn person was we will never know. On another page a composition portrays a baby as a seedling from which springs a ripened stalk of wheat (plate 13).

In addition to the cut-and-paste convention, other visual motifs could also affect the presentation of imagery. There is a marked similarity between the painted imagery, such as leafy frames and flowers, and embroidery patterns that were commonly found in ladies' magazines.⁶⁶ The cutting and arranging of the imagery, the care and "neatness" of its presentation also denotes a similar sensibility as that which was expected in embroidery.⁶⁷

One modern writer has noted that scrapbooks were so commonplace that instructions as to their assembly are practically nonexistent.⁶⁸ In articles where scrapbooks were mentioned, it was assumed that assemblers had a store of images from which to

select and arrange in different combinations. As instructions in this regard were deemed unnecessary, commentators focused on ways to make scrapbooks unusual, personal or educational.⁶⁹ Scrapbooks were also a means by which children could practice and perfect mechanical skills. In an article written in 1879, the author notes that: "This sort of work is not only amusing, but very improving as it teaches children expertness in cutting and fixing, and neatness in sewing."⁷⁰ In the April 1887 edition of The Ladies Home Journal an article appeared on the art of applying gum to pictures. The writer advises that a specific method be followed in order that:

A scrap book made in this way will always present a much neater appearance for the added reason that one entirely avoids all possibilities of mishap from any frisky or unbecoming behaviour on the part of the gum-bottle or brush.⁷¹

Although it is difficult to find articles which describe the arranging of photographs in albums, the same sensibility informed other similar activities as the 1876 edition of Ladies Fancy Work, Hints and Helps to Home Tastes and Recreations indicates. Instructions dedicated to assembling a "card medley" could equally apply to the arrangement of photographs in an album (as seen in plate 4):

[The] arrangement of picture is...a most pleasing method of giving amusement....For this medley take pictures from sheets of music, garlands of flowers from card-chromos, coloured prints, landscapes....In fact, any picture, and of any size, can be made to do service and fill a vacant place....With sharp scissors cut all these papers, carefully removing any vestige of margin....Then place the different pictures and scraps in proper position, and when the eye is satisfied, fasten them with gum. As the cards overlap each other in some places, many torn or defaced pictures may be

used, as they may be hidden by one overlapping card. A vast amount of previous consideration is necessary in order to produce a felicitous result. For instance, the light and shade of the prints should be studied. If they are placed in straight rows, alternating light and dark, a chess-board effect is produced, which is most undesirable; or, in case they are laid out in a star pattern, if a dark one is placed in the centre, it will appear too prominent.....A star pattern is...a pretty one, and the cards must be cut in diamonds. After arranging all the cards, stand at a distance and observe the effect. A number of these medleys placed in a portfolio will afford great amusement.⁷²

It should also be noted that writers found other uses for photographs, which in Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine were telling listed under the "Work Department" section.

Projects to keep women and girls busy in the home included making frames out of velvet, beads or embroidered cloth; creating multi-tiered racks and folding table screens to hold dozens of cards and photographs; sewing and embroidering cloth photographic portfolio cases; and constructing elaborate musical frames in the design of violoncellos, tambourines and banjos.

In contrast to instructions which appeared in women's magazines and booklets, articles dedicated to photographs in photographic magazines such as the British Journal of Photography or The Philadelphia Photographer emphasized the technical and aesthetic aspects of the medium. Examples of "old masters" works appeared in the 1870s in the Philadelphia Photographer to encourage a "proper" formal arrangement of objects within the photograph. Although the authors of the above article on the card medley also emphasized the formal arrangements of photographs, they speak more to the page format as a means by which to achieve a balance of shapes in terms of lights and darks. This

sensibility could derive more from the arrangement of shapes and colours one finds in quilted works. In the photographic journals, the arrangement of forms is dictated by the photographic frame which promotes a self-contained vision of the world. In the scrap album, the photograph was cut-up and manipulated. In this sense the image was not viewed as unique and exclusive.⁷³

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the assembly of photographic imagery in the domestic sphere. I began with an examination of the commonplace book in order to provide a historic basis for the photographic album. An investigation into women's magazines reveals a substantial amount of information regarding this phenomenon. Young women who assembled these albums confused social, literary and artistic categories and such albums soon became regarded as problematical for either sex. An indiscrete entry could embarrass both the contributor and owner. In addition, as the album circulated among friends and acquaintances it was open to public scrutiny. The public presentation of self, as portrayed in the commonplace book, was therefore not completely under the control of the assembler. Commentators were especially concerned as to how this affected the relation between the sexes, particularly with respect to marriage.

By mid-century, interest in the commonplace book had waned. With the introduction of the carte-de-visite in the 1860s, albums again became popular, primarily in

terms of their use in the domestic sphere. For some, the photographic album was greeted with relief. In comparison to the commonplace book, the photographic family album inflicted few social impositions on both viewers and assemblers. As its contents were comprised of commercial photographs, there was a standard in terms of the public presentation of self. Further, the photographic family album was assembled within the confines of the home. Individuals therefore had more control over its assembly. They could choose, arrange and manipulate imagery to present the family as a coherent group. In addition, as the album was composed completely of visual imagery, information regarding its contents could be withheld or discretely communicated to either family or non-family members.

The assembly of these albums in the domestic sphere raises certain questions about their relation to the commercial industry as described in Chapter One. Although women and men, girls and boys participated in the assembly of albums, their activities were not recognized within the photographic profession. As the authors of the card medley piece discussed above note in their preface, their book was dedicated to "...the little lady of the house, its mistress, [who] longs ever for the moments of each day, when, with busy fingers, she can add tasteful touches, here and there, which make the Little Realm more enticing."⁷⁴ The assembling of photographs in albums would be included in such homey niceties. In this sense, both women's labour in the home and the domestic arts had considerable impact on the photographic industry even though it remained unacknowledged. It created a demand for materials that could be used to give evidence of

the assembler's dexterity, imagination, creativity and taste in the choice, arrangement and setting of images.

The fact that family albums were not discussed by photographic journals is indicative of the anxiety surrounding the uncertain status of photography in this period. There was a need to establish photography as a serious endeavour in its own right. Albums, in turn, represented the interplay of personal experience with societal expectations. They illustrated the articulation of personal history as a thoughtful process whereby individuals negotiated their needs in the context of social circumstances. Albums demonstrate the fluid and protean nature of photographic imagery whose message could change dependant on contexts created by the desires of the assembler. Such sensibilities ran counter to institutional concerns which promoted the photograph as either an objective document or the expression of an aesthetic ideal.

This development of visual lexicons in the domestic sphere could also be used to portray professional interests. The next chapter will discuss an album assembled by Sir Daniel Wilson who used the album format to display his ethnological theories. The album will be used as a case study to further investigate the overlapping of the public-professional and private-domestic spheres. Wilson found the album, with its assemblage format, an appropriate space for more informal and personal expression of his ideas than possible through positivist academic publications. In this sense, the Wilson album provides an opportunity to examine the intersection of the domestic with larger cultural issues such as colonialism, ethnology and the project of nation building.

Endnotes for Chapter Two

1. Marc Lebel, "Trois poèmes inédits de François-Xavier Garneau," Revue d'histoire littéraire du Québec et du Canada français 7 (1984): 50-51.
2. The Lady Belleau Album, National Archives of Canada, 1982-100-79. Mme Narcisse Fortunat Belleau, née Marie Reine Josephte, married Narcisse Fortunat Belleau (1808-1894) in 1835. Her husband was elected Prime Minister of Canada in 1865 and became the first Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec from 1867 to 1873.

The Belleau Album measures 11 x 9 inches, contains seventy-nine folios and has dark blue embossed covers. The final page, entitled "Souvenir of the Death of Julie Hélène Van Felson, 1867," displays a rich collage of pressed flowers, hair, ribbon, and a photograph of a young girl. These are embellished with gold paint, pen and black ink with sections painted in a grey and pinkish-brown wash.
3. Le Fantastique (March 30, 1840): 120. "It is said that in Europe, in high society, that women distinguished in their rank, their talents or their taste, have an album that they send to their friends or acquaintances, painters, writers, speakers, musicians, inviting them to insert a thought or reminiscence..." (my translation).
4. Mrs. C.W. Denison, "Writing for an Album," Godey's Lady's Book 52 (Jan. 1856): 55.
5. A.E. Stewart, "My Friend Muggins's Experience in Albums" Godey's Lady's Book 50 (April, 1855): 399-401. The story also relates that after Miss Jones reads Muggins' poem, she leaves the room and appears with a paper cutter. Muggins realizes that either his contribution or Sawbuck's, is about to be deleted from the album. This incident is mentioned for the benefit of modern researchers who come across an album in which sections have been cut out; its incompleteness might be a result of a young woman's displeasure or embarrassment with respect to certain entries. In 1847, the Hon. Richard Henry Wilde composed a poem on this very subject. "Lines Written in an Album" is subtitled "On Pages Between Which Several Leaves Had Been Cut." The poem opens with the anguished question, "What leaves were thus so rudely torn away?" and continues in this tormented tone: "Whose immortality thus roughly foiled?...What was the subject it doomed to fame?/Whose knife or scissors did that doom reverse?" (Hon. Richard Henry Wilde, "Lines Written for an Album," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book 35 [Feb. 1847]: 80).
6. Miss Anna Maria Porter, "Tribute to an Album" Godey's Lady's Book 1 (July, 1830): 64.
7. "Ladies' Albums," Graham's Magazine 2:1 (Jan. 1827): 4.

8. Original Album Verses and Acrostics. (Toronto & Clifton: The Toronto News Company [1800?]): n.p.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 11.
11. Ibid.
12. La Belle Assemblée 1:9 (Sept. 1825): 106.
13. Ibid., pp. 106-107.
14. Denison, Writing for an Album, p. 55.
15. Anne Renier, Friendship's Offering: An Essay on the Annuals and Gift Books of the 19th Century (London: Private Libraries Association, 1964): 11.
16. Ibid., p. 12.
17. Ibid.,: 17.
18. Friendship's Offering: A Literary Album and Christmas and New Year's Present for MDCCCXXXI (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1831): n.p.
19. Renier, Friendship's Offering, p. 16.
20. Deborah Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 104.
21. Ibid.
22. Renier, Friendship's Offering, p. 13. Renier also notes that many of these works had never been seen by the public as they were contained in private collections.
23. Ibid., p. 17.
24. "A Hard Subject to Paint," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book 30 (Jan. - June, 1845): 60.
25. "The Lady's Album," La Belle Assemblée 1:9 (Sept. 1825): 106.
26. Miss Leslie, "The Album -- A Sketch," Godey's Book and Lady's Magazine 9 (July, 1834): 79.

27. Gorham, The Victorian Girl, p. 21.
28. Ibid., p. 24.
29. Ibid., p. 4.
30. Ibid. See especially chapter seven where Gorham discusses five women of different social backgrounds in this early period and the manner in which they integrated feminine ideals with personal circumstances. The case studies reveal how the period's notions of femininity could be both restrictive and a source of strength depending on the personality and intelligence of the woman involved.
31. Ibid., p. 24.
32. Advice given to readers in women's magazines often takes a condescending and rather self-righteous tone. In terms of rules of moral conduct, however, what is generally evident is that the magazines were attempting to provide some kind of standard for women and the popularity of the magazines indicates that women were seeking such instruction. As Leonore Davidoff has written about the magazines of the time: "These publications often seem to be sheer fantasy-peddling for profit, and yet the number turned out from the 1830s onwards indicates that they were fulfilling a need for guidance." (Leonore Davidoff, The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season [London: Croom Helm, 1973]: 18).
33. Leonore Davidoff, The Best Circles, p. 33.
34. The use of backdrops allowed individuals to represent themselves in a variety of contexts. Dressed in Sunday best, or decked in studio accessories, patrons could indulge themselves in a bit of theatre. This was in keeping with middle class sensibility. As Lessard has written: "The architecture, furniture, gardens and portraits of the day were perfectly in keeping with the liberal dream of a classless, well-to-do society. It was make-believe on a collective scale." (Lessard, The Livernois, p. 138).
35. One defining characteristic of the middle class throughout the century was that it assumed many values of the aristocracy, such as taste, etiquette and decorum, but attributed their worth as resulting from the rewards of hard work rather than acquisition through lineage.
36. Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine 64 (Feb. 1862): 208.
37. "Photography as an Art," Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine 65:8 (July, 1862): 97.
The author's association of photography with gossip is interesting and more research needs to be done on this issue. On one level, it pertains to the activity of

photography. As was discussed above, the public often viewed photographers as a disreputable lot and many who were engaged in the industry struggled with these perceptions. For example, the British photographer, Francis Frith (1822-1898) wrote two books entitled The Gossiping Photographer at Hastings (1864), and The Gossiping Photographer on the Rhine (1865). In these books, Frith, a famous and commercially successful photographer, situates the act of photographing within a context of gossip, half-eschewed stories and bogus histories of the areas in which he travelled. The link between photography and gossip also has pertinence to the family album. As gossiping is considered a "female" trait, the family album might have been considered by many to have promoted indulgence in this activity.

38. "Photographs," The London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature and the Arts 5:110 (Aug. 9, 1862): 432.

39. "Albums," Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature (Saturday, July 12, 1873): 553.

40. "Photographs," The London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature and the Arts 5:110 (Aug. 9, 1862): 433.

41. Charles Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1859," Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present, ed. Vicki Goldberg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981): 125-126.

42. Marcus Aurelius Root, "The Camera and the Pencil 1864" Photography in Print...: 148-149.

43. Other authors also viewed photography in this way. In one article, which appeared in several journals, the author stated that the cheapness of the carte photograph allowed individuals to have their "likenesses" taken frequently throughout their lives. Infancy, boyhood, adulthood and old age could all be accurately recorded. As the author noted: "What a splendid illustration would such a series of photographs make in every household." ("The Photographic Art, A Blessing to the World -- Cartes de Visite," Photographic News 6:210 [Sept. 12, 1862]: 443. The article was taken from an issue of the Scientific American, and also appeared in Photographic Notes 8:165 [Feb. 15, 1863]: 51-52).

Another author voiced the same sentiment: "From the cradle to the grave, from life to death, photography is a true ministering angel, giving the joy of the joyous, strengthening the strength of friendship, and diminishing the pangs of separation." ("Photography," Photographic Times 1:3 [Mar. 1871]: 39).

44. The wet collodion process consisted of suspending light sensitive silver salts in an emulsion of ether, alcohol and gun cotton. The process at first became known as the

ambrotype where only the image produced by the negative was used and backed with a piece of dark material to produce a positive.

45. The albumen print consisted of paper coated with egg white in which light sensitive silver salts were suspended. Previous paper images, such as the calotype, were very tonal and thus less detailed in appearance.

46. The carte-de-visite was first introduced in 1854 by André Adolphe Eugène Disderi. Practically unnoticed at first, the carte became extremely popular when Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had their portraits taken by J.E. Mayhall in London in 1860.

47. Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine 64 (February 1862): 208.

48. Such as seen in The Album Botanique in the National Gallery of Canada collection (NGC: P67:178).

49. As occurs in the Ceramic Album in the McCord Museum collection (MP 123/81). Pages, in which windows were cut, include ceramic designs from Rouen, 17th century; Japan; Sèvres, 18th century; Vienna; Dresden and Arabia.

50. "The 'Album Renaissance'," British Journal of Photography 28:1129 (Dec. 23, 1881): 663.

51. "Cabinet Albums, by E. Mander.," British Journal of Photography 13:337 (Oct. 19, 1866): 502.

52. Albums usually followed standard book sizes which ranged from 8vo (octavo foolscap: 63/4 x 41/4 inches) to Royal folio (20 x 12 inches). For a complete listing see Hart, The Family Treasure, p. 177. Smaller albums, known as "gem" albums (1 1/2 x 4 inches), also existed and contained cut out windows for albumen or tintype portraits.

53. Hart, The Family Treasure, p. 169.

54. Ibid., p. 166. It should also be noted that it is difficult to determine who exactly produced albums, as any manufacturer's stamp is often missing.

55. Graphicus, "The Photo-Album Question, From an Improvement Point of View," British Journal of Photography 19:618 (Mar. 8, 1872): 112.

56. Susan Ruth Finkel, Victorian Photography and Carte de Visite Albums, 1860-1880 (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1984): 27.

57. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the home became increasingly divided into smaller units to afford privacy for family members and as a means wherein certain

household activities could be organized. By the 1830s, the parlour was regularly used as the room to entertain and receive guests. (Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987]: 377).

58. Finkel, Victorian Photography, pp. 29-30.

59. McCord Museum, Notman Archives, Ross Family Album MP 107/82. The album, dated 1869, is inscribed "Emily Ross, gift from brother George." On the title page appears in gothic script "E.R. from G.R.". This is set in a hand drawn frame surrounded by lithographs of birds, peacocks and butterflies.

60. NGC P67:178:1-93.

61. Photographs available by the mid 1860s were the mounted carte-de-visite and cabinet, and the unmounted scrap photograph. Albums produced after this period often include window apertures to contain both sizes of mounted photographs. (Janice Hart, "The Family Treasure: Productive and Interpretive Aspects of the Mid to Late Victorian Photographic Album," Photographic Collector 5:2 (1986): 165.

62 The scrap industry was not confined to photography. The establishment of certain printing technologies introduced a plethora of images to the public. With the perfection of die-cutting techniques, chromo, or coloured illustrations of children, dogs, angels, birds, etc. could be purchased in sheets for page decorations, and as embellishments for boxes, clocks, bottles, tables, chairs, and other household articles. For more information on the scrap industry see Alistair Allen and Joan Hoverstadt, The History of Printed Scraps (London: New Cavendish Books, 1983).

