

Multiple authorship and polyvalence in the Victorian-
Canadian photocollage album: the work of Caroline Walker
and Hannah Sarah Howard

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines three photcollage albums made by women in Belleville, Ontario between 1863 and 1875: *C.W. Bell Album* (1874), *Scrap Album* (1863) and *H Sarah Howard Album* (1874) by Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard. Through a close analysis of these albums, I challenge the notion of single authorship in the album and argue for a polyvalent reading, which is constituted by the various subjectivities and identities that contribute to the objects' production. This analysis presents a new understanding of the Victorian album, not only through examining how women artists from nineteenth-century Ontario created albums as an extension of their artistic practice in the case of Caroline Walker, but also how they were used as a space of learning and artistic collaboration between women. Furthermore, this project illustrates the importance of studying Canadian albums within the larger context of women's art production during the period by emphasizing the collages, paintings and illustrated frames contained in them.

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Introduction

In 1860s-1870s-era Ontario, upper-class settler women arranged their family albums using paint, collage and creative approaches to materiality. The photomontage compositions in these albums incorporate paintings of flora and fauna, caricatures, and dreamlike imagery. For example, a photcollage by Caroline Walker on page twenty-two of *C.W. Bell Album* features photographic prints of women's faces inside of lily pads on top of a pond. (Figure Intro.1) This unexpected image references elements of play, humour, and photo manipulation. Through these associations, the unconventional art form of the Victorian woman's album draws into question photography's indexical status and claims to "truth telling."¹ The artistic ingenuity of the designs and collages which appear in these scrapbooks indicate that these objects are communicative, powerful, and creative expressions by women from the period.

The development of the *carte-de-visite* by André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri in 1854 expanded the mass production of photographs and initiated the popularity of photcollage albums among aristocrats and the upper classes in Europe and North America. Several types of Victorian albums emerged during this period, including the scrap album and the commercial cabinet card album. Photcollage albums or "scrap albums" are made of the "scraps" of cabinet card and *carte-de-visite* photographs.² In these objects, photographic prints are glued and arranged within collages of pencil, ink, watercolour, ferns, flowers, stamps, and other materials. The photograph collections stored in these objects of memorabilia feature portraits of family, celebrities and royalty, which were purchased from commercial studios.

During the period, album-making was considered a feminine domestic accomplishment akin to lacework, reading, drawing and music.³ Similarly, family albums often have been interpreted as “gendered spaces” and contextualized within discussions of women’s studies, feminist theory and craft history.⁴ Embellished albums were typically produced by female aristocrats and the upper-classes in Europe and by white, upper-class women of European descent in North America. In this thesis, I use the term “upper-class” to refer to those families who held elevated, and even elite, social status in Confederation-era Canada.⁵ These objects not only comprise collections of photographs, but were also a means for people to represent their social, personal and family identities and memories in dynamic and creative ways.

While the photcollage album was most popular in Britain and France⁶, it was also made in British North America or Canada. Despite the numerous examples in archival and museum collections, scholars have largely neglected the study of Victorian collage in Canadian art history and culture. Although some photo historians have drawn attention to the importance of vernacular photographs and albums in Canada more generally, no concentrated study of photcollage albums made by women during the nineteenth century exists. This thesis will help fill that gap in scholarship. It addresses this topic through three case studies of photcollage albums made by women in Belleville, Ontario from 1863-1875. Each volume contains photographs dating from the 1860s to the 1880s originating from Canada and the United States. Specifically, they are: the *C.W. Bell Album* (1875) by Caroline Walker from the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), and the *H Sarah Howard Album* (1874) and the *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* (1863-74) by Sarah Howard and Caroline Walker from Library and Archives Canada (LAC). The photographs contained in these objects function as expressions of upper-class settlers’ lives

documented by such prolific commercial photographers of the period as William Notman of Montreal and William James Topley of Ottawa. The collages in these scrap albums include artworks of flowers, leaves and trees, hand-rendered caricatures and inventive compositions.

The trio of albums examined in this thesis are distinctive through their connection to one professional female artist of the period, Caroline Walker (1827-1904). Walker created several hand-painted photo albums for upper-class settler families in the 1870s and 1880s in Ontario. These are now held in national and provincial collections such as the AGO and LAC. Despite the album's associations with gendered spaces and domestic environments, Walker had no relation to the families for whom she made these objects. This study challenges the assumption that album-making was a domestic activity maintained by a single family member by considering how they were products of collaboration. This research makes an original contribution to the field by examining historical objects that have been neglected and through its approach, which investigates the intersection of authorship, artistic intent and collaborative art practice in women's Victorian-Canadian albums.

The identities of the two women who made these three albums fit outside of the gender stereotypes which have been historically associated with album-making in Victorian Europe such as the "angel of the house" and the "accomplished" female aristocrat.⁷ Although they were both from upper-class backgrounds, Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard defied these stereotypes. Walker was an artist and teacher of art who exhibited at national and international exhibitions in her time. Her identity as an artist distinguishes her from the women in England who pursued drawing and album-making "as amateur skills, rather than as professional activities."⁸ Another one of the makers, Sarah Howard, defies the assumption that women made albums as an

extension of their roles as wives and mothers. Howard was an amateur draughtsman who seemed to produce albums as a means of expressing her identity when she lived as an independent woman.

In this thesis, I argue that Victorian-Canadian women's albums are polyvalent objects, which can be understood by analyzing the various subjectivities and multiple authorships that contribute to their making. By examining three collage albums that were illustrated by Caroline Walker in the mid-1870s, this study contends that as objects of commissioned artwork and as products of women's artistic practice from the period, these works deserve recognition as more than just domestic objects. The context of their production and the relations between the collaborative creative efforts of professional women artists, non-artist women makers, patrons, and family members are what constitute the objects' complexity of authorship. Further, the multiple voices, gazes and subject positions that meet in these albums result in the intersection of several narratives of memory (the personal, family and professional) and gender and class identities. These factors, I argue, are crucial to understanding the context and function of the Victorian photocollage album. Finally, my study concentrates on analyzing the materiality of these albums and draws attention to the study of illustrated painted frames and collages, arguing that these works were made through collaborative artistic women's practices during the period. This thesis will be presented through three case studies divided into two chapters, where I analyze three albums made in Victorian-era Ontario: *C.W. Bell Album* (1875) (AGO), *H Sarah Howard Album* (1874) (LAC) and *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* (1874) (LAC).

Literature Review

Albums are usually positioned on the periphery of the history of women's photography and treated as forms of domestic material culture in academic discourse. Scholars have written about family photo albums as early as the 1970s following "the vernacular turn," the shift in photo studies scholarship that proposed vernacular photographs, including family snap shots and photo albums, as worthy objects of academic study.⁹ The earliest sustained study of women's Victorian albums is Alan Thomas' 1978 essay "The Family Chronicle."¹⁰ He describes women's Victorian photocollage as "upper-class folk art" practiced among the British royalty and the aristocracy.¹¹ Thomas argues that the women who made these albums were the single authors of their meanings.¹² Although Thomas's study interprets albums as a type of craft, it was influential for recognizing the genre and situating albums within discussions of class and women's authorship.

Several photo scholars writing in the 1980s and 1990s dismiss Victorian albums and consign them to the gendered space of the "domestic sphere". Scholars who interpret them through this lens include Patricia Holland, Jo Spence and Naomi Rosenblum.¹³ In these texts, women's albums are presented as objects which offer no commentary on socio-political concerns.¹⁴ For instance, in her influential text *A History of Women Photographers*, Rosenblum disdains album-making as a mere domestic preoccupation, which makes little contribution to the canon of women's photographic history.¹⁵ This view was coupled with the assumptions that women's collage and painting in these objects were merely "decorative" and an extension of the Victorian obsession with novelty. Patricia Holland states, "As pressure increased on middle-class women to make their lives within the confines of the home environment, useless but suitably

decorative hobbies such as collecting *cartes-de-visite* fitted in well with other genteel activities such as sketching and pressing flowers.”¹⁶ Similarly, the influential photo theorist Carol Mavor argues that women who made albums had ““limited domestic scope and lack of aesthetic ambition” in comparison to other upper-class women who were classified as “amateur photographers” in Victorian Britain such as Clementina Maude, Viscountess Hawarden.¹⁷ Despite this view, Mavor contributes to critical perspectives on the topic through her application of psychoanalytic theory to Victorian-era albums.¹⁸

Scholars have responded to such views of the domestic album by situating them within feminist art history during the 1980s and 1990s. Anne Higonnet, for example, challenges those that deny the significance of women’s scrapbooks in her critical 1987 essay "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe". In this text, Higonnet examines albums in relationship to feminist social history and as akin to the study of women’s diary writing in Victorian literature. She argues that the skills women learned in the home through albums influenced modern women artists in France including Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot.¹⁹ Feminist approaches have been key theoretical models through which albums have been studied from this point, including the work of Lindsay Smith, Grace Seiberling,²⁰ Anne Martin-Fugier²¹ and Deborah Chambers.²² In 1998, Lindsay Smith published the book *The Politics of Focus: Women, Children, and Nineteenth-Century Photography*, which is recognized as a significant contribution to scholarship on women’s albums.²³ Smith was the first scholar to propose that women’s album-making during the Victorian period was a “photographic practice”.²⁴

A wave of renewed scholarly interest in Victorian women’s albums appeared from 2001

to 2011. The resulting body of work has substantially shaped the field today. Key scholars contributing to these efforts include Patrizia Di Bello, Elizabeth Siegel and Martha Langford. *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers, and Flirts* (2007) by Di Bello is the first book-length academic study on albums made by women in Victorian Britain.²⁵ Unlike previous writings on the subject, Di Bello applies contextual and historical analysis, Allan Sekula's theory of photographic meaning, semiotics and feminist methodologies to the album.²⁶ Di Bello's work has been enormously influential for redefining the field and recognizing the role of women's albums within larger socio-historical contexts. Her method is grounded in interdisciplinarity, reinforced by her view that "[the album] at once suggests and constructs a rich network of social and cultural contacts, whose histories, meanings and connotations cannot be fully analyzed without an interdisciplinary approach."²⁷ In her book, Di Bello explores the influences that women's history and visual and print culture had on the production of albums. She rejects the notion that albums functioned only within the domestic sphere. The social performance of the album in the Victorian parlour room is central to her theory; it is in the parlour where women performed femininity, social status, and accomplishments to the outside social world.²⁸ In Di Bello's other writings on the topic, she examines issues such as the importance of tactility and touch to the albums, as well as discussing how these objects functioned as forms of flirtation and social commentary.²⁹

Another significant contemporary scholar in the field is Elizabeth Siegel, Associate Curator of Photography at the Art Institute of Chicago. Siegel's edited exhibition catalogue *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage* accompanied her exhibition of the same name in 2009. It focuses on the production of photocollage albums in Britain and France

and analyzes techniques, subjects, and styles of this genre. Of the fifteen albums exhibited, fourteen are attributed to women and the catalogue emphasizes the role of gender. *Playing with Pictures* is significant because it writes these works into the narrative of women's contributions to the history of art.³⁰ Siegel is methodologically concerned with how women's albums from the period are related to social history and the cultural meanings of photography. She interprets Victorian collage as a precursor to twentieth-century avant-garde collage practices.³¹ Her essay, "Society Cutups," emphasizes these points and also illustrates how women drew their artistic inspiration from Victorian visual and literary culture in Britain.³² Siegel's most significant contribution to the field is *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (2010). This book is the first comprehensive history written on historical photograph albums from the United States. In it, Siegel examines albums as objects that reflect notions of national and family identity which intersect with commercial, technological and domestic histories.³³ In addition to the works mentioned here, Siegel and Martha Packer co-wrote *The Marvelous Album of Madame B: Being the Handiwork of a Victorian Lady of Considerable Talent*, a book that analyzes and reproduces a French album from the Art Institute of Chicago's collection made by Blanche Fournier.³⁴

Langford's *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in the Photographic Album* (2008) proposes a novel approach to the study of photo albums. A careful examination of the photo album's theoretical meaning, the book is illustrated with examples of albums of various genres (personal, family, commonplace, presentation, commercial, photocollage, military, and war era) from the collections of the McCord Museum. Langford argues that the presentation of the album in archives and museums removes it from historical contexts and

“suspends its sustaining conversation, stripping the album of its social function and meaning.”³⁵

The book examines how “conversations” may be engendered through albums’ material evidence, an interpretation which views them as mnemonic oral-photographic objects, or “instruments of collective show and tell.”³⁶ Langford’s *Suspended Conversations* is influential in the field of photo theory through its innovative methodology, which proposes that albums are completed through oral performances.

As aforementioned, little has been written on Victorian photocollage made by women in Canada. The exception to this is the work of Andrea Kunard, who has contributed significantly to the study of women’s albums. Kunard has analyzed the role of gender in these objects, examining them as spaces where women performed femininity and societal expectation.³⁷ She has published two articles on the *Lady Belleau Album*, a sentiment album which was constructed by Lady Belleau of Quebec with contributions by well-known Canadian artists.³⁸ She has also undertaken a gendered reading of albums from the National Gallery of Canada’s collection, including *The Sewell Album* and *The Topley Album Botanique*.³⁹ In these publications, Kunard stresses the social practices of assembling, memory-making, and collecting processes of album-making during the period.

Shifts in photographic history itself, namely the relatively recent interest in materiality, have made photo albums a favoured object of study in a wide range of realms touching on memory, colonialism and the senses. Significant photo theorists who contribute to the field in these ways include Geoffrey Batchen and Elizabeth Edwards, who concentrate on the tactility and materiality⁴⁰ of photograph albums as well as how they relate to conceptualizations of memory.⁴¹ Historians of photography who address the phenomenon of photo albums from a post-

colonial perspective include James R. Ryan, Robert Evans and Joan M. Schwartz, who interpret them in relation to colonialism, landscape, and the environment.⁴²

Scholars working in the field of “album studies” today interpret these objects broadly as forms of visual culture. Their works engage with issues such as materiality, settler colonial theory and feminism. These publications are not restricted to the study of photo albums, but also address the history of multimedia collage in scrapbooks, commonplace books, sentiment albums and art albums. For instance, the Australian scholar Molly Duggins studies nineteenth-century Australian and New Zealand albums made from natural materials such as seaweed and plants as expressions of settler-colonialism in Oceania.⁴³

Theory and Methodology

This thesis draws on theories of authorship, the semiotics of photography, and feminist art historical discourse. The primary theoretical concern it addresses is the question of authorship and how artistic intent might be conceptualized in the Victorian photocollage album. This has not been a central concern in the field, although it is mentioned in passing by scholars such as Kunard and Siegel. Kunard questions an authorial approach to studying albums, and her research addresses how albums are often made through collaborative models.⁴⁴ Siegel addresses the question of artistic intent directly in her work *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, arguing that albums can have no single author or maker. In Siegel’s view, the concept of artistic intent does not apply to the study of these objects, as their meaning is formed by the multiple agents who contributed to them (commercial photographers, families, album-keepers) and by their reception in society at large.⁴⁵ While I agree generally with Siegel’s position that the notion of authorship in family albums is fraught, I also attempt to complicate the role of artistic intent in these

domestic objects. I propose that authorship in the Victorian album can be understood by applying the semiotic concept of polyvalence.

Polyvalence is a term that has been used widely to describe the multiple interpretations and subjective meanings of both photographic images and cinematic films. Joseph Pugliese argues that it is the polyvalence of photographic images which allows their “ ‘meaning’ to be reframed and resignified according to the specificity of the context within which is it positioned and consumed.”⁴⁶ Considering that these polyvalent objects are never made in a vacuum, this interpretation mediates the multiplicity of voices, gazes and authors encountered in these photographic collections. The theoretical writings of Anette Kuhn, Steve Edwards, Jo Spence and Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins are applied to my analyses in Chapter One, which examines polyvalent readings of the album in relation to memory, narrative and the intersection of gazes.

Building on the work of scholars who have redefined the study of Victorian albums as objects that are culturally and socially significant, this thesis analyzes three case studies of women’s albums from Ontario within the larger socio-political context of nineteenth-century Canadian women’s art.⁴⁷ Similar to Di Bello's view that the study of photographic albums cannot be removed from a socio-historical methodology, this thesis emphasizes the significance of the albums’ original historical contexts. Within this reading, I examine the lives and social situations of those who made albums and how these objects functioned as expressions of women’s identities.

I interpret these objects using a feminist analysis, which highlights the work of the women makers themselves and explores how gender can be read into their albums. The feminist

art historical writings of Kristina Huneault, Janice Anderson, Di Bello and Griselda Pollock, in particular, inform my approach. Feminist theoretical models of women's art professionalization are applied in Chapter One through the case of Caroline Walker's career, which is informed by Huneault and Anderson's edited volume *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970*. Here, I examine issues such as the institutional barriers of women's art professionalization during this period and women artists' recovery. Huneault's recent book, *I'm Not Myself at All: Women's Art and Subjectivity in Canada*, also provides a model for the feminist analysis of floral illustration in the second chapter, which examines how iconography used in Victorian collage was gendered in floral terms in the Walker and Howard albums.⁴⁸ Di Bello's and Pollock's writings on gender performance and modernity are also foundational to my analysis in the second chapter, which examines how the Sarah Howard albums performed and resisted such idealized models of Victorian womanhood as the concept of the "angel of the house."⁴⁹

In terms of practical methodology, this project draws on extensive primary and object-based research. During the initial stages of my research, I undertook a practicum at the Canadian Photography Institute (CPI) at the National Gallery of Canada (NGC). Through this opportunity, I was trained to handle historical objects and how to navigate photo album collections in museums and archives. Subsequently, I explored LAC's holdings. LAC has an extensive collection of nineteenth-century Canadian albums which have received little scholarly attention in comparison to Langford's work concerning the McCord Museum's collection of Canadian photo albums. The majority of the textual and photographic archival collections relating to the family albums examined in this thesis are stored at LAC. Collections consulted include the

Lambart Family Collection and the Howard-Gibbon Family Collection.

Similarly, photographic archives such as the William Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal and the William James Topley Fonds at LAC have provided invaluable resources. Many portraits of sitters found in Canadian albums from the Confederation-era period can be identified using these two important photographic archives. Investigating these archives was essential to identify the families and individuals in *C.W. Bell Album*, *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* and *H Sarah Howard Album* who had been previously unidentified. Other archival collections which were consulted for this project include the National Gallery of Canada Archives, the AGO Archives, the Archives of Ontario, the University of Toronto Archives (St. George and Mississauga) and the Community Archives of Belleville and Hastings County.

Chapter Breakdown

The first chapter, entitled “Challenging Narratives of Authorship and Ownership in Canadian Family Albums: the *C.W. Bell Album* (1875) by Caroline Walker,” explores the relationship between Charles Bell, his photocollage album, and the artist Caroline Walker. The album is composed of Charles Bell’s collected photographs and Walker’s witty and imaginative paintings. I argue that the *C.W. Bell Album* was made outside of familial contexts, challenging the assumption that all albums merely express domestic themes. In this chapter, I posit that the album is Walker’s visual biography of Bell’s life story. I interpret the *C.W. Bell Album* as a commissioned work of art which reflects the patron’s collecting practices and Walker’s artistic status. As such, this chapter addresses questions of authorship by considering how the *C.W. Bell Album* was authored by a professional artist and how multiple people (artists, patrons and

photographers) contributed to it.

In the second chapter, “Albums as Communal Women’s Making: An Examination of the Sarah Howard Albums,” I discuss two additional albums illustrated by Walker. These are the *H. Sarah Howard Album* (1874) and the *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* (1863), both of which are currently in the Evelyn Lambart Fonds at LAC. This pair of albums was originally in the possession of Hannah Sarah Howard, an upper-middle-class woman and American immigrant from Buffalo who lived in Ottawa for most of her subsequent life. The resemblance these albums have to Walker’s illustrations in the *C.W. Bell Album*, in terms of style and technique, is striking. At first glance, it would appear as if Walker made the paintings in Howard’s albums as she was living in Belleville and illustrating family albums for clients such as Charles Bell during this time. However, this chapter argues that the photocollages in both of the Sarah Howard albums show signs of collaboration between Walker and Howard. The treatment of materiality in these albums is slightly different, and they do not exemplify the aesthetic unity seen in the *C.W. Bell Album*. I interpret these differences, seen through the experimentation and the lack of refinement in the handling of materials, as Howard’s contributions to the album. Howard, like many upper-class-women, was an art hobbyist and her lack of training in the academic tradition is evident. Nonetheless, the colour and richness of these illustrations are striking examples of women’s visual culture from the period. By drawing attention to the artwork which decorates these albums, I argue that they are exceptional examples of early women’s collaborative artistic practice and deserve scholarly recognition. Examined as contributions to the history of women’s art, this chapter will consider how gender is implicated and visualized through the iconography of floral imagery.

Chapter One: Challenging Narratives of Authorship and Ownership in Victorian Family

Albums: A Case Study of the *C.W. Bell Album (1875)* by Caroline Walker

This chapter will contribute to the study of nineteenth-century Canadian photo albums, by examining how authorship, artistic intent, and ownership are central to understanding photocollage albums made by women in Ontario in the 1870s. Further, I will draw on narrative theory in exploring their meaning. As a case study, I will examine in depth the *C.W. Bell Album* made by Caroline Walker in 1875 and currently in The Photography Collection of the AGO (Accession #2003/1.1-.40). The album is one of five albums Walker made for Charles Bell.¹

Caroline Walker (1827-1904) was an artist and a teacher of art who exhibited watercolour paintings and ink drawings at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions (UCPEs) and at exhibitions in Toronto and Philadelphia.² Having been classified as both an “amateur” and “professional” at various points in her career, Walker transferred her skills in draftsmanship and painting to the production of photocollage albums made for various prominent settler families in Ontario in the 1870s, including the Lambart and Bell families. Several of these are in Canadian archival and museum collections today, such as the AGO and LAC. In an acquisitions file for the AGO, curator Maia-Mari Sutnik emphasizes that the extraordinary *quality* of the Caroline Walker albums are outstanding examples of nineteenth-century woman’s artistic practice in Canada during a time when the achievements of women artists were often deprived of recognition.³

Today, Caroline Walker is a forgotten figure in the history of women's art in Canada and her role in illustrating albums has been neglected. This study aims to fill that gap and elucidate the important role she played in the history of Victorian women's collage. In this chapter, I argue that the *C.W. Bell Album* by Caroline Walker is a visual biography of Charles Bell's life. Given the number of albums Walker made for Bell, it is likely that the illustrations and paintings in these objects were commissioned works. I contend that albums from this period demonstrate a complexity of authorship and can be interpreted as forms of polyvalence.

The first half of the chapter, comprising two sections, reviews scholarly literature that has addressed the place of authorship in women's nineteenth-century photo albums and examines Caroline Walker's role as a professional artist within this discussion of authorship. The first section addresses how issues of authorship, ownership, collecting, and album-keeping are central theoretical frameworks in understanding the production of albums and how these conceptions have been debated by scholars. Following that broader discussion, I will outline Caroline Walker's biography, examining her life, artistic work and her claim to artistic authenticity in the albums she illustrated. In the second half of the chapter, I consider the relationship between the patron, lawyer Charles Bell (1845-1884), and Walker. I suggest that the collaboration between the two, in the production of the album, results in a form of polyvalent authorship where multiple identities, memories and experiences are projected through the object. Finally, I examine in detail the chapter's key case study, *The C.W. Bell Album* (1875). I analyze specific pages and identify the object's narrative structure as well as the relationship between the photographs and the illustrations, arguing that it represents the familial, social and personal aspects of Bell's life.⁴ Through discussions of narrative and storytelling in albums, I consider the *C.W. Bell Album* as a

form of biography, which depicts the patron's "life story" through five central themes: family, romantic love, death, education and professional life. Despite the fact that Walker signed the album and hand-painted the designs to respond to the photographs, it does not represent her life. Through the relationship between the album's representation of Bell's life and its making by Walker, I examine the negotiation between ownership, creation, patronage, production and gender of the Victorian album as a material object.

Authorship, "Artistic Intent" & Album-making

Some of the earliest scholarly examinations of Victorian women's photographic albums originating from Europe and North America concentrate on the relationship between the owner of the album and how they were compiled, made, or "authored" by one individual.⁵ Albums, after all, are often named by museums, archives and other institutions after the person who owned the object in their own time. Well known examples include the *Lady Filmer* and *Kate Gough* albums from Britain. However, it is difficult, and often impossible, to determine if a compilation of images was assembled by one person. Despite evidence that an album was owned by one person, it may have been made by another. In other cases, albums were made through a collaborative process, where multiple members of a community or family contributed to the object's production. Siegel, for example, urges caution in assigning artistic intent in family albums from the period:

The fact that neither the albums nor the photographs in them were created by artists in the conventional sense forces attention away from artistic intent and toward an exploration of reception and viewing practices. Produced not by a single maker but by a shifting

collective of commercial photographers and consumer keepers of albums, photograph albums can be best understood as systems of representation.⁶

Conventionally, the discipline of art history has privileged “uniqueness and rarity” and “biography as art history”.⁷ However, art historical methodologies that emphasized biography have been questioned in the discipline since the development of the New Art History in the 1970s by art historians such as Rosalind Krauss and T.J. Clark.⁸ Within the field of critical theory, which has greatly influenced contemporary visual culture theory, authorship has been positioned as a problematic approach to studying literature, art and culture following the 1967 publication of Roland Barthes’ seminal text “Death of the Author”⁹ and Michel Foucault’s response, “What is an Author?”¹⁰ from 1969.

Notions of the role of women’s authorship in the history of art have also been questioned by feminist art historians such as Griselda Pollock and Linda Nochlin. Both of these influential scholars argue that sexism has historically limited women artists’ careers and challenge authorship on the grounds that placing primary value on notions of ‘authenticity’ in women’s art conforms to patriarchal art histories.¹¹ The problematic question of authorship in women’s art history is particularly relevant, as there are various factors that contribute to a woman’s claim of authorship. As Anne Wagner states, “the social and professional experience of women who make art, as well as the forms their art takes ... require both public and private negotiation of the roles of woman and wife, as well as that of the artist; they shape the various means used to claim authorship or voice or identity in a work of art, as well as the value placed on that art in the public realm.”¹²

Assigning a singular author as the sole creator of a photo album is problematic as these

objects were often produced through processes of collaboration. Material evidence can indicate whether the object was a collaborative effort, including: several artistic styles appearing on different pages, varieties of handwriting and signatures, or if the scrapbook lacks cohesion. There are other examples of albums from Canada in which the identity of the singular maker is unclear or which are the products of collaboration. For example, *The Emily Ross Album* (1869) at the McCord Museum is believed to have belonged to a woman named Emily Ross; however, an inscription inside the front cover suggests that it was compiled and illustrated by her brother, George. This example is evidence that not only do albums often have an indeterminate maker, but also that gendered assumptions about album-making need to be reconsidered.¹³ Kunard's writings on the *Sir Daniel Wilson Album*, for instance, demonstrate that men participated in assembling these objects.¹⁴

In some cases, photo albums may have functioned in a manner akin to other types of scrapbooks, which predated the family photo album. These include the sentiment album, the commonplace book and the autograph book.¹⁵ Kunard analyzes the relationships between these album-like objects in her discussion of the *Lady Belleau Album*, which was made collaboratively by a number of male and female artists in Quebec in 1867. Furthermore, assumptions that a photcollage album was made by one individual is highly speculative and problematic. It is often the case that the maker of an album is unknown. Even more commonly, albums are classified in archives as items of memorabilia belonging to a family unit rather than an individual person.

Another key debate in the scholarly literature on Victorian albums revolves around terminology. Some argue that the women who made albums are "collectors"¹⁶ while others

interpret them as “authors.”¹⁷ Siegel has coined the term “album-keepers” to nuance the association of artistic intent and the notion that there is one maker of an album.¹⁸ Di Bello, in contrast, adopts the term “collectors” to emphasize the agency involved in the collecting, curating and arranging of photographs, popular magazine clippings, and other scraps of women’s visual culture from the period. Despite these categorizations, the scholarly literature rarely refers to these women as “artists,” perhaps due to the genre’s relegation to craft. Previously, scholars have not addressed the possibility that professional women artists made albums as commissioned works. My analysis of the Walker Albums in this study disrupts these narratives and categorizations.

Despite the problematic roles that authorship and artistic intent have in photographic albums, this thesis observes how it is not single authorship that constitutes the meanings of albums, but the ways in which multiple people co-author their multivalent narratives. As I suggest in this study, the types of roles that individuals who contributed to albums performed are more complex and nuanced than they appear. There is not one sole “author” of an album; rather, there are multiple subjectivities at work. The function of the family album is made even more complicated by the identities of these authors. Considering that Caroline Walker was classified as a professional artist by art institutions during the period, her albums problematize the view that album-making was a mere domestic preoccupation of women. Walker’s work introduces the possibility that women artists made albums as an extension of their professional activities. In turn, this suggests that the women had agency, voice or an authorial relationship to the albums they made.

Caroline Walker (1827-1904) and her Albums

Caroline Howard-Gibbon (later, Caroline Walker) was born on November 5, 1827 in Arun, West Sussex, England to Edward and Amelia Dendy Howard-Gibbon.¹⁹ She had three brothers and two sisters. The Howard-Gibbon family arrived in Montreal on August 12, 1857, travelling by a steamship named the *Anglo-Saxon* from Liverpool.²⁰ Other family members on board included Caroline's mother Amelia Dendy Howard-Gibbon, and two brothers, Henry Frederic Howard-Gibbon and Charles Howard-Gibbon. A year after arriving in British North America, the thirty-year-old Caroline married lawyer Benjamin Crossman Walker on November 6, 1858 in London, Ontario.²¹ They lived in St. Thomas, Ontario during the early years of their marriage, where their only daughter, Beatrice Mary Walker, was born on December 2, 1859.²² Caroline, her husband and his children moved to Bothwell, Kent County, Ontario in 1864, likely for reasons relating to Benjamin Walker's employment. By 1871, the Walkers were residing in Toronto at 19 Seaton Street at the intersection of Sherbourne Street and Queen Street East. While in Toronto, Caroline acquired a teaching position at the private girls' institution, Bishop Strachan School (BSS). She worked there between June 1876 and May 1878.²³ Although her teaching responsibilities are not listed in the BSS account books, John Russell's biography of "C. Walker" describes her as an art teacher who taught portraiture during her final year on staff at the school.²⁴ Her earnings were less than that of a senior academic teacher or of the specialist teachers, indicating that she may have been part-time or was assigned a lower salary for other reasons—perhaps due to her lack of formal training or the relatively lowly status of the arts. By the mid-1870s, the family relocated to Belleville, where Benjamin Walker died in 1882. Following her husband's death, Caroline moved to Deer Park in Toronto. In 1897, after the death

of her daughter Beatrice, Walker relocated to Erindale, Ontario (now Mississauga) where she lived at the Lislehurst estate with her extended family and the artist Charlotte Schreiber. The only known photograph of Caroline Walker is reprinted in the Howard-Gibbon book of family genealogy, *The Last of the Greystokes*, and there is an original copy of this photograph in the Lislehurst Archive Collection at the University of Toronto Mississauga Archives²⁵ (Figure 1.1).

Very little to date has been written or published on the artistic activities of Caroline Walker. There is, for example, no archival evidence indicating that she was an active artist in England. However, her exhibition history in North America is documented. It is also possible that her upper-middle-class family provided her with education and exposure to the fine arts. The Howard-Gibbon family included several members who were professional artists. On the mother's side of the family, a cousin named William Stephen Coleman (1829-1904) was an artist who was part of the original committee of management for the Dudley Gallery. Later in his career, he acted as director of the Minton Art Pottery Studio, a ceramic decoration business which specialized in individually hand-painted wares. The studio was one of the first operations of the Minton Factory and it was based in Kensington Gore, London, starting in 1871.²⁶ His sister Helen Coleman Angell (1847-1884) was a watercolourist known for her paintings of flowers and still lifes, who was named "Painter in Ordinary" by Queen Victoria from 1879 until her death.²⁷ Caroline Walker, therefore, grew up in an extended family which valued art; family members' influence may have informed her own aesthetic. Caroline's own older sister, Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon, was a pottery painter, watercolourist and children's illustrator who studied in Paris. Amelia later operated and worked as an art teacher for a one-room, private schoolhouse dedicated to educating children of upper-class families in Sarnia, Ontario.²⁸ She is

considered one of Canada's most significant children's illustrators. The Canadian Library Association inaugurated an award named in her honour, the Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon Illustrator's Award, given annually to an artist of a children's illustrated book.²⁹ The borders and designs used in her book *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet*, are somewhat similar to Walker's embellished borders and decorative designs found in her photo albums.³⁰

A survey of archival sources and secondary literature indicates that between 1859 and 1880—before and during the period when she was involved in the making albums in Ontario (1870-1880) — Caroline Walker was active as an artist in Canada and the United States. Her practice was primarily in watercolour painting, but she also created ink sketches and some large-scale paintings.³¹ Walker is listed in the *Biographical Index of Artists in Canada*, which appears to be the most official record of her status as an artist. The *Index* describes her as “‘Mrs. Caroline Walker’, painter, active in Canada between 1859-80.”³² She is first mentioned in an art historical context in 1963 in John Russell Harper's article “A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions: Ontario Painters 1846-1867,” which was published in the first issue of *The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin*. Here, Harper examines her activity as an exhibiting artist at the UCPEs. She is referred to as “Mrs. C. Walker” and is documented to have been an active artist between 1859 and 1880. She exhibited artwork at the UCPEs, which rotated annually between the four cities of London, Hamilton, Toronto, and Kingston. Harper states that Caroline Walker exhibited “original compositions, watercolour portraits, pen and ink sketches” at these exhibitions from 1859 to 1865.³³ In addition, she exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (PCE) in 1876 and from 1878 to 1880 she showed at the Canadian National Exhibitions (CNEs) in Toronto.³⁴ In Harper's records and in the UCPE catalogues, any

indication of Walker's artistic activities in Belleville are absent, yet it was during her years there that she contributed watercolour paintings to scrap albums.

Although the history of the UCPEs has been largely neglected by Canadian art historians, it was at these exhibitions that some artists from Ontario exhibited their work prior to the development of professional art associations such as the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) and the Royal Canadian Academy of Art (RCA). The UCPEs were rotating fairs organized by The Upper Canada Agricultural Society. They included a variety of exhibitions ranging from agricultural (i.e., prize for best pumpkin or squash) to crafts and fine arts. Competitors were ranked into categories based on their skill level, as a "professional" or "amateur." They were viewed as "a record of Ontario's artistic achievement, and as an opportunity for local citizens to see good painting at a time when no public art galleries existed" and featured the work of artists who later became influential academic painters such as Lucius O'Brien and Paul Kane.³⁵

These exhibitions also provided opportunities for women artists to exhibit and display their work to the public.³⁶ Women artists who exhibited at the UCPEs alongside Walker included her sister Amelia, Miss Morris of Brockville, Miss Janes, and the botanical illustrator and daughter of the early settler Susana Moodie, Agnes Dunbar Moodie Fitzgibbon.³⁷ The OSA, founded in 1872, had a number of women artists who exhibited regularly as well.³⁸ However, other professional art institutions during the period—including the RCA, established in 1880—were often prejudiced against women artists. Representation by women at the RCA was limited to one member in the late nineteenth century, Charlotte Schreiber, who was a founder of the institution and elected as an academician in 1880.³⁹ Despite their active participation in the arts, women were banned from participating in RCA meetings, which likely led to Schreiber's

retirement from the Academy.⁴⁰ It is, therefore, valuable to consider the activities and accomplishments of women artists' at the UCPEs to broaden scholarship concerning pre-Confederation women's exhibition histories.

The participation of women exhibiting at the UCPEs is also relevant to the history of women artists' professionalization in Canada. At the exhibitions, Walker was awarded prizes in both the "amateur" and "professional" painting categories from 1859 to 1865. It was typical for both genders to be placed into the amateur and professional categories interchangeably at the UCPEs.⁴¹ Even if a woman artist had professional status, her involvement in activities like album-making was considered amateur or hobbyist. Art historian Huneault examines how professional Canadian women artists, including Lucy J. Goslee, were labelled as "dabblers" by male art critics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for illustrating botanical albums.⁴² Despite these categorizations, contemporary feminist art historians have rejected the notion that professionalism should be the primary concern in understanding and establishing the social and cultural significance of women's art. As Huneault states, "the untheorized acceptance of an evaluative division between amateur and professional forecloses opportunities to understand some of the most significant aspects of women's art production."⁴³ Thus, analyzing albums within this feminist framework is essential to recognizing them as objects that have significance beyond "dabbling."

Caroline Walker's involvement in the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 is also significant for legitimizing her status as an artist, as it was an international exhibition and the first world fair to take place in the United States. The exhibition, which was formally known as the International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine and more

informally, simply as “the Centennial,” was modelled after in Crystal Palace Great Exhibition in London, co-organized by Prince Albert and Henry Cole in 1851. Walker must have had a reasonable degree of status to have exhibited at this fair, as the artists selected were typically organized by professional art establishments and associations.⁴⁴

In addition to her professional artistic activities, Walker was socially connected to artists in late nineteenth-century Canada. Walker exhibited her work alongside that of Charlotte Schreiber at the PCE world fair. She presumably had some artistic influence or relationship to Walker.⁴⁵ The Howard-Gibbon genealogy indicates that she first encountered Schreiber during visits to Toronto with her daughter to view art exhibitions.⁴⁶ Caroline’s daughter, Beatrice Mary Walker, was later mentored by Schreiber and she received awards of distinction in painting at the Ontario College of Art (OCA). Schreiber was the first female teacher at the college and Beatrice was one of the first female graduates.⁴⁷ The Walker and Schreiber families became even more closely connected when Beatrice married Herbert Harrie Schreiber, Charlotte’s stepson, in 1882.⁴⁸ As noted above, late in life Walker lived at Lislehurst and at Mount Woodham with Beatrice and Herbert. The latter property was one of three additional properties Charlotte and her husband Weymouth Schreiber built in the surrounding area of Lislehurst in Erindale, Ontario (then known as Springfield-on-the-Credit).⁴⁹ A torn page of a photocollage album made by Walker was recently recovered at Lislehurst, indicating that she may have been producing these objects as late as the 1880s-1890s when she lived with the Schreibers.⁵⁰

Despite being exhibited widely, few artworks by Walker are known to be extant apart from the photo albums examined in this thesis. The most notable example is a large-scale watercolour in the Baldwin Collection at the Toronto Reference Library, titled *Gatling Gold*

Mines, Marmora, Ontario, which Walker inscribed on the back mount, “painted by Mrs. Walker October 1872; Gatling Gold Mines, Marmora, Ontario; A. Wilson” (Figure 1.2). Walker also made a copy of the painting, which is now owned by the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM).⁵¹ Barry Lord discussed the work within his Maoist critique of the history of art in Canada titled *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People’s Art*.⁵² Lord praises Walker’s painting for its humble depiction of nineteenth-century Ontario working-class life and labour.

A watercolour titled *University College from Taddle Creek* (1862) is in the University College Collection at the Art Museum at the University of Toronto (Figure 1.3). In 1956, it was donated by “Miss Wadsworth,” the granddaughter of Frederic William Cumberland, the architect who built University College from 1856-59.⁵³ The provenance indicates that the work was originally acquired by Cumberland, indicating that this work was purchased by a prominent cultural figure in Ontario during the period. This painting is likely more typical of the types of works Walker exhibited and created during her life, as she was reported to paint smaller watercolour paintings at the UCPEs.⁵⁴ In addition to these works, a sketchbook which was made collaboratively by Caroline Walker and her sister Amelia is mentioned in passing in Judith Saltzman and Gail Edward’s book *Picturing Canada: A History of Canadian Children’s Illustrated Books and Publishing*.⁵⁵ The sisters’ artistic collaborations in this object provide evidence that Walker was engaged with such collective practices prior to the years she illustrated albums.

Walker translated her skills in draftsmanship and watercolour painting to the making of photocollage albums. For this, she is an exceptional example of an album-maker. The evidence that Walker illustrated albums for clients, or presented them as gifts to outsiders, rests on five

Victorian photocollage albums which have the title “C.W. Bell” and “C. Wallace Bell” embossed in gold on their front covers and are currently in the collection of the AGO. Of these albums, four contain photo reproductions of popular Victorian paintings accompanied by ink decorations made by Walker (accession #s 2003/2, 2003/3, 2003/4, 2003/5). Although the five albums were collected as a set, the four above-mentioned books are visually and thematically distinct from *C.W. Bell Album* (1875) (accession # 2003/1). They, unlike *C.W. Bell Album*, are photographic collections of paintings which are embellished with Walker’s drawings. They do not resemble the subject of my analysis in this thesis, which is family photocollage albums from the period. Further detail on the four additional commissioned albums is discussed in a later section.

The *C. W. Bell Album*

C.W. Bell Album (1875) is a leather-bound family album containing forty pages and thirty-one albumen prints accompanied by Caroline Walker’s art work, collage and illustration. It features images taken by successful commercial studio photographers such as Notman and Topley and by local photographers J.W. Boyce, D. Wallace and Forrest & Lozo. The number of prints on each page varies, but there are typically two to six photographs per page.⁵⁶ The prints have been cut into different shapes and pasted on colourful frames of flowers, animals and natural subject matter rendered in watercolour and ink.

The paintings and drawings in the *C.W. Bell Album* exemplify Caroline Walker’s work. The album opens with a watercolour illustration depicting a blonde, childlike figure painting a canvas with wings on its back (Figure 1.4). The figure looks like cupid whose arrows are now being used as paintbrushes who is wearing a winter coat, hat and scarf. Written on the canvas in large red letters is, “C.W. Bell Album, March 15th, 1875.” C.W. Bell stands for, Charles Wallace

Bell, a lawyer based in Belleville and a patron who had presumably commissioned Walker to make a collection of albums for him.⁵⁷ It is through this illustration that Walker inserts her identity and role as an artist into the album. Inscribed in the bottom right-hand corner of this page are the words, “Caroline Walker, Pinxit (1) Belleville 1875.” *Pinxit*, translated to “one painted” in Latin, an addendum to signatures during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, signified the original work of an artist.⁵⁸ By signing the object in such a way, Walker declares this album as a work of art, not a mere object of material culture.

The album itself is leather-bound. No research to date has been conducted on the origin and selling of photo album binding in Canada, but advertisements from the period suggest that leather scrap albums were typically sold by bookbinders and stationers⁵⁹ and by large department stores such as Eaton’s.⁶⁰ In this case, because the album was made in Belleville, it was likely bound locally by E. Harrison, who operated a shop selling photo albums on Front Street in the mid-1870s.⁶¹ Not a single sitter in the album is identified on the object’s pages. This was typical of Victorian scrap albums, for they were presented to visitors to the home who would have known the people contained in them.

Scholars have addressed the absence of identified portraits in albums and applied a wide range of theoretical approaches to this historical challenge. Langford emphasizes the importance of orality or storytelling in the object’s performance, as narratives were told and the meanings and social connections in the albums were mediated by oral communication and storytelling.⁶² Elizabeth Edwards posits that the photo album “dictates the embodied conditions of viewing” and that the reception of their meaning was necessitated and facilitated by oral presenting, describing, and discussion.⁶³ Siegel argues that it is the absence of known identities which gives

rise to the album's ubiquitous status in society. The commercial American cabinet card album, in her view, is an emblem of early American consumer culture and indicates the infiltration of industrialization into the domestic realm. The absence of naming sitters in these albums renders these albums and the portraits they contain reproducible, commodifiable and disposable.⁶⁴

However, contextualizing the identities involved and represented in an album, like the one dedicated to the life of Charles Bell, can clarify the object's social, cultural and personal narratives and themes. In many instances, the photographic prints pasted into albums were reproductions, and the originals can be identified using photographic archives, including the William Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum and the Topley Fonds at LAC. Family histories can also be gleaned by investigating genealogical records such as census, birth, marriage and death records, city directories, and family archives which contain personal family photograph collections, letters, diaries and scrapbooks of individuals who appear in the album.