63. In terms of the actual imagery, the influence of the fashion industry should also be noted. As Anne Higonnet has written, fashion illustrations found in women's magazines furnished women with models for the social presentation of self. The illustrations, detailed in their depiction of clothing and accessories, often show groups of women in order to display a variety of the latest fashion designs. What strikes one immediately upon looking at these images is that each woman is self-contained and isolated; she is never engaged in conversation or appears interested in any of the other women in the group. As Higonnet notes, fashion threatened to turn women's appearance into spectacles.

Higonnet argues that women were not victims of the fashion industry; fashion in some senses trapped women within the superficialities of consumerist culture, but also created conditions for individual expression. Often women would record the event of buying a new dress by having their picture taken in their latest purchase. As opposed to the fashion plates found in magazines, where individual presence is denied, the placement of photographs in albums allowed woman to both acknowledged their choices in terms of

dress and place such public images within the context of personal relationships. (Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," Radical History Review 38 [1987]: 16-36).

64. NGC P81:003:1-36.

65. It should be noted that even the studio composite was subject to criticism. One writer for the British Journal of Photography declared: "During the last few years pictures...have been produced containing a large number of portraits grouped together....That such pictures are, or ever can be, artistic productions no one -- even those who produce them -- will for a moment claim; for it is by no means uncommon to see figures lighted from one side grouped in juxtaposition with others illuminated from exactly the opposite, while others, again, are in the most unmeaning of poses, and such as it would be impossible to obtain under the circumstances depicted -- clearly showing that the portraits were originally taken without any idea of their afterwards being grouped together." ("Patchwork' Pictures," British Journal of Photography 29:1135 [Feb. 3, 1882]: 58).

Another writer also despaired at how composite photography was just another example of how individuals "pursue photography in any and all ways rather than the legitimate ones that have rendered it so useful to the world and so universally and justly admired." The composite created a confusion of imagery: "A 'composite' photograph cannot claim to be a picture, because it is merely a jumble of uncombined outlines." (Ellerslie Wallace, Jun. "Composite Photography," British Journal of Photography 35:1444 [Jan. 6, 1888]: 5).

66. In some cases it appears as if a stencil was used in the album as traces of carbon can be seen under ink drawings. It is possible that designs from embroidery pattern books were stamped onto the page and then drawn over with pen and ink.

67. The above mentioned Edgar Lincoln establishment also sold "parlour paste, for mounting photographs, scraps &." and a "patent scrap roller" for "neatly mounting Photographic and other scraps."

Instructions for gluing scraps into albums also appeared in trade catalogues. For example, the Soule Photographic Company included a section in its 1883 catalogue entitled "Directions for Inserting Scraps in Albums." The authors were detailed in their directions for the "proper" method of gluing. It is likely that instructions were for the benefit of both the owners of photographic establishments who bought their goods from such distribution houses, and for the public who could consult such publications in the studio. (Catalogue of Photographic Reproductions of Works of Art [Boston: Soule Photographic Company, Jan., 1883]: n.p.).

68. Deborah A. Smith, "Consuming Passions: Scrapbooks and American Play," Ephemera Journal 6: 68. Smith's article deals with the phenomenon of collecting advertising

ephemera, which occurred between 1870 and 1900. The assembling of chromolithographed advertising materials in scrapbooks was extremely popular and such an activity has a direct relation to photographic scrapbooks.

69. Ibid.

70. Eliza Leslie, The American Girl's Book: or, Occupation for Play Hours (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1879): 17, quoted in Smith, "Consuming Passions..." Ephemera Journal 6: 67.

71. The Ladies' Home Journal (April 1887): 18.

72. Mrs. C.S. Jones & Henry T. Williams, Ladies' Fancy Work. Hints and Helps to Home Taste and Recreations. (New York: Henry T. Williams, Publisher, 1876): 202-203.

73. Such endeavours are similar in their intention to what Deborah Cherry in Painting Women has noted of women's activities in this period. The assemblers in their albums, participated in, drew on and shaped a wide range of cultural practices and social definitions. Deborah Cherry, Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists (London and New York: Routledge, 1993): 15-16.

74. Jones and Williams, Ladies' Fancy Work, n.p.

Negotiating the Public and the Private: The Daniel Wilson Album

3

Introduction

The two previous chapters have discussed albums as expressive of a variety of social and cultural issues. The photographs they contain were produced by an industry itself formed within specific social and economic conditions. In the family album assemblers grouped and manipulated such imagery to express aspects of their personal lives. The scrap album especially allowed assemblers to be creative in their use of imagery. Studio portraits were augmented, cut-up and placed in groupings to express the assembler's perceptions of relationships between individuals within the changing circumstances of family history.

Yet, for the most part, the exact circumstances surrounding the choice and placement of photographs in albums will most likely never be known. Albums are non-discursive. In terms of modern research, the cultural complexity of such objects can only be indicated through indirect means. My investigation into albums has involved consulting the period's photographic journals and women's magazines. These have provided an enormous amount of information pertaining to the constitution of the photographic industry, and the phenomenon of the commonplace book and its relation to the photographic album. The family album was examined in order to provide methodologies for viewing the grouping, manipulation and arrangement of imagery which occurs on its

pages. It was seen that the album was to be viewed as a unit. The same person could be found on different pages; their presence was sometimes emphasized in certain groupings and downplayed in others. It was also seen that albums are not necessarily chronological. They represent a playful use of imagery. Photographs were sorted and grouped in "theme" pages to present family history as integrated through the occurrence of specific events such as the birth of a child.

Given the above considerations, this chapter will be dedicated to discussing an album assembled by Sir Daniel Wilson, a prominent Canadian nineteenth century ethnologist and first president of the University of Toronto. The album, contained in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, is largely unknown.¹ It provides an excellent case study for certain issues pertaining to the viewing and interpretation of photographic albums.

The Wilson album is comprised of images of aboriginal peoples, racial types, and landscape views purchased through studios or from individual photographers. As these images were publicly accessible, many can be identified and their subject matter researched. The album measures 14 x 17 inches, has a green leather cover, and contains two hundred sixty images arranged on a total of fifty-eight pages. The photographs have been neatly cut out: in circles, squares and rectangles, some of which, in these two latter formats, appearing with dome tops. Images are for the most part grouped together, the maximum being nine to a page. The great majority are accompanied by a brief caption,

carefully hand written in ink on a pencilled line which has been drawn beneath the photograph.

The specificity of the subject matter indicates that the album was directly related to Wilson's ethnological interests. As he published a great deal on his theory of races, a section of this chapter will briefly summarize his ideas in order to provide a context for the album. Again, it is impossible to determine the exact relation between the imagery and Wilson's ethnological theories as the album format works against such one-to-one interpretation. Yet this in turn would suggest that Wilson chose to express his ideas through the album for specific reasons and further, he considered the album an appropriate venue for such expression.

On the one hand, Wilson's use of the album is similar to that found in the domestic sphere. Commercial photographs of aboriginal peoples were grouped and arranged in such a manner as to accord with Wilson's personal beliefs as to their interrelation in terms of his theory of races. As occurs in the family album, its nondiscursive aspect could both reveal and conceal the exact relations between photographs. In this respect, Wilson's use of the album betrays his guardedness in terms of his professional life. As his theories did not accord with those of a larger scientific community, the album allowed Wilson a personal outlet through which he could both disclose, and in many ways keep private, his thoughts and perceptions on this field of inquiry.

On the other hand, interpretation of the album can be somewhat elucidated through Wilson's published writings. Such definitive resources are rarely available in terms of interpreting the family album. In addition, assembly of the family album was an on-

going process; its very constitution could alter through additions, deletions or regrouping of imagery to represent changes in the family unit. In contrast, Wilson's album was shaped through theories already developed and tested within a larger public arena. Interpretation of the album, therefore, shifts between an understanding of its contents through information provided through the public sphere and incomprehension in terms of the exact nature of its assembly. Its private and personal expression in many ways undermines the exact relation between images. As the album cannot be entirely disclosed, it will remain elusive to a final and definitive interpretation.

In this period, as the great majority of photographs could only be obtained through commercial studios, the role of the commercial industry and its depictions of native peoples will be briefly discussed. The industry was occupied on a world-wide basis in the generation and dissemination of images of indigenous peoples. I will show how this aspect of the commercial industry dovetailed with Wilson's interests.

As the album contains a large number of photographs, only certain images and groupings will be examined. I have chosen this sampling in order provide methodologies for future viewing. One section centres on the photography of Humphrey Lloyd Hime (1833-1903). Another discusses photographs pertaining to a specific event, the Sioux Revolt of 1862. The final section is based on Wilson's theories of physical anthropology. Much more research is needed. However, my approach will give an indication of the complex issues inherent in such imagery. It will allow a limited "reading" of the album to

examine how its format allowed Wilson to engage in an extended demonstration of his ethnological theories.

L. The Commercial Photographic Industry

(i) The Depiction of Aboriginal Peoples

As images of native peoples were generated through the commercial photographic industry, their depiction took place within the numerous conditions which affected the industry as has been discussed in Chapter One. Most photographers had to contend with financial realities and the vagaries of the economy. Those involved in the industry had to maintain public interest in the medium, and the frontier provided them with subject matter that was marketable. Yet it is important to note that no one photographer could afford to specialize exclusively in images of aboriginal peoples. Most earned a steady income from day-to-day studio portraiture. For the average photographer, photographing the "exotic" races, was simply a means of supplementing income.²

Photographs of natives were obtained in a number of ways. There was first the itinerant photographer who, with a makeshift, mobile studio, followed the advancing line of white settlement across the continent. The frontier supplied photographers with a variety of subject matter, such as landscape views and the building of towns and railways. Taking portraits of the area's white populace also provided photographers with work. However, photographs of Indians were especially prized as these were the "vanishing

peoples." There was a steady market for such images as the white populace viewed Indians as exotic curiosities and were little concerned about the destruction of their lands and cultures.

Other photographers would have their own studios. In some cases they would occasionally make trips into reservations or wilderness areas to photograph their native populace. In other cases, natives who had congregated in settled areas would be engaged for a small sum for their portrait.³ They would either be photographed in their "street" dress, or the photographer would have a stock supply of native "props" which the individual would be obliged to wear for the photographic session.⁴ Finally, mention should be made of those photographers employed either by studios, or operating on a free-lance basis, who were hired by governments to participate in exploration surveys. Indian portraits would be included with those of landscape scenes, and images depicting information pertaining to the geology or topography of certain areas.⁵

Images of native peoples circulated in a variety of contexts, all of which affected interpretation of their photograph. For example, events, such as wars and revolts, were well publicized in magazines and newspapers. These would be described in histrionic narratives supplemented by equally dramatic engravings portraying the decisive moment of battle. Both imagery and text were dedicated to recounting the heroism of white officers. Photographic portraits of the battle's native participants were obtained after the fact, usually when they were in custody as prisoners.

Individual native people would gain notoriety through the circulation of their photograph within this much larger context. Often their role in such events would be stereotyped to suit white interests. The "good" Indian was one who had helped whites; the "bad" Indian was one who had been obstructive. Yet these characterizations were transitional within the larger project of white colonization. Most simply wanted the native to disappear. The efforts of whites in this respect resulted in their segregation on reservations, the promotion of cultural and racial assimilation, and their romantic portrayal in texts and images.

Caught within the machinations of white technologies, it was nearly impossible for native peoples to preserve aspects of their culture and communicate their significance to a white audience.⁶ Even if native peoples freely consented to photographic sessions, their images were stereotypically portrayed as whites wished to see them. The ability of natives to express aspects of their culture through the medium was severely compromised as whites both controlled the camera and retained possession of the photographs. Information pertaining to tribal origins, articles of dress and native accessories was often cursorily noted, if at all. The use of phonetics to register Indian names was also awkward, and did little service to the individuals involved. In many cases, Indians were given white names, or stereotyped nicknames as these were more easily remembered and did not involve whites in learning how to pronounce a native's real name.⁷

In addition, white reception to native imagery would be affected by the fact that Indians were losing the ability to express aspects of their culture through dress. From the

earliest days of contact, natives acquired blankets and other white articles in exchange for furs and pelts. By the early nineteenth century, the Crow were wearing factory made shirts, and with the introduction of the sewing machine in the 1840s, the Seminole had replaced their traditional fringes and bands with ribbons and ruffs.⁸ Whites were little concerned about the loss of these native articles as few understood or cared about their significance. For many, the native who adopted white attire would be understood as being in the process of assimilation. For natives, the situation was much more complex; it represented the loss of cultural information as materials pertaining to specific aspects of native culture were gradually superseded by those of the whites.

Within the studio, natives had even less ability to express aspects of their culture. In contrast to white studio portraiture, which allowed individuals to indulge in bourgeois fantasies of affluence, the native who stood in front of backdrops resembling an Italian villa with greek column props appeared to comply with the "superiority" of white culture. This idea would be further reinforced through their framing within Eurocentric portraiture traditions. The very fact that natives were in the studio meant they had been subdued, and were not a threat. Whites could therefore indulge in romantically presenting them as "noble savages." Their ties to the land could be conveyed through mock sets containing shrubs and rocks, backed by painted woodland scenes. The actual displacement of these peoples from the land therefore could be conveniently ignored as the native more and more entered the white theatre of "vanishing" races.

Given the above considerations, commercially produced imagery of native peoples represents an involuted expression of white cultural values which ultimately served the larger projects of colonization and nation building. The use of such imagery by Daniel Wilson represents an opportunity to examine these concerns within his particular theory of ethnology. Wilson was not entirely unsympathetic to certain aspects of native life. Yet in his written work he never maintained that native cultures should be preserved or allowed to continue in their own right. The album, I will argue, presents his views on the fate of Indian peoples through visual lexicons developed in the domestic sphere. The album, therefore, represents the intersection of the domestic with the larger social and cultural issues of the time, most notably those of ethnology and its relation to colonial projects and nationalism.

II Sir Daniel Wilson

(i) Biography

Daniel Wilson was born in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1816, the third child of Archibald Wilson and Janet Aiken.⁹ In 1831, upon completion of his studies at the Edinburgh High School, Wilson studied engraving under William Miller and later that year attended courses at the University of Edinburgh. In the fall of 1837, he left for London, and worked for J.M.W. Turner on the engraving Ancient Carthage: The Embarkation of Regulus.¹⁰ In 1845, Wilson was elected fellow of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, and three years

later published the two volume Memorials of Edinburgh in the olden time. The work was profusely illustrated with his own woodcuts and engravings.¹¹

In 1851 Wilson published another book, The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland which contained the first comprehensive survey of Scottish artefacts and introduced the term "prehistory" into the English language. The work was important in a number of other respects. Wilson employed the Danish antiquarian model to categorize objects as belonging to the stone, bronze and iron ages.¹² His interest in the accumulation of material evidence led him to a comparative analysis of skeletal remains and skulls. Through such methods Wilson determined that Scotland had been inhabited by a number of prehistoric groups. Scottish history was thus enormously extended, and further, as Wilson realized, could only be fully investigated through a comparison of ethnological data from other parts of the world.¹³

In the same year he received an honorary LLD from the University of St Andrew's. Two years later he was appointed chair of history and English literature at University College in Toronto, with the support of Lord Elgin, governor of the United Province of Canada who was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Wilson's move to Canada removed him from the mainstream of British and Scottish research. His ethnological interests, however, took a new direction in the study of North American indigenous groups. He joined the Canadian Institute, serving as its president from 1859 to 1861 and from 1878 to 1881. He was also the editor of its publication The Canadian Journal of Industry, Art and Science from 1856 to 1859 and of its "Archaeology and Ethnology"

section from 1856 to 1875.¹⁴ This brought him into contact with members such as Henry Youle Hind, Paul Kane and Captain John Henry Lefroy of the Royal Engineers, who had travelled extensively in the northwestern wilderness.¹⁵ Wilson consolidated data collected in both Canada and Europe in his book Prehistoric man: researches into the origin of civilization in the Old and New World, published in two volumes in 1862.

Wilson continued throughout his life to publish papers on ethnology, but his administrative and academic duties gradually took precedence. His belief in nonsectarian and non-denominational education brought him into conflict with a number of individuals, most notably Egerton Ryerson. Wilson upheld the Scottish system of education and its emphasis on exposing students to a broad range of subject matter. Egerton, on the other hand, promoted a strict education in the classics and mathematics, and believed that colleges and universities should only accept those of the same religious convictions. Unfortunately, the bitter disputes and infighting among the colleges left Wilson unable to appreciate the more liberal arguments advanced by various groups, especially those of the Methodists and their proposal for the federation of denominational colleges.¹⁶

Wilson was appointed the first president of the University of Toronto in 1887, and the following year was knighted, in spite of his objections.¹⁷ In 1890, a fire gutted the eastern half of the University College building, and much of Wilson papers and artefacts were destroyed. In response, he rewrote the notes for seventy-two lectures and oversaw the restoration of the library. Two years later, on June 29, he wrote a letter of resignation from his presidency, and being quite ill, took to his bed. He died on August 6, 1892.

Wilson's interests took many forms. In addition to his work in ethnology and education, he was an accomplished engraver and watercolourist.¹⁸ His love of English literature resulted in the publication of Chatterton: A Biographical Study (1869), Caliban: The Missing Link (1873) a work on supernatural beings found in English folklore and in the writings of Shakespeare and Browning, and a volume of poems entitled Spring Wild Flowers (1853). He also reviewed many literary publications for the Canadian Journal, such as H.W. Longfellow's The Song of Hiawatha, Edgar Allan Poe's Tales of Mystery, and Poems, and Elizabeth Barret Browning's Last Poems.