Family scrap albums tend not to have sequential narratives or chronological ordering; nonetheless, the *C.W. Bell Album* does retain some narrative and thematic structures throughout. The main themes of the album, which are narrated in a relatively chronological way, are: family, romantic love, death, education, and professional life. Most of the pages, in some way, depict the familial connections and social and personal life of the album's owner. Charles Bell (1845-1884) was a lawyer based in Belleville. He graduated with a B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1866, where he won the Gold Medal in Classics.⁶⁵ After passing the Law Society's entrance examinations in August 1866, he moved back into his older brother John's family household, where he worked for the Hastings Militia beginning in 1867 and joined John's legal practice, later re-named Bell & Bell after the brothers.⁶⁶ The *C.W. Bell Album* contains photographs of his

family as well as his professional colleagues and friends. Studio portraits of him appear in the album several times.⁶⁷

Around the time that Charles moved back into the John Bell family home, it was occupied by his sister-in-law, Helen Turnbull Bell, and her four daughters, Charlotte Wallace, Agnes, Catherine, and Helen.⁶⁸ Socially prominent in Belleville,⁶⁹ John Bell's status was later enhanced through his involvement in the legal field and his influence in the building of the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR).⁷⁰ The family also attained social capital and affluence through Helen Turnbull Bell's family, as her father, John Turnbull, was one of the earliest settlers and prominent citizens of Belleville.⁷¹ It is probable that Charles Bell commissioned Walker to make the album for his immediate family to enjoy while he lived there; it may have been kept in the home's drawing room at the time.

The first eight pages of the album are devoted to portraits of the Bell family. On pages one and two, oval albumen prints of Helen Turnbull Bell and John Bell have been glued to each page inside illustrations of bell towers. Here, Walker has decorated the portraits of the male and female heads of the household with iconography that mimicked the name of the family- the "Bells."⁷² Page three features three portraits of Helen Bell (the younger), pictured at three different stages of her life: as a child (bottom right), an adolescence (top) and as a young adult (bottom left).⁷³

There is an illustration of a bell tower on the following page (four), which is surrounded by Canadian maple leaves in the fall season. Although empty, it is evident that Walker designed this page so that an oval portrait could have been pasted in its centre. On the facing page (five) is an amusing photocollage of an oak tree decorated with large bells and photographs (Figure 1.5).

Three portraits of Helen appear on this page, which are pasted inside the bells which hang off the tree. These images were taken by Willian Notman between 1862 and 1865.⁷⁴ A number of children also appear on this page, and an 1871 portrait taken by William Topley of Maggie Bell, Charles' niece and the daughter of Robert Bell, is pasted at the bottom.⁷⁵ Charles Bell arranged his album with detailed attention to his immediate and extended family, emphasizing the importance that family values had on his self-identity.

The recurring visual images of bells, bell towers, and church bells are visual puns which reference the "Bell" family name.⁷⁶ The use of visual puns was a defining characteristic of the genre of Victorian photocollage. Humour and caricature are also re-introduced in the album's last pages. On pages thirty-four to thirty-eight, Walker has painted in watercolour copies of caricatures from *Punch Magazine*.⁷⁷ These types of caricatures were used in collage albums from the period. They were likely inspired by cartoons from magazines and print culture, which were consumed by upper-middle-class women in the era. Another cartoon appears on page seventeen, which features a racist Asian caricature holding a pole behind its back attached to two "tea chests." Photographic portraits were meant to be held inside of the tea boxes. The motivation behind the illustration is problematic, and it may have also been inspired by racist imperial advertisements, forms of visual culture which often entered domestic women's corners.⁷⁸ A witty collage of a court jester is placed near the end of the album on page thirty-eight. This character makes recurring appearances in Walker's albums.

Several pages in the album feature studio portraits of sitters decorated with floral illustrations. These collages are examples of a typical page found in the Victorian woman's album.⁷⁹ The symbolism of Victorian floriography was a popular mode of address during the

period, and it is necessary to consider its importance in Victorian photocollage albums. Flowers were given and exchanged in the Victorian period to express emotions which were deemed socially inappropriate to express verbally and through the written word. “Floriography” was developed and popularized in a number of books such as *Language of Flowers* by Kate Greenaway (1864).⁸⁰ According to Greenaway and others, each type of flower denoted specific cultural meanings or emotions. For instance, according to Greenaway, the lily-of-the-valley signified happiness and kinship, forget-me-nots represented death and mourning and roses were symbolic of romantic love. In the *C.W. Bell Album*, these flowers appear often. On page seven, for instance, two portraits of an unknown man and woman have been pasted into the centre of a red hibiscus or rose mallow flower. Wrapped around the stems of its two petals is a blue ribbon which holds two standing portraits of the man and the woman on either side. In the backdrop, hibiscus leaves can be seen. The visual rhetoric of this page suggests that this man and woman are a couple. On the verso of this page (eight) (Figure 1.6), two unknown portraits of a man and woman are placed in the centre of two flowers. In this case, the flowers are in a bouquet format, where the woman’s face has been pasted into a pink peony, and the man’s into a blue clematis vine, also known as the “leather flower.” Later in the volume, page thirty-one displays three portraits of an unknown woman, who appears throughout the album multiple times. She is an unknown sitter, but her portrait often appears on the facing page of portraits of Bell. On plate thirty-one, her portrait is pasted inside a giant white calla lily and into the flower’s leaves. (Figure 1.7) According to *Language of Flowers*, a potted calla lily signified “magnificent beauty”.⁸¹ Although nothing is known about the identity of this woman, her frequent presence in the album suggests that she was an important person in Bell’s life.

Di Bello argues that Victorian women's albums were forms of romantic flirtation. She terms them "albums of flirtation" and argues that they were intended to be viewed by a lady's potential suitors.⁸² The unknown woman's placement near portraits of Charles Bell and within flowers which symbolized beauty suggest that Bell had her photograph placed in his album as a gesture of his own romantic affection. This observation reveals something new about the representation of romantic love in Victorian albums. While it has been assumed in the past that allusions to flirtation were preserved in albums as expressions of women's affections, this example illustrates how expressions of romantic love and personal feelings tied to kinship were also expressed in albums belonging to men.⁸³

Walker's use of floral imagery can also be interpreted as an extension of her own artistic practice. Not only was floriography, the visual language of flowers, given gendered associations during the period, but it was considered an acceptable artistic subject matter for upper-middle-class women.⁸⁴ The study of botany was considered a suitable pastime and skill for women to participate in during the century. Early female settlers in Ontario such as Catherine Parr Traill were self-taught in the science of botany; this influence also extended to botanical artists such as Agnes Fitzgibbon and Susanna Moodie.⁸⁵ Female artists regularly exhibited botanical illustrations at the UCPEs and they were frequently awarded prizes in this genre.⁸⁶ While the floral imagery in the album may have been influenced by the themes and passages of Bell's life, Walker was undoubtedly trained in the art of botanical illustration. Given that she was raised in an upper-class household, these skills were likely nurtured in the home. Additionally, Caroline Walker was awarded specific prizes for her paintings of flowers at the UCPEs, as Harper has documented. Flowers which appear in the album include specimens of mainly Canadian and

North American origin: hibiscus, peony, clematis, morning glory, forget-me-nots, calla lily, Boston ivy, white lily-of-the-valley, trillium, roses, ferns, milk thistle, and water lilies. The use of floral imagery was common in British and French photocollage albums, but it is possible that Walker was also drawing on her own artistic training and geographical surroundings when incorporating floral collage compositions.

Death and Mourning: Memorial Pages

While flowers are used as visual motifs to express emotions that are gendered feminine, such as love and friendship, they were also used in albums to symbolize mourning and death. Pages fourteen to sixteen of the album serve as testaments of memory, loss, and death to individuals Bell knew in his life. These collages are evidently memorials to specific individuals, as they each include photographs of individuals who are known to have died in tragic circumstances. The visual iconography on these pages also reference death: the use of black veils, bows and backgrounds and the inclusion of blue forget-me-not-flowers. Scholars have long discussed the photo album's relationship to memory, and these memorial pages are stark examples of the album's association with memory and death.

Page fourteen features three black oval picture frames which are decorated with hanging black bows and, significantly, blue forget-me-nots (Figure 1.8.a). Above the picture frame at the top of the composition, a large white hand-painted rose has been placed and black bows hang from it, surrounded by the forget-me-nots. This illustration is almost grisaille. The use of black and the types of flowers depicted in this composition likely reference death. This page may be a tribute to the memory of the little girl which has been placed in the bottom left picture frame.

The source photograph was taken in Montreal by William Notman in 1865 and the sitter is identified in the McCord Museum as “Miss L. Bell”.⁸⁷ In the case of this stencil, real ferns and flowers were laid on the page, and the watercolour was flicked onto the design to create different gradients of colour. Whether the ferns used on these pages are of Scottish or Canadian origin is unknown. In this example, the gradient has been made with black ink, and another sample of the technique using green ink appears on page twenty-eight. (Figure 1.8.b) This technique may have been inspired by a painting tradition originating in Mauchlin, Scotland.⁸⁸ *Mauchlinware* or fernware was a painting technique which was applied to a variety of domestic objects, including ceramics, wooden boxes, albums or curtains. It was initially popular in Scotland, but young women across Great Britain who practiced it during the Victorian period used a toothbrush to flick India ink on top of ferns to make a stencilled image.⁸⁹

Page fifteen shows an illustration of a caricature with blonde hair and blue Elizabethan clothing who is holding back a black curtain, to reveal a Notman portrait of a young girl (Figure 1.9.a). The seated portrait is titled *Miss Bell, copied on or for Mrs. Bell in 1871* by Notman (Figure 1.9.b). One of the most captivating collages in the album, this page is most likely a memorial page to one of the Bell daughters and Charles’ niece, Charlotte Wallace Bell. Charlotte died at the age of fourteen on August 26, 1870. Mrs. Bell most likely had the photo copied by Notman in the year following her death to commemorate her life.⁹⁰ The composition uses *trompe l’oeil*, to create an illusion of three-dimensional recession of space behind the curtain. The painted figure appears to be looking directly at the viewer.

Page sixteen is another memorial page, this time dedicated to three victims of the Fenian Raids. The men depicted were Charles Bell’s University of Toronto colleagues and fellow

members of the University & College Rifle Company (Figure 1.10).⁹¹ As a student, Bell volunteered for the Queen's Own Rifles Company. During the early 1860s, there was a threat of Fenian incursions onto Canadian territory, which culminated in a series of battles called the Fenian Raids.⁹² Bell was among the twenty-eight University of Toronto students who fought on 2 June 1866 at Limestone Ridge, where he was wounded.⁹³ Similar to the collage two pages preceding it, on page sixteen oval portraits are contained inside of black bows and the small forget-me-not flowers. The fallen men, William Fairbanks Tempest (1845-1866), John Harriman Mewburn (1845-1866), and Malcolm McKenzie (1839-1866), are pictured in the bottom three photographs, which are surrounded by the black bows.⁹⁴ These three men were among the first casualties in modern Canadian military history and died at the battle of Limestone Ridge on 2 June 1866 near Hamilton, Ontario.⁹⁵

The Visualization of Education and Professional Life

Several sections of the album reference the educational institutions Charles Bell attended. On page eighteen, a rectangular view of Upper Canada College is pasted into the centre of the composition.⁹⁶ Bell was head boy at Upper Canada College in 1862 and this page is likely a dedication to his years as a schoolboy.⁹⁷ Portraits of three unknown schoolboys appear on this page, which has been glued above the image of the school. Similarly, page twelve shows a view inside a painted window frame of three men in what appears to be a university setting. Other portraits of the university's students appear throughout the album.⁹⁸

Page thirty-two is a watercolour collage of an oak tree with owls perched on and around it. There are three great-horned owls at the top and at the sides of the tree, and a snowy owl sits

at the bottom. (Figure 1.11) The owl was symbolically associated with wisdom and knowledge in the ancient Greek world, and this page includes individuals who were likely Bell's intellectual mentors.⁹⁹ Inside the tree, there are two photographs of men, who were both scholarly mentors of Bell's. One of these men is Henry Holmes Croft,¹⁰⁰ the then- professor of chemistry and specialist in toxicology at the University of Toronto.¹⁰¹ Since Croft also started the Fenian Raids militia at the University of Toronto, Bell may have had exposure to him as his professor or through his involvement in the militia. The other photograph in the middle on this page is of Henry Scadding, who was the classics master and an important educator at Upper Canada College.¹⁰² Due to his interest in classical studies¹⁰² and the fact that he attended UCC when Scadding was the classics master, it is likely that Scadding influenced Bell intellectually.

On various pages, Walker's embellishments make multiple references to classical civilization. Such visual motifs were likely selected by Walker to appeal to Bell's passions and tastes or were specifically requested by him. On page thirteen, the illustrated photo frame is decorated with acanthus leaves and an architectural pediment. (Figure 1.12) This design appears to be based on an illustrated page from James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*.¹⁰³ Behind the frame is draped a purple curtain which is adorned with white crosses. The visual imagery of the acanthus leaves and the architectural pediment are widely associated with Greco-Roman art and architecture. Page thirty-seven, for example, features classical pedestals which have cornice-like tops and classical scrolls attached to their sides that visually resemble those found on the staircase in Michelangelo's Laurentian Library (1525-1571).¹⁰⁴ Given Bell's interest in Classics, these visual motifs may have influenced Walker's designs. Only one photograph has been pasted into this design: a small portrait of an unknown woman in the bottom left-hand corner. Page

thirty-three, a painting of owls with glasses examining a book, is another example of such references. Although photographs have not been pasted in, they were evidently intended to be placed on the pages of the book in front of the owl's eyes. In the background, there is a red curtain and a shelf holding books with titles such as "Aeschylus" and "Ovid," clear references to classicism.

Two pages in the middle of the album, pages nineteen and twenty, feature photocollages of heads pasted on trees. (Figure 1.13.a, Figure 1.13.b) The use of the tree in these collages may be allusions to knowledge and education. On the recto (nineteen) studio portraits cut into shapes of escutcheons have been glued onto the ends of the oak tree's branches. (Figure 1.13.a) Escutcheons, forms which are in the shape of shields, are a symbol in heraldry which was traditionally used in coats of arms designs. At the top of the tree, a portrait of Charles Bell has been pasted in the escutcheon shape, and he is surrounded by a circular blue belt which looks like the logo of the Grenadier Guards, an infantry regiment of the British Army.¹⁰⁵ Most of the portraits on this page are unidentified, but there is at least one Trinity College student named Robert Leckie Mulock Houston.¹⁰⁶ The corresponding page (page twenty) shows a similar composition, except that the tree takes the form of a Canadian maple (Figure 1.13.b). Similar to page twenty-one, it depicts a portrait of the unknown woman who appears in the album multiple times, but here she is placed at the top of the tree and encircled by a pink Grenadier Guards belt design. The six portraits on this page are unknown sitters, but many are wearing mortar boards, caps worn at one's academic graduation ceremony. The oak tree was associated with the "tree of knowledge," another concept that originated in the classical world. The University of Toronto's motto, *velut arbor aevo*, translated as, "may it grow as a tree through the ages," was taken

directly from the Roman lyric poet Horace's *Odes*.¹⁰⁷ The motto refers to the allegory of a tree representing growth and learning in scholarship.

As an extension of its depiction of Bell's education, the album also depicts his professional career, namely his involvement in the militia and as a barrister. Why Bell would choose to represent such a world through a feminine craft is unknown, but it is not the only case of male representations of professional life in domestic albums. Scholarship addressing the representation of male professional activities in embellished albums is minimal, but Kunard addresses the representation of professionalization in the *Sir Daniel Wilson Album*, currently in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.¹⁰⁸ This album was made by the ethnologist Sir Daniel Wilson with contributions also made by his sister. Kunard analyzes how ethnography, science and visual representations of race-making intersect in this example which represent aspects of Wilson's professional identity. Like the *Sir Daniel Wilson Album*, the *C.W. Bell Album* is coming from a place of white male privilege and is a reflection of a masculine social world.

The collages in the album related to Bell's activities in the Fenian Raids reference the memory and death of fallen soldiers, and his involvement in the Queen's Own Rifles Company was also an extension of his professional life. Bell formally worked for the Hastings Militia beginning in 1867.¹⁰⁹ Although there is no military portrait of him in the album, several portraits included feature members of the Company. On page thirty-seven, for example, another man identified as a member of the Queen's Own Rifles Company appears.¹¹⁰ One can presume that Bell's presentation of the album would have been accompanied by oral stories about these men.¹¹¹ Male identity was deeply connected to military duties in Confederation-era Canada and

some men chronicled their experiences through military albums during the period.¹¹²

The other professional reference in the album appears on page twenty-eight and alludes to Bell's career as a barrister. (Figure 1.8.b) In the bottom left photograph, Charles and John Bell can be seen standing with other men in front of a building on a street in Belleville. The sign on the building reads, "BRITISH INTERNATIONAL FIRE ASSURANCE CO. OFFICE" on the right side and "LIFE ASSURANCE CO, OFFICE" on the left side. Although the offices may or may not be the exact location of the Bell & Bell office, this photo is likely a group shot of the legal firm. Several men in the photo are wearing attire associated with the legal profession.

C. Wallace Bell Albums, 2-5

Charles Bell had four additional albums made by Walker, which are titled *C. Wallace Bell Albums, 2-5*. They are significantly larger than *C.W. Bell Album*, are in pristine condition and are meant to be a distinct set from *C.W. Bell Album*. The AGO identifies that the set would have likely been made around the same year as the family album, but the year "1875" is not inscribed on or inside them. These large books are made up entirely of photographic reproductions of paintings, and around them, Walker has drawn decorative borders in black ink which directly correspond to the iconography and narratives in the paintings. These reproductions were collected and celebrated for their sentimentality and moral themes which reflected Victorian values.¹¹³ Examples include works attributed to European academic painters such as Timolean Marie Lobrichon (1831-1914), Jules-Émile Saintin (1829-1894), Charles Zacharie Landelle (1821-1908), and the Orientalists Émile Charles and Hippolyte Lecomte-Vernet (1821-1900).¹¹⁴

The sheer number of albums made by Caroline Walker, in general, suggests that they were in-demand by upper-class settlers in nineteenth-century Canada. The ownership of an album was likely coveted for the same reason that other similar objects of material culture were desired: for the accumulation of status and affirmation of social stratification. The album was an object used for a variety of purposes in the Victorian period, and it was the primary form that was used to display images, art and visual culture.¹¹⁵ The compiling of albums was reflective of a wider Victorian culture which was obsessed with collecting. The collections presented in albums “helped form individual and collective identities” and were a form of self-fashioning.¹¹⁶ *C. Wallace Bell Albums, 2-5* represent Bell’s cultured taste, a central aspect of his upper-class identity and educational background.

These four additional books are evidence that Bell commissioned Walker to make several albums. However, unlike the *C.W. Bell Album*, it is unclear what this set is meant to represent. Bell travelled internationally in 1871 and it is possible that the postcards pasted in these albums are from a collection of photographs he purchased during that trip.¹¹⁷ However, this grouping of albums also points to how Walker presented herself as an artist. Her act of drawing frames which respond to images of traditional (male) academic painting may be interpreted as Walker attempting to position her work in relationship to the tradition of European art. In the very least, the juxtaposition stages a dialogue between the amateur and the professional arts.¹¹⁸ Although the intention of these contrasting art forms is unclear, these four albums, like the *C.W. Bell Album*, raise issues relating to artistic intent and authorship.

Polyvalence, Memory and Multiple Authorships in *C.W. Bell Album*

What relationship existed between the illustrator or “author” of the album, Caroline Walker, and Charles Bell, the album-keeper, is unknown. Both lived in Belleville at this time and, through Walker’s husband, shared a link in the legal profession. But beyond that, nothing is known about their relationship or why Bell would have requested Walker to make such an object. If the albums were commissioned, and Bell was the “patron” of the album, under what conditions were these objects produced? Was Walker paid to make the albums, or were they given as gifts to Bell from Walker? Unless a record of the transaction is found, these questions will remain unknown. Family, love, death, education and professional life are themes which emerge in *C.W. Album*. The narrative order in which these themes appear in the album read in total as a memorial of Charles Bell’s “life story.”¹¹⁹

In photographic studies, the concept of “memory work” has been considered within the study of the photographic album.¹²⁰ Langford posits in *Suspended Conversations* that there is an “afterlife” of memory in the photo album; as objects held in archives and museums, the familial and personal memory of albums is displaced from their original contexts.¹²¹ Jo Spence has contributed to the field of albums and memory significantly, by showing how the family album is used as a form of storytelling to perform an idealized representation of family histories. In her view, specific positive moments in one’s life and rights of passage in one’s life and family history are memorialized through chronologies of images and negative moments are erased.¹²² Representations of memory, and what is included and excluded by the album-makers, can be seen as a “type of critical autobiography” according to Steve Edwards.¹²³ In the album, Walker visually maps forces that had shaped Bell’s life as a young man; it commemorates significant

passages of his life. The *C.W. Bell Album*, like Spence argues, is an idealized representation of his personal and family identity.

Photo theory has addressed the subject of family memory in albums, but it has also considered the album as a “site of conflicting memories”¹²⁴ of personal, social and familial memory. Anette Kuhn illustrates how family photographs and images stored in albums often express multiple personal identities which can project stories about family and self simultaneously.¹²⁵ The negotiation between the two subjectivities apparent in the *C.W. Bell Album*, of Walker and Bell, forms a complex picture of what narratives the album conveys. The multiple memories that Kuhn argues encounter photographs at once, personal, social and familial memories, also co-exist in the photo album. Although the family album has been previously theorized as a vehicle of familial identity and narrative, it can also express social memory. *C.W. Bell Album* depicts the story of Charles Bell’s life, but through her illustrations, Walker’s style, character, and voice are present.