Although he was born a Baptist, he later became an Anglican evangelical and supported the Church of England Evangelical Association.¹⁹ Wilson's religious convictions and how they intertwined with colonial policies, are essential to understanding the many stands and opinions he formed on a variety of issues. This is especially the case in terms of his perceptions of not only North American aboriginal groups, but those from around the world.

(ii) Wilson and Ethnology

By the mid-nineteenth century, Eurocentric religious beliefs were being challenged by both colonialism and scientific materialism. Contacts with other lands and cultures revealed religions equivalent in their sophistication to those of Europe. The publication of Charles Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859 created an enormous dilemma for those of the

Creationist school of thought. Biblical accounts of creation, and the chronology of the development of humankind were seriously challenged by Darwin's evolutionary scheme.

Wilson struggled with these two dilemmas throughout his life. He attempted to balance his religious convictions with his faith in the independent process of scientific inquiry.²⁰ In his writings, as his career progressed, Biblical references gradually dropped out in favour of a more empirical view of humankind's development.²¹ Although he always insisted that humanity, no matter what its origins, manifested certain characteristics which were divinely bestowed even this belief was challenged by the worldwide diversity of religions made evident through colonial contact.²² In the end, Wilson could only acknowledge that humanity's essential characteristics resulted from an awareness of its own immortality.²³ His earlier confidence in divine origins had been radically modified by both Darwinian theory and the challenges colonial contacts posed to Eurocentric thought and beliefs.²⁴

Wilson clearly stated the interrelation of religion, science and colonialism in his earlier work Prehistoric Man:

The tendency of modern science is to give prominence to many unheeded analogies between man and the lower animals; but the further this line of inquiry is pursued, it tends only the more strikingly to illustrate the radical nature of those differences which separate him from them, not in degree as the higher animal, but in kind. The most ancient definition of man as a creature of God, distinguishes him by no identity of physical structure with any superhuman prototype, but by intellectual and moral attributes. Thus endowed, man reasons on his relations to the external universe; and, alone of all animated beings, is capable of interpreting and controlling the operations of those natural laws to which he and they are alike subject.

This twofold nature may be studied with diverse aims, and from very different points of view; but for the purposes of the ethnologist, its characteristics are seen in their most suggestive aspects, in that contrast between savage and civilized man which forces itself on the notice of the European settler, alike in America and Australia.²⁵

Wilson posited European civilization as an ideal to which all humanity innately strived.

The inability to achieve such a state resulted not from environmental factors or social forces, but from wrong moral choices. Disobeying the dictates of this innate capacity was an abuse of free will which resulted in a lower standard of civilization.²⁶

The influence of the monogenist belief in the divine unity of all peoples enabled Wilson to draw comparisons between numerous diverse groups. As all, he believed, had the innate ability to reason and gain control over their environment, all could achieve that which the Europeans had successfully attained centuries earlier. In addition, the establishment of civilization was akin to a natural law; it was "self-originated," "progressive" and "ineradicable."²⁷ Yet it was obvious that many groups were still at a "primitive" stage of development. Further, European contact seemed to have little effect on these peoples; they still inhabited rude dwellings, and obtained their food through hunting and gathering rather than through settled agricultural methods.²⁸

Wilson viewed his immigration to Canada as fortuitous in this respect. The colony provided him with a wide range of indigenous cultures at various stages of development. He could therefore use these groups to engage in a comparative study to determine why the "civilizing" force had varying rates of success. This, in turn, would shed light on

European origins as much of its prehistory had been lost through the intermingling of races and cultures. Through such an argument, the destinies of races, although separated by great distances, could in fact serve European culture as: "In all ways: in its recoverable past, in its comprehensible present, in its conceivable future, the New World is a great mystery; and even glimpses into its hidden truths reflect some clearer light on secrets of the older world."²⁹

The methodology which Wilson applied to New World cultures had its origins in earlier works. In his Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, published in 1851, Wilson engaged in a comprehensive study of Scottish artefacts with the intention of shedding light on Britain's early peoples. The book was important in a number of respects. By using the Danish antiquarian model, developed by Christian Thomsen, Wilson categorized objects into three basic groups, as those belonging to the stone, bronze and iron ages. In addition, by examining skeletal remains and measuring skulls, Wilson determined that other people had lived in Scotland before the Celts. Through such an accumulation of data, he seriously challenged the notion of racial purity, or the belief that the original inhabitants of Britain were comprised of one homogenous group. Instead, through the detailed comparison of physical remains, Wilson demonstrated that there had been population changes and movements throughout the prehistoric period.³⁰

Although Thomsen's chronological tripartite division of the past created the impression that humankind's development was progressive and thus somewhat evolutionary, it also significantly extended the historic study of peoples.³¹ In addition, the

scheme could be used to demonstrate the differences between groups. Through a careful analysis of Scandinavian artefacts, Wilson concluded that each culture had its own independent achievements and that each was worthy of study in its own right.³² This further suggested that certain innovations and advancements occur through native invention rather than contact with other groups.³³

Wilson's writings at this period concerning Britain's racial origins had consequences for his later work in North America. Through his study of Britain's prehistory, he recognized that although primitive peoples had existed before the Celts, there was little left to indicate their presence among modern Britons. He concluded that these groups had merged or been assimilated by succeeding waves of invaders.³⁴ How exactly the process of assimilation worked was left open to question until Wilson arrived in North America where he could study the phenomenon first hand. Wilson could use events occurring in the New World to elucidate how exactly European civilization had achieved its ideal state. Such a backward argument could only serve to relieve the conscience of whites as assimilation proved to be beneficial; the destruction of indigenous cultures served a greater purpose by which all would benefit. In addition, as racial mixing had resulted in the building of a great nation, as evidenced by Britain, it would also be advantageous for Canada in this respect.³⁵

(iii) Racial Mixing

As Wilson stated in his paper "Some American Illustrations of the Evolution of New Varieties of Man," the contact between cultures in the New World could be looked upon as "as a series of ethnological experiments carried on upon the amplest scale...."³⁶ Through selective examples, Wilson noted that the intermixing of races was a legitimate process: "From an early date, intermarriages have taken place between Europeans and natives, with the result of an offspring of mixed blood, admitted to full social equality with those of European descent."³⁷ The extinction of certain cultures was not to be mourned as those of mixed descent would experience little prejudice and be able to fully participate in society.

Wilson recognized the grave consequences which had resulted from the meeting of the European, the "inheritor of all the culture and appliances of the highest civilization"³⁸ with indigenous peoples. Certain tribes had been exterminated or their numbers seriously reduced. Yet he argued against the belief that native Americans were irrevocably doomed to extinction; their traits had been absorbed, and in that sense continued, through intermarriage with the more aggressive white culture. Wilson therefore felt that confining natives to reserves was counterproductive as it did not allow for a free mingling of races. Reservations also prevented cultural assimilation. He believed that natives prospered when they moved into white communities and adopted white values.³⁹ "Hybridity" in both its racial and cultural aspects, produced a more "robust" human type: "Where the native and the intruding races meet more nearly on equality, as among the traders of the fur country, or the farmers and graziers beyond the Rocky Mountains, the result is intermarriage, with

a healthy and vigorous offspring; and the same is seen where the civilized red man takes his place on the common equality of citizenship in the general community."⁴⁰

Throughout his writings, Wilson advocated the peaceful assimilation of indigenous groups. As he believed that the mixing of races was akin to a natural law,⁴¹ he argued that both Old and New World cultures had experienced racial mixing. However, in the latter's case, the intermingling of traits had occurred in a relatively short period of time with sometimes violent consequences.⁴²

Although it is obvious that Wilson's arguments were Eurocentric, he differed in many respects from other commentators of the period. As he believed in the innate intelligence of all races, he did not define certain groups as necessarily inferior in that respect. In terms of the "natural" process which drove humanity to achieve a civilized state, lack of progress was more likely a result of degenerative processes such as warfare, cannibalism, infanticide and promiscuity. These he viewed as wrong moral choices which deflected groups from their natural course.⁴³ In addition, Wilson did not view the native populace as "tainting" the "purity" of the white race through intermarriage. Instead he advocated that the future vigorousness of any nation resided in this very phenomenon. Although Wilson was correct in his theories of the migration of peoples and interracial contact, he glossed over the eradication of cultures by maintaining a colonialist's view that such losses were directed toward a better end, equally beneficial to both natives and whites. Such an argument allowed Wilson to clinically view events occurring in the New

World. Data could be accumulated, and theories proven, all of which would serve the interests of colonial expansionism.

III The Daniel Wilson Album

(i) Overview

It appears that Wilson had a life long interest in photography. In a letter written to his brother George upon his arrival in Canada in 1853, he described those who comprised his social circle and noted that: "There is a Professor Irving of Trinity College, that is High Church College. He is a Cambridge man, and an amateur calotypist, so we were friends at once in spite of our rival colleges."⁴⁴ The remark suggests that at some point Wilson practised photography, perhaps even in Canada, even though no examples of his work have yet been found.

Wilson certainly collected photographs. His album reveals the astonishing range of images available to those who had an interest in representations of indigenous peoples. At first it was thought that the album was assembled by his daughter, Sybil Wilson. However, my research has discovered that Wilson himself was the original compiler. In a letter to his niece Madge (Margaret Oliphant Wilson) dated January 23, 1882, he wrote: "I have a large photograph Album in which I busied myself putting in a collection of Indians, Pacific Islanders, &c. &c. last September. When College duties began I had to lay it aside till Xmas; and now it is once more laid aside till summer; for I had not a moment's leisure, - in fact no holiday at all."⁴⁵

Several observations can be made from Wilson's remarks. It is very rare to find in manuscripts and diaries individuals writing about the assembly of their albums. For the most part, it was an activity which was taken for granted and something done in one's spare time. For Wilson to address this subject in a letter meant that the project was of considerable importance to him. This is further substantiated by the fact that the album was given as a gift to University College after Wilson's death. The inscription reads: "Presented to the Ethnological Museum of University College by Miss Wilson in memory of her Father Dr. Daniel Wilson Oct. 1892." Either Wilson instructed his daughter, Sybil Wilson, to present the album to his colleagues, or she, recognizing its importance to her father, donated the album to the college as a testament to his ethnological interests. Most likely the former was the case, as it would be presumptuous of Sybil to assume that her father would want the album so publicly displayed. Wilson was a very private man. So much so that he ordered his daughter to burn most of his papers after his death.⁴⁶

From the comments in his letter, it also appears that Wilson had a large stock of photographs from around the world which he would have collected over a period of time. In addition, although the letter is somewhat elusive, it appears that Wilson may have purchased the album in September 1881 for the purpose of organizing these images. If this were the case, it would mean that he had an overall plan for the album but, as the emotional tone of the letter indicates, was frustrated in not being able to complete his project due to the exigencies of his teaching and administrative duties.

The care with which Wilson put together his album indicates that the grouping and sequencing of images was not random. What is difficult to determine is the exact reason why certain photographs appear together, and further, why one grouping is placed face-à-face with another. For example, one page containing two photographs of the peoples of Palestine, is placed opposite five of those depicting Chinese. This is part of a larger viewing experience in that turning the pages of the album, one moves back and forth between geographical locations. For example, photographs taken in the Himalayas appear opposite those taken in China. The following page is dedicated to photographs of the Sioux, the next to the Chippewa, which are backed on the next page by the peoples of Palestine, opposite to which appear images of Japanese. The overall impression one gets of the album is that Wilson viewed peoples within specific groupings but that all were interrelated in some manner.

It is possible that Wilson understood his album as an expression of his larger belief in the benefits of interracial contact and the inevitable progress of all races to a civilized state. Photographs provided him with an opportunity to demonstrate an even more "amplified scale" of the "ethnological experiment" which was occurring world wide. Yet, from a modern standpoint, his use of commercially produced photographs to demonstrate this theory involved him in a circular argument as these representations of other cultures were literally framed within Eurocentric imagistic traditions.

There is also the question of why he would choose to illustrate his ideas through the album format. This could be related to the fact that Wilson's view of ethnology by this

point was considered atavistic. His more liberal, Christian basis had been displaced by the Darwinian, anti-theological school of thought which viewed the evolution of humankind from a dispassionate materialist basis. The album, with much of its roots in the domestic, provided an outlet for a more personal engagement.

This idea is supported by Wilson's title page on which he has written "My Poor Relations." Wilson contained the photographs within hand painted rustic frames connected by painted sticks in which leaves and vines intertwine (plate 14). A photograph of Wilson appears at the top left of the page. The central image is most likely Joseph Barnard Davis (1801-1881), co-author of Crania Britannica, or delineations of the skulls of the early inhabitants of the British Islands 1856-65.⁴⁷ The image in the upper right corner is that of a Chinese boy.

The central photographs are Louis Agassiz (1807-1873) on the left and Charles Darwin (1809-1882) on the right. Placed in between these two scientists are two blackface comedians under which Wilson has written "The Critics." The drawing which appears beneath the comedians, captioned "The Introduction," presents Darwin confronting an ape and a half-human individual. On either side of this work appear images of an Indian and a black child.

The page is both humorous and serious in its intention, as the ambiguous meaning of its title indicates. Wilson has placed himself both among persons of different races and leading scientific figures. Davis' portrait is given a central position and directly linked to Wilson's. Both Davis and Wilson published books and articles on the early inhabitants of

Britain and craniology. The opposition of Agassiz and Darwin on either side of the page is one theoretical stance. Agassiz believed that new species arose through separate divine creations. Darwin argued from a positivist basis. Species originate through a process of natural selection; any given organism produces offspring whose characteristics vary. These favour their continuation by allowing them to adapt to environmental change. "The Critics" who appear between may represent Wilson's sardonic view of the debates.

The drawing entitled "The Introduction" also includes Darwin. The central figure, perhaps the "missing link," points to an unruly ape who represents his more primitive origins. Darwin politely looks on. Yet Wilson had his own thoughts on Darwin's theories in this respect. In 1873 he published Caliban: The Missing Link where he questioned the concept of a transitional being, half-human and half-animal, and concluded that no such creature could ever have existed.⁴⁸ As was mentioned earlier, his struggles with Darwinian theory continued throughout his life. He gradually accepted the premise that humankind had originated from more lowly origins. Yet he felt that even at this early stage of development the defining characteristics of humanity, being those of intelligence and imagination, were qualities divinely bestowed.⁴⁹

As a title page, Wilson presented a variety of stances, theories, and commentaries, the interrelation and complexity of which provide a basis for a viewing of the rest of the album. It also represents a convergence of the domestic with larger issues of colonialism. Photographic groupings and the use of graphics and hand painted imagery relate to the family album. As was seen in the previous chapter, assemblers grouped and enhanced

photographs to display connections between individuals who comprised the family unit. Wilson also manipulated imagery in such a manner, but used images of different lands and peoples obtained through the workings of colonial projects. These, in turn, became part of a process of self-inquiry into the ramifications of colonialism on Eurocentric culture. In this sense, the Wilson album demonstrates colonialism as an uncertain project; it represents an expression of personal reflections on larger social and cultural concerns themselves under the dictates of a variety of historical conditions.

(ii) The Photographs of Humphrey Lloyd Hime

Several photographs taken by the Canadian photographer Humphrey Lloyd Hime appear in the album. Hime accompanied Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908) on the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploration Expedition to photograph "objects of interest"⁵⁰ in the Red River and surrounding area. His photographs represent the first use of photography by the Canadian Government. As little was known about the Canadian interior at this time, the expedition also collected information on the geology, natural history, topography and meteorology of the area. With the expiry of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly in 1859, the Canadian government wished to expand its authority in this region, and determine its suitability for settlement.

Both Hind's written report and Hime's photographs were publicly accessible. Hind published an account of the journey in his Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of

1858. Many of Hime's photographs were reproduced as engravings to accompany the text. This also occurred in two articles Hind wrote for The Illustrated London News which appeared in the October 2 and October 16, 1858 editions. In addition, the J. Hogarth establishment of London printed a portfolio of thirty of Hime's photographs. Hind was an ambitious man, and intended that a full appreciation of his experiences as an explorer reach a broad audience.

Wilson was quite familiar with Hind's journey. Hind was a fellow member of the Canadian Institute. Wilson also enthusiastically reviewed both the Narrative and its previous incarnation as a government report or "Blue Book" in the Institute's publication.⁵¹ In the latter review, by focussing on certain parts of Hind's account, Wilson complicity agreed with Hind's conclusions that the native populace of the area was destructive to the land. The full potential of this region could only be fully realized through white colonization and technology. In addition, it was simply presumed that this area was destined to enter the project of nation building. As Wilson noted, the narrative "...embodying descriptions of scenery, native habits, and such incidents of travel as are at once attractive to the general reader, and of value to those who are desirous of ascertaining the fitness of the region for a scene of emigration, and a future Province of British North America."⁵²

The appearance of Hime's photographs in Wilson's album provide an opportunity to discuss the complex issues surrounding such images. As complete portfolios of Hime's work exist, one can examine photographs chosen and question why others were excluded.

Ultimately, this involves one in speculation. However, various arguments can be proposed in order to elucidate the richness of the imagery within both the cultural context of the period and Wilson's personal ethnological theories.

Events occurring in the Canadian interior were of great interest to Wilson. As he noted in 1874, the Red River settlement had experienced over a number of years "the intermingling of red and white races."⁵³ As the white male population was at a numeric disadvantage to the native populace, intermarriage occurred. This had resulted in "...the formation of a tribe of half-breeds, according to their Scottish or French paternity, who have hitherto kept themselves distinct in manners, habits, and allegiance, alike from the whites and the Indians."⁵⁴

Wilson little appreciated the consequences of the varied political, religious and racial divisions which occurred through such intermingling of peoples.⁵⁵ Instead, he viewed the community in terms of his larger ethnological arguments: "This rise of an independent half-breed tribe is one of the most remarkable results of the great, though undesigned, ethnological experiment which has been in progress since the meeting of diverse races of the Old and New World on the continent of America...."⁵⁶ He stressed that such a community must be closely studied before it was "...modified or effaced by the influx of European immigration."⁵⁷

Wilson was so intent on examining this phenomenon that he sent out questionnaires to those who had first hand contact with members of the settlement.⁵⁸ The returns confirmed Wilson's belief that the mixed blood population was in many ways

superior to those of both native and white: "Mr. S.J. Dawson, of the Red River Exploring Expedition speaks of the French half-breeds as a gigantic race as compared with the French Canadians of Lower Canada. Professor Hind refers in equally strong language to their great physical powers and vigorous muscular developments; and the venerable Archdeacon Hunter, of Red River, replies in response to my inquiry: 'In what respects do the half-breed Indians differ from the pure Indians as to habits of life, courage, strength, increase of numbers &c?' "They are superior in every respect, both mentally and physically.'"⁵⁹

Wilson viewed the mixed bloods of the Red River Settlement as a special case. The remoteness of the community, combined with a life style based on the fur trade, differentiated them from those found in reserves in Upper and Lower Canada. The Red River mixed bloods could buy property, become educated and experience full social equality. Such advantages, in turn, benefited the community, and aided in the progress of its settlement.⁶⁰

Although the mixed bloods occupied a unique place in Wilson's scheme, he also felt that their continuance as a "distinct race" was limited. With the increased emigration of those from the East and Europe, the "last traces of the red blood will disappear." However, in the larger scheme of things, this was not to be regarded as extinction. The mixed bloods represented "transitional stage" which itself will be absorbed into succeeding generations, but not without leaving its mark and perhaps aiding those from different lands and cultures to adapt to their new home.⁶¹

Given such views, Hime's photographs would have appealed to Wilson in a number of respects. Both the photographs and Hind's account of his experiences reveal an area and its peoples already framed within Eurocentric visual and narrative traditions. For example, one photograph, captioned "A Plain-Cree Halfbreed," is that of "Wigwam" who at one point worked as a guide for Hind. Hime represents him with a calm and noble demeanor (plate 15). Certain formal elements help to convey this effect. He sits upright, centrally placed within the photographic frame, with a gun placed across his knees. This combination of vertical pose and gun create a strong visual axis giving the impression of strength and solidity, romantic qualities a Victorian audience would associate with the native or "half-breed."

Another photograph which locked the native within the values of white culture is that entitled "A Plain-Cree half-breed & pappoose [sic]" (plate 16). Again, Hime centrally positioned his subjects. A native woman kneels beside and gazes upon her child wrapped in its cocoon-like papoose. Such a representation would appeal to Victorians as it would appear that this woman's attentiveness was in keeping with "proper" methods of child raising.

Yet both photographs are miscaptioned. The original title of the former work was "Wigwam; an Ojibway half-breed, Lake Superior, September-October, 1858" and, in the case of the woman and child, "Ojibway Squaw with Papoose, September-October, 1858." The woman depicted was a full blood Indian, not a mixed-blood. Although nineteenth

century captions of native peoples can rarely be trusted, it appears that Wilson either ignored or was confused about these individuals' tribal and racial origins.

It is difficult to say exactly why this happened, but it may a result of several factors. For the most part throughout the album, portraits of native peoples are scrupulously captioned, both their native name and tribe appear. As this did not occur with the Hime photographs, there is the question as to whether Wilson ever obtained the original captions. The portfolio which was available for purchase by the Hogarth establishment included a title list of works. Another full set of photographs was printed by William Armstrong for distribution to certain government members with the publication of the Blue Book. These were mounted and also included captions. Wilson may have either bought or received these prints directly from either Hime or Hind at this time. This is confirmed by the fact that the majority of the photographs found in the album are signed in pencil by Hime. In the case of unsigned works, the signature may have been lost as a result of Wilson's cutting and pasting. As Wilson wished to use these photographs in his album, he would have requested unmounted prints with the result that the titles of the works may not have been noted.

If this were the case, when Wilson came to assemble his album, he may simply have presumed these individuals' tribal origins. In addition, their captions as "half-breeds" also served to demonstrate Wilson's larger ethnological beliefs and his promotion of the benefits of assimilation. In Hind's Narrative, Wigwam was championed as the "good" Indian. He was both integrated into white society and served white interests with his

native skills which aided Hind in his explorations. In contrast, Hind portrayed the "bad" Indian as being intent on maintaining cultural differences with the result that such behaviour was detrimental to the continued vitality of the Red River settlement.⁶²

For Wilson, the photograph would further confirm his view that the intermarriage between races produced a more "healthy and vigorous offspring." The photograph of the native woman and child also served Wilson's larger argument. By captioning her a "half-breed" Wilson could demonstrate that mixed blood natives benefited by assimilation through their adoption of white social values.⁶³ Yet, as has been mentioned, this engaged Wilson in a circular argument as the manner in which these peoples were portrayed was itself determined by pictorial conventions rooted in the values of white society.

This being said, it is curious that the Wilson album does not contain other Hime photographs which supported his arguments concerning assimilation. For example, the photograph entitled "John McKay; a Plain-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1858" was not included (plate 17). In this work, McKay, who was a Scotch mixed-blood guide, appears pensive and composed, holding the reins of his horse (which has been bleached out of the photograph) looking more white than native with his heavy beard. Two other omissions are "Susan: a Swampy-Cree half-breed" (plate 18) and "Letitia: a Plain-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1858" (plate 19). Both young women are depicted in a woodland setting, dressed in "proper" western attire accented by native accessories.

Why Wilson excluded these works will probably never be known. Yet, as has been argued, those which do appear can be understood within the general context of his

theories. This premise allows for the opportunity to discuss other photographs and groupings and thus engage in a more extended viewing of the album.

(iii) Photographs Relating to the Sioux Revolt of 1862

Injustices committed against the Sioux by the United States Government and white settlers led to Sioux Revolt of 1862. Indian game had been hunted by settlers, crops destroyed by insects and food provisions denied with the result that many Sioux were in a state of starvation. Little Crow led his people in revolt. Over eight hundred whites were killed and four hundred taken captive. The military later overpowered the Sioux, taking more than two thousand prisoner. Three hundred and three were sentenced to death, but President Lincoln reprieved all but thirty-eight. The mass hanging took place on December 26 at Mankato, Minnesota.⁶⁴

Little Crow and another leader, Medicine Bottle escaped with members of their bands to Canada.⁶⁵ Bounty hunters caught up with Little Crow, killing him while he was picking raspberries with his son. Medicine Bottle was found later that year, drugged, tied to a dog sled and taken back to the United States. Both he, and another Sioux, Shakopee, were sentenced to death by hanging.⁶⁶

Members of the revolt were photographed by Joel Emmons Whitney (1822-1886) when the prisoners were brought to Fort Snelling located near his studio in St Paul Minnesota.⁶⁷ His photographs were widely circulated due to the notoriety of the revolt. At one point Wilson obtained these as many of Whitney's portraits are found in his album.

It is not known where exactly Wilson purchased these photographs, but in a letter to Wilson dated February 15, 1864, a D.A. Robertson of St Paul discusses a number of photographs about which Wilson had made inquiries. As Robertson stated in his letter:

I enclose herewith copies of all the photographic cartes of Sioux Indians that I could obtain in this city. The photographer from whom I obtained them thinks that those you saw in Boston were left there by him.

I also send photographs of the most distinguished Chippewas of our state and one of "Little Hill," a Winnebago chief of great ability and the orator of the tribe. The Chippewas you will observe are a superior race of Indian as compared with the Sioux. Hole in the Day is a splendid ? man of the Indian race, and is ? a man of superior talents as well as a brave soldier. He is the most celebrated Indian in the West. I send you two cartes of him. I enclose 29 cartes of which 15 are Sioux, 13 Chippewas & 1 Winnebago. The cost is \$2.50 per dozen for the 29. I paid \$6.00. If you wish any more I will send them as opportunity occurs. I might perhaps get for you at small cost an Indian cranium of some distinguished Sioux.

The Winnebagos have all been removed beyond our boundaries to the Nispossé river. There are a great many photographs of Indians including those of many of the executed Indians, in possession of private individuals from which copies could be multiplied.

On the top of this letter, Wilson has written "Photos of Sioux & Chippewas."⁶⁸

The album contains thirty-three photographs captioned "Chippewa," twenty-seven "Sioux," and four "Winnebago." This would indicate that Wilson either maintained contact with Robertson over a period of time, or obtained more photographs elsewhere.⁶⁹

The photograph of the "executed Indians" mentioned in Robertson's letter, are most likely those of the Sioux Revolt. Yet Wilson did not place all these photographs in one section. Portraits of the individuals involved are scattered throughout the album. As

they are found in different grouping, they both influence and are influenced by other photographs which surround them.

For example, on one page, nine photographs of Sioux and Chippewa appear, arranged in three rows of three images (plate 20). A photograph of Little Crow, captioned "Little Crow, Sioux Chief, Leader of the Minnesota Massacre, 1862," is positioned at the far left of the middle row. To the right of his image is a photograph entitled "Little Crow's Scalp" beside which appears "Wo-wi-na-pe. Little Crow's Son." The top row, includes, from left to right, a Whitney photograph "Nah-gun-a-gow-bow, Chief of Rabbit Lake Chippewas"; a reproduction of a painting "Ta-tanka-nazin, Hereditary Chief of the Sioux"; and possibly another Whitney photograph "Mis-ko-pe-nen-she, Chief, Lake Winnipeg Chippewas." The bottom row begins again with Whitney's "Now-we-ke-shick. Chippewa Chief" (which also appears in Shindler's catalogue but as "Noon Day" of the "Ojibwa" tribe); an image of two young Indian men, captioned "Sioux"; and "O-ge-mah-o-cha-wub, Chief, Leech Lake Chippewas."

Little Crow appears within a grouping which is for the most part dedicated to the leading figures of various native tribes. His photograph presents him seated, dressed in Western attire, with the lower part of his body wrapped in an Indian blanket. He appears calm, thoughtful and distinguished. Yet beside this image is one which represents his fate,⁷⁰ and beside that, a photograph of the person who witnessed his final moments.

"Sha-ko-pe," one of the Sioux who fled with Little Crow to Canada, appears on another page (plate 21). The photograph, most likely taken by Whitney, is positioned at

the bottom of the page beneath the much larger photograph of Wigwam. His portrait, taken when he was prisoner at Fort Snelling, presents him as resigned and defeated. He rests his head on his hand, looking worried and preoccupied. Directly above Wigwam, Wilson has placed "Te-he-do-ne-cha, a Sioux." He also participated in the revolt and was one of the Indians executed in the mass hanging.

This central column of photographs is flanked on either side by other portraits of natives. To the right of Wigwam appears the Whitney photograph captioned "Naw-gaw-nab, Orator of Wisconsin Chippewas." His representation confirms the dignity of his role. He stands proudly, dressed in Western attire, his features fixed in a solemn gaze. On the far left Wilson has placed another native, "Anpetu-tokeca," who also wears Western clothing. He looks out at the viewer with a calm and self-possessed expression. On either side of Sha-ko-pe appear photographs captioned "Oron-hy-a-tek-ha, a Mohawk," and "Chief Little Pine, Chippewa." Both stand in a studio setting, the latter in front of a painted backdrop with greek column. The two images which flank Te-he-do-ne-cha are "Be-she-kee, Head Chief, Lake Leech Chippewas," and "Aw-ke-wen-zee, Head Chief Oreille Chippewas."

On this page, members of the Sioux revolt appear within the context of other natives who were either leaders of their own tribes, or whose skills had been acknowledged by white society such as in the case of Wigwam and Naw-gaw-nab, the "Orator." Those who appear in Western attire, or beside Western cultural artifacts such as a greek column, would further help a white audience appreciate their roles in this respect.

The page leaves one with the impression that Wilson viewed the activities of native peoples as taking a variety of forms, some constructive, others disruptive, to the larger, "inevitable" process of civilization.

In the case of the grouping containing Little Crow, Wilson appears sympathetic to the Sioux Revolt. Yet, given the larger context of his writings, he would have had certain reservations about this event. As has been stated, Wilson detested the violent subjugation of peoples. In addition, the fact that Little Crow and his followers sought refuge in Canada would have confirmed him in his belief that Canada had a better record in this respect than the United States. Yet Wilson also believed that the state had the right to maintain its own interests in the face of rebellious behaviour. He viewed the grievances which led to the 1885 Riel Rebellion as legitimate, but also supported the actions of the Canadian government in its efforts to preserve the peace as the process of colonization served much greater ends.⁷¹

Perhaps what was even more offensive to Wilson about the fate of Little Crow was that prior to the uprising, he had appeared to be accepting of white culture. It was only through circumstances created by white settlement that he was pressed to lead his people in revolt. Wilson would view this event as deflecting these peoples from their natural course to a more civilized state. This theory might explain the contents of the page opposite that of Little Crow and other native chiefs (plate 22). The central photograph is one taken by Charles Horetzky (1838-1900), on November 1, 1871, entitled "Piegan Indians, Rocky Mountain House." Horetzky was hired by Sir Sandford Fleming (1827-

1915) as a surveyor and photographer for the Canadian Pacific Railway surveys (1871-1879). His photographs consisted largely of landscape scenes, but he also took several views of native peoples. In this particular work, a group of Indians are seated on the ground while at the left, on a platform, stands a missionary. The greater height of the white missionary gives the distinct impression that the natives are dominated by this figure, and thus have been subdued.

This photograph is surrounded by four smaller images (one on top, three on the bottom), of Indian lacrosse teams (the one on the bottom right, captioned "Onondagas & Cayugas," was taken by John Turner in 1867). In two of the photographs white people appear, but they are integrated as equals within the group. The natives, holding their lacrosse sticks, dressed in white sports outfits with native accessories, appear proud and dignified. Their demeanour contrasts with that of the natives in the central photograph. The latter group, when placed within the context of the lacrosse teams, seem to be at a distinct disadvantage, huddled on the ground, wrapped in blankets.

For Wilson, the native lacrosse teams would be evidence of the achievements, and thus sense of self-worth, native peoples could attain through cultural assimilation. In addition, such integration would create a mutually beneficial and harmonious situation between both natives and whites. Perhaps he viewed the Piegan Indians, undergoing Christianization, as also having the potential to realize that which their Eastern counterparts had already accomplished. Or perhaps he understood them in a comparative way. The Piegans represented a lower civilized level, and the native lacrosse players a

higher one. Even though Wilson believed that all races were equal in their potential for civilization, not all were equal in their achievement of that state.⁷²

(iii) Other Considerations of Organization: Physical Anthropology

It is possible that Wilson had another intention for his album in addition to organizing it along the lines of racial types. The images may, in some respect, be associated with his life long interest in craniology. Wilson collected skulls with the same passion as he collected photographs. The groupings found in the album could also be expressive of his theories on the relation between race and skull structure, and further, his argument against the polygenist school of thought.

This latter group believed in what was termed "multiple creation." The existence of diverse groups of people was a result of their separate creation by God. It was therefore convenient to state that the apparent "superiority" of some groups over others was preordained. In addition, as the races were a result of separate creations, the traits of any one group were fixed and could not be mixed with those of another. To civilize or improve the "inferior" races through contact with a "superior" one, therefore, was impossible.⁷³

With the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859, the argument took a different turn. Unable to account for racial differences in terms of divine will, polygenists argued from biology; the distinct differences in race could be accounted for through an analysis of physical evidence such as those obtained through the minute measurements of

skulls. As the monogenists believed in the intermingling of races, the analysis of skull types was used as evidence of the transmission of traits and thus the non-uniformity of physical types.⁷⁴

Wilson's main contribution in this regard was his attack on the notion of the pure Amerindian type, as proposed by George Gliddon and J.C. Nott. In their Types of Mankind, published in 1854, it was asserted that the Amerindian race was of a separate creation as all indigenous peoples throughout the New World displayed uniform cranial characteristics. By the time their next work Indigenous Races of the Earth appeared in 1857 Wilson had accumulated both enough skulls and data to prove the contrary. Wilson demonstrated that there were so many craniological differences among Amerindians, that they could never be understood as a single homogenous group. He further denounced the authors' loose terminology with respect to such words as "race," "family," and "species." Finally, he advocated that philological and archaeological evidence be used to supplement the study of racial groups.⁷⁵

The groupings of people in his album may be connected to his craniological studies as outlined above. Yet this would most likely work only as an underlying argument, as it was impossible for studio portraiture to convey the minute physical differences which existed between native peoples. Wilson preferred to accumulate his data through the actual examination of skulls. Even in terms of conveying information through illustrations he cautioned that drawings must be accurately made, the success of which depended on the skill and imagination of the artist.⁷⁶ Photographing skulls would only enhance

distortions as had been argued by members of the Anthropological Society of London in 1866.⁷⁷

Yet some groupings appear to be related to his craniological interests. For example, on one page dedicated to photographs of British types, images captioned "A Scottish Highlander," "Women of Wales," and "Natives of St Kilda" appear. There are also three uncaptioned photographs of young women carrying baskets, dressed in similar attire. These were the fishwives of Newhaven, photographs of whom were contained in Macara's Series of Scottish Photos, published in 1878. The images were commissioned by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) to illustrate information pertaining to pure, British racial types. The fishwives were categorized in terms of their skull and facial characteristics as belonging to type C. Their forehead was smooth and rounded, their cheeks wide, lips well-formed, their body stout and well covered.⁷⁸

In this nostalgia for British origins, fishwives had also attracted the attention of D.O. Hill and R. Adamson who produced a number of calotypes on the subject. At some point, Wilson made inquiries about the BAAS collection as a list of photographs he received entitled "Photographs taken in the Outer Hebrides" still exists. A number of works are checked off, including those found in the album.⁷⁹

It is most likely Wilson had connections with the Association as he served as its secretary on its first meeting in Edinburgh in 1850.⁸⁰ His interest in pure racial types would be understood within the larger context of his arguments concerning interracial contact in prehistoric Britain as described above. However, the fishwives were also of interest in

terms of his studies on cranial distortions. As he stated in 1862: "One result of the recognition of this artificial source of cranial distortion was to lead me, before I left Scotland, to institute a series of careful observations on the heads of the coal-porters of Edinburgh, and the fishwives of the neighbouring fishing villages, with a view to determine how far the heads of either are affected by their practice of carrying loads by means of a leather strap resting on the forehead...."⁸¹

The images of fishwives who appear in the album are not carrying their baskets in such a manner. The leather strap is placed around their chests, not their heads. Yet, it is obvious that Wilson had a specific interest in these peoples. Their representation in his album would be dependant on the availability of imagery which may or may not have exactly conformed to the particular details of his argument.