Although the studio portraits capture memories from Charles Bell’s life, there are glimpses of Walker’s presence and creative work throughout the album. The blonde cherub figure appears twice in the album; this is clearly meant to be a self-portrait of sorts as the caricature is represented in the act of signing the album and it looks out at the viewer. As far as art historians are aware, templates of illustrations for such elaborately embellished photo albums did not exist in the Victorian period in Canada, suggesting that her designs are original.¹²⁶ Walker’s albums are different from examples from Europe; her albums contain borders of Canadian maple leaves, flowers of a Canadian origin, and also a winter snow scene. Such aesthetic choices reference Walker’s geographical environment which makes these Canadian

albums unique from their British and French counterparts. The album itself is not finished; there are several pages of illustrations which are unoccupied by a photograph. These ‘empty’ pages seem to be creations of Walker’s imagination. The Chinese tea illustration, on page seventeen, for example, is a painting of a figure holding two tea chests that are designed to hold circular portraits. (Figure 1.14.a) Several additional pages feature humorous stock caricatures such as princesses, Roman gladiators, matadors, palace guards, musketeers, jesters and judges which hold the photographic frames. (Figure 1.14.b) Walker’s use of these caricatures in her collages reflected her clear sense of wit and imagination. In these examples, the album-keeper may choose to insert pictures of individuals they didn’t like in these frames to mock them. One photograph of a man dressed as a woman is placed inside of the princess caricature on this page subverts expectations of gender. In other examples, photographs of specific individuals have been ripped out of the album page altogether, suggesting a schism between families or friends. The collages in the album are evidently of Walker’s own creation and they embody what is characteristic of women’s collages from this period: playful experimentations which incite humour, wit and delight in the viewer.¹²⁷

To understand the album, it is necessary to consider the various personages who contributed to the formation of its making and its reception. Within this context, the photographs would have been collected either by Bell or by his extended family. Di Bello’s notion of the album maker as a “collector,” in this example, would apply only to the album-keeper, but not to the artist. Walker’s role in the making of the albums was an extension of her professional art practice in the sense that her work was desired by others and her illustrations were marked with pride and signifiers of artistic authenticity. Walker’s artistic status complements this view: she

was a respected artist in her time who exhibited at important national and international fairs and exhibitions. Walker's signature on the album's opening page declares that she is its maker and that the album be seen as a work; the signage also implies that the album-keeper was keen to show off their collaboration.

Rather than interpreting Victorian photocollage albums as lacking any claim to authorship, Caroline Walker's illustrations provide a substantive case for understanding photo albums as polyvalent objects with their meanings contingent on the various personages who contributed to them. As Lutz and Collins have argued for the polysemic nature of images "in which a multiplicity of gazes, including that of the subject, contribute to the ambiguous status of photography,"¹²⁸ so too can albums be interpreted through a lens of a multiplicity of voices and authorships. Not only do several gazes meet in the photo album, as Langford has argued, but also multiple subjectivities are imparted on the object through the physical alterations that were made by those who contributed to its surfaces, images and designs.¹²⁹ The concept of polyvalence also needs to be considered in terms of how both the professional and the domestic and the private and public sphere meet in the album. Despite Steve Edward's assertion that "the album embodies a particular ideology of the family as personalized space, organized around female experience,"¹³⁰ the *C.W. Bell Album* depicts a male view of the Victorian social world through its selected photographs combined with feminine associations through Walker's artistic contributions. In this case, the album is both personal and professional, feminine and masculine and private and public. In turn, it communicates more about the social world than simply an internal, domestic ideology of the family. The negotiation between the identities and memories of Walker and Bell are what constitutes this multilayered material object.

The production of the *C.W. Bell Album* is evidence that family scrap albums were made outside of family contexts while still reinforcing the family structure. Although the details of the artist of the album, Caroline Walker, to the album-keeper, Charles Bell, are unclear, it is evident that in this case, the embellished album was custom-made by an outsider of the family (in this case, the individual) the album represents. Caroline Walker's career as an artist, and especially her exhibition history, is evidence that the producers and those involved with the creation of photcollage albums were not always limited to the classifications scholars in album studies and the history of photography have previously assumed. Her identity and action to sign the album "pinxit" is significant and suggests that the photo album as a material object may have been understood to communicate aesthetic tastes and of artistic worth during its time.

While photo albums were not formally part of art or photography debates and discourses in Confederation-era Canada, the albums designed by Caroline Walker provide new insights for scholars of album studies. These findings are related to the next chapter, where I will be examining other examples of albums Caroline Walker made in the mid-1870s in Belleville. Related to the concept of authorship, I will investigate how photcollage albums in this context were made through processes of collaborative women's image-making and visual culture.

**Chapter Two: Albums as communal women's making and the gendered language of
flowers: an examination of the Sarah Howard Albums by Caroline Walker
and Sarah Howard**

In 1989, two photocollage albums dated to the mid- 1870s titled *H. Sarah Howard Album* (1874) and *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* (1863) were donated to LAC (then, the National Archives of Canada) by Evelyn Lambart, the first female animator in Canada to work at the National Film Board of Canada from 1942 to 1974.¹ The albums belonged to Evelyn Lambart's grandmother Sarah Howard and exist in what is now called the Evelyn Lambart Collection.² Like *C.W. Bell Album*, the *H. Sarah Howard Album* and the *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* are examples of embellished photo albums from Victorian-era Canada made with a high degree of technical sophistication. Elaborate, vibrantly colourful ink and watercolour designs of animals, flowers, and abstract patterns accompany the photographic prints in these two albums. I refer to this pair of albums as the "the Sarah Howard albums" in this chapter to avoid confusion.

Both of these albums were in the possession of Hannah Sarah Howard (1843-1911) and, previously, she has been attributed as their illustrator and compiler. However, I contend that Caroline Walker also contributed to them. These albums have almost identical designs, borders, and framing as seen in *C.W. Bell Album*. Further, in some instances, the exact same photographic prints recur across the three objects. On various pages of the Sarah Howard albums, the compositions are almost identical to those seen in Walker's *C.W. Bell Album*. One of many examples of their similarities can be seen in two compositions which feature oval-shaped prints inside an illustration of the leaves of a lily-of-the-valley flower from *C.W. Bell Album* and *H.*

Sarah Howard Album. (Figure 2.1.a, Figure 2.1.b.). The composition is striking and differs from typical floral album designs of the day as it concentrates on the long, green leaves instead of the flower head. *H. Sarah Howard Album* and *C.W. Bell Album* were made in Belleville from 1874-5 at a time when both Howard and Walker lived in the city. Although *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* is dated earlier, based on small inscriptions on its inside cover which state “1863” and “1864,” the drawings and paintings in the album were likely an intervention made by Walker at a later date in Belleville around 1874-5. Not only does the album feature portraits of people from Belleville, but LAC also notes that Caroline Walker surely had a connection to the object given that numerous illustrations in it look identical to examples of Walker’s paintings from *C.W. Bell Album*.³ LAC speculates that the group of albums would have likely been assembled together around the same time.⁴

Within scholarly literature, which had for many years devalued the importance of women’s Victorian collage albums, scholars have not yet investigated the importance of women’s art contained in these objects. They have generally been interpreted by scholars as forms of “decorative”⁵ domestic material culture produced in the private sphere.⁶ As previously argued, the albums’ associations with domestication have led to the general dismissal of women’s album-making within photo studies. Within this discourse, the styles, art and materiality of women’s painting in albums have not been prioritized or taken seriously within art historical scholarship. More recent studies of women’s photo albums originating from Europe by Di Bello and Siegel have brought to light a new appreciation and recognition to the genre of Victorian collage.⁷ Yet, despite the richness and complexity of the illustrations that appear in these types of albums, scholars in the field have concentrated on the photographs themselves and

little attention has been given on the importance of the frames and illustrations in women's albums.⁸

This feminist analysis of the Sarah Howard albums considers what these frames and collages contribute to women's arts from the period. This chapter is based on visual and stylistic analysis. Despite some scholarly critiques which have challenged the place of stylistic analysis in art history and the history and theory of photography, the use of this method in this chapter is not antithetical to historical analysis or feminist and class readings.⁹ This study uses material culture methodologies and examines the ways that style makes meaning. Considering albums' associations with materiality in scholarly literature, it is relevant and necessary to consider the objects' material and formal qualities.¹⁰

In this chapter, I concentrate on how hand-painted artwork used in albums from this period actively shapes their reading. I argue the painted frames and other hand-rendered elements in these two albums reveal much about authorship and gender. Specifically, through close stylistic analyses, I contend that these albums are the products of a collaborative and pedagogical relationship between Walker and Howard. Further, this analysis is a feminist reading, which examines how these women performed, but also resisted, undermined and drew into question conventions of idealized Victorian womanhood. I interpret the albums' artwork in terms of gender and within the historical context of women's collaborative art-making. Continuing my investigation of authorship in women's albums from the period, I argue that the illustrations, artworks, scrapbook and collage elements, which enhance the photographs in the Sarah Howard albums, were co-authored by Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard.

This chapter will begin with a biography of Sarah Howard and description of the two

albums under discussion here. The second portion of the chapter comprises an analysis of the albums, where style and technique will be examined in detail. As mentioned briefly in Chapter One, it was typical of women's albums to be the product of communal participation, but this chapter will examine how albums from the period were products of collective women's art making. This interpretation concentrates on how certain pictorial conventions such as floral imagery were gendered feminine and how these conventions are followed and resisted in the albums. This analysis illuminates how these collages are not only domestic but also representations of Walker's and Howard's subjectivity.

Hannah Sarah Howard (1843-1911)

The "album keeper" of the two embellished albums from the Lambart collection was Hannah Sarah Howard (1843-1911). Taking the name Hannah Sarah Lambart after marriage, she was informally referred to as "Sarah" by family and friends in her addressed letters from the time, so I refer to her as "Sarah Howard" in this chapter.¹¹ Sarah Howard was born in Buffalo, New York to Hiram Edward Howard and Marianne Wallbridge on December 25, 1843. Hiram Howard and his wife never lived in Canada. Hiram was born on May 9, 1800, in Milton, New York, to John and Sarah Howard. Although politics divided the two families, various members continued to inter-marry.¹² Hiram Howard and Marianne Wallbridge were first cousins and they married on October 2, 1837, in Ballston Spa, New York. They had seven children in sixteen years.

Hiram Howard was a successful mercantile businessman who made his career in Buffalo after 1840. He held the position of cashier and managing officer for the Marine Bank, an institution established in 1850 which later became HSBC USA.¹³ Hiram was progressively

mindful and involved in the arts, serving as President of the Buffalo Musical Association. An example of his liberal character is when he invited Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, a former slave and African-American concert singer during the period known for her stage name “Black Swan,” to live in the Howard’s Buffalo household to aid her tour.¹⁴ Sarah’s parents later nicknamed a young child in the family “Greenfield” in her honour.¹⁵ These types of race relations among upper-middle-class whites and former slaves in the period were rare. Presumably, her father’s progressive values made an impression on Sarah and helped shape who she was as a person. In light of his liberal political views, Hiram encouraged his daughters to receive a high-class education and encouraged them to seek training in the arts and sciences. Sarah Howard studied in the branches of science at the Buffalo Female Academy beginning in 1861.¹⁶ She was also a trained amateur pianist, for which she received recognition and praise, which was likely prompted in part by her father’s passion for the musical arts.¹⁷ Family records suggest that she also graduated from Vassar College; however, Vassar records do not corroborate this, although Sarah’s younger sister Caroline Campbell Howard is confirmed to have entered Vassar College’s inaugural class in 1865.¹⁸

Sarah’s mother died in 1863 and her father, Hiram, died shortly after on February 8, 1868, in Buffalo, New York, at the age of 67.¹⁹ Following the death of their parents, Sarah and her four younger siblings, Frances, Caroline, Henrica and Lewis moved to Belleville in 1868 to live with their three uncles, Lewis, William, and Thomas Wallbridge, who financially supported the Howard children.²⁰ Lewis Wallbridge was an MP and one of the first speakers of the house of Parliament. They lived in a lavish estate called the “Wallbridge White House” at Dundas and Front Streets.²¹ Sarah Howard later bought a house in Belleville for her and her siblings by

1871.²² Little is known about this residence, apart from the records which indicate that it was located on John Street and that Sarah's sister Caroline married Stephen Thomas Greene there on August 15, 1871.²³ It is unclear as to how the property was purchased, through her inheritance or by the Wallbridge uncles, but the property was listed in Sarah Howard's name.²⁴ Sarah was the eldest of the living Howard children at this time, so she presumably bought the house on John Street for her remaining siblings as their guardian.²⁵ She lived there and was head of the house for at least fifteen years between 1871-1884.

The albums would have been assembled during the years Howard lived at this property and many of the photographs reference people associated with both Buffalo and Belleville. At this stage of her life, Sarah Howard was a bourgeois woman who possessed wealth and elevated social status prior to marriage. Howard's economic position as the female head of a household challenges the assumption that only married women produced embellished albums.²⁶ Although Howard lived in privilege, her economic independence during this period should shape how the album is interpreted.

Usually, albums are associated with women's role in the private sphere within an upper-class domestic partnership.²⁷ While scholars have previously assumed that albums were made in the home as an extension of women's wifely duties, Howard made both albums while she was single, signalling that the object was an autobiographical expression of her personal identity and unrelated to the duties and confines of marriage. Unlike Walker, Howard had no training in art or involvement with the professional art world. Later in life, she was recognized publicly for her skills in drawing and painting, but classified as a "sketcher."²⁸ In her albums, she uses drawing and collage to frame her own self in terms of kinship ties, but she does not yet have the gendered

role of 'keeper' of family memory because of her unique status as an independent woman prior to when she later married in 1884.

Howard's Wallbridge connections gave her access to the top sphere of the political and social classes both in Belleville and Ottawa. She regularly attended upper-class events in Ottawa, and even occasionally sat in on parliament, for which she was ridiculed by male journalists because of her gender.²⁹ Her importance in Victorian Canadian society can be witnessed in William Topley's composite image of the former Governor General Lord Dufferin's Fancy Dress Ball, which took place on February 23, 1876 at Rideau Hall in Ottawa. Howard's standing portrait, dressed in a gown made of peacock feathers, is positioned in the centre of Topley's composition.³⁰ She stands directly across from Lord and Lady Dufferin who sit on an elevated throne, dressed as the Court of King James V of Scotland. Every other figure in the photograph is positioned around Howard and many figures are looking at her. The photograph appears to be re-enacting a court debutante presentation ceremony, and she is being presented to the Governor General in the image.³¹ Only the social elite was invited to the Governor General's fancy dress balls and photographed by Topley, so for Howard to take such a central role in the composite of Lord Dufferin's ball is evidence of her elevated place in society.

Despite Howard's comfortable social position, she was resolved to elevate to a higher class through marriage. Her personal scrapbook reveals that she was obsessed with her public image. During her years in Canada, she collected newspaper clippings which commented on her appearances at important events in Ottawa, her public image, and her accomplishments. She was regularly written about in a particularly gossipy column titled "The Ottaweese," published in the *Ottawa Citizen*.³² I surmise that Howard may have assembled decorative photo albums in

order to present herself as upper-class to those that knew her. She fell into the category of a Victorian “American Heiress,” a bourgeois woman from the United States who actively sought to marry a member of the English aristocracy.³³ Four years after her last album was made, Howard married the Honourable Octavius Henry Lambart, the second son of the 8th Earl of Cavan, on October 15, 1878, at the Anglican church in Belleville. They bought a mansion at #7 Rideau Gate in 1884, in the New Edinburgh neighbourhood of Ottawa. The family called this estate “Vine Lynne” and lived for the remainder of their lives.³⁴ The residence, now known as “Rideau Gate,” is used to accommodate diplomatic visitors to the nation’s capital and houses several valuable objects from the Lambart family collection. During their time in Ottawa, she gave birth to four children. Howard died at home on March 10, 1911.

The Sarah Howard Albums

Like other Victorian women’s albums from the period, the two examined here consist of scrap cabinet card prints, which are mainly portraits of the album maker’s family, friends and colleagues. The photographs are embellished with watercolour and ink paintings, illustrations, and print designs. These designs include decorative frames of flower and fauna, reproductions of artists’ works and botanical life studies, cartoon caricatures, illustrations of spiders and bugs, and hanging picture and window frames. There appears to be no specific logical narrative structure to either album. Two separate finding aid descriptions list what is represented on their pages, and further original photographs are identified by LAC’s Lambart family photographic archive.

Some pages of the albums feature drawings and only partially-finished sketches, while other pages are evidently incomplete. The subject matter varies throughout. Some collages

contain portrait photographic prints which have been decorated with paintings of flowers. Others have no photographs at all and, instead, are filled by watercolour paintings and ink sketches of botanical specimens, landscapes, architectural interiors and reproductions of European art. In other instances, the frames are clearly responding to the photographs on that same page. Both albums appear to contain photographs of Sarah Howard's family members and people she knew during her life in Buffalo and Belleville.

Through family and social connections, Howard knew the Bell family, and photographs that were used in the *C.W. Bell Album* also appear in the Sarah Howard Albums. (Figure 2.2.a, Figure 2.2.b) Helen Turnbull Bell was a cousin of Sarah's mother, Marianne Wallbridge Howard. Sarah Howard's personal autograph book indicates that she and Charles Bell shared a mutual affection and exchanged poems with one another. A portrait of Bell appears on page twenty-two of the *H. Sarah Howard Album*. This point is significant, as it enhances the argument that the Walker albums from the AGO and the Sarah Howard Albums from LAC are connected. It is possible that Bell and Howard shared their albums with each other and that they were both friends or acquaintances with Caroline Walker.

The Scrap Album-Sarah Howard (1863-1875)

Scrap Album-Sarah Howard is a 28 x 23.5 cm bound volume in purple cloth with the words "Scrap Album" embossed on its cover. It contains ninety cabinet card photographs across its forty-two pages. Although Sarah Howard's name does not appear on the album cover, LAC has recently attributed it to her. There are indicators which suggest that the album was purchased around the year 1863, five years prior to her relocation to Canada in 1868; it was likely

purchased in Buffalo, New York. The typography on the front cover of this cloth album features a large drop cap, a large letter at the beginning of a text which was historically used in medieval illuminated manuscripts. The drop cap, featuring the letter “S,” is ornamented in the shape of a piece of parchment to form the words “Scrap Album”. It resembles no recognizable typeface, but the font resembles those that were commonly used in scrap albums sold by commercial photographic studios and can be seen in album advertisements from New York during the period.³⁵ The design of the album itself is quite different from Caroline Walker’s leather-bound albums, which often had the word “Album” or the name of the album’s owner embossed in gold on their covers, written in a variation of blackmoor typeface. Such a difference in design suggests that the scrap album itself was purchased from a different photographic studio or bookbinder than Belleville’s E. Harrison at an earlier date when Howard lived in the United States.

Other evidence which proves an earlier date is that the years 1863 and 1864 are written on the inside cover. These inscriptions are each written in a different hand and are not Howard’s, indicating that these individuals signed the album, a practice that was common in women’s sentiment albums and autograph books during the Victorian era.³⁶ Many of these autographs have the years 1863 and 1864 written beside the signatures, which mark the *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* as being no later than this date. The names and dates inscribed on the inside cover, the back cover and elsewhere in the volume reference residents of Buffalo and other regions of the United States whom Howard likely knew.³⁷

The album opens with a newspaper column clipped from *Danbury News* and titled “A Family Album.” A witty rumination on the nature of albums from the period, this clipping is

sourced from a newspaper from Danbury, Connecticut. Two inscriptions that appear on the inside front cover state, “Abbie Seymour, March 16th, 1864” and “Mary Grovine, Nov. 23, 1863.” On the back cover of the album, names are inscribed as well. The inscriptions read, “Henry Anthony March 1862 aged 18 years 7 months,” “Loring Pierce, June 1863,” “Ada Hanley, Oct 1861,” “Mary Harrison, May 18, 1863,” “Celina Itiker Riester- Easter Monday, Oct 2, 6, 1863. Ages 24 years and 6 months,” “Mary Harrison May 1863,” “Gola Club May 4, 1864,” “Walter Wilson on his 16th birthday (March 28th, 1863) Sailed for Europe in the Persia, May 6th, 1863. Received May 20th, 1863- Cala Lily,” “Mary Damanville August 1862,” and “Mip Aoa Schnylee, Syracuse. Sept 1874.” Most of the dates associated with these individuals are in the early 1860s, again referencing the years Howard spent in America. The names which are autographed on the front and back inside covers are likely female colleagues and friends of Howard’s from Buffalo and other cities in the United States. Dr Abbie Janet Seymour (1846-1895), for instance, was an artist and a musician born who practiced as a medical doctor in Buffalo in the same years Howard resided there.³⁸

Few photographic portraits in the album have been identified, but the individuals in the album seem to be family members or acquaintances of Sarah Howard from Belleville and Buffalo. It is possible that some of the photographic prints depict individuals from the United States. Some identifications in the photographs, however, can be made using the Lambart family collection. A portrait of Sarah Howard is included on page two and there is also a picture of her sister, Henrica Howard, is on page eighteen. Aside from the portrait of Sarah and her sister Henrica, there are a few photographs of individuals from Buffalo or Batavia, New York, suggesting that most of the portraits are of American origin. An obituary, sourced from a Buffalo

newspaper and glued on page thirty-four, references and includes a decorated photograph of a woman named Miss Clara Cutler. On page twenty-two, there is a picture of Mrs. Bryan Thompson, who was the boarding school mistress of Sarah's sister Henrica.³⁹ A photograph of Mrs. Thompson's young son, Willie, is seen on page twenty-eight.⁴⁰ Sarah Howard's godfather, "Mr. Wilson", who also lived in Buffalo, is included in a collage of ferns on page twenty.⁴¹ As the majority of the images in the album cannot be matched to family photographs that were collected in Canada, it is assumed that the photographic prints are Sarah Howard's collected images from when she lived in Buffalo and of her American family.

Despite the album's many references to American people and subjects, it would seem that *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* was bound in 1863-4 but illustrated in Belleville around 1874-5, roughly concurrent with other albums by Walker were made. The evidence of this is the album's overwhelming similarity to the style of Caroline Walker's work seen in *C.W. Bell Album*. It is clear that Walker contributed to this album, a view shared by multiple professionals in the field.⁴² No less than nine pages follow an almost identical composition, colouring and format as seen in the *C.W. Bell Album*. *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* is filled with floral framed collages, caricatures and collages of trees which were common motifs used by Walker seen in Chapter One. For example, an illustration which depicts photographic portraits of children inside of calla lilies on page thirteen of Howard's scrapbook can be compared to the same design of the same flower seen on page thirty-one of *C.W. Bell Album*. (Figure 2.3.a, Figure 2.3.b).

There are, however, disruptions to this individual style throughout the album. Although many of the compositions in the album follow Walker's style and are evidently taken from her own designs she used as templates, the hand of another maker is present in these two objects.

Some of the differences between these albums and the *C.W. Bell Album* include: experimentation with materials which results in rich illustrations, thicker textures and more expressive treatment of paints and ink, reproductions of paintings and engravings from art history, full-page botanical life studies, and the inclusion of non-art materials such as stamps in the collages. Several of these interventions, especially those unrefined paintings, drawings and collages rendered in an unconventional style, were likely Sarah Howard's input to the art in the album. Despite their similarity to Walker's style, I argue, as outlined above, that the Sarah Howard albums are co-authored by Sarah Howard and Caroline Walker.

A distinguishing feature of Howard's *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* is its inclusion of many single-page artworks. In total, nine full-page botanical paintings and two landscape watercolour paintings appear in the volume. The inclusion of full-page artworks was common in sentiment albums from the period such as the *Lady Belleau Album*, where artists worked collaboratively to perform a type of social ritual. However, full-page artworks and sketches are absent the other photocollage albums made by Walker. In her work, illustrations and designs typically accompanied and responded to the photographs. Therefore, the *Scrap Album- Sarah Howard* is distinct from the other albums made by Walker. I argue that full-scale sketches and drawings in this album are used as teaching tools and that they make a space for the art of botanical illustration to be taught and learned as a model of proper "feminized" pictorial convention. The album, thus, has a dual function of a photo album and a pedagogical tool. This argument will be unpacked further in my analysis in the section, "Gender Performance and Resistance to 'Feminine' Visual Language."

The H. Sarah Howard Album

The second album from the Lambart collection is the *H. Sarah Howard Album*, which is attributed to Sarah Howard. It is a scrapbook bound in brown leather with the words “H. Sarah Howard 1874” embossed on the front cover in gold lettering. Comprising forty-two pages, it contains 123 photographic prints in total. Although it may have been altered over time, Sarah Howard acquired and began making the album four years before she got married. By 1874, she was living in Belleville. Most of the photographs and themes in the album reflect Howard’s time in Belleville before her marriage, and it seems to represent a transition in her life from Buffalo to Belleville.

Three individuals are identified in pencil in the album. “Mary” and “Mrs. Cerry” are cited on page thirty-five and “Machul Geusen” on page eighteen. At the top of page thirty-nine, which features eight photographic prints with watercolour leaf frames, the following inscription is recorded: “Georgina Eliza, John S.D.” Those two names are recorded but not placed beside or under specific photographs. A photograph on page twenty-nine has the date “1868” written in pencil beside it, six years before the album is dated.

Several members of Sarah’s immediate family are in the album. Page seventeen seems to commemorate the memory of her mother and father; small, round portraits of Hiram and Marianne Howard have been placed inside of two leaves of a lily-of-the-valley plant.⁴³ Both of her parents died before she immigrated to Canada, so this is evidently a *memento mori* to loved ones. Page twenty-seven is dedicated to Sarah’s sister Caroline Howard. A photograph of Caroline Howard and Stephen Thomas Greene’s wedding cake, taken by D.J. Wallace in Belleville in 1871, is placed in the top right-hand corner of the page. On the left-hand corner is a

photograph of Caroline Howard Greene and her child, Howard, taken by the same photo studio in 1872.⁴⁴ The preceding page concentrates on another one of Sarah's sisters, Henrica Howard, and is decorated with roses. She is seen holding a baby in the bottom right-hand corner. Henrica died in 1879 at the age of twenty-seven as a result of complications during the birth of her second daughter, so this may be another memorial tribute.⁴⁵ A circular portrait of Sarah Howard's brother-in-law, Samuel Thomas Green, is pasted in a leaf of a lily-of-the-valley flower on page twenty-two of the album. This photograph resembles his portrait and is signed "STG" in pencil. Green founded and operated the first school for the deaf in the country.⁴⁶ Several members of the Wallbridge family also appear in the album, including Jefferson D. Wallbridge, Louie C. Wallbridge, and Cyrus Packard and Elizabeth Wallbridge. Another young man who is prominently featured multiple times in the album can be identified as Henry Cogswell Howard, Sarah's cousin on her father's side.⁴⁷

Several photographic portraits of the Bell family (introduced in the preceding chapter on the *C.W. Bell Album*) also appear in the *H. Sarah Howard Album*. One collage, for example, features a large portrait of John Bell in the centre of the composition. In the background, smaller portraits of the Bell children and blue lily-of-the-valley flowers are pasted around his head. On another page in an additional overlap between this and Walker's album, a portrait of a woman who is apparently Charlotte Wallace Bell is pasted into an ink drawing of bells. Finally, on page twenty, portraits of Helen Turnbull Bell and John Bell have been glued into a dark and rather ominous bell tower illustration.

In the *H. Sarah Howard Album*, many compositions are noticeably similar to those in Caroline Walker's albums. These repeated designs include those which have acorn trees with

photographic prints cut into the shapes of shields attached to their branches, and other framed collages filled with flora and fauna. The caricatures used in this album are stylistically similar to the ones in Walker's works, which in turn were inspired by *Punch Magazine*. (Figure 2.4) In other cases, the exact same technique appears in *H. Sarah Howard Album* and *C.W. Bell Album*. On page twelve of the *H. Sarah Howard Album*, for instance, the *Mauchlinware* speckling technique has been used, where ink or watercolour has been carefully flicked onto the paper to make an imprint of flowers and plants onto the page using a stencil of real ferns. This same technique was used twice in *C.W. Bell Album*, in black and green monochromes.

Despite these similarities, the *H. Sarah Howard Album* has characteristics which distinguish it from the earlier dated *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* and the *C.W. Bell Album*; among these is the use of decals. On numerous pages, decals are placed on top of the photocollage compositions. Decals are a form of mass-produced transfer printing using lithography. Popular during the Victorian era, they were sold as prints on paper with a gum adhesive backing. In the album, decals in the shape of coins and shields have been placed onto the collages on the album's pages, just as one would place a sticker on paper today. The decals in the album represent coats of arms and imperial and military logo designs of imperial organizations such as the British India Company. During the nineteenth century, there was a craze for decals; Victorians of various social backgrounds stuck them on their luggage, in scrapbooks, and on other objects. This craze was called or "decalomania" during the period.⁴⁸ Howard's inclusions of these stamps show that she is experimenting with new materials and engaging with contemporary modes of expression.

Another distinguishing feature of the Howard album are the copies of European artworks inserted among the illustrations and photographic portraits. Some of them are rendered with dark and chalky linework and others are made in light washes of watercolour; the technique varies, and these drawings may have been made by either artist. On the first page, for example, an interpretation of the Baroque painting *Saint Francis in Meditation* (1635-9) by Francisco de Zubarán has been rendered with expressive, thick and chalky linework and dark tones.⁴⁹ In addition, a recreation of a miniature silhouette portrait of Lady Jane Grey appears to be a copy of the engraving of *Lady Jane Grey* by James Hopwood Sr.⁵⁰ These copies show considerable skill in drawing representational figurative imagery. An illustration titled “The Lascar” is another interesting example of watercolour painting in the album. (Figure 2.5) Lascars were Indian sailors who worked on British ships operated by the East India Company from 1780-1860s.⁵¹ “Lascar” was a term that was later used to describe all non-white sailors during this period in Britain.⁵² The exoticized depiction of the subject is likely being used to “other” colonized subjects of the British Empire.⁵³

With these visual references to artworks, Sarah Howard and Caroline Walker were presumably influenced by popular print culture and the tradition of art albums when making these aesthetic choices. Early upper-class settler women such as Lady Caroline Bucknall-Estcourt and Katherine Jane Ellice made art albums which have been given recognition in art historical scholarship.⁵⁴ Sarah Howard’s mother-in-law, Carolyn Littleton, Countess of Cavan, made her own art albums. At least one of her albums is in the Evelyn Lambart collection; an enormous scrapbook, it features Lady Cavan’s watercolour and ink works on paper, which have a high level of artistic sophistication.⁵⁵ Another source of inspiration for these pages—

particularly the inclusion of an engraving of Lady Jane Grey—may have come from popular printed magazines and books. According to Di Bello, women often gathered their visual imagery from print culture, and albums were actively discussed in women’s journals and magazines during the period.⁵⁶ Regardless of the origins of this type of imagery, the frequency of art reproductions and drawings suggests that the makers of the album are presenting it as an aesthetic object in addition to its function as a record of photographic memory.

Collaborative Authorship

Two dominant artistic styles emerge in both of Howard’s albums. One is Walker’s, seen through the compositions that are identical to the designs in the *C.W. Bell Album*. Walker used refined, clear and linear brushwork in her illustration. The other style appears to be Howard’s. She, in contrast, uses loose, thick and rough linework and dark, expressive painterly treatment of materials. A particularly powerful example of their divergent styles can be seen in the last two pages of *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, which feature images of two Christian crucifixes with biblical inscriptions. (Figure 2.6.a, Figure 2.6.b) The first illustration is crafted with fine linework and an understanding of perspective. Written in a cursive hand, similar to Walker’s as seen in her other albums, are the words “Christ died for thee.”⁵⁷ (Figure 2.6.a) This page was likely done by Walker. In addition to the font, the artist of this page has used curly leaves, a stylistic abstraction which Walker uses in her drawing of flowers as seen on page nine of *C.W. Bell Album*. On the facing page, a much cruder and rough depiction of a cross can be seen and the words “it is finished” are written across it. (Figure 2.6.b) Unlike the previous illustration, it is drawn in a much less refined way using darker tones. The cross is represented without any use of

shading or perspective. The use of dark, thick linework in ink can also be seen in the crown of thorns which encircles the cross. The large and flat treatment of ink suggests that the maker was unfamiliar with how to apply ink or watercolour in gradients of value.

A similar approach to the application of ink is seen in the simplified drawings of bugs in the *H. Sarah Howard Album*. A form of iconography absent in any album Walker created, these insect designs are likely also an intervention by Howard. The fourth page of the same album features an illustration of a bug and a flower. In this image, the flower is identical to Walker's painting of a pink peony specimen by from page eight of the *C.W. Bell Album*. The bug, however, was likely rendered by Howard. (Figure 2.7) This is another example of a collaborative page and a striking image which shows how diverse styles are combined in these albums. Unlike Walker's depictions of birds and flowers, which typically conform to conventions of representational accuracy and perspective, the bug is positioned as four times the size of the two flowers. There is nothing naturalistic about this composition and no photographic prints occupy the page. Instead of photographs filling in holes on the bug or the flowers, the maker has pasted in decals and stamps where photographic prints would normally be inserted. It was likely Howard who pasted the decal stamps in. Although their placement is planned on this page, decals are haphazardly and randomly placed on other pages of the album, which can read as a contribution to the album by an untrained artist. Decals do not appear in Walker's album at all. Their presence conflicts with the clear aesthetic unity, repetition or organization of her decorative frames.

Another composition that shows two diverse styles in one collage appears on the last page of *H. Sarah Howard Album*. In this collage, three oval photographs on the corners of the

page are decorated with blue ribbons, a pattern also used by Walker in the *C.W. Bell Album*. In the centre of the composition, three large, bold horseshoes have been drawn in flat black and blue colours, and decals are pasted on them. Again, this page shows a clash of the two styles and the composition is almost nonsensical.

I suggest that the collaboration in this album was essentially pedagogical. In effect, Walker may have been teaching Howard how to make an album conform to feminine visual codes of representation that were expected during the period through botanical drawings and floral frames. This analysis can be illuminated by examining the techniques and recurring visual motifs in the album, the templates and sketches that remain its pages, and how the floral borders were a motif that was likely adapted by Howard in response to Walker's contributions to the albums. The *C.W. Bell Album*, apart from the frames that were left unfilled by photographs, was mostly an aesthetically organized and methodically planned picture book. In comparison, the Sarah Howard albums showcase much experimentation with art materials, subject matter and format through their varied compositions. Space is not made for photographic prints to fill every page and some pages of the album are occupied by full-scaled botanical drawings or collages, which depart from conventional, representational art.

Although the pages in the album may not have been made in chronological order, it can be assumed that *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, dating to 1863, was mostly finished before *H. Sarah Howard Album* was purchased in 1874.⁵⁸ The earlier album is filled with single-page botanical images; there are nine in total and they appear to be life studies. Page one of *Scrap Album-Howard* is a typical example of these pages, which is a detailed life study of a tiger lily from different angles. (Figure 2.8) Several of these life studies appear in the album's early pages,

and one looks like a scientific drawing of botanical specimens which are contained in four circles or Petri dishes. These pages have a similar appearance to botanical illustration, often associated with middle class and upper-class women of the period as well as with developments in the scientific study of botany.⁵⁹ Helmut Gernsheim argues that the photo album was a photographic “sketchbook,” intended to record the thoughts, inspirations and serve as a visual journal to the photographer.⁶⁰ With that in mind, I contend that the Sarah Howard albums have a dual function as, on one hand, a family photograph album and, on the other, an artist’s sketchbook. Such botanical illustrations are not commonly found in the family photocollage album. These life studies and sketches in the album reference how the object is not only a vestige of family memory but also a space of artistic inquiry.

Based on visual observation, it seems that specific floral designs and geometric patterns that were used as instructional tools and drawn out as templates in the earlier *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* were adapted and reused in the later-dated album. An example of this can be seen from two pages of life studies of roses on pages eight to nine of *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*. (Figure 2.9.a) The drawings were likely made by Walker as they use the same technique compared to other flower watercolours in *C.W. Bell Album*. Her technique involves applying pointed dots of paint on top of one another to create a texture of moss, thorns or split fibres of a plant. These particular life studies of roses also resemble Walker’s style through the use of thin washes of watercolour that build colour values and a sense of depth. A similar composition, which incorporates the same images from these studies, was later used to create a frame of roses which adorn photographic prints of Sarah’s sister Henrica Howard on page twenty-six of the *H. Sarah Howard Album*. (Figure 2.9.b) The treatment of materials on this page is slightly different and

darker. I contend that this example illustrates that Howard adapted some of Walker's floral designs to create her own decorated page in her later-dated album.

Another sign in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* which suggests that it was used as an instructional tool by Walker are the pencil templates which are left on the paper leaves unfinished. On plate twenty-four, a preparatory sketch in pencil shows how a photocollage image is constructed. This sketch reveals that underneath the paintings of flowers, the painted frames are made using a template of geometric shapes. (Figure 2.10) Tools such as a compass and a ruler were used to create this drawing and it appears that the template's purpose is to symmetrically place the photographic prints on the page according to mathematical proportions. Although the maker may have left the preparatory drawing visible on the paper simply because the album is unfinished, it is also possible that the template was left exposed for Howard's future reference.

Several floral compositions, rendered with a more expressive and *impasto* application of paint, appear in the later-dated *H. Sarah Howard Album*. One of these compositions features four photographic prints of children and one of a man. All of the sitters are unknown, and they are embellished with white, yellow, red, purple and blue pansies. Although less symmetrical than the template represented in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, it shows evidence of mirroring and pre-planned design. This illustration uses rich, vibrant color and thick applications of paint. It has been applied in an additive manner and does not use thin washes seen in Walker's illustrations of flowers. The thickness of the paint makes the flowers stand out to the viewer, and it simulates the velvety texture of pansy petals. The style is certainly not Walker's, but it may be another case where Howard has adapted her style to conform to the visual codes expected of the female photo

album. In the collage on page fourteen, a large window-shaped photograph of a woman is placed above three small oval portraits of men, which are surrounded by a large and spiky pink *schlumbergera* plant (also known as the “Christmas cactus plant”). The composition is expressive and quite different from Walker’s collages; rough textures and vibrant colours are used, inciting more emotion in the viewer.

Perhaps the most expressive and humorous collage in the *H. Sarah Howard Album* is one that represents Sarah Howard’s cousin Henry Cogswell Howard’s head on a piece of cloth that is draped over the elephant’s back in the middle of the page. (Figure 2.11) In the top left of the collage, a photograph of several people in high-class 1860s-era Victorian dress are standing at the edge of a cliff overlooking a snowy mountainscape. Presumably, this photograph is a winter scene staged in a studio in a manner popularized by William Notman.⁶¹ In the collage, a fuchsia *lamprocapnos* plant, informally referred to as “lady in the bathtub” today, are represented as springing out of the edge of the mountain. Overall, this page is not centred on the symmetrical design of the photographs, but rather, the illustrations interact with the images in an unconventional way that does not conform to the geometric patterns typical of the frame. A flower appears on this page, but it contains an element of the uncanny and the unexpected unseen in the *C.W. Bell Album*, indicating that through their collaboration, the floral subject is treated differently by Howard and Walker.

Gender Performance and Resistance to a “Feminine” Visual Language

From this close stylistic analysis, it is evident that there is a shift in how floral imagery is represented from the earlier *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* to the later-dated *H. Sarah Howard*

Album. In the earlier album, full-page botanical drawings are featured while the latter album displays images of flowers adapted and incorporated into the photocollages more fully. I conclude that the Sarah Howard albums were used as pedagogical tools to show the process of drawing plants from life. As such, they showed how flowers can be used to frame photographs in ways that were deemed “feminine” and “socially appropriate.” Walker may have taught Howard these gendered artistic conventions, and even if she didn’t, the album is being used as space to both conform with and resist conventional feminized depictions of floral imagery.

Flowers provided a visual language that was gendered feminine during the Victorian period, and they were considered standard subject matter for women to include in their albums. In “Identity, Difference and the Botanical Encounter,” Huneault analyzes botanical artworks and representations of flowers made by women artists in relationship to social forces that “conditioned women to think of themselves in floral terms.” She states, “botanical drawings brought scientific practices of identification and classification into contact with the Victorian discourse of femininity, and their unique visual organization presents a compelling pictorial framework for reflection on the status and function of women’s identity.”⁶² Notions of female identity, according to Huneault, were tied to social constructions which linked the female gender to flowers.⁶³ It was common for young upper-class girls to learn to draw botanical specimens. A woman who possessed the skill of drawing botanical specimens accurately was believed to be “marriageable” and “of sound reputation.”⁶⁴ Floral illustration was taught in art schools and in private schools for girls during the period across Canada. One of the teachers of these schools was Maria Morris Miller of Halifax, who rewarded her students for “neatness and command of pencil’ and conforming to ‘pleasing and appropriate regard to delicate delineation.”⁶⁵ Female

artists who made pictures of flowers were celebrated by critics when the subject was depicted as organized, linear and communicative of “feminine virtue.”⁶⁶

I contend that Howard’s work and approach to materiality are far removed from the expected conventions of women’s floral art from the period. In comparison to the clear, linear and composed style that was expected on this genre, Howard’s paintings and drawings in her albums are expressive, rough and unrefined. Given Walker’s upbringing in the genteel classes in England and her position as an art teacher at the private Bishop Strachan School for Girls, it follows that Walker’s style would conform to the ordered, composed and linear formal elements of the conventional genre of women’s floral illustration. Her treatment of floral subjects responded to social expectations during the period. Perhaps Howard was seeking to be trained by Walker on how to create proper album designs, frames, and floral illustrations that conformed to societal expectation in order to present herself as conforming to an ideal model of Victorian femininity.⁶⁷

Gender was visualized in very specific ways in photo albums during the Victorian period and often these representations were informed by the identities of the object’s makers. Despite the multiple examples that exist in the historical record of both male and female photocollage albums, the visualization of gender through art and decorations in albums has been neglected by scholars in the field. The types of illustrations, collages and visual culture in a woman’s album is often gendered feminine and different from male albums with their lack of embellishments and references to male visual culture.⁶⁸ The most common imagery women drew from included: scenes of drawing rooms and domestic interiors, imagery adapted from popular literature, animals, and of course, flowers.⁶⁹ Flowers were a somewhat common motif in early scrap

albums in Europe, but their presence is even more dominant in Canadian scrap albums.⁷⁰ The fixation on flowers in the Canadian scrap album likely aligns with a broader settler preoccupation in collecting native specimens, which was part of a larger settler-colonial project.⁷¹ By the time the commercial cabinet card album was invented in response to the invention of chromolithography, flowers had become the dominant visual motif and framing device in albums. In the late Victorian period, flowers had come to symbolize the domestic realm and idealizations of Victorian womanhood, such as the “angel of the house”.

Certain pictorial conventions were gendered in the photo album which complemented the object’s own association with femininity. The family album was typically deemed to be part of the domestic sphere and a separate category from political presentation, military and scientific albums. While it has been established in Chapter One that both men and women contributed to the collecting, arranging and designing of family photograph albums from the Victorian period, it was mainly women who oversaw and assembled the family album and acted “as the gatekeeper of family memory.”⁷² Kunard re-enforces this point: although exceptions exist where a man was the compiler or illustrator of an album, albums were generally maintained by women.⁷³ Making albums constituted a societal expectation for women as a result of the object’s association with feminine accomplishments and familial duty. A woman’s ability to compile, decorate and present the album to societal connections was evidence of her domestic accomplishments and her dominion over the family realm.⁷⁴ A woman’s ability to have control over the family album was culturally symbolic of her governance of the domestic household. The family album was typically placed in the centre of upper and upper-middle-class parlours, where it was presented to visitors. The experience of presenting it to outsiders for viewing was

often facilitated by the female head of the household, an experience which was mediated by both oral storytelling and tactile experience.⁷⁵

The presentation of these objects, therefore, was also a form of gender performance. As Di Bello has articulated, albums functioned as “spaces of bourgeois femininity,” a theory which is adapted from Pollock’s use of the term in *Vision and Difference*.⁷⁶ Di Bello argues that through the album, performances of female gender take place; the presenting of albums was a form of “showing off” one’s feminine skills and identity.⁷⁷ The presentation, viewing and reception of the album were meant to confirm a woman’s regulation within the private sphere while also serving as a tool used to reinforce an ideology of the family rooted in a class-based capitalist structure; the Sarah Howard albums, in these ways, performed gender identity and wealthy upper-class settler families’ social class and values.