Conclusion

The Wilson album has been used as a case study to explore methods of research into non-textual objects. It is obvious that the album contains an enormous amount of information. In another respect, there is still a great deal which remains unknown about its contents and decisions pertaining to its assembly. Through the album, Wilson visually displayed aspects of his life and portrayed his perceptions and thoughts on a variety of issues. Yet in terms of modern research these can only be elucidated through indirect means.

To allow the album to "speak," I have had to consult numerous sources. The identification of photographs has entailed searching a number of archives and museums,

such as the National Archives of Canada, the National Gallery of Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Notman Archives, the Manitoba Provincial Archives, the Quebec Provincial Archives, the Ontario Provincial Archives and published holdings of the Smithsonian Institute. Scores of books, journals and magazines have been examined for captions and attributions of imagery. This has allowed identification of a major portion of the photographs. (See Appendix III for a list of photographs contained in the album, their captions, and known dates and photographers.) Yet, more research needs to be done. As the album contains photographs taken in many geographical locations, more comprehensive holdings would have to be consulted and archives from around the world contacted.

In addition, the holdings of any museum or archive are dependent on institutional mandates. Certain photographs will be collected, and others ignored. Often information is categorized in such a manner as to prioritize the institution's mandate; other concerns appear within this larger context, but literally, in some cases, in the margins. (See Appendix II for a case study on this very issue and the dangers involved in limiting research to only one institution.)

All of the above issues affect research and thus the manner in which the album can be explained and interpreted. Contextualizing the imagery within Wilson's writings is another approach, but one which must be used cautiously. The album represents a playful and creative use of visual imagery. Photographs were not used as illustrations to accompany text. Yet it is also apparent that the images were grouped and selected with a

definite purpose in mind. As such their subject matter can be partially elucidated through a broader understanding of Wilson's theories. This was especially seen in the case of the photographs of fishwives, where their presence was related to a specific passage in a paper dealing with cranial distortions.

My analysis of the Wilson album has indicated the complex issues inherent in such imagery. Methods of viewing have been discussed, such as the placement of certain photographs within groupings, and the relation of groupings which appear on one page to those which appear opposite. Such a format provided Wilson with an outlet to portray his theories on ethnology and racial types. The ambiguous nature of the album indicates Wilson's guardedness in this respect.

As occurs in the family album, the Wilson album represents the intermingling of the domestic sphere with larger cultural issues. In many ways, Wilson's album is similar in its composition to that of the family album. In terms of the latter, assemblers grouped and manipulated imagery generated through the commercial industry, and its expression of how an individual wished to appear publicly, to display their private thoughts and perceptions on relationships which comprised the family unit. Wilson also grouped and manipulated studio imagery as a means to engage in his inquiry on the interrelation of racial types. His album, like the family album, employs little textual support. In order to express his ideas, the album allowed Wilson to engage in a much more personal form of expression. It was unique. Unlike a published paper, it remained in one context. If shown, information would be orally transmitted. In addition, information could be controlled;

certain images and their meaning within groupings could be explained in varying degrees depending on whom was the inquirer. Wilson's use of the album indicates its appropriateness for the personal expression of ideas through assemblage in lieu of more conventional discursive means.

Yet Wilson's album differs in other respects from the family album. In contrast to white makers of family albums, indigenous peoples had no control over how their studio photographs were reassembled into larger constructs. Further, their representation was under the control of white colonizers who framed these peoples and their cultures within the visual traditions of Eurocentric culture. Their portrayal in this respect was tautological as it supported either white culture's romantic idealization of the native or the period's belief in the benefits of assimilation. The Wilson album indicates the enormous amount of imagery available to individuals who had specific interests in this regard. It allowed him to collect photographs from around the world from his place of residence in Toronto. Actual contact with these peoples was unnecessary. The album, therefore, operates somewhat on the level of fantasy. Images could be grouped and arranged to accord with Wilson's personal theories and beliefs. Photography, thus, substantially supported both Wilson's and the period's arguments that the diversity and origins of peoples need only be studied through biology. As the cultural complexities of aboriginal societies could be ignored, the process of colonization could proceed without much reflection on the part of colonizers as to the destructive nature of their actions.

The album also indicates how the photograph is ambiguous in terms of the information it conveys. The same image can appear in a number of albums indicating different intentions for its use on the part of each assembler. Within the album, interpretation of the photograph is affected by surrounding imagery. As such, the Wilson album represents a valuable contribution to the "history" of photography as the "meaning" of any one photograph is in fact a history of its usage, a study of which reveals different, and sometimes competing, interests and beliefs.

Endnotes for Chapter Three

1. Royal Ontario Museum, Dept. of Anthropology, 892.4.
2. Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, The North American Indians in Early Photographs (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1986): 195.
3. The growing market for images of native peoples prompted William Henry Jackson to settle in Omaha Nebraska in 1867 and open a studio. He also ventured onto reservations to take photographs of Indians in "natural" settings. Omaha, at this point, was the terminus of the uncompleted Union Pacific Railroad. There was a large transient population and tourists, eager to see the West, an area they had only read about in fictionalized or romanticized first person accounts. (Peter Hales, William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape [Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988]: 27-31).
4. Mrs. Gardner, wife of photographer Alexander Gardner, kept a collection of Indian clothing in the studio as she felt they were too scruffy in their own clothes after weeks of travel. The resulting photographs showed members of the same or different tribes wearing the same outfits and accessories. (Joanna C. Scherer and Jean Burton, Indians. The Great Photographs that Reveal North American Indian Life, 1847-1929, from the Unique Collection of the Smithsonian Institution [New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1973]: 150. Quoted in William E. McRae, "Images of Native Americans in Still Photography, History of Photography 12:4 [Oct.-Dec., 1989]: 328).
5. The first such photographs were taken by Humphrey Lloyd Hime during the Red River and Assiniboine Exploring Expedition of 1858 and will be further discussed below. During the course of the North American Boundary Commissions of 1858-1862, and 1872-1875 a number of photographs of native peoples and Indian graves were taken by several Royal Engineers. While working for the Geological Survey of 1871, Benjamin Baltzly took a photograph of an Indian encampment. Charles Horetzky produced several photographs of native peoples while working for the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys between 1871-1879. George Dawson also took a number of views of Indian villages and their peoples in the Queen Charlottes while employed with the Geological Survey in 1878.
6. It was certainly not the case that all natives were coerced into sitting before the camera. Members of the numerous Indian delegations who made their way to Washington to negotiate land claims and treaties, often visited local studios to have their portrait taken. The photographers, in turn, profited by this activity as they could sell copies of these images to the general public. (Richardson Fleming and Luskey, The North American Indians..., p. 20).

7. McRae, "Images of Native Americans in Still Photography," p. 326.
8. Ibid., p. 325.
9. Elizabeth Hulse, "Chronology of Daniel Wilson's Life," (Toronto: Unpublished Manuscript, 1995): 1.
10. Ibid.
11. Carl Berger, "Wilson, Sir Daniel," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 12: 1109.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Bennett McCardle, The Life and Anthropological Works of Daniel Wilson (1816-1892) (MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1980): 23.
15. Berger, "Daniel, Sir Wilson," p. 1110.
16. Ibid., p. 1112.
17. Hulse, "Chronology...", p. 7.
18. In 1996, the National Archives of Canada purchased one hundred eighty five of Wilson's watercolours painted while on a number of trips throughout North America. (Kate O'Rourke, "The Portfolio: A treasure trove uncovered - Watercolours by Sir Daniel Wilson [1816-1892]," The Archivist No. 111, 1996: 4-12).
19. Berger, "Wilson, Sir Daniel," p. 1113.
20. McCardle, p. 38.
21. McCardle, p. 41.
22. Ibid., p. 43.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Wilson, Prehistoric Man (1865): 2-3.

26. McCardle, p. 29. As McCardle also points out the term "morality" had a much broader meaning in the nineteenth century, and included aspects of religious and ethical behaviour, especially in relationship to warfare, kinship relations and sex.

27. Ibid., p. 6.

28. Ibid., p. 5.

29. Ibid., p. 13.

30. McCardle, p. 79.

31. Ibid., p. 82.

32. Bruce Trigger, "Sir Daniel Wilson: Canada's First Anthropologist," Anthropologica 8: 8.

33. McCardle, p. 82.

34. McCardle, p. 84.

35. McCardle, p. 123.

36. Daniel Wilson, "Some American Illustrations of the Evolution of New Varieties of Man," reprinted from the Journal of the Anthropological Institute (May, 1879): 4.

37. Ibid., p. 7.

38. Ibid., p. 6.

39. As Wilson stated in 1874, reservations contained only small groups of natives, their number rarely exceeding one thousand. "It is pertinently asked how far it is either wise in the general interests of the country, or beneficial to the Indians themselves, to aim at perpetuating little settlements of aborigines on a few thousand acres of reserve, ignorant of the language of the community rapidly growing up around them, and restrained in a state of pupillage from which there is no emancipation." (Wilson, "The Present State and Future Prospects of the Indians of North America," Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute V, 226).

40. Wilson, "Some American Illustrations...", pp. 13-14.

41. McCardle, p. 128.

42. Wilson viewed the treatment of native peoples in Canada as exemplary: "The record of British relations with the native tribes of North America has hitherto compared favourably with that of the United States. But while this is due in part unquestionably to an honorable recognition of the obligations to deal only justly but generously with the surviving remnant of the aboriginal owners of the soil, it must not be overlooked that the Imperial Government and the colonists of British America have hitherto been placed in greatly more favourable relations to the native Indian population than the settlers in frontier states and territories of the neighbouring republic." Wilson viewed both natives and whites in an harmonious relationship, each mutually attentive to the needs of the other. (Wilson, "The Present State and Future Prospects...", pp. 222-223).

43. McCardle, p. 31.

44. Hugh Langton, Sir Daniel Wilson, A Memoir (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1929): 14.

45. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Hulse for this reference. (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Margaret Oliphant Papers, MS 23203, ff. 48-49).

46. There is another figure who should be discussed here. The presentation of the album was noted in the Senate meetings of the University of Toronto. Ramsey Wright (1852-1933), a close friend and colleague of Wilson's, moved that the album be contained in the University's collection. It may be the case that either Wright took it upon himself to preserve the album for "posterity" or that Wilson, at some point, communicated such a desire to his friend. In either case, Sybil would have been designated as the proper channel for presentation of the album to the University. (I am grateful to Harold Avril for this reference. University of Toronto Archives, "Minutes of the Senate," A-0005/005, Oct. 14, 1892, p. 474.)

47. My thanks to Elizabeth Hulse for this reference.

48. McCardle, p. 42-43. In Caliban Wilson proposed an interesting argument. He felt that the idea of the "missing link" had its roots in literary and mythological works. In other words, although he would not have stated it as such, he argued that the notion of a transitional man was not a scientific but rather a cultural construct. In addition, he also believed that the two diametrically opposed characteristics, that of human and animal, would never have allowed such a being to successfully compete in the struggle for existence. (McCardle, *ibid.*)

49. McCardle, p. 43.

50. NAC Record Group, (RG) 5, C1, Vol. 578-579, No. 761.

51. Daniel Wilson, "Reviews. North West Territory. Reports of Progress; together with a preliminary report of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition, made under instructions of the Provincial Secretary, Canada.' By Henry Youle Hind, M.A. John Lovell, Toronto, 1859," Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art 5 (1860): 187-195. Daniel Wilson, "Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858.' By Henry Youle Hind, M.A., F.R.G.S., Professor of Chemistry and Geology in the University of Trinity College. 2 vols, 8vo. London: Longman & Co. 1860," Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art 6 (1861): 175-183.

52. Wilson, "North West Territory...", p. 195.

53. Wilson, "The Present State and Future Prospects...", p. 238.

54. Ibid.

55. The intermarriage of Scottish and French with the native populace created a number of mixed blood communities being those who followed the Catholic faith, those who observed Protestant traditions, and those who practised elements of both. This also created linguistic divisions, as Catholic mixed bloods spoke French, Protestants, English and others a mixture of both. For more on this subject see Frits Pannekoek, A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance of 1869-70 (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing, 1991).

56. Wilson, "The Present State and Future Progress...", p. 238.

57. Ibid.

58. Some of these questionnaires have survived. They are held in the Baldwin Room of the Toronto Public Library, DW S65: 58, 59 a-b; 60 a-b.

59. Wilson, "The Present State and Future Prospect...", p. 239.

60. Ibid., p. 240. Wilson's conclusions as to the social equality of the mixed bloods, however, were manifestly untrue. The settlement was hierarchized along ethnic, racial and religious lines. Europeans enjoyed social mobility, while those of mixed blood origins were often prevented from advancing and worked mainly as labourers, guides and canoe men. (See Pannekoek, A Snug Little Flock..., and Sylvia M. Van Kirk, "'What if Mama is an Indian?': The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family," in The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honour of Lewis H. Thomas, John E. Foster, ed. [Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983]).

61. Ibid., p. 242.

62. Wilson agreed with this view. He stated that: "The temptations of a border settlement, with its buffalo hunts and its chief market for peltries, must greatly interfere with the industrious habits common in old settled agricultural communities." (Wilson, "The Present State and Future Prospect...", p. 239).

63. Wilson believed that there was little evidence of the "maternal instinct " to be found among natives. He was, of course, judging such peoples from his own cultural point of view. For example, in an article on types of cranial distortions, he noted that the malformation of the skull displayed by the Flathead tribe was most likely due to their being confined by a cradle-board during infancy. Yet, "it is a mistake to suppose that in the ordinary use of the cradle-board the pappoose [sic] is subject to any such extreme restraint. The objects aimed at are facility of nursing, and perfect safety for the child. But those being secured it is nurtured with a tenderness of maternal instinct, surpassing that of many savage nations." (Wilson, "Ethnical forms and undesigned artificial distortions of the human cranium," Canadian Journal 41:7 [Sept., 1862]: 417).

64. Richardson Fleming and Luskey, The North American Indians..., p. 44.

65. Little Crow went to Fort Garry, situated north of the Red River Settlement (now the city of Winnipeg) to enlist the help of British troops. (Richard H. Dillon, North American Indian Wars [Wigston, Leicester: Magna Books, 1983]: 133).

66. Richardson Fleming and Luskey, The North American Indians..., p. 44.

67. Ibid.

68. Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room. DW S65, 108.

69. A number of catalogues were produced of views of native peoples. In 1869, Antonio Zeno Shindler published the Photographic Portraits of North American in the Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution. Many of the photographs which appear in the Wilson album were contained in this catalogue, including those of Hime. Unfortunately, Shindler attributed most of the works as his own with the result that the names of photographers were lost and the captions erroneously recorded. (James R. Glen, "The 'Curious Gallery': The Indian Photographs of the McClees Studio in Washington, 1858-1858," History of Photography 5:3 [July 1981]: 252. It should also be noted that many of Whitney's photographs were circulated under the name of Charles A. Zimmerman who took over Whitney's studio in 1871. (Richardson Fleming and Luskey, The North American Indians..., p. 245).

The breadth of images available to the general public is also evident in another

catalogue of native views entitled Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of American Indians by W.H. Jackson, Photographer of the Survey published by William Henry Jackson in 1877. It is not known whether Wilson was cognizant of this publication, or whether he purchased photographs through such catalogues. Yet it is possible that if he obtained photographs through dealers, they may have ordered images through such listings.

70. The scalp, taken as a trophy, was given to the Minnesota Historical Society. (Dillon, North American Indian Wars, p. 133).

71. McCardle, p. 128.

72. McCardle, p. 141.

73. McCardle, The Life and Anthropological Works..., p. 91.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., p. 97.

76. Daniel Wilson, "Ethnical Forms and Undesigned Artificial Distortions...", p., 409.

77. In a paper presented to the Society, W.H. Wesley argued that skull photographs were almost useless, as the photographer was rarely an artist, and even more seldom a scientist. Mistakes occurred in the positioning of the skull and the use of lighting. Through such conditions certain information was either obliterated or distorted. (W.H. Wesley, "On the Iconography of the Skull, Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London 2: 189-194. Quoted in Frank Spenser, "Some Notes on the Attempt to Apply Photography to Anthropometry during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, " in Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920, Elizabeth Edwards, ed. [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992]: 103).

78. Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection," in Anthropology and Photography..., pp. 57-61.

79. Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room, DW S65, 99 1/4.

80. McCardle, p. 12.

81. Wilson, "Ethnical Forms and Undesigned Artificial Distortions...", p. 419.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that albums cannot be fully understood without placing them within specific historic contexts. These included the conditions of their production in the commercial studio, their historic origins in the commonplace book, and the gendered construction of public and private spheres that prevailed during the Victorian era. Albums were created to contain photographs. Given this simple fact, I first discussed the public arena in which such imagery was produced.

The very material form of photographs found in albums was a product of these larger historic conditions. The standard format and subject matter of much imagery is expressive of a variety of social and economic factors which affected the daily lives of those involved in the industry. Photographs became available to the general public through the commercial photographic industry. In order to make photographs affordable, products were standardized, distribution outlets created, trade catalogues published and labour segmented both within the studio and other production areas. The establishment of these factors created the conditions necessary for the generation of an enormous amount of imagery. Individuals could enter photographic studios and, for a modest sum, receive depictions of their desired public persona. In many ways, the studio photograph operated on the level of fantasy. Props, backdrops and choice of dress all contributed to a theatre of bourgeois affluence which was often not a true reflection of an individual's actual social status.

Public demand for such imagery was therefore volatile. New products had to be constantly introduced in order to maintain public interest in the medium. Yet neither sale of the product nor the conditions necessary for its production could be assured. An analysis of the period's photographic journals reveals an industry anxious about periods of economic depression and public boredom with certain products. The journals operated as a forum in which to debate these issues. The variety of stances which appear disclose an industry struggling to maintain coherence while remaining uncertain as to how to respond to constantly shifting social and economic conditions.

The production of photographs involved a number of issues, ones which have been little appreciated by photographic historians. These include problems of employment, health, education, and apprenticeship. The lack of standard education or training meant that the quality of the product could not be assured. Health was another factor as many photographers were either unaware of, or chose to ignore, the deleterious effects of photographic chemicals and lost their business due to sickness. Those involved in the industry were also constrained by other factors such as weather, fire, and the loss of income due to piracy of works. Employment of women was another issue. Their labour, largely unrecognized, contributed to the on-going continuance of the industry. Attempts to explain their presence provoked a number of debates, revelatory of the period's attempt to balance women's right to employment with socially prescribed definitions of femininity.

The conditions in which photographic imagery was produced is one aspect to be considered when looking at photographic albums. Another is how such imagery was used

by individuals to express aspects of their personal lives. Albums allowed individuals to collect and assemble photographs. Their pages reveal the specific choices that were made in terms of the placement of imagery. In the family album, assemblers grouped images in such a manner as to visually express their perceptions of relationships between family members and friends. The scrap album allowed the assembler to be more interactive with the presentation of imagery. Photographs could be cut-up, manipulated and augmented to convey a more personal understanding of individuals who comprised the family unit. Images of the same person could be repeated and placed within different groupings to indicate that within the changing circumstances of family history, relationships were fluid. The manipulation of the studio photograph, and its emphasis on the public presentation of self, could be altered within the scrap album to present individuals as participants in both public and private spheres.

Yet what strikes one immediately when looking at photographic albums is the fact that they contain so little written information. Sometimes photographs are captioned, but more often they are not. Assemblers chose to express their ideas solely through visual means with the result that other forms of communication were excluded. I have argued that this was in part a reaction to the photographic album's predecessor, the commonplace book or sentiment album. A large component of these latter works was dedicated to literary entries such as poems and apothegms collected by young women as a means to consolidate both male and female friendships. An examination of women's magazines reveals that in their enthusiasm to assemble their albums, young women obscured accepted

categories of literature and created confusion as to the proper relationship between the sexes. Although the introduction of the photographic album provoked a variety of responses, the general public appeared relieved that now they would not be imposed upon to make an entry which might at some future point prove to be an embarrassment.

In addition, the commonplace book circulated among the assembler's friends and acquaintances. Its subject matter, therefore, could not be strictly controlled. The family album, in contrast, was usually assembled within the confines of the home. The assembler, therefore, was in more command of what comprised its contents. Further, as little was written down, information about certain family members could be discretely communicated in conversation. The photographic album permitted ambiguity; it allowed assemblers both to reveal and conceal their personal perceptions of the family unit to both family and non-family members.

This capacity of the photographic album could also be used to express professional interests. The Daniel Wilson album was used as a test case as it combined the public and private presentation of self in a unique way that reveals how aspects of the domestic sphere intersected with larger issues of colonialism, ethnology and nation building. Wilson's use of the album proves that it was an appropriate space wherein to express personal ideas through assemblage rather than conventions of rationalist discourse.

The album reveals the substantial amount of imagery available to those interested in representations of the "exotic" races. Through groupings and manipulations, Wilson created relations between certain images as a means to demonstrate his particular theories

on ethnology. The album allowed Wilson to visually express his arguments and make use of irony and wit where he wanted to express greater ambivalence and uncertainty than was usual in academic texts. In addition, as opposed to a published paper, the album was unique. The choice, cutting, placing and augmenting of imagery provided Wilson with a means to engage in a much more personal statement. The album also granted him a certain amount of privacy. As occurs in the family album, information concerning the exact reasons why images were chosen and decisions regarding their placement would be orally transmitted. Certain aspects of the album could be elucidated, or not, depending on who was viewing the photographs.

To some extent the album can be understood by placing it within the context of Wilson's writings. In addition, as Wilson used imagery both produced and distributed through the commercial industry, much of its subject matter can be identified and researched. I have provided an analysis of several grouping in the album in order both to indicate the richness of the imagery and provide a methodology for future viewing. In terms of the latter I have emphasized that images cannot be looked at simply in isolation. They must be compared to others contained on the same page and further related to those found on opposite pages. Photographs pertaining to similar subject matter may or may not be grouped together. For example, portraits of those who participated in the Sioux Revolt are scattered throughout the album. Their presence both affects and is affected by other imagery which surrounds them. In this sense, the album must be considered a unit. In addition, because the album allows for a more creative use of imagery, it is not a given

that there will be an exact, one-to-one relation between ideas and certain images, or their groupings.

Wilson's use of the album was similar to that found in the domestic sphere. Its very constitution operated both to communicate certain ideas yet remain private. However, the album differs from the family album in that the portrayal of native peoples was under the control of white colonizers. Both photographic technology and Eurocentric visual traditions locked aboriginal peoples within the values of white culture. In contrast to the white makers of family albums, indigenous subjects had no control over how their images were reassembled by their colonizers into larger constructs. The enormous amount of imagery generated in this regard served Wilson's personal interests in the assembly of his album. The tautological aspect of commercial photographs of native peoples justified his belief in the benefits of assimilation. The availability of such imagery allowed Wilson to group photographs in such a manner as to support his theories of interracial contact. Actual contact with these peoples was therefore unnecessary. Photographs could be obtained, sorted and arranged in a relatively dispassionate manner within the confines of his place of residence in Toronto. Photography preempted the need to study the cultural complexities of aboriginal societies. The process of colonization could thus proceed unimpeded with the result that aboriginal cultures were either annihilated or seriously compromised.

My research of photographic albums has indicated the variety of methods which must be applied to interpret historic objects comprised for the most part of visual imagery.

In my case study analysis of the Wilson album, it was seen that its contents contain a great deal of information pertaining to nineteenth century ethnology, the worldwide distribution of images of indigenous peoples and the personal circumstances of its assembler's life, issues which can, at present, be only partially elucidated. In other cases, I have speculated on the meaning of the arrangement and grouping of photographs. My intention in this respect has been to examine the many facets of the photographic album to allow an appreciation of their value as historic objects and provide what insights we can gain as modern viewers through such an examination of the past.

Appendix I

Types of Albums

This appendix will briefly indicate how the album served many diverse purposes. Given the confines of this thesis, discussion of an album's contents will either be limited to a general description, or only a few observations will be made. Throughout this section, it is understood that all albums are complex cultural expressions. Even those which appear straightforward in their contents must be examined from the point of view of the assembler and their particular social circumstances.

Albums were professionally and personally assembled for a number of purposes. Some were produced by studios such as Notman and Livernois for public sale. The earliest known Canadian album in this regard was published by Samuel McLaughlin (1826-1914) in 1858 entitled "The Photographic Portfolio: A Monthly View of Canadian Scenes and Scenery."¹ The album includes twelve albumen prints each accompanied by a short text which explains the specific significance of the view. Landscape photographs appear as well as views of monuments and memorials. Some albums were dedicated to the display of photographs which depicted scenes of interest encountered during the course of a trip or vacation. In some cases, photographs could be purchased from local studios and later arranged in an album. For example, in the latter part of the century, the Bailey Bros. or C.S. Bailey and Co. produced a number of views taken along the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway which passengers bought and placed in albums.² In other cases, local studios sold preassembled albums which could be bought as a souvenir.³

Albums were for the most part personal items. However, in some cases, certain professional groups found its format well suited to the publication and promotion of their interests. Many of the albums produced in this respect were large in size. In one sense, this was practical as the large page format could be used to display photographs and text to their best advantage. In another sense, larger albums, with their leather or study cloth binding, and gold leaf accents, conveyed a sense of dignity and seriousness to the contents.

For example, the "Ottawa Album"⁴ measured 18 x 15 inches and was published in 1875 by W.H. Smith of Ottawa to "promote the city's commercial and industrial developments." It contains fifty-nine albumen prints copied from originals by William J. Topley (1845-1930) of Ottawa. The album combined business with artistry. Photographs of local views were included with those depicting business establishments, accompanied by advertisements. The album was produced as a marketing device to promote both commercial interests and the natural beauty of the area.

Another example of an album created to serve specific interests is "Notman's Photographic Selections." The album, measuring 18 x 13 inches, was published in two series by John Lovell, in 1863 and 1865. Both series contain photographs by William Notman (1826-1891), and reproductions of paintings by such Canadian artists as C.J. Way, Henry Sandham, Cornelius Kreighoff, Otto Jacobi, John Fraser, and Robert Duncanson. The albums represent an attempt to consolidate the period's artistic community and encourage public interest in Canadian art.⁵ Their format assisted viewers to aesthetically appreciate the works displayed. The large leaves allowed for copious

borders giving one an opportunity to contemplate each work individually. The albums contain little explanatory text indicating that emphasis was placed more on the visual than on information about the works or the artists. In addition, through such a work, photography gained more credibility in the public eye. The ability to reproduce paintings promoted photography's role in the education of public taste.⁶ Notman also had specific interests in the publication of such albums; photography gained the status of a fine art by being placed within the context of reproductions of paintings.

Individuals could also promote their own work through the album format.

Alexander Henderson produced a number of albums in 1865 which were variously titled Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur, Canadian Views and Studies Photographed from Nature, and Photographic Views and Studies of Canadian Scenery. Although Henderson appears to have personally assembled these works, it is difficult to determine whether they were created as an artistic or commercial product.⁷ In terms of the latter, the albums were carefully crafted. Each page is dedicated to the display of only one work and captions are brief; there is little to distract the viewer from focussing solely on the photograph. One therefore concentrates on the works' strong formal sense of composition and Henderson's attention to detail and tone.

However, it also appears that Henderson assembled these albums to suit the needs of specific clients.⁸ Their contents vary, indicating that some selection process was made on the part of certain individuals. In addition, some include dedications, suggesting that Henderson produced a number of albums which could be purchased as gifts.⁹ In this sense,

the Canadian Views and Studies series represent an intersection of larger usages of the album as they were a product of both personal and commercial interests.

Albums could be personally assembled to depict aspects of an individual's career. For example, in 1884 L.M Sampson assembled an album of photographs of the 100th Regiment of the Royal Canadians at Malta.¹⁰ The album contains both group and individual photographs of officers which were cut out and arranged symmetrically on pages. Interspersed with images of military life are those of women, some taken in studios, others taken outside such as one which shows a group of women engaged in a croquet game. Another photograph of women standing at a window with the caption "At the sound of the drum," also appears. The album represents a significant period, in all its aspects, in the career of its assembler.

The "Sir Hugh Allan" album is also representative of a meaningful period in its owner's life.¹¹ The album contains thirty-two albumen prints taken by Notman Studios as a gift to H.R.H. Prince Albert to commemorate his visit to Belmere, Quebec in June 1870. The album contains group photographs of Prince Arthur, the Governor General, Lady Lisgar and Hugh Allan, as well as views of the house "Belmere" and Lake Memphremagog.

Albums could also be used for the creative display of specific interests. In 1872, the preoccupations of Hugh Wylie Beckett resulted in the assembly of an album entitled "Actresses of the Day." Cut out photographs of actresses were framed with hand drawn flowers or geometrical motifs (plate 23). Plant motifs are prevalent throughout the album.

Photographs of women's heads hang suspended as flowers or buds from drawn stalks. The motifs were carefully drawn, indicating that perhaps Beckett had training as a draftsman. The names of all the women appear in a little scroll drawn beneath their photographs. The album not only includes actresses. One page is dedicated to famous women of history and includes Marie Antoinette, Charlotte Corday, Catherine de Medici, and Mary Queen of Scots. More risqué photographs of women lounging on couches also appear. The album reveals the enormous amount of imagery available to individuals which could be used as a means to express their fantasies. As such, through his choice and arrangement of photographs, Beckett asserted a certain amount of proprietorship over the women whose images he selected to include in his oeuvre.¹²

Albums were used for many other purposes, not all of which can be listed here. Some were used for the display of famous persons such as an album found in the D.I. Cameron collection in the National Archives of Canada which contains fifty cartes-de-visite of the Members of Canadian Parliament of 1862.¹³ Others contain images which documented specific projects, such as the building of the Victoria Bridge in Montreal between the years 1886 and 1887.¹⁴ A number of albums exist containing photographs taken during survey expeditions: "Views of Labrador, Hudson Strait and Bay, 1884"¹⁵; Saskatchewan, Peace River, Rocky Mtns and Northern B.C. Views, 1872 & 1873, by the C.P. Exploration Party, Canada"¹⁶; and the "North American Boundary Commission 1872-1875 Photographs,"¹⁷ to name a few.

The following list of albums represents those viewed and researched for this thesis. Their contents reveal how the album suited a variety of needs and purposes. Yet much more research needs to be done on the album in terms of its cultural significance. In addition, it should be noted that many albums are retained in private collections. A comprehensive study of nineteenth century albums would engage the researcher in larger issues of collecting. I have noted this aspect of research in the following appendix in order to indicate how a modern interpretation of these objects is also affected by the context in which the viewing takes place.

(i) List of Albums Viewed

(i) National Archives of Canada

Title	Accession No.	Dates
Jacobson Album	1974-011	1870-1890s
Minnesota Historical Society	1977-033	
Ottawa Album	1964-144	1875
CPR, Lake Superior	1936-072	1882-1885
Fort Garry, 1876	1924-017	1876
Bayley Album, Nos.1,2&3	1979-318	1883-1891
Album, Forsey Coll'n	1981-098	1860-1870
Gov't Expedition to Hudsons' Straits and Bay	1975-235	1897
Notman's Photographic Selections	1989-178	1863
Notman's Photographic Selections, 2nd Series	1989-100	1865
Arctic Photographs, Vol. I	1936-257	1875-1876
Arctic Photographs, Vol. II	1936-258	1875-1876
Cruise of the Pandora	1984-109	1875
Deville Album	1933-240	1886
Jacobs Album	1936-038	1860-1869
Lefroy Album	1980-024	1865-1870
The Photographic Portfolio: A Monthly View of Canadian Scenes and Scenery	1977-114	1858
Grant Album	1960-051	1863-1870
Peters Album, Vols I&II	1958-179	1884-1885
B.C. Views	1971-109	1860-1880
Lemieux Album	1949-087	
Birch Album	1976-259	1865-1875
Brisker Album	1942-014	1870
Album, P. Macdougall Coll'n	1967-054	
Sir Hugh Allen Album	1955-017	1870
Album, Mosson Coll'n	1970-217	1889
Album, McKendry Coll'n	1967-110	
Album, Rolland Roch Coll'n	1970-062	1868
Japan Lacquered Album	1986-090	1858
Boswell Family Album	1979-052	1860-1870s

Henderson Family Album	1980-109	1860-1890s
DeLilles Album	1984-169	1860s
Cabinet Album	1985-006	1860-1895
Cabinet Album	1985-007	1860-1885
100th Regiment, Royal Canadians Album	1988-021	1884
Canadian Views and Studies	1980-149	1860s
Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur	1983-069	1863-1865
North American Scenery	1983-088	1863-1864
Family Album, Phillips Coll'n	1988-052	1865-1866
Corkin Album	1982-248	1885-1890
Portrait Album	1981-077	1860s
Albums, I,II&III McDougall Coll'n	1981-250	1870-1880s
Canadian Scraps	1980-149	1858-1895
RTH Family Album	1988-299	
Canadian Handbook & Tourist Guide	1989-178	1867
Brown Chamberlin Album	1985-008	1860-1880
Album, Katz Coll'n	1986-143	
Photographic Views of Newfoundland	1984-314	1888-1895
Album, Glover Coll'n	1988-061	1884
Views of Labrador, Hudsons Strait and Bay	1963-058	1865
Livernois Collection of Photographs	1963-157	1865-1882
Princess Louise Album	1964-061	1870s
Souvenir of Victoria	1964-061	1880-1892
Prior-Wandesforde Album	1972-244	1872-1873
1872 & 1873 CP Exploration Party	1973-011	1872-1875
North American Boundary Comm.	1973-011	1872-1875
Dawson Album	1975-122	1865-1875
Album, Baldwin Coll'n	1979-006	1889
Borden-Clarke Albums	1967-077	1880s