Victorian Women’s Collage and Subjectivity

The albums by Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard reveal key aspects of gender roles in the mid nineteenth-century, when female artists and amateurs worked within imposed limits established by patriarchal social structures and art establishments. Although she was a professional artist, this is the type of work Walker was commissioned to make. Despite her artistic achievements, her identity was primarily tied to her role as an upper-class wife in the domestic sphere during the period. In turn, her access to the art world and authorial status was restrained by gender conventions.⁷⁸ Walker’s contributions to albums, therefore, can be understood as reflections of her gender, professional identity and related level of status. Further, they show how she negotiated public and private spheres. The Sarah Howard albums, in contrast,

illustrate that the creative work of women from this period should not be solely given recognition based on the professional designations that were assigned to women during the period, titles which were classified within patriarchal systems.⁷⁹ Howard was not distinguished as an artist in her time, although she did receive social recognition for her creative and artistic abilities later in her life.⁸⁰ Her identity, as an educated and independent women at the time when the album was made, sheds light on how family albums were made outside of marriage and the ideology of separate spheres.

When their styles combined, both Howard's and Walker's works expressed their subjectivity and should be acknowledged as having value beyond a domestic context. Di Bello reinforces this point in stating, "women used the feminine space of the album, a space that too had been shaped physically and socially by modernity, in ways that were not realistic nor failed attempts to be 'arty', but used the realistic charge of photographs to give power to their fantasies and validate their experiences."⁸¹ Perhaps the clearest examples of representations of female subjectivity are two portraits of Howard herself. The one portrait, on page two of *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, is an albumen print by an unknown photographer. The print is illuminated by rich gold and brown tones and it has been embellished with rough, bold and splotchy sketches of pink, green and blue roses in ink. The treatment of materials is unconventional, but it has a startling effect on the portrait of Howard herself. (Figure 2.12) Another self-portrait from a later album uses thick and large pipe-shaped abstract forms which form a border around Howard's portrait which look like a detailed view of a silver chain. (Figure 2.13.a) Decals and stamps have also been incorporated into this collage and the paint strokes on this page are visible and thick. Howard's gaze moves past the page and it is a strong contrast from other compositions in the

albums which represent natural subjects. According to the conventions of the visualization of gender during the Victorian era, these portraits do not conform with the expectations of women's art to be careful, precise and composed.

Howard's style can be interpreted as resisting conventional gendered visual codes of representation through her treatment of materials and approach to artmaking. A third portrait of Howard appears later, which contains more restrained drawings of morning glory flowers, indicating that she conformed to gendered pictorial conventions at times, but her treatment of flowers still uses thicker textures and expressive linework. (Figure 2.13.b) Although not conventional self-portraits made with paint, these photomontages of Howard are stark in appearance and point to the album-maker's attempt to use collage in ways which represent the self.⁸²

To conclude, this chapter has proposed a polyvalent view of authorship by examining how the collages and paintings in the two Sarah Howard Albums were co-authored by Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard. I have investigated women's collaboration in albums and the possibilities this area of research can contribute to feminist histories of art. The types of collaborations, messages and images added to these objects by community members influenced how they were perceived and viewed, illustrating how they were used by individual women "to respond to their understanding of social relations."⁸³ The meaning of these objects are polyvalent, and informed by their reception; not only in relation to those who viewed the album but also by those who added to these collections.

In *H. Sarah Howard Album* and *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, the tension is strong between the one style of Walker's clear and conventional floral iconography and Howard's

experimentation and expressionistic treatment of form. I have argued that the albums show signs of their collaboration and that they were used for the dual purpose of an artist sketchbook and a teaching tool of pictorial imagery that was gendered feminine during the period. I read Howard's interventions in the album, such as the expressive approach to materiality and the inclusion of experimental compositions, as a resistance to the visual codes that were deemed feminine. In light of this argument, the albums which Walker and Howard contributed to are shown to have diverse and multiple forms of authorship. The collage works in them should be recognized for their experimentation, creativity and resistance to conventional notions of femininity at the time.

Conclusion

Through an analysis of albums made in Belleville, Ontario from 1863-1875 by Caroline Walker and Hannah Sarah Howard: *C.W. Bell Album* (1875), *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* (1863-1875) and *H. Sarah Howard Album* (1874), I have made the case that Victorian women's photocollage albums from late nineteenth-century Canada can be understood in terms of collaborative models of authorship and through a feminist analysis of women's photocollage practices. This thesis is a recovery project which revitalizes the collage works by Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard.

Their works are unconventional examples of women's visual culture from the period which challenge the assumption that all objects of this genre were made in insular environments on the periphery of women's professional art practice. In the academic disciplines of art history and the history and theory of photography, the Victorian woman's album was conventionally associated with the domestic sphere and women's "dabbling" in craft. In contrast, this study presents a revisionist interpretation, which contends that these objects are forms of women's individual and collaborative practice.

This thesis research marks an original contribution to the study of women's photo albums and women's art history in Canada. It marks the first written analysis of the Caroline Walker and Sarah Howard Albums, objects of material culture which were ignored in the historical record until now. Further, these specific case studies have broader implications for the study of women's history and art history in the Victorian era in Canada. They illuminate how communities of women were involved in the processes of album-making which overlapped with

their professional artistic activities during this historical period. This study has also concentrated on analyzing Victorian women's collage. Through visual and stylistic analysis, I have argued that women performed, resisted and drew into question conventions of idealized femininity through their unconventional and inventive multi-media collage practices.

As I have shown, these case studies are linked by their relationship to one female artist, Caroline Walker, who illustrated and collaborated in the process of assembling them. Bringing to light Walker's role and activities as an artist is significant. Her work contributes to the historical record of Canadian women artists. Even if she cannot be categorized into the narrow classifications of women's professionalization during the period, this thesis recognizes her contribution to nineteenth-century visual culture. The connection between the three albums and Caroline Walker suggests that these domestic objects were, in some cases, made by women outside of the home and can be interpreted as examples of visual culture which were made out of complex networks of authorship, production, social relations and the systemic barriers that were placed on women artists during the period. Further, I contend that even if those who contributed to artworks in albums were not professional artists like Caroline Walker, the efforts and creative production of women such as Sarah Howard should be analyzed critically in the study of Canadian visual culture.

This analysis builds on the work of other scholars in the field who have argued that authorship of albums cannot be ascribed to a single maker.¹ Rather than disregarding authorship altogether, however, my thesis has presented the argument that albums are made through complex networks of authorship. My interpretation of the role of authorship in albums has been influenced by the polysemic nature of photographs. Analyzing the polyvalence of these albums is

a productive theoretical model in light of their collaborative nature and the multiple meanings, gazes and voices which are engendered by those who assembled and viewed them. This interpretation is based on detailed archival research as well as examinations of the gender and class identities of albums' collectors, compilers and makers.

In Chapter One, I interpret the *C.W. Bell Album* as a commissioned art work. Here, I examine the negotiations of identity which take place between the male “patron” of the object, Charles Bell, and its female maker, Caroline Walker. In this chapter, I argue that *C.W. Bell Album* is Walker’s biography of Bell’s life and that it is a collaborative work between the patron and the illustrator. Through a detailed examination of the historical context of the photographs contained in this album, I conclude that the album narrates significant elements of Bell’s life such as his time spent at the University of Toronto and his involvement in the Finian Raids. Within this discussion, I posit that Bell is a “collector” of his photographic collection, which he used to perform an upper-class masculine identity. In conjunction with its discussion of self-representation, this chapter also considers how Walker’s illustrated albums were an extension of her work as a professional artist.

Although aspects of collaboration are touched upon in Chapter One, the topic is investigated further through a feminist reading of the Sarah Howard albums in Chapter Two. Here, I argued through close stylistic analysis that Walker and Howard both contributed to the hand-painted and collage elements in these works. I interpret the nature of their relationship as collaborative and pedagogical. Through a stylistic examination of the floral drawings in these two albums, I argue that the earlier *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* was used as a tool to teach Howard the art of floral illustration, which she later adapted in *H. Sarah Howard Album* in

unconventional and creative ways. I argue that the linear, clear and “feminine” style is Walker’s hand, and that Howard’s rejects the traditional composed style expected of women’s art through her experimental and painterly collage arrangements and compositions.

The three albums I have focused on are only a selection of the works Walker made in her life and more research is to be done on her contribution to the history of Canadian art and photography in the future. For instance, she also illustrated an album for the family of Marcus Smith, a pioneering engineer of the intercolonial railway and chief assistant to Sir Sanford Fleming during the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway.² Although the maker of *Marcus Smith Family Album* is not identified, it has identical style and handwriting as seen in Caroline Walker’s ink designs in *C. Wallace Bell Albums 2-5*. This latter collection of four albums was only mentioned in passing in Chapter One, so there are certainly other avenues of research relating to Walker’s career that could be examined by scholars in the future. While this thesis has focused on a small selection of photographic collections originating from Belleville, there are numerous examples of photocollage albums that were made throughout Canada during this period. A broader national survey of women’s Confederation-era albums is in order in future for scholars of Canadian art history.

This thesis is an extension of the recent interest in the study of Canadian women’s albums in academic journals and in exhibitions. *C.W. Bell Album* was displayed alongside collages from Europe at the AGO showing of *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage* in 2010.³ In 2017 to commemorate the bicentennial, *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard* was displayed as a highlight of LAC’s collection through the exhibition *Moments From 150 Years Ago: Treasures From Library and Archives Canada* at the Canadian Museum of History.⁴ From

March 8, 2019- January 31, 2020, an exhibition at the Glenbow Museum on women's art in Canada titled *Ladylikeness: Historical Portraits of Women by Women* will showcase the *H. Sarah Howard Album*.⁵ These examples illustrate how women's albums are now seen as a legitimate form of women's art history among major art establishments in Canada. This thesis has built on these recent trends, receptions, and representations of albums in public art institutions. It is my hope that the ways in which albums are perceived within the academic community will be altered by this study of the Caroline Walker albums. They are a fascinating selection of works which bring to light a new perspective on the role of women's art and photographic practice in late nineteenth-century Canada.

Introduction

¹ Lindsay Smith, *The Politics of Focus: Women, Children, and Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 52-73.

² Elizabeth Siegel, ed., *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage* (Chicago; New Haven: Art Institute of Chicago; In association with Yale University Press, 2009), 13-36.

The photographs are often called “scraps” because they were taken from the photographic prints attached to the cardboard backing on cabinet cards and *carte-de-visite* photos. Historians are unclear as to how these “scraps” of cabinet card photographs were collected. In the scholarly debate on this topic, some believe that the prints were “stripped” or removed carefully from their card backings by the women who made these albums, while others believe that the unmounted prints could be purchased from commercial studios throughout North America.

For further details on this subject, see Graeme Farnell, ed., *The Photograph and the Collection: Create, Preserve, Analyze, Present* (Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2013).

³ Patrizia Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

⁴ Carol Payne, “Commentary on the Photographic Album,” in *Raven Papers: Remembering Natalie Luckyj (1945-2002)*, ed. Angela Carr (Manotick, ON: Penumbra Press, 2010), 112-14.

⁵ Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 15-22. North American Victorians are perceived as emblems of upper-class and upper-middle class identity. These objects were signifiers of a family’s wealth and importance in the community. To own and produce such objects was considered a luxury, and something that working-class women and ethnic minorities could not participate in.

⁶ Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 175-200.

⁷ Aristocratic femininity was tied to a woman’s “accomplishments” in amateur arts. Di Bello interprets album-making as an extension of the education of female arts and activities that were gendered feminine during the period. She states, “(Aristocratic) Girls learned drawing and painting, together with reading and writing, needlework, dancing, singing and music. These were to be pursued as amateur skills, rather than as professional activities, even if the standard achieved might be the same.” For more on this topic, see Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 60-62.

⁸ Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 60.

⁹ Geoffrey Batchen, *Each Wild Idea* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 56-81.; Payne, “Commentary on the Photographic Album,” 113.

¹⁰ Alan Thomas, *The Expanding Eye: Photography and the Nineteenth-Century Mind* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 43-64.

¹¹ Thomas, *The Expanding Eye*, 43.

¹² Di Bello, “The ‘Eyes of Affection’ and Fashionable Femininity,” 255.

¹³ Jo Spence and Patricia Holland, *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography* (London: Virago Press, 1991).; Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Di Bello, “The ‘Eyes of Affection’ and Fashionable Femininity,” 262.; Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 1-27.

¹⁵ Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, 254-5.

¹⁶ Patricia Holland, “‘Sweet It Is to Scan’... Personal Photographs and Popular Photography,” in *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, 5th Edition, ed. Liz Wells (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 117.

¹⁷ Carol Mavor, *Becoming: The Photographs of Clementia, Viscountess Hawarden* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), xvii.

¹⁸ Specifically, through her study of albums of children made by Lewis Carroll, Mavor argues that Victorian albums function as “performative sites of desire.” See, Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 28.; Langford cites from,

Carol Mavor, *Pleasures Taken: Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 7-42.

¹⁹Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism And Art History*, ed. Norma Broude (Boca Raton, FL: Routledge, an imprint of Taylor and Francis, 2018), 171-86.; originally published as, Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Radical History Review* 38 (1987):16-36.

²⁰Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

²¹Anne Martin-Fugier, "Bourgeois Rituals," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot, Phillippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 263.

The French art historian Anne Martin-Fugier argues that albums were perceived as relics by French bourgeois women in the late nineteenth-century as an extension of "feminine chronologies," a term used to describe women's preoccupation with assembling collections of everyday objects which took on a ritualized and fetishistic meaning. She states, "not only did photographs serve as relics useful for spurring the memory; assembled in albums, photographic images revealed the passage of time, the growth of children, and the perpetuation of the family through marriages, births, and baptisms".

²²Deborah Chambers, "Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, eds. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (New York; London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 96-114.

²³Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 9.

²⁴Smith, *The Politics of Focus*, 52-73.

²⁵Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*.

²⁶Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin (London: Macmillan, 1993), 136.

²⁷Patrizia Di Bello, "Mrs Birkbeck's Album: The Hand-Written and the Printed in Early Nineteenth-Century Feminine Culture," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 1, no. 1 (2005): 6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17540760802285106>.

²⁸Patrizia Di Bello, "Photocollage, Fun, and Flirtations," in *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, ed. Elizabeth Siegel (Chicago; New Haven: Art Institute of Chicago; In association with Yale University Press, 2009), 50-51. Parlour rooms were perceived as the most "social" room in the house; it was a space which bridged the divide between public and private. In Di Bello's view, albums were used to perform social functions. Women showed these objects to visitors of the home and shared them with potential suitors during courting rituals. For this reason, Di Bello argues that albums are forms of "flirtation" and social commentary that engage the viewer. Di Bello discusses the photocollages made by Lady Filmer in this catalogue essay to illustrate these ideas.; See also, Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124-26.

²⁹Di Bello, "The 'Eyes of Affection' and Fashionable Femininity," 255. The classification of album-makers as "collectors" is central to her theory, which refers to the album maker's agency and creativity of collecting and arranging photographs to represent social codes and messages. She states, "as collections glued together, arranged in a specific sequence and narrative by the collector, albums offer insights into how photographs were looked at and used".

³⁰Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 13.; Roberta Smith, "The Pastime of Victorian Cutups," *The New York Times*, February 4, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/05/arts/design/05victorian.html>.

³¹Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 13.

³²Significant literary references are made in these albums, such as reproductions from the illustrations found in Lewis Carol's *Alice in Wonderland* and scenes from Hans Christian Anderson's fairy tales. See, Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 29-31.

³³Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

³⁴Elizabeth Siegel and Martha Packer, *The Marvelous Album of Madame B: Being the Handiwork of a Victorian Lady of Considerable Talent* (London, UK: Scala Arts Publishers Inc., 2009).

³⁵Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 5.

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- ³⁶ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 20.
- ³⁷ Andrea Kunard, "Assembling Images: The Interplay of Personal Expression and Societal Expectation in the Nineteenth-Century Photographic Album," in *Raven Papers: Remembering Natalie Luckyj (1945-2002)*, ed. Angela Carr (Manotick, ON Penumbra Press, 2010), 116-132.
- ³⁸ Andrea Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (2006): 227, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17460650601002214>; Kunard, Andrea. "Lady Belleau/ Lady Glover," in *The Artist Herself: Self-Portraits by Canadian Historical Women Artists*. eds. Alicia Boutilier and Tobi Bruce (Kingston, ON; Hamilton, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre ; Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2015), cat.14.
- ³⁹ Kunard, "Assembling Images," 120-21.
- ⁴⁰ Janice Hart and Elizabeth Edwards, *Photographs Objects Histories: The Materiality of Images* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).
- ⁴¹ Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (Hudson, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).
- ⁴² James R. Ryan and Joan M. Schwartz, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (New York; London: I.B. Tauris, 2003); Robert Evans, "Colonizing Images: The Roles of Collected Photographs in Colonial Discourse," in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, eds. Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History (Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 93-105.
- ⁴³ Molly Duggins, "Craft and the Colonial Environment: Natural Fancywork," in *Victorian Environments: Acclimatizing to Change in British Domestic and Colonial Culture*, eds. Grace Moore and Michelle J. Smith (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 185-195.
- ⁴⁴ Due to the album's collaborative nature, in Kunard's view, identifying a single maker can be challenging. See, Kunard, "Assembling Images," 119-120.
- ⁴⁵ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 2-3.
- ⁴⁶ Joseph Pugliese, "Shadow archives of torture" in *State Violence and the Execution of Law: Biopolitical Caesurae of Torture, Black Sites, Drones* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge 2013), 62.
For further theory on the polyvalence of photography, or the "polysemiotic" nature of photographs, see Sekula, *On the Invention of Photographic Meaning*, 91.; Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image-Music-Text*, ed. Stephen Heath (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 152-63.
- ⁴⁷ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 13. The entire relevant passage reads, "The Victorian family album as encompassing much more than just family... the parlor album functioned as a link to the past and to the future, a display of status and social connections, a family genealogy, and a national history."
- ⁴⁸ Kristina Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada*, McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History (Montreal ; Kingston ; London ; Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 149-206.
- ⁴⁹ Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

Chapter 1

- ¹ Maia-Mari Sutnik, *Research Report – Caroline Walker*. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.
- ² Sutnik, *Research Report – Caroline Walker*. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.
- ³ Sutnik, *Research Report – Caroline Walker*. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.
- ⁴ Examples of such photographers include William Notman based in Montreal, William Topley based in Ottawa, and J.W. Boyce and Forrest & Lozo based in Belleville.
- ⁵ See, Thomas, *The Expanding Eye*, 43-64. More recent studies have also focused on the autobiographical nature of albums, such as, Siegel and Packer, *The Marvelous Album of Madame B.*; and: Di Bello, "Photocollage, Fun, and Flirtations".
- ⁶ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 2.
- ⁷ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 2.; Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 51.
- ⁸ Harris, *The New Art History*, 48.

⁹ Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image-Music-Text*, ed. Stephen Heath (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 142–48.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, Volume 2, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: New Press, 1998), 205–22.

¹¹ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and Histories of Art*, (London; New York: Routledge, 1988), 117.

¹² Anne Middleton Wagner, "Sex Differences," in *Three Artists (Three Women): Modernism and the Art of Hesse, Krasner, and O'Keeffe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 2.

¹³ Kunard, "Assembling Images," 45.

For more on gender-fluidity, Kunard states on page 45, "Generally speaking, the family album was maintained by women. However, as can be seen in the case of the Wilson album, gender roles were not necessarily fixed with respect to this common domestic object. Within the home, albums were often placed in the centre table in the parlour, the room set aside to receive guests. Yet, even though albums were located in an area of high visibility, many had clasps to prevent casual or impromptu viewing. Looking at albums was considered a social and entertaining activity, but one controlled and supervised by a family member."

¹⁴ Andrea Kunard, "Photography, Ethnology, and the Domestic Arts: Interpreting the Sir Daniel Wilson Album," in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, eds. Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History (Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 43–56.

¹⁵ Kunard argues that the sentiment album was an early form of family photo albums, and they are related "as a way for individuals to respond to their understanding of social relations". For further analysis, see, Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering," 227.

¹⁶ Di Bello, "The 'Eyes of Affection' and Fashionable Femininity," 255.

¹⁷ Di Bello, "The 'Eyes of Affection' and Fashionable Femininity," 254.; Thomas, *The Expanding Eye*, 64.

¹⁸ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 6.

¹⁹ Howard-Gibbon Schreiber, Sharry Reynolds, and Janet Smythe, *The Last of the Greystokes: The Howard-Gibbon Family* (Exeter, ON: Exeter Printing and Publishing Company, 1976), 97.

²⁰ "Arrival of Howard-Gibbon Family in Montreal, 12 August 1857," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 25, 1857.

²¹ "Married- Benjamin Walker and Caroline Howard-Gibbon," *The Montreal Gazette*, November 13, 1858.

²² Canada. Statistics Canada. *1861 Census of Canada*. Library and Archives Canada; Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Census Returns For 1861; Roll: C-1019-26.; Schreiber, Reynolds, and Smythe, *The Last of the Greystokes*, 97-8. Caroline Walker also acted as the role of mother to Benjamin Walker's children. Caroline's sister, Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon, made a portrait of Caroline Walker and two sketches of the Walker family—Caroline and Benjamin Walker with Benjamin's children from a previous marriage—when they lived in St. Thomas. See, Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon, *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1-3.

²³ Bishop Strachan School, "1871-1892 Bishop Strachan School Account Book". Bishop Strachan School Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

Mrs. Walker" is listed with other teachers under "Salaries" and no subject area is given, who was active between 1876-1878. Walker's salary from her years of teaching are listed as follows,

June 1876 \$15

November 1876 \$20

April 1877 Christmas Term \$20

May 1877 Lent & Trinity Terms \$32

February 1878 Christmas Term \$20

May 1878 Lent Term \$20

She is listed as a teacher by John R. Harper, which he traced from the descriptions of Walker in the UCPE exhibitions. John Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 127.

²⁴ Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, 127.

²⁵ Schreiber, Reynolds, and Smythe, *The Last of the Greystokes*, 100.; *Caroline Walker*, n.d., LA26, Lislehurst Archive Collection, University of Toronto Mississauga Archives, Mississauga, ON

²⁶ Anne Pimlott Baker, "Coleman, William Stephen (1829–1904), Book Illustrator and Painter," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed November 27, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32488>.; Andrew Dawson,

“The Art Pottery Studio,” The Minton Archive, accessed November 27, 2018.

<http://www.themintonarchive.org.uk/the-art-pottery-studio/>.

²⁷ Kristina Huneault, “Angell [Née Coleman], Helen Cordelia (1847–1884), Watercolour Painter,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed November 27, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57879>.

²⁸ Howard-Gibbon, *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet*, 22-24.

²⁹ Gail Edwards and Judith Saltman, *Picturing Canada: A History of Canadian Children’s Illustrated Books and Publishing* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 22.

³⁰ See the illustrations in, Howard-Gibbon, *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet*.

³¹ Harper, *Early Painter and Engravers in Canada*, 127.

³² Evelyn de Rostaing McMann, *Biographical Index of Artists in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 239.

³³ Harper, *Early Painter and Engravers in Canada*, 127.

³⁴ John Russell Harper, “A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions Ontario Painters 1846-1867,” *National Gallery of Canada Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (May 1963), <https://www.gallery.ca/bulletin/num1/harper2.html>.

³⁵ Harper, “A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions Ontario Painters 1846-1867”.

³⁶ Harper, “A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions Ontario Painters 1846-1867”.

³⁷ Harper, “A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions Ontario Painters 1846-1867”; Sutnik, *Research Report – Caroline Walker*. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.

³⁸ Kristina Huneault, “Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada,” in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970*, eds. Janice Anderson and Kristina Huneault, McGill-Queen’s/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History 9 (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), 12-13. Huneault outlines the biographies and activities of women who exhibited at the OSAs in this chapter. The years that these women exhibited overlapped with the period Walker was an active artist.

³⁹ “Charlotte Schreiber, Artist Index,” The National Gallery of Canada, accessed November 29, 2018, <https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artist/charlotte-schreiber>.

⁴⁰ Molly Pulver Ungar and Vicky Bach, “MORRELL, CHARLOTTE MOUNT BROCK (Schreiber),” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 27, 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/morrell_charlotte_mount_brock_15E.html.

⁴¹ For further context about women’s professionalization after 1900, see, Huneault, “Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada,” 3-4.

⁴² Huneault, “Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada,” 14.

⁴³ Huneault, “Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada,” 8.

⁴⁴ Mary Ann Cordato, “Toward a New Century: Women and the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (January 1983): 113-35.; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1-20.

⁴⁵ Ungar and Bach, “MORRELL, CHARLOTTE MOUNT BROCK (Schreiber).”; Huneault, “Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada,” 11.

⁴⁶ Schreiber, Reynolds, and Smythe, *The Last of the Greystokes*, 98. Walker references her relationship to Charlotte Schreiber in a letter from 1897. The letter is reproduced on page 98 of *The Last of the Greystokes*.

⁴⁷ Margaret Fallis, “Charlotte Schreiber R.C.A., 1834-1922” (MA Thesis in Art History, Carleton University, 1985).

⁴⁸ Schreiber, Reynolds, and Smythe, *The Last of the Greystokes*, 101.

⁴⁹ Dr. Michael Brand, email message to author, January 23, 2019.

Lislehurst now functions as the house of the Principal at the University of Toronto Mississauga in Erindale, Mississauga, Ontario. Woodham was one of the several surrounding properties that the Schreibers built in the area and it was also Charlotte Schreiber’s former studio. See, Michael Brand, “The Schreiber Wood Project, University of Toronto,” *Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 87, no. 15. (2014).

<http://www.cneha.org/newsletters/n87mar14.pdf>

⁵⁰ *Green Photo Album*, n.d., LA89, Lislehurst Archive Collection, University of Toronto Mississauga Archives, Mississauga, ON. In this archive, there is a scrapbook assembled by Reginald Watkins (the owner of Lislehurst following the Schreiber’s) which contains a torn album page. The artwork on this page looks identical to Walker’s artwork found in *C. Wallace Bell Albums 2-5*. Watkin’s misidentified the illustration as being attributed to Charlotte Schreiber, but it is made in the same style and drawing technique as Walker’s *C. Wallace Bell Albums 2-5* at the Art

Gallery of Ontario. This scrapbook was found at Lislehurst in 2016 by the Principal of University of Toronto Mississauga and subsequently donated to the University's archives.

⁵¹ "Gatling Gold Mines, Marmora, Ontario, Caroline Walker, 1872," Royal Ontario Museum, accessed November 26, 2018, <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/492488/gatling-gold-mines-marmora-ontario>,

⁵² Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art* (Toronto: NC Press, 1974), 100-101.

⁵³ Caroline Walker, University College from Taddle Creek, 1862, Watercolour, 36.5 x 52 cm. The Art Museum, University of Toronto, Toronto, The University College Collection, purchased for the College by Miss Wadsworth, granddaughter of Colonel Cumberland, 1956, UC579, <http://collections.artmuseum.utoronto.ca:8080/objects/10623/untitled-known-as-university-college-from-taddle-creek?ctx=8d5ae1c9-3a9f-4ecb-b549-2e7b7f24a369&idx=0>

⁵⁴ Harper, "A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions Ontario Painters 1846-1867".

⁵⁵ Edwards and Saltman, *Picturing Canada*, 22-24. The last known whereabouts of the sketchbook was in the private collection of Yvonne Watson, a living descendant of the Howard-Gibbon family.

⁵⁶ These photographers worked in smaller, local portrait studios that operated in Belleville, Ontario in the late 19th century.

⁵⁷ Sutnik, *Research Report – Caroline Walker*. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.

⁵⁸ Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 209.

⁵⁹ *The Ottawa Daily Citizen Almanac*, December 15, 1865.

⁶⁰ T. Eaton Co., *Eaton's Fall and Winter Catalogue 1899-1900* (Toronto: T. Eaton Co, 1899), 211. <http://archive.org/details/eatons1899190000eatouoft>.

⁶¹ Hastings County, *1868-1869 Directory of Hastings County, 1868-9*. (Belleville: Hastings County, 1868): 174. Belleville Public Library, Belleville, Ontario, Canada. <http://vitacollections.ca/BellevilleHistory/2403396/data>.

⁶² Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 123.

⁶³ Hart and Edwards, *Photographs Objects Histories: The Materiality of Images*, 11.

⁶⁴ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 7-8.

⁶⁵ *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 November 1866.

⁶⁶ *Ottawa Citizen*, 17 August 1866.; Canadian Department of Militia and Defence, *The Annual Volunteer and Service Militia List of Canada* (Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1867), 116. "Bell & Bell" in Hastings County, *1878 Belden Atlas for Hastings County*. The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, <https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/Countyatlas/searchmapframes.php>

⁶⁷ An original portrait of Charles Bell can be found in, "S.S. Wallbridge Album," Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁶⁸ Canada. Statistics Canada. *1871 Census of Canada*. Belleville, Hastings West, Ontario, "Charles W. Bell." Library and Archives Canada; Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Census Returns For 1861; Roll: C-1019-26, 78.

⁶⁹ Although the name Belleville contains the family name "Bell" in it, there is no correlation between the name of the city and the family. The similarity of the name is simply a coincidence. It is possible that through the Bell motif, Walker was referencing the name of the city as well as the family.

⁷⁰ John Bell worked as the solicitor of the company for over fifty years. See, A.W. Currie, *The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957): 242, 332-3, 396.

⁷¹ See Gerald E. Boyce, *Belleville: A Popular History*. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 50.

⁷² There are several photographs of John Bell, his wife Helen Turnbull and other members of the Bell family in the William Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum. The photographs in the *C.W. Bell Album* have been identified using this collection. For the archival references of photographs of the Bell family, refer to the following object records:

William Notman, *Mr. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1862, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-2434.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-2434.1>.

William Notman, *Mr. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1862, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-2435.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-2435.1>.

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- William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1862, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-2436.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-2436.1>.
- William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-17039.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-17039.1>.
- William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, #I-17040.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-17040.1>.
- William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-18645.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-18645.1>.
- William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-18646.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-18646.1>.
- William Notman, *Miss L. Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-17041.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-17041.1>.
- William Notman, *Copy of or for Mrs. Bell, copied in 1871*, 1871, Albumen print, 13.7 x 10 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-63747.0.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-63747.0.1>
- ⁷³ “S.S. Wallbridge Album,” Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁴ William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1862, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-2436.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-2436.1>; William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, #I-17040.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-17040.1>; William Notman, *Mrs. John Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-18646.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-18646.1>.
- ⁷⁵ William Topley, *Bell, Maggie Miss*, 1871, glass plate negative, 3.25 x 4.25”, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, William Topley Fonds, #1936-270, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=3481226&lang=eng; “Margaret Bell”, in Ontario, Canada, *Marriages, 1801-1935*, Registrations of Marriages, 1869-1928. Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- ⁷⁶ Sutnik, *Research Report – Caroline Walker*. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.
- ⁷⁷ Siegel identifies the tradition of puns and appropriating Punch Magazine caricatures in British Albums in her exhibition catalogue essay “Society Cutups”. See Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 26-27.
- ⁷⁸ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 168.
- ⁷⁹ The floral photcollage was a popular motif in British and French albums. For an example of such an album, see, Siegel and Packer, *The Marvelous Album of Madame B*.
- ⁸⁰ Kate Greenaway, *Language of Flowers* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1864). Other popular symbolic dictionaries from the period include, Miss S. C. Edgerton, *The Flower Vase: Containing The Language of Flowers and Their Poetic Sentiments* (Boston: Samuel M. Dickinson, 1843); Sarah Hale, *Flora's Interpreter, and Fortuna Flora* (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey and Company, 1850); Thomas Miller, *The Romance of Nature; or the Poetical Language of Flowers* (New York: J.C. Riker, 1860).
- ⁸¹ Greenaway, *Language of Flowers*, 11, 49, 55.
- ⁸² Di Bello, “Photocollage, Fun, and Flirtations, 50-53.
- ⁸³ Patrizia Di Bello, “Seductions and Flirtations,” *Photographies* 1, no. 2 (2008): 143–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17540760802285106>.
- ⁸⁴ Suzanne Le-May Sheffield, *Revealing New Worlds: Three Victorian Women Naturalists* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 110.

⁸⁵Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 161.

⁸⁶Harper, "A Study of Art at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions Ontario Painters 1846-1867".

⁸⁷ William Notman, *Miss L. Bell, Montreal, QC*, 1865, Albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-17041.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-17041.1>.

⁸⁸ Maia-Mari Sutnik, email message to author, March 22, 2019.

⁸⁹ Deborah Lutz, *The Brontë Cabinet: Three Lives in Nine Objects* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015), 215. Lutz states, "The ghostly shadow of ferns emerged on objects when an actual fern frond set on a surface was sprayed with india ink or another dye or paint. Then the plant was carefully removed, creating a piece of "fern ware." Also called "splashwork" or "spatter work", this fern pastime became popular among young girls, who would use a toothbrush wet with ink drawn along the teeth of a comb to do the splattering.

⁹⁰ William Notman, *Copy of or for Mrs. Bell, copied in 1871*, 1871, Albumen print, 13.7 x 10 cm, McCord Museum, Montreal, The Notman Photographic Archives, # I-63747.0.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-63747.0.1>

⁹¹ Canada, Department of Militia and Defence, *Nominal Rolls and Paylists for the Volunteer Militia, 1857-1922*, 83.

⁹² Ernest J. Chambers, *The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada: History of a Splendid Regiment's Origin, Development and Services, Including a Story of Patriotic Duties Well Performed in Three Campaigns* (Toronto: E.L. Ruddy, 1901), 1-10.

⁹³ Chambers, *The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada*, 63.

⁹⁴ *Rifleman Malcolm McKenzie, killed at the Battle of Ridgeway, June 2, 1866*, n.d., Woodstock Museum, Woodstock, Ontario, # 1988.82.41.13.;

John Harriman Mewburn, died of wounds while in Fenian captivity during the Battle of Ridgeway, June 2, 1866, n.d., The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada Regimental Museum and Archives, Toronto.;

Rifleman William Fairbanks Tempest, Killed in Action at the Battle of Ridgeway, June 2, 1866., n.d., The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada Regimental Museum and Archives, Toronto.

⁹⁵ Peter Vronsky, *Ridgeway: The American Fenian invasion and the 1866 battle that made Canada* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2012), chap. 7, Kindle.

⁹⁶ "Marcus Smith Family Album", Marcus Smith Collection, # R7327-6-6-E, Box 22, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. A print of the same photograph of Upper Canada College is identified in the *Marcus Smith Family Album*, belonging to the collection of Library and Archives Canada.

⁹⁷ A.H. Young, *The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College, Toronto. January 1830 to June 1916* (Kingston: Hanson, Crozier, and Edgar, 1917), 107.; George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam, *A History of Upper Canada College 1829-1892* (Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchinson, 1893), 279, 286, 287, 290, 306.

⁹⁸ On page twenty, Trinity College student Robert Leckie Mulock Houston (1850-1905) appears in the album. For the specific reference, see endnote 159. A student from University College's "Natural Science Club" is also pasted into a humorous photocollage on page 38. The original photo is reproduced in, Martin L. Friedland, *The University of Toronto: A History*, Second Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 76.

⁹⁹ Hope B. Werness. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2004), 306.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Holmes Croft Photographs Collection, # 2004-16-4MS, University of Toronto Archives, Toronto.

¹⁰¹ G. M. Craig, "CROFT, HENRY HOLMES," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 27, 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/croft_henry_holmes_11E.html.

¹⁰² Edith G. Firth and Curtis Fahey, "SCADDING, HENRY," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 27, 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/scadding_henry_13E.html.

The photograph of Scadding in the album is comparable to a portrait of him which belongs to the Toronto Public Library, *Scadding, Henry, 1813-1901*, 1860, silver gelatin print, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Special Collections, E 4-24d, <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDc-OHQ-PICTURES-S-R-726&R=DC-OHQ-PICTURES-S-R-726>.

¹⁰³ James Gibbs, *A book of architecture: containing designs of buildings and ornaments* (London: [s.n.], Printed 1728), 105. Digitized by Oberlin College Library, <https://archive.org/details/bookofarchitectu0000gibb>.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Peter Coffman, email message to author, January 26 2018.

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- ¹⁰⁵ Oliver Lindsay, *Once a Grenadier: The Grenadier Guards 1945-1995* (London: L. Cooper, 1996).
- ¹⁰⁶ One portrait on this page was a student of Trinity College in 1867 named Robert Leckie Mulock Houston (1850-1905). His photo is identified in, Thomas Arthur Reed, *A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 117. The photograph is also catalogued in the digital photographic collection and Toronto Public Library, Sandys Photographic Service Ltd., *Trinity College (1852-1925); portrait of freshmen, 1870*, copy photograph on postcard, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Baldwin Collection, E 4-21h, <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-PICTURES-R-2577&R=DC-PICTURES-R-2577>.
- ¹⁰⁷ Michèle Lowrie, ed., *Horace: Odes and Epodes*, Oxford Readings in Classical Studies (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), *Odes* I.12, line 45. The entire passage is the following, “crescit occulto velut arbor aevo fama arcelli”.
- ¹⁰⁸ Kunard, “Photography, Ethnology, and the Domestic Arts, 45.
- ¹⁰⁹ Canadian Department of Militia and Defence, *The Annual Volunteer and Service Militia List of Canada* (Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1867), 116.
- ¹¹⁰ *Queen’s Own Rifles, Four Members of the No. 9 University Company, 1866*, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Baldwin Collection, E 8-49 Small, <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-E8-49&R=DC-E8-49>.
- ¹¹¹ See more on the orality of albums in, Langford, *Suspended Conversations*.
- ¹¹² Evans, “Colonizing Images: The Roles of Collected Photographs in Colonial Discourse,” 93-4.
- ¹¹³ Sutnik, Research Report – Caroline Walker. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.
- ¹¹⁴ Norbert Wolf, *The Art of The Salon: The Triumph of 19th-Century Painting* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2012), 132.
- ¹¹⁵ Kunard, “Traditions of Collecting and Remembering,” 228.
- ¹¹⁶ Nebahat Avcioğlu, “Introduction: The Culture of Albums in the Long 18th Century,” *Journal18* 6 Albums (Fall 2018), <http://www.journal18.org/3224>. DOI: 10.30610/6.2018.
- ¹¹⁷ “Charles Bell,” in *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957*, 1871, Arrival to New York, New York, from Ontario, Canada. National Archives at New York City, New York. Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897, Microfilm Roll: Roll 350, Line: 12, List Number: 1126, Page: 20.
- ¹¹⁸ Sutnik, email message to author, March 22, 2018.
- ¹¹⁹ Steve Edwards, “Fantasy and Remembrance,” in *Photography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006): 112–29.
- ¹²⁰ Edwards, “Fantasy and Remembrance,” 124.
- ¹²¹ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 19.
- ¹²² Jo Spence, *Putting Myself in the Picture: A Political, Personal, and Photographic Autobiography* (London: Camden Press, 1986).
- ¹²³ Edwards, “Fantasy and Remembrance,” 122.
- ¹²⁴ Annette Kuhn, “Remembrance: The Child I Never Was,” in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003), 397.
- ¹²⁵ Kuhn, “Remembrance: The Child I Never Was,” 401-402.
- ¹²⁶ Andrea Kunard, “Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album” (MA Thesis in Art History, Carleton University, 1996).
- ¹²⁷ Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 13-14.
- ¹²⁸ Catherine Lutz and Jane Lou Collins, “The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes,” in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003), 371. For further discussion, see Catherine Lutz and Jane Lou Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (London; Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- ¹²⁹ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 78.
- ¹³⁰ Edwards, “Fantasy and Remembrance,” 123.

Chapter 2

¹ Wyndham Wise, "Evelyn Lambart." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.

<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/evelyn-lambart/>. Evelyn Lambart worked closely with Norman McLaren during the NFB's early years in animation. Lambart went on later in her career to make her direct many films with the NFB, which are characterized by their abstract and experimental quality. Some of her animations were made using cut up paper of flowers, trees and animals. She grew up with the photocollage albums in her family and her mother also scrapbooked. It is possible that her animation style was, at least in part, influenced by the cut up floral collages made by her grandmother Sarah Howard and those done by Caroline Walker.

² Lambart Family Collection, MG 30, C 243, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. The collection contains archival records relating to Evelyn Lambart's career as well as historical records relating to her ancestors. Despite the lack of their recognition in Canadian history, the Lambart family were prominent in the cultural life of late nineteenth-century Ottawa. The family was descended from the Earl of Cavan, an aristocratic title in the Peerage of Ireland. Evelyn's great grand father, and Sarah Howard's father-in-law was the 8th Earl of Cavan Frederick John William Lambart.

³ Mary Margaret Johnson Miller, email message to author, October 22, 2018.

⁴ Miller, email message to author, October 22, 2018

⁵ Holland, " 'Sweet It Is to Scan', " 117.

⁶ Kunard, "Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album". The relationship between gender and the Victorian album has been intimately tied to the conception of the separate spheres. Album production belonged in women's "proper sphere," in the home and as an extension of her role as a mother and nurturer. The ideology of the separate spheres in the nineteenth century, also referred to as the domestic-public dichotomy in literature, was based on the premise that each gender was designed biologically to work in two divided spheres of society. Men were "designed" for work both intellectually and physically according to this social theory, and women "belonged" in the domestic sphere. For more on this, see, Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 3-4.

⁷ Siegel, ed., *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*.

⁸ For a short study which examines the importance of the frames and artworks in a British album, see Siegel and Packer, *The Marvelous Album of Madame B*. For a critical examination of albums' textual and material significance outside of a photographic analysis, see Anna Dahlgren, "Dated Photographs: The Personal Photo Album as Visual and Textual Medium," *Photography and Culture* 3, no. 2 (2010): 175-194.

⁹ James Elkins, ed., *Photography Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 60-61.; John C. McEnroe and Deborah Frances Pokinski, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Art History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 212.

¹⁰ For more on discussions of materiality and albums, see, Hart and Edwards, *Photographs Objects Histories: The Materiality of Images*, 1-15.; Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 48.

¹¹ "Memorabilia (Notebook, Incl. Letter Transcripts), 1868-1890," in Octavius Henry Lambart and Hannah Sarah Howard Records Series, Container #1, File #1, Lambart Family Collection, MG 30, C 243, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹² The Howard family fought in the American ranks in the Revolution and the Wallbridge family were United Empire Loyalists.

¹³ Peter R. Eisenstadt, *The Encyclopedia of New York State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 736.

¹⁴ Chybowski, Julia J., "Becoming the 'Black Swan' in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America: Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield's Early Life and Debut Concert Tour," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 1 (2014): 136.

¹⁵ Chybowski, "Becoming the 'Black Swan' in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," 141.

¹⁶ "H. Sarah Howard Certificate of Admission at the Buffalo Female Academy", 1861, Lambart Family Collection, Special Collections- Oversize, #1990-087. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. The certificate states that Howard was entered to the Academy on "highest honours".