Notman Archives

Boorne & May Sarcee Indians (Sundance Ceremony)	91-B	1886-1887
Boorne & May Album	MP 014	1887-1889
Album, Mrs. G.H. Davidson	MP 2145	

Album, Ross Family	MP 122/82	1869
Album, Emily Ross	MP 107/82	1867
Alicia Whitehead Album	MP 2154	
Hugh Wylie Beckett Album	MP 189/78	1872
Mackenzie & Allan Album	MP 011/87	1860/1880-1890
Shakespeare Album	MP 019/93	
Ceramic Album	MP 123/81	1880s
Miss Mary Hodgson Album	MP 133/81	

National Gallery of Canada

Album Botanique	P67: 178: 1-93	1880s
Sewell Family Album	P81: 003: 1-36	1870-1880

Royal Ontario Museum

Sir Daniel Wilson Album	892.4 (Dept. of Anthropology)	1892
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Endnotes for Appendix I

1. N.A.C. 1977-114.
2. As seen in the album assembled by J. Macqueen Baldwin (N.A.C. 1979-006). J. Baldwin was a missionary who took the railway from Toronto to Vancouver en route to Japan. Baldwin most likely purchased these photographs in Vancouver.
3. For example, the company of Boorne and May assembled a number of albums of containing photographs of native peoples in the western Alberta area. Mentions should also be made of the "Deville Album" (N.A.C 1933-240), which contains one hundred sixteen albumen prints taken in 1886 by Edouard G. Deville (1849-1924) of various places along the C.P.R. route in Alberta and B.C. The subject matter includes landscape photographs as well as shots of lumber camps, a Chinese camp, the Chinese district of Victoria, and Indian shanties. The album was presented to Sir David Lewis Macpherson who was the Minister of the Interior from 1883 to 1885. At the time the photographs were taken, Deville was the Surveyor-General of Canada.
4. N.A.C. 1964-144. The album measures 46 x 38.5 cm, and contains 70 pages.
5. For more information on "Photographic Selections," and its pertinence to the development of Canadian art see Dennis Reid, "Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979).
6. Notman also produced "North American Scenery, being selections from C.J. Way's studies, 1863-64" with the same intention. The album contains twelve albumen reproductions of paintings by Way of scenes in Québec City, the Saguenay, New Hampshire and Niagara Falls. The album includes a table of contents identifying all the works. It was dedicated to "His Lordship the Bishop of Montreal and the Metropolitan President of the Art Association of Montreal." (N.A.C. 1983-088).
7. Richard J. Huyda, "British North American Portfolios and Albums of the 1850s and 1860s," (Paper delivered at the Rencontres Internationales de la Photographie, July 6-16, 1980, Arles France): 48.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Sampson Collection, "100th Regiment, Royal Canadians Album" N.A.C. 1988-021.

11. N.A.C. 1955-017.

12. The dominance of plant motifs throughout the album are expressive of the period's notions of femininity as precious, delicate, and "fruitful." The album is also an interesting early example of the close relation between women's glamourization and pornography. Although this topic is beyond the confines of this thesis, a few observations can be made. An examination of trade catalogues indicates that there was a large market for photographs of famous personalities. Images of actresses and actors were readily available for individuals to buy and insert in their albums. One also notices in photographic journals in the period that Beckett assembled his album that articles began to appear about photographers who were arrested for the sale of "indecent photographs." Although pornography most likely existed from photography's inception, the traffic of such images started to receive public notice in the early 1870s. For Beckett to obtain risqué photographs would have involved him in a certain amount of surreptitious activity. An article which appeared in the British Journal Of Photography in 1872 described the process in detail. A complaint had been made to the police about a certain bookseller who had obscene photographs in his possession. A detective sergeant, posing as an ordinary customer, went to the bookseller's establishment and purchased two books. He returned a few days later and asked the owner if any other photographs were available whereupon the bookseller "...produced a book and some photographs of the most obscene character." The article noted that the bookseller demanded a high price for the articles "on account of the dangers attending his traffic" and because "his partner in business was undergoing a term of imprisonment for selling similar pictures." With evidence in hand, the bookseller was arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour. ("Conviction for Selling Indecent Photographs," British Journal of Photography 19:652 [Nov. 1, 1872]: 525-526.)

13. N.A.C. 1960-055.

14. N.A.C. 1961-046.

15. N.A.C. 1963-058. The album contains fifty-three albumen prints taken by Robert Bell (1841-1917) who was the science and medical officer of the Geological Survey of Canada's Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1884. The album contains photographs pertaining to the geology, topography, ethnology and modes of transportation in the Canadian North.

16. N.A.C. 1973-011. The album, which was presented to Lord Dufferin, contains forty albumen photographs taken by Charles Horetzky (1838-1900) who participated in the Canadian Pacific Railway exploration surveys of 1871, 1872, 1874 and 1875. The photographs were most likely printed by Alexander Henderson. (For more information on Charles Horetzky see Andrew J. Birrell, "100 years ago: Horetzky the first CPR photographer," Canadian Photography [March, 1974]: 41-46; 54; Birrell, "Fortunes of a

Misfit; Charles Horetzky," Alberta Historical Review [Winter, 1971]: 9-25).

17. N.A.C. 1973-011. The album is comprised of photographs taken by unidentified photographers of the Royal Engineers.

Appendix II

The Role of Collecting Institutions

This appendix will consider the role of collecting institutions such as museums and archives and the consequences of their mandates for the viewing of albums. The discussion will focus on research surrounding the above mentioned Album Botanique contained in the Photographs Collection at the National Gallery of Canada. The difficulties encountered in researching this album provide an opportunity to examine how one must be aware of the variety of factors which define the context in which an album is viewed and how this affects its interpretation.

When viewing any album, one must be aware of both its historic and modern context. Both the survival of albums and any documentation related to their contents are dependant on the mandates of collecting institutions, such as museums and archives. In terms of archives, albums are usually purchased for their historic significance. However, the definition of historic significance is usually dependant on the interests of certain groups. Other histories will either be ignored, or distorted. In the case of museums, albums are usually collected for their display of artistry, either in terms of their lithographed pages, or for photographs they may contain of already "canonized" photographers.

Research into the Album Botanique is a case in point. The album contains not only photographs of individual family members, but also those of persons directly related to the career of Francis J. Lynch (1837-1906). Lynch was an engineer, originally from England,

who was employed by the Russian government to construct irrigation ditches and railways in the Caucasus. Upon immigrating to Canada, he directed the construction of one section of the Intercolonial Railway and was later employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway in Newfoundland. The album contains numerous photographs of Russian soldiers, taken either in English, Russian or Caucasian studios. A photograph of Alexander Murray (1810-1884), Chief Engineer of the 1875 Newfoundland Railway Survey, and Sandford Fleming, Engineer in Chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys, also appear. On one level, the album is an excellent example of how the private and public, or familial and professional interests intertwined. Yet, at the same time, the album is also elusive as documentation concerning family members, especially in terms of women, is scanty.

The Album Botanique is contained in the Photographs Collections of the National Gallery of Canada. Other photographs and manuscripts pertaining to Lynch's career reside at the National Archives of Canada. In terms of the latter, as Lynch was a government employee, and worked on projects pertinent to nation building, the archives could accept his fond as the material therein pertained to their mandate of collecting articles of national importance. In terms of the National Gallery, the history of the album is more complex. It first arrived through the estate of Lynch's son, Frank Christopher Chisholm Lynch. In 1964, F.C.C. Lynch willed a number of works by Canadian artists to the Gallery, among which was included the Album Botanique. The album was accessioned in 1967 when the Gallery decided to create a separate department for the collection of photographs. As the

album contains many fine lithographed illustrations, its aesthetic aspects could be used as justification for its retention within the Gallery's collection.

To view the Album Botanique solely within the context of the National Gallery would allow an appreciation of only one aspect of the album. The researcher would be not be able to understand its historic position. To examine only the materials found in the National Archives would limit comprehension of the larger context of Lynch's career overseas. Both institutions, however, are themselves restricted in their ability to shed light on Lynch's familial relations. Any information concerning the women whose photographs appear in the album was obtained from obituaries, which, in turn, related their significance only in terms of their husband's careers. This aspect is part of a larger concern in that culturally, both in an historic and modern sense, the roles of various family members are only cursorily acknowledged. Individual achievement was, and for the most part still is, based on institutional recognition. The familial underpinnings supporting such achievement are taken for granted.

Appendix III Contents of the Daniel Wilson Album

UL: Upper Left	Photographer A
UC: Upper Centre	carpet with circular motifs ¹
UR: Upper Right	Photographer B
ML: Middle Left	carpet with diamond motif
MC: Middle Centre	
MR: Middle Right	
LL: Lower Left	
LC: Lower Centre	
LR: Lower Right	

Page 1: "My Poor Relations" (hand written script, photographs at the edges contained in hand painted, rustic frame, connected by painted sticks in which leaves and vines intertwine)

UL: Daniel Wilson

UC: J. Barnard Davis: co-author of Crania Britannica²

UR: Chinese boy

ML: Louis Agassiz

MC: Blackface Comedians: "The Critics"

MR: Charles Darwin

LL: Indian portrait

LC: Drawing, "The Introduction" (by Daniel Wilson?) of Darwin confronting an ape, and a half-human, half-beast (Caliban?) individual

LR: Black child

Page 2

Blank

Page 3

MC: "Young Lubra, native of Victoria, Australia, Oct. 9, married"

LC: "Esquimaux camp, East Main, N. of Labrador": George Simpson McTavish, photographer, c. 1865 (McTavish was an amateur photographer, stationed at the Hudson's Bay trading post at Little Whale River, Quebec.)³

Page 4

UC: "The Yak, Himalayas": Frith's series photograph, Samuel Bourne, photographer? c. 1863?

LC: "Natives of Ladak, Himalayas": Frith's series photograph, Samuel Bourne, photographer? c. 1863?

Page 5 (hand-coloured photographs)

UL: "Chinese servant"

UC: uncaptioned, Chinese river boat

UR: "Chinese Street Vendor"

ML: "Buddhist Priest"

MC: "Mandarin, Ning-po"

MR: "Lady of Canton"

LL: "House Coolie"

LC: uncaptioned, rickshaw driver

LR: "Chinese Beggar"

Page 6

UL: "Kish-ke-taw-wag, Chippewa"

UC: "Hu-zai-yan-ki-win, a Sioux": Old Bets, a Santee Dakota who helped whites captives during the 1862 Sioux Revolt, Joel Emmons Whitney, or William Henry Illingworth, photographer? c. 1862?

UR: "Shab-ash-kunk, Chippewa Chief"

ML: "Ka-ka-oongie, Sparrow Hawk, Chippewa Chief" Photographer A

MC: "Winona, a Sioux"

MR: "Dakota" Photographer A

LL: "Sioux": Indians in front of tepee, within the confines of a fort, prisoners of Sioux Revolt? Whitney or Benjamin Franklin Upton, photographer? c. 1862?

LC: "Sioux Boy, Winter Dress"

LL: "Tepees of the Sioux, Minnesota" Upton, photographer? c. 1862?

Page 7

UL: "Po-go-na-ghe-shiek, Head Chief of Chippewa Nation." This is a photograph of "Hole in the Day", mentioned in the Robertson letter (Chapter Three). He also appears below on page 49 MR. Photographer A

UC: "O-ge-mah-o-cha-wub, Chief, Leech Lake Chippewas"

UR: "Wa-su-tah, Dakota" (see below page 39 LR) Photographer A

MC: "Indian Graves on the Red River": Humphrey Lloyd Hime, photographer, originally captioned "Indian graves, covered with split sticks. An enemy's scalp is usually suspended from the thin poles overhanging the grave, September-October, 1858."

LL: "Wah-bo-jeeg, Chief, Gull Lake Chippewas": Whitney, photographer?

LC: "Chippewa, Wigwam"

LR: "Ne-bah-quah-om, Chippewa Chief" Whitney, photographer? This photograph was used by the Canadian painter Frederick Verner (1836-1928) for his painting "Ne-bah-quah-om (Big Dog), Chippewa" 1862. On the back of the portrait Verner wrote: "offered himself and his band of warriors to the Canadian Government to fight the Sioux in their raid in Minnesota in 1862." ⁴ Verner also used another photograph, which appears in the Wilson album, as a basis for a painting. See below, "Ta-na-ze-pa" page 39 LR. Page 8 UC & LC: uncaptioned, Frank Mason Good, photographer, these two photographs appeared together in Good's published album "Holy Land Pictures" (1868) originally captioned "Group of Bethlehem Women and Men."

MC: uncaptioned, Good, photographer?⁵

Page 9 (hand-coloured photographs)

UL: "Japanese Mother and Child"

UC: "Second Physician to the Tycoon"

UR: "Yaconin, a Japanese Officer"

ML: "Japanese Young Lady"

MC: "C.K. Dillanay of Boston & his Japanese Pupils"

MR: "Japanese Widow and her son, Head Shaven in sign of mourning"

LL: "Japanese High Priest & Attendant"

LC: "Executioner of Kanagawa"⁶

LR: "Satsuma's Admiral"

Page 10

UC: "Building an Igloo, or Esquimaux Snow House" McTavish, photographer, 1865

MC: "Esquimaux House, East Main, N. of Labrador" McTavish, photographer, 1865

LC: "Esquimaux encampment, East Main" McTavish, photographer, 1865

Page 11

UL: "Little Hill, a Winnebago Chief" Photographer B

UC: "E-li-ah-ha, a Winnebago"

UR: "U-se-do-ha, a Sioux" Photographer B

ML: "Maw-je-ke-jik, First Chief, Cass Lake, Chippewa"

MC: "Cha-cha-ch-ca, Winnebago Chief"

MR: "Que-wi-sain-shish, Chief, Gull Lake, Chippewa"

LL: "Red Legs, Sioux Chief"

LC: "Winnebago Cherahs"

LR: "Ha-zai-yan-ke-win, a Sioux." This is the same name for the native woman who appears UC, page 6. This photograph of Old Bets was taken by Whitney c. 1862.

Page 12: "Palestine"

UC: uncaptioned, Good, photographer⁷

LC: uncaptioned, Good, photographer?

Page 13 (hand-coloured photographs)

UC: uncaptioned, Chinese porters

ML: "Foochau woman"

MC: "Chinese girl, Ning-po"

MR: "Chinese Civil Officer"

LC: "Chinese Women"

Page 14

MC: "Schechem, Jacob's Well" Good, photographer?

LC: "Coffee Stall, Jerusalem" Good, photographer?

Page 15

UC: "Bedouin" Good, photographer?

ML: uncaptioned, reproduction of painting "The Post of the Desert" by Horace Vernet, 1842⁸

MR: uncaptioned, reproduction of painting by Horace Vernet, 1842

LC: "A Syrian Turk" Good, photographer?

Page 16

MC: "A Plain-Cree Half-Breed & Pappoose" Hime, photographer, originally captioned "An Ojibway Squaw with Papoose, September-October, 1858."

LC: "Sioux Teepes" [sic]

Page 17

UL: "O-ta-dan, (Plenty.) Sioux"

UC: "To-keepe-ne-tah, Chippewa"

UR: "Sioux squaw" Old Bets, Whitney, photographer? same woman as seen on page 6, UC, page 11

MC: "Chippewa Wigwams, Red River" Hime, photographer, originally captioned "Ojibway tents on the banks of the Red River, near the Middle Settlement, September-October, 1858."

LL: "Wah-pa-doo-ta, (Red Leaf) Sioux" (same portrait of Indian which appears on title page, LL.)

LC: "Shab-ash-kunk, Chippewa Chief and his Wife"

LR: "Ah-kie-wen-zee, Head Chief, Lac Centre Oreille Chippewas"

Page 18

UL: "Nah-gun-e-gah-bow, Chief of the Rabbit Lake Chippewas" Whitney, photographer, c. 1862

UC: "Ta-Tanka-Nazrin, Hereditary Chief of the Sioux" reproduction of painting

UL: "Mis-ko-pe-nen-she, Chief, Lake Winnipeg Chippewas

ML: "Little Crow, Sioux Chief, Leader of the Minnesota Massacre, 1862"

MC: "Little Crow's Scalp"

MR: "Wo-wi-na-pe, Little Crow's Son"

LL: "Now-we-ke-shiek, Chippewa Chief"

LC: "Sioux"

LR: "O-ge-mah-o-cha-wub, Chief, Leech Lake Chippewas"

Page 19

UC: "Six Nation Indians"

MC: "Piegan Indians, Rocky Mountain House" Charles Horetzky, photographer, 1871

LL: "St Regis Indians"

LC: "Tuscaroras"

LR: "Onondagas and Cayugas" John Turner, photographer, 1867

Page 20

Full Page: "Radama II, King of Madagascar" William Ellis, photographer⁹

Page 21

MC: "Native Australian Women, Victoria"

Page 22

UL: "Po-go-nay-ke-shiek, Chippewa Chief" Photographer B

UC: "Guarding Corn from Blackbirds"

UR: "We-no-na, a Sioux" (who also appears on page 6, MC) Photographer B

MC: "The Great Prairie, Red River, Looking South" Hime photographer, originally captioned "The Prairie, on the banks of the Red River, looking south, September-October, 1858."

LL: "Chippewa Wedding" published in Shindler's Catalogue, 1867

LC: "Pembina Ox Carts"

LR: "Winnowing Wheat"

Page 23

MC: "Cree Halfbreed" reproduction of painting

Page 24

MC: uncaptioned, reproduction of painting, little girl picking flowers

Page 25

UL: uncaptioned, British type, man holding baby
UC: uncaptioned, fishwife, Macara, photographer, c. 1878
UR: "Natives of St Kilda"
MC: "A Scottish Highlander, Oct. ? 74"
LL: uncaptioned, fishwife, Macara, photographer, c. 1878
LC: "Women of N. Wales"
LR: uncaptioned, fishwife, Macara, photographer, c. 1878

Page 26

UL: "Natives, Cape Town"
UC: "Negro Water-carrier, Palestine"
UR: "Cape Town 'Arabs'"
MC: "Zulus dressing hair and snuffing"
LC: "Zulu in war dress"

Page 27

UC: "Kalulu, Dr. Livingstone's Negro Boy"
ML: uncaptioned, black woman
MC: "Hottentot"
MR: uncaptioned, black man
LC: "Dejaz Alamawo, son of King Theodore"

Page 28

UC: "Haida Houses & Carved Posts, Skedan's [sic] Village, Queen Charlotte Islands"
George M. Dawson, photographer, 1878
LC: "Skidegote [sic] Indian Village, Queen Charlotte Islands" Dawson, photographer,
1878

Page 29

UL: "O-gee-tub, Chief of Cass Lake Chippewas"
UC: "Waskaiegun aeinu, Cree Halfbreed"
UR: "Ma-jie-way-we-dung Chippewa"
MC: "Indian Graves on the Assiniboine River" Hime, photographer, originally captioned
"Indian graves, covered with birch bark (the patch of white in the foreground is snow),
September-October, 1858"
LL: "Sua-ma-ne (tinkling? walker?) Sioux" Photographer A
LC: "'Beaver Hunter' Red Lake Indian"
LR: "On-epete-tah, Sioux Dandy" Photographer B

Page 30

UC: "Abdul Aziz, Sultan"

MC: "Turkish Women of rank" Bourne, photographer?

Page 31

UC: uncaptioned, black woman

MC: "Date Palms, Upper Egypt"

LC: uncaptioned, black woman

Page 32

UC: "Keshub Chunder Sen"

MC: "Narayan Sheshadn"

LL: "Sir J. Madavan Row, Dewan of Travancores"

LC: "Atar Dasse, Brahmin"

LL: "Sir Metawar Jung, Prime Minister of the Nizam"

Page 33

UC: "Bemares" Frith's series, Bourne, photographer?

LC: "Maharajah's Palace & boat, Cashmere" Bourne, photographer?

Page 34: "Maoris of New Zealand"

UL: "Maori"

UC: "Taraia, aged 112"

UR: "Maori woman"

ML: "Paul, Chief of Orakei"

MC: "Maori Girl, mere-mere or green stone charm in left ear"

MR: "Keropa a Hauhau who murdered Rev. J. Volknu, at Opotiki"

MC: "Chief of Tharnas Tribe"

LC: "Maori girl. Shark's Tooth in right ear"

LR: "Maori girl, Poverty Bay"

Page 35: "South Australians"

UL: uncaptioned, aboriginal woman

UR: uncaptioned, aboriginal man

ML: uncaptioned, three aboriginal men

MC: "Native Shepherds, South Australia"

MR: uncaptioned, aboriginal woman

LC: uncaptioned, aboriginal woman

Page 36

MC: "Sioux Tepees, near Fort Snelling" Whitney or Upton, photographer?

Page 37

UL: "Ampetu-sapa-win, a Sioux"

UC: "Chippewa"

UR: "A Sioux Belle"

ML: "Na-pe-wa-mni-mni, one that sprinkles the land, a Cree"

MC: "U-se-do-ha, a Dakota belle"

MR: "Wa-bon-au-quot, White Cloud, Chief of Gull Lake Chippewas"

LL: "Sioux" Whitney or Upton, photographer?

LC: "Bitter Man, Chief of Pillager Chippewas"

LR: "Sioux Women" Whitney or Upton, photographer?

Page 38

UL: uncaptioned, Maori woman

UR: uncaptioned, Maori man

MC: "Waikato, Maori Chief"

LL: uncaptioned, Maori man

LR: "Maori Girl"

Page 39

UL: "Kish-kah-nah-cut, Chief of Mille Lac Chippewas"

UC: "Ah-ah-ohaw-ne Ki-shiek, Chippewa" published in Shindler Catalogue, 1869, also known as "Crossing Sky"

UR: "Nah-bon-a-aush Chief, Leech Lake Chippewas"

ML: "Paha-uza-tanka the Great Scalp Taker, Sioux"

MC: "Chippewa Huts, West of Red River" Hime, photographer, originally captioned "Birch-bark tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement, September-October, 1858"

MR: "Ma-za-sha a Sioux Chief"

LL: "Old Bets, a Sioux Squaw" Whitney, photographer? same woman as seen on page 6, UC, page 11, LR, page 17 UR

LC: "Cut Nose, a Sioux"

LR: "Te-na-si-ha, Sioux" Whitney, photographer. This individual, who participated in the Sioux Revolt, was also known as "Ta-na-ze-pa" or the "Sioux Dandy." He also appears in the album on page 7 UR as "Wa-su-tah, Dakota" and on page 29 LR as "On-epete-tah, Sioux Dandy." The photograph on this page was used by Verner for his painting "Ta-na-ze-pa." On the reverse of the canvas is a label on which is written in Verner's hand: "Executed at Mankato for participating in the Massacre of 1862. F.A. Verner 1862."¹⁰

Page 40

UC: "A Blackfoot Indian's Buffalo Robe, recording his achievements [sic] in war and the chase" Hime, photographer, originally captioned "A Blackfoot Warrior's Robe, containing

a history of his wars, and buffalo hunts, and showing the number of scalps he has taken from his enemies, September-October, 1858"

LC: "Indian Woman, Calao, Peru"

Page 41

UL: "Be-she-kee, Head Chief, Leech Lake Chippewas"

UC: "Te-ha-do-ne-cha, a Sioux" a Santee Sioux who participated in the Sioux Revolt, also known as "One Who Forbids His Home"¹¹

UR: "Aw-ke-wen-zee Head Chief Oreille Chippewas" Photographer A

ML: "Anpetu-Tokeca"

MC: "A Plain-Cree Half-breed" Hime, photographer, originally captioned "Wigwam: an Ojibway half-breeds, Lake Superior, September-October, 1858"

MR: "Naw-gaw-nab Orator of Wisconsin Chippewas" also known as the "Foremost Sitter", published in Jackson's Catalogue, 1877

LL: "Oron-hy-a-tek-ha, a Mohawk"

LC: "Sha-k-pe, a Sioux" also known as "Sha-ko-pe" or "Little Six," Whitney, photographer, 1862

LR: "Chief Little Pine, Chippewa"

Page 42

UC: uncaptioned, Madagascar woman, Ellis, photographer

MC: "Natives of N. Sakalaoa, Madagascar," Ellis, photographer

LC: "Hova Officer," Ellis, photographer

Page 43: "Madagascar"

UC: uncaptioned, Madagascar child, Ellis, photographer

ML: uncaptioned, Madagascar woman, Ellis, photographer

MC: "Christian slave, made to take the poison-water for praying," Ellis, photographer

MR: uncaptioned, Madagascar man, Ellis, photographer

LL: "Betsimasarak," Ellis, photographer

LC: "Andriambelo, an eloquent native preacher," Ellis, photographer

LR: uncaptioned, Madagascar man, Ellis, photographer

Page 44

UC: "Mnokanti Shayesnikoff a full-blood Aleut priest of the Greek Church of Alaska"

ML: "George Tsaroff, Aleut boy, Unalashka"

MC: "Maria Rapin, an Aleut Girl"

MR: "George Tsaroff, Oct. 15."

Page 45

UL: "uncaptioned, native lacrosse player"

UC: "A Huron of Lorette"

UR: "uncaptioned, Micmac youth, see discussion for LC, below

MC: uncaptioned boat on lake/river

LL: "Micmacs, Halifax, N.S."

LC: "Micmac woman" J.S. Rogers, photographer, 1863-1874. The woman, Mâli Christianne Paul Mollise (anglicized to Christina Morris) was a well known artist's model and native craftperson. She was unofficially known as "quillworker to Her Majesty the Queen" as she provided Victoria with numerous examples of her work. At least seven painted portraits of her have survived, as well as numerous photographs. The young man in the above photograph is most likely her adopted son, Joe.¹²

LR: "Making Maple Sugar"

Page 46

UC: "K. Radama's Musician" Ellis, photographer

ML: "Ratsimametra, native of Vonizonga" Ellis, photographer

MC: "Rangary and Children, widow of Adriamanantena, a martyr, stoned to death" Ellis, photographer

MR: "Hova Officer, Secretary to Queen of Madagascar" Ellis, photographer

LC: "Rainivelo" Ellis, photographer

Page 47

MC: "Daughter of Adriamanantena, a Christian Chief of Madagascar who was stoned to death" Ellis, photographer

Page 48

UC: "Thelar-i-olin, painted by himself"

MC: "Cree and Iroquois guides, Geological Survey" Dawson, photographer, originally captioned "Group of Indians, British Columbia, 1879"

LC: "Thelar-i-olin, Chief of the Hurons"

Page 49

UC: uncaptioned, Hime, photographer, original caption "Tents on the prairie, September-October, 1858"

ML: "Ka-ze-osh, Chippewa" Photographer B

MC: "Te-he-do-ne-cha, a Sioux" who also appears on page 41, UC

MR: "Po-go-nay-ke-shiek Hole in the Day, Chippewa Chief." Hole in the Day was mentioned in the Robertson letter (Chapter Three). He was the son of a noted chief of the same name, and was murdered at Crow Wing, Minnesota in 1868.

LC: "Fort Garry, at confluence of the Assiniboine and Red River" Hime, photographer, originally captioned "Fort Garry; at the confluence of the Red River and Assiniboine, September-October, 1858"

Page 50

UC: "Todas, Neilgherries" Bourne, photographer?

LC: "Kulu Women, Himalayas" Bourne, photographer?

Page 51

UC: "Toda Women" Bourne, photographer?

LC: "Toda man & women" Bourne, photographer?

Page 52

UC: uncaptioned, group of children, Ellis, photographer

LC: "Madagascar Mission School" Ellis, photographer

Page 53

MC: "Madagascar Water-Carriers" Ellis, photographer

Page 54

UC: "Syrian Bedouin" Frith's series photograph, Good, photographer?

LC: uncaptioned, Sphynx and pyramid, Good, photographer (1880?)

Page 55

UC: "Chattee Shop" E.D. Lyon, photographer?

LC: "Cloth Merchants in Durbar" Lyon, photographer

Page 56

UC: "Dayr-el-Bahree, Thebes" Good, photographer?

LC: "Nubians, & Hut, Island of Biggeh, Philae" Good, photographer (1880?)

Page 57

MC: "Jacob's Well, near Sechem, Palestine" Frith's series photograph, Good, photographer?

Page 58

UL: uncaptioned, Italian woman

UC: uncaptioned, Italian woman and child

UR: uncaptioned, Italian woman

ML: uncaptioned, Italian woman

MR: uncaptioned, Italian women

LL: uncaptioned, Italian boy

LC: uncaptioned, Italian woman and man

LR: uncaptioned, Italian woman

Page 59: "Italy"

UL: uncaptioned, Italian woman

UR: uncaptioned, Italian woman

LL: uncaptioned, Italian woman

LR: uncaptioned, Italian woman

Page 60

UC: "Ratavilahy, Ramanoriarivo and Andreanaly, natives of Vonizongo, Madagascar"

Ellis, photographer

LC: uncaptioned, women at loom, Ellis, photographer

Loose Images

Double photograph of Pre-Columbian pottery, "From Loluca, 40 m. W. of Mexico"

Postcard of woman "Océanie Française, Teraaros"

Postcard "Maori Chief, N.Z."

Endnotes for Appendix Three

1. In all of these photographs the photographers are unidentified but have distinguishing studio elements, such as backdrops or carpet patterns. If one photograph could be positively attributed to a photographer, it is likely the others came from the same studio.
2. My thanks to Elizabeth Hulse for this reference.
3. Richard G. Condon, "The History and Development of Arctic Photography," Arctic Anthropology 26:1 (1989): 52.
4. Verner appears to have used the works of Paul Kane as another source for this painting, particularly in terms of costume and accessories. See Joan Murray, The Last Buffalo: The Story of Frederick Arthur Verner, Painter of the Canadian West (Toronto: Pagurian Corp., 1984): 38-39.
5. Good's first trip to the Middle East was commissioned by Francis Frith who distributed many of his photographs through his company Frith & Co. of Reigate, Surrey. Other images were published by Léon & Lévy of Paris. (Nissan N. Perez, Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East (1839-1885) [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988]: 169).
6. This image was reproduced as an engraving for an article "Pictures of the Japanese" which appeared in Harper's New Monthly Magazine (August 1869). The article was taken from a book Our Life in Japan written by R. Mounteney Jephesen and Edward Pennell Elmhirst, Officers of the Ninth Regiment of the British Horse-Guards. An editor's note states that the illustrations which accompany the text were taken from photographs or native paintings. It is unclear whether the officers actually took the photographs.
The article describes the execution in detail. The engraving, however, is slightly altered. The photograph was taken in a studio. The execution scene was staged with props added, such as bushes, trees and a Mt. Fuji back drop. In the engraving the setting was reversed. The engraver reproduced the same props, but altered the drawing to make the scene appear as if it were occurring out-of-doors. (R. Mounteney Jephesen and Edward Pennell Elmhirst, "Pictures of the Japanese," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 39:231 [Aug. 1869]: 305-322).
7. Later in his career Good began to sign his works. Many of these were published in his album Glimpses of the Holy Land (1880). (Perz, Focus East..., p. 169).
8. Horace Vernet (1789-1863) was the son of Carle Vernet and painter from the reign of Napoleon to Louis Philippe. (The Artist's File, New York Public Library [Alexandria VA:

Chadwyck-Healey, Inc., 1985]" m. fiche V 131).

9. Although William Ellis (1794-1872) is the most represented photographer in the album, he is little known in this respect. Ellis was an English Nonconformist missionary. He was first appointed to South Africa and then to various islands throughout Polynesia in the early decades of the century. From 1853 to 1857 he visited Madagascar on behalf of the London Missionary Society. French interference with the affairs of the island had created hostilities which threatened its Christian inhabitants, both white and native. Ellis was ordered to inquire whether missionary work could continue in that country as it had been suspended by Queen Ranavalona. He had little success at this time, but made another visit from 1861 to 1865 which proved more profitable. Ellis acted as an intermediary between church and state, and in 1868, when a Christian queen came to the throne, many of the hostilities were resolved. (Rev. Professor Blaikie, D.D., "Ellis, William," Dictionary of National Biography [London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1889]: 296-297; "Ellis, William," The Encyclopaedia Britannica Eleventh Ed., 9 [Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1910]: 294).

It is uncertain whether Wilson was in direct contact with Ellis, or knew someone who was familiar with his work. Nonetheless, Ellis was well known in contemporary photographic circles. He was a member of the Photographic Society and exhibited in London and Leeds. (The Journal of the Photographic Society published a notice of his departure to Madagascar in its May 2, 1853 issue [1:4, p. 56]. Reviews which highly praised his work appeared in the same journal: 4:66 [May 21, 1858]: pp. 210-211; 5:71 [Oct. 21, 1858]: 39.) Notices of his books Three Visits to Madagascar, and Polynesian Researches appeared in the Athenaeum, a prominent literary review magazine, from January to April, 1859. The former book was reviewed in the Journal of the Photographic Society (5:75 [Dec. 21, 1858]: 117-119).

10. Portraits of the Indians (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, Dec. 4, 1974-Feb. 2, 1975): np. Also Murray, The Last Buffalo..., pp. 37-38.

11. Nancy Hathaway, Native American Portraits 1862-1918 (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1990): 21.

12. Ruth Holmes Whitehead, "Christina Morris: Micmac Artist and Artist's Model," Material History Bulletin 3 (Spring, 1977): 1-14.

Plates

1 Ceramic Album, McCord Museum, MP 123/81

2 Topley Album Botanique, NGC, P67:178

3 Topley Album Botanique, NGC, P67:178

4 Alicia Whitehead Album, McCord Museum, MP 2154

5 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

6 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

7 The Skating Carnival, William Notman et al. (1870)

8 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

9 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

10 Galerie des Contemporains, NAC, 1976-076

12 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

12 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

13 Sewell Family Album, NGC, P81:003

14 Daniel Wilson Album, ROM, 892.4

15 Wigwam: an Ojibway half-breed, Lake Superior, September-October, 1858, NAC 1970-088

16 An Ojibway squaw with papoose, September-October, 1858
NAC 1970-088

17 John McKay: a Plain-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1858
NAC 1977-088

18 Susan: a Swampy-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1858
NAC 1977-088

19 Letitia: a Plain-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1858
NAC 1977-088

20 Daniel Wilson Album, ROM, 892.4

21 Daniel Wilson Album, ROM, 892.4

22 Daniel Wilson Album, ROM, 892.4

23 Daniel Wilson Album, ROM, 892.4

24 Hugh Wylie Beckett Album, McCord Museum, MP 189/78

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Ontario Provincial Archives

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