¹⁷ "Memorabilia (Scrapbook), 1879-1894," in Octavius Henry Lambart and Hannah Sarah Howard Records Series, Container #1, File #3, Lambart Family Collection, MG 30, C 243, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

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- ¹⁸ Vassar College, *First annual catalogue of the officers and students of Vassar Female College 1865-66* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Vassar College; John A. Gray & Green, Printers and Stereotypers, 1866), 11.
- ¹⁹ *Buffalo Courier*, February 11, 1868. He was buried in Saratoga, New York.
- ²⁰ Clifton F. Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene: A legend in the nineteenth century deaf community*. (Belleville, ON: Epic Press, 2005), 77. They lived at the “Wallbridge White House” at Dundas and Front Street.
- ²¹ Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 77.
- ²² Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 78.
- ²³ Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 78.
- ²⁴ Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 78.
- ²⁵ Sarah Howard had two older brothers who died as children.
- ²⁶ Di Bello, “The ‘Eyes of Affection’ and Fashionable Femininity,” 263-264.
- ²⁷ Di Bello “The ‘Eyes of Affection’ and Fashionable Femininity,” 262.
- ²⁸ “A Pleasant Event: Marriage of the Parliamentary Female Correspondent,” *Ottawa Daily Citizen*, October 22, 1878.
- ²⁹ “A Pleasant Event: Marriage of the Parliamentary Female Correspondent,” *Ottawa Daily Citizen*, October 22, 1878.
- ³⁰ William Topley, *Lord Dufferin's Fancy Dress Ball, Government House, Ottawa, Canada*, February 23 1876, composite photograph, 83.4 x 34.7 cm, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, #119-080135-3. ; William Topley, *H. Sarah Howard for Lord Dufferin's Fancy Ball Composite*, 1876, in “Vine Lynne Album”, Lambart Family Collection, Special collections- oversize, photo, #1990-087. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ³¹ For further studies which discuss this photograph see, Cynthia Cooper, *Magnificent Entertainments: Fancy Dress Balls of Canada's Governor General, 1876-1898* (Fredericton, NB; Hull, Quebec: Goose Lane; Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1997).; Emma Hamilton-Hobbs, “From Friendless Women to Fancy Dress Balls: William James Topley's Photographic Portraits” (MA Thesis in Art History, Carleton University, 2014). In the detailed portrait of Howard taken by Topley for the composite, it is clear that Howard is wearing plumes of feathers, which debutantes traditionally wore when presented at court in Britain. Lord Dufferin had introduced court presentation ceremonies in Canada in the mid-Nineteenth century. See, Andrew Gailey, *The Lost Imperialist: Lord Dufferin, Memory and Mythmaking in the Age of Celebrity* (London: John Murray, 2015), 15.
- ³² “Memorabilia (Scrapbook), 1879-1894,” in Octavius Henry Lambart and Hannah Sarah Howard Records Series, Container #1, File #3, Lambart Family Collection, MG 30, C 243, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. This scrapbook containing newspaper clippings belonged to Hannah Sarah Howard.
- ³³ Gail MacColl and Carol Wallace, *To Marry an English Lord* (New York: Workman Publishing Company, 1989), 257.
- ³⁴ “Octavius Henry Lambart and Hannah Sarah Howard Records Series” MG 30, C 243, Finding Aid No. 1840, Container #3, File #4. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ³⁵ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 76.
- ³⁶ Samantha Matthews, “Late Victorian Confession Albums: The ‘Secret Treasury of Autograph’,” in Ezra Greenspan and Johnathan Ross eds., *Book History*, Volume 3 (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), 125-130.
- ³⁷ Mary Margaret Johnson Miller, email message to author, October 22, 2018.
- ³⁸ “Dr. Abbey Janet Seymour, M.D Obituary” in John L. Moffat, *Transactions of the Homoeopathic Medical Society of the State of New York for the year 1896*, Volume XXXI (Brooklyn, NY: s.n., 1896), 401.
- ³⁹ “S.S. Wallbridge Album,” Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. The boarding house was based in Batavia, New York. See, Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 77.
- ⁴⁰ “S.S. Wallbridge Album,” Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁴¹ His photograph is identified in, “S.S. Wallbridge Album,” Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁴² Maia-Mari Sutnik, email message to author, October 10, 2018.; Miller, email message to author, October 22, 2018.
- ⁴³ A photographic portrait of Sarah Howard’s mother, Marianne Howard, is on page seventeen. Here image has been identified using a photograph of Sarah and her mother taken in Buffalo shortly before her mother died. See, *Hannah Sarah Howard and her Mother, Marianne Wallbridge*, n.d., cabinet card, location of photograph: Buffalo, NY.

Lambart Family Collections, Special collections- photographs, # 1990-087. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. A photograph of Hiram E. Howard is identified in, "S.S. Wallbridge Album," Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁴ The Greene family archives were used to confirm the dates and subjects of these photographs. See, Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*.

⁴⁵ Province of Ontario, Canada. *Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1947*. Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Series: MS935; Reel: 21.

⁴⁶ Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*.

⁴⁷ "S.S. Wallbridge Album," Lambart Family Collection, # 1973-385, Box 3973, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁸ Whitney Baker, "Sticking point: history, manufacturing techniques, and preservation of decals," *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals* 11, no. 4 (2015): 278.

⁴⁹ "Francisco de Zurbarán, Saint Francis in Meditation, NG230," National Gallery, London, accessed December 9, 2018. <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/francisco-de-zurbaran-saint-francis-in-meditation-1>.

⁵⁰ "Lady Jane Grey," National Portrait Gallery, accessed December 9, 2018.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw194308/Lady-Jane-Grey>. The engraving was published by Ogles, Duncan & Cochran; in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, UK.

⁵¹ Aaron Jaffer, *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring, 1780-1860: Shipboard Life, Unrest and Mutiny* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2015). Other sources indicate that Lascars were employed as early as the 1600s, and as late as the 1940s, but this date was when they were most actively employed.

⁵² Jaffer, *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring, 1780-1860*, 11.

⁵³ The original artwork is a print by an unknown artist held by the digital collections of the British Library, the National Monuments Record of English Heritage and the Corporation of London Libraries and Guildhall Art Gallery. See, <https://www.diomedia.com/stock-photo-lascar-c19th-century-image3253764.html>

⁵⁴ Patricia Sheppard, "Lady Caroline Bucknall-Estcourt: Identity as Performance in a Victorian Album," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 34, no. 2 (2013): 211-241.; "Katherine Jane Ellice" in Alicia Boutilier and Tobi Bruce, eds. *The Artist Herself: Self-Portraits by Canadian Historical Women Artists* (Kingston, ON; Hamilton, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre; Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2015), cat. 14.

⁵⁵ At the same time that Lady Cavan's album showcases her own portfolio, it also functioned as an autograph book and scrapbook which collected her personal letters. See, Carolyn Littleton Scrapbook, Lambart Family Collection, Special collections, oversized, art, # 1990-087. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁵⁶ Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 53.

⁵⁷ The handwriting of these words is identical to Caroline Walker's writing in *C. Wallace Bell Albums, 2-5*. Leather bound, gold embossed detailing; 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink, 1875, Accession #s 2003/2, 2003/3, 2003/4, 2003/5, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

⁵⁸ The date marked on the front of the later album was likely embossed on the album's cover when it was purchased, as clients could have custom inscriptions embossed on their album covers at the time of purchase.

⁵⁹ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada*, 152-53.

⁶⁰ Helmut Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll Photographer* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969).

⁶¹ Joan M. Schwartz, "William Notman's Hunting Photographs," *The Archivist* no 117 (1998): 20-24.

⁶² Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 151.

⁶³ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 151-2.

⁶⁴ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 169.

⁶⁵ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 169-170. Huneault quotes from, *Halifax Monthly Magazine*, June 1, 1831, 29.

⁶⁶ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 169-170.

⁶⁷ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 171. Huneault stresses that women saw themselves as flowers as a result of religious ideology and the Linnean classification system which grouped gender into a heteronormative binary.

⁶⁸ Not much work has been done in this field apart from Robert Evans, who has examined the representation of male British identity and male visual culture in Canadian military albums. See, Evans, "Colonizing Images: The Roles of Collected Photographs in Colonial Discourse, 93-105.; Robert Evans, "Re-Presenting Colonial Canada through Collected Photographs: Interpretations of Travel Albums Assembled by Nineteenth-Century British Army Officers" (MA Thesis in Art History, Carleton University, 2002).

⁶⁹ Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 26-31.

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- ⁷⁰ Some of the earliest scrap albums from Britain and France featured more narrative scenes, For illustrative examples, see the plates in Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*.
- ⁷¹ Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All*, 165-6.
- ⁷² Edwards, "Fantasy and Remembrance," 122.
- ⁷³ Kunard, "Photography, Ethnology, and the Domestic Arts," 45.
- ⁷⁴ Kunard, "Assembling Images," 116-117.
- ⁷⁵ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 123.; Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 139-160.
- ⁷⁶ Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 26. Di Bello's conceptions of feminized spaces are adapted from: Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," 50-90.
- ⁷⁷ Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 60-61.
- ⁷⁸ In the drawings of Caroline Walker done by her sister Amelia, her figure can be seen holding an album and attending to her step-children. See, Howard-Gibbon, *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet*, 1-3.
- ⁷⁹ Huneault, "Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada," 14.
- ⁸⁰ A public notice concerning her marriage described her as "extremely clever and one of the best sketchers we have met". See, "A Pleasant Event: Marriage of the Parliamentary Female Correspondent," *Ottawa Daily Citizen*, October 22, 1878.
- ⁸¹ Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 27.
- ⁸² Huneault, *I'm Not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada*, 5-8. Huneault's academic interest in the subjectivity of women's art is of particular relevance here.
- ⁸³ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering," 228.

Conclusion

- ¹ Kunard, "Assembling Images," 119-20.; Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 2-3.
- ² "Marcus Smith Family Album", Marcus Smith Collection, # R7327-6-6-E, Box 22, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. The "collector" of photographs in this example belonged to Anne Louise Brock Smith, the wife of Marcus Smith. The album showcases railway sites, bridges, colonial officials and those who invested and were involved with the settler colonial development of Canada in nineteenth-century Ontario.
- ³ Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 10
- ⁴ "Moments From 150 Years Ago – Treasures From Library and Archives Canada," Canadian Museum of History, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://www.historymuseum.ca/event/moments-from-150-years-ago-treasures-from-library-and-archives-canada/>.
- ⁵ "Ladylikeness: Historical Portraits of Women by Women at Glenbow Museum," Library and Archives Canada, accessed March 30, 2019, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/about-us/events/Pages/Exhibitions/glenbow-ladylikeness-expo.aspx>.

Illustrations



Figure Intro.1 Caroline Walker, Page 22 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.1> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.1 Photographer unknown, *Caroline Walker*, n.d, Albumen print. Printed in bottom right, 31 King St. West, Toronto, Ontario. University of Toronto Mississauga Archives, Mississauga, Lislehurst Archive Collection, LA26 (© University of Toronto Mississauga Archives 2016-2018)



Figure 1.2 Caroline Walker, *Gatling Gold Mines, Marmora, Ontario, 1872*, Watercolour, gouache and gum arabic over graphite, on wove paper, mounted, 32.8 × 77.9 cm. Toronto Reference Library, Toronto, Baldwin Collection, Gift of Mr. John N. Cram, 972.506, <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-PICTURES-R-1175&R=DC-PICTURES-R-1175> (© Toronto Reference Library).



Figure 1.3 Caroline Walker, *University College from Taddle Creek*, 1862, Watercolour, 36.5 x 52 cm. The Art Museum, University of Toronto, Toronto, The University College Collection, purchased for the College by Miss Wadsworth, granddaughter of Colonel Cumberland, 1956, UC579, <http://collections.artmuseum.utoronto.ca:8080/objects/10623/untitled-known-as-university-college-from-taddle-creek?ctx=8d5ae1c9-3a9f-4ecb-b549-2e7b7f24a369&idx=0> (© The Art Museum).



Figure 1.4 Caroline Walker, Title page in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.1> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.5 Caroline Walker, Page 5 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.6> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.6 Caroline Walker, Page 7 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.8> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.7 Caroline Walker, Page 31 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.32> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

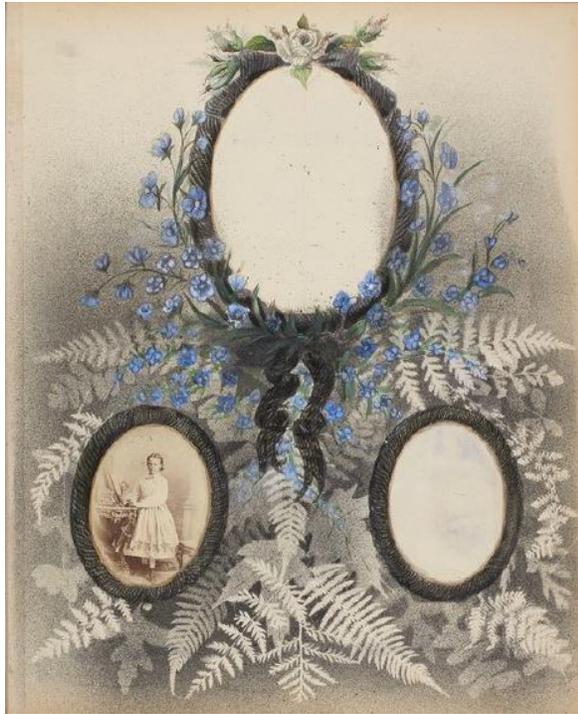


Figure 1.8.a Caroline Walker, Page 14 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.15> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

Figure 1.8.b Caroline Walker, Page 28 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.29> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.9.a Caroline Walker, Page 15 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.16> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

Figure 1.9.b William Notman, *Copy for Mrs. Bell*, 1871, Albumen print, 13.7 x 10 cm. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, William Notman Photographic Archives, Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd., I-63747.0.1, <http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-63747.0.1> (© The McCord Museum)



Figure 1.10 Caroline Walker, Page 16 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.17> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.11 Caroline Walker, Page 33 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.34> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.12 Caroline Walker, Page 13 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.14> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.13.a Caroline Walker, Page 19 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.20> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

Figure 1.13.b Caroline Walker, Page 20 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.21> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 1.14.a Caroline Walker, Page 17 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.18> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

Figure 1.14.b Caroline Walker, Page 37 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.38> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 2.1.a Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 22 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=4981038&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 2.1.b Caroline Walker, Page 11 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.12> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

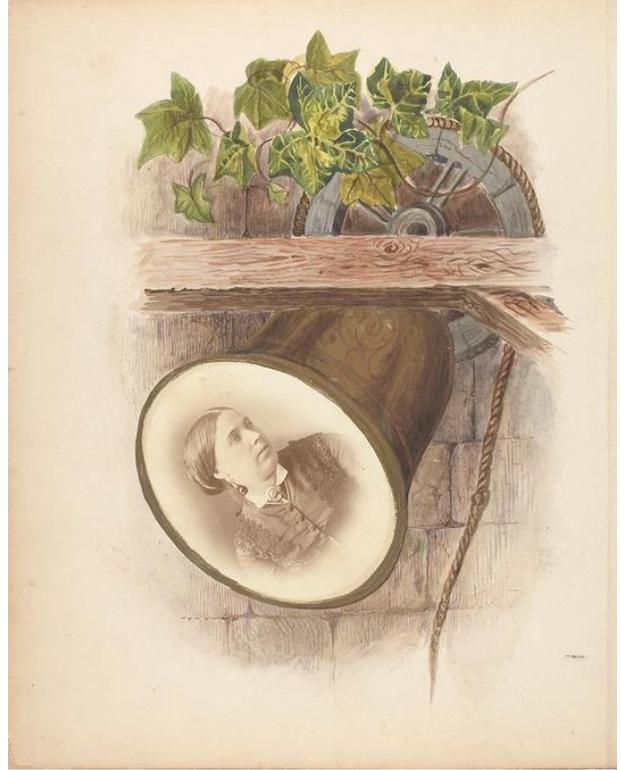
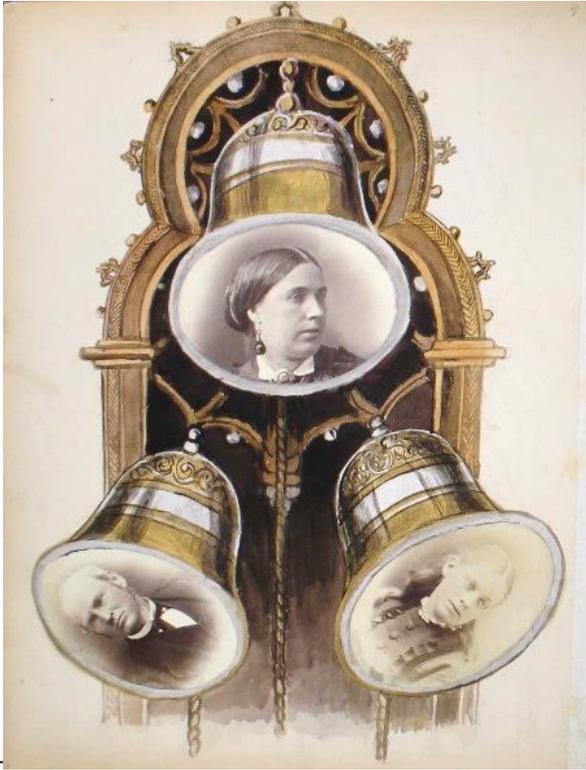


Figure 2.2.a Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 13 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 2.2.b Caroline Walker, Page 1 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.12> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).



Figure 2.3.a Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 13 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayEcopies&lang=eng&rec_nbr=4981038&title=Scrap%20Album%20-%20Sarah%20Howard.&ecopy=e011182075-v8 (© Library and Archives Canada 2018)

Figure 2.3.b Caroline Walker, Page 31 in *C.W. Bell Album*, 1875, 31 albumen prints, watercolour, black ink; 39 pages; leather bound, gold embossed detailing, 33 x 28 x 3.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Department of Photography, Purchase, donated funds in memory of Eric Steiner, 2003/1.1-.40, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/2003/1.32> (© The Art Gallery of Ontario 2003).

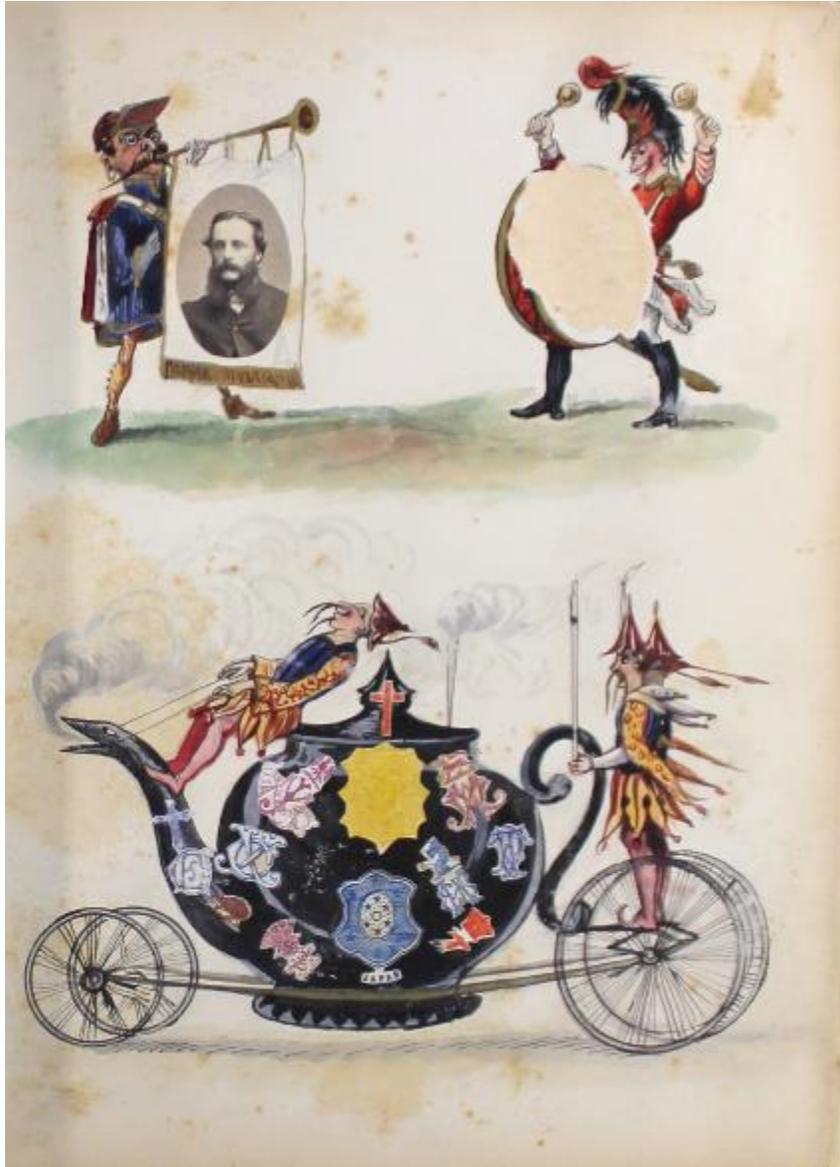


Figure 2.4 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 19 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.5 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 5 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

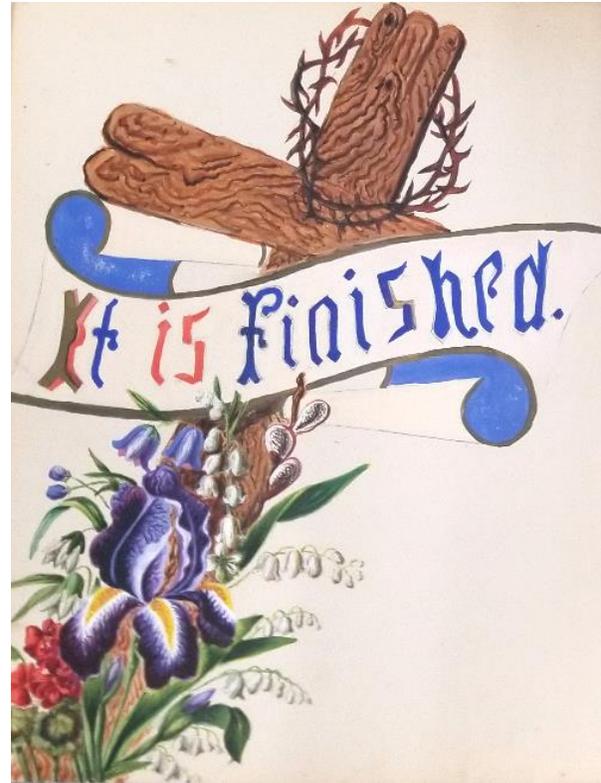


Figure 2.6.a Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 34 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=4981038&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 2.6.b Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 35 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=4981038&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.7 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 4 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.8 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 1 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nr=4981038&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.9.a Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 8-9 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=4981038&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 2.9.b Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 26 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.10 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 24 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=4981038&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.11 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 23 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.12 Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 3 in *Scrap Album-Sarah Howard*, 1863-1874, cabinet card prints, watercolour, and ink, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayEcopies&lang=eng&rec_nbr=4981038&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788&title=Scrap+Album+-+Sarah+Howard.+&ecopy=e011182074-v8 (© Library and Archives Canada)



Figure 2.13.a Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 13 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 2.13.b Hannah Sarah Howard Lambart and Caroline Walker, Page 32 in *H. Sarah Howard Album*, 1874. Cabinet cards, watercolour, ink, and decals, 27.5 cm x 22 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Lambart Family Fonds, #1973-385, Box 0495, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=5098418&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=4981038,5098826,3704463,128040,5098833,3325170,5098418,3207941,3336765,3336788 (© Library and Archives Canada)

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