

Colonial Copyright and the Photographic Image: Canada in the Frame

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Philip John Hatfield, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

Under Colonial Copyright Law, the British Museum Library acquired a substantial collection of Canadian photographs between 1895 and 1924, taken by a variety of amateurs and professionals across Canada. Due to the agency of individual photographers, the requirements of copyright legislation and the accumulating principle of the archive, the Collection displays multiple geographies and invites various interpretations. Chapter 1 discusses the development of Colonial Copyright Law and its application to photographic works, examining the extent to which the collection was born of an essentially colonial geography of knowledge. The chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis in relation to scholarship on colonial regulation, visual economies and Canadian historical geography. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the evolution of the Collection and provides a discussion of research strategy, focussing on how its diverse contents may inform understandings of Canada's changing landscape, cities and people.

The substantive core of the thesis examines the contents and genres represented in the collection through a series of linked studies. Chapter 3 considers the photographic representation of Canadian cities, focussing on the use of the camera in Victoria and Toronto to explore the political and commercial aspects of urban change. Chapter 4 explores the interaction of the camera and the railroads, two technologies at the cutting edge of modernity, examining how photography both promoted the railway and depicted the impact of railway disasters. Chapter 5 explores the visual economy of the photographic image through the medium of the postcard, with reference to the Canadian National Exhibition and the Bishop Barker Company of aviators. Chapter 6 considers a variety of views of Native American peoples, the result of the intersection of various photographic impulses with Colonial Copyright Law. The final chapter returns to the Collection as a whole to consider its agency in the digital age.

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Lastly I must thank my family. My parents have been immeasurably patient and humoured the extension of a university education that was originally to last three years. My wife, Madeleine Hatfield, has been both insightful reader and anchoring rock over the length of this project. *Canada in the Frame* is the product of many pairs of eyes, not least hers.

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“How charming it would be if it were possible to cause these natural images to imprint themselves durably, and remain fixed upon the paper!”

Talbot, W. H. F., *The Pencil of Nature Part 1: Introduction*

“Two or three images would have been enough, or four, or five. That would have allowed for a firm idea: *This is she*. As it is, I’m watery, I ripple, from moment to moment I dissolve into my other selves. Turn the page: you, looking, are newly confused. You know me too well to know me. Or not too well: too much.”

Atwood, M., ‘No More Photos’ from *The Tent*

“In those photographs moisture in the tunnels appears white. There is a foreman’s white shirt, there is white lye daubed onto a rock to be dynamited. And all else is labour and darkness. Ash-grey faces. An unfinished world.”

Ondaatje, M., *In the Skin of a Lion*

CHAPTER 1

Colonial Copyright and the Photographic Image: the Making of a Collection



Figure 1.1: Formats of the Colonial Copyright Collection (author's image).

Introduction: an uncommon collection

The Colonial Copyright Collection of Canadian photographs held at the British Library is not widely known and certainly has no plausible claim to be one of the great photographic archives. It is not in the same circle as collections such as those of the Musée d'Orsay or the Victoria and Albert Museum which bear witness to the birth and development of photography as a technical and artistic practice. Nor does it represent sufficiently the oeuvre of a single photographer in a way comparable to the archives of celebrated photographers such as Fox Talbot or Canada's own William Notman.¹ Instead it consists of an assortment of images of various subjects in different formats and styles, made by a variety of photographers across Canada and submitted to the British Museum Library under relatively short-lived copyright legislation. While the existence of the collection obviously depends on the status of the photograph as (potential) commercial property, its development into the form in which it exists today combined two further impulses: firstly the desire to collect and archive as much raw intellectual property as possible from across the empire, and secondly the aspirations of the photographer submitting work for copyright. The result is a diverse and eclectic collection that as a whole offers a kaleidoscopic vision of Canada's landscapes and peoples in the closing decade of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth.

The origins of the law under which the collection came into being reflect, in part, the archival and imperial imperatives that shaped the development of the British Museum Library during the second half of the nineteenth century, especially under the influence of individuals such as Antonio Panizzi whose stewardship saw a significant strengthening of its status as a legal deposit library. Through Panizzi's parliamentary lobbying, the British Library's collections attained a global reach which included the acquisition of material from all over the world, including though not limited to the

¹ Overviews of the significance of these collections can be found in works such as, Batchen, G. (2008), *William Henry Fox Talbot*, London: Phaidon; Dodds, G., Hall, R. and Triggs, S. (1994), *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart; Haworth-Booth, M. (1997), *Photography: An Independent Art – Photographs from the V & A Museum, 1839 – 1996*, London: V & A Publications; and, Helibrun, F. and Bocard, H. (2009), *A History of Photography: the Musée d'Orsay Collection 1839 – 1925*, London: Flammarion

territories of the British Empire.² The globalisation of the collecting impulse, articulated through an imperial vision, was not unique to the British Library nor is this collection unique in what it represents. From the mid-Victorian period, numerous scholarly and scientific institutions, as well as innumerable British government departments, museums and universities sought to establish subject collections and archives of worldwide scope. Meanwhile, wealthy individual collectors, such as Sir Henry Wellcome, used their global networks to reinvent an earlier tradition of scholarly collecting associated above all with Sir Hans Sloane, a key figure in the history of the British Museum.³

The advent of photography and growing interest in its potential uses within the realms of science, art, government and commerce led to the formation of various kinds of photographic collection from the middle of the nineteenth century, generated and arranged in a variety of ways depending on the context. In recent years, a number of scholars have discussed the development of these collections, and some of this literature will be reviewed here. These discussions illuminate the myriad forms in which photographic materials were produced, circulated, collected and used, and the importance of understanding the specific social and institutional contexts in which collections took shape.

The British Museum Library's collection of Canadian copyright photographs, deposited between 1895 and 1924, covers a dynamic period in Canada's national history and provides a variety of different views of its landscapes and peoples. As a copyright

² This led to the creation of a vast library collection, drawn from many sources and consisting of various material forms. For more on the Library's printed collections, see, Pearson, D. (2009), "Introduction: from Texts to Collections", in Mandelbrote, G. and Taylor, D. (eds.), *Libraries Within the Library: the Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, London: British Library, pp. 1 – 7. Extended detail on the rest of the Library's printed collections is provided in; Mandelbrote, G. and Taylor, D. (eds.) (2009), *Libraries Within the Library: the Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, London: British Library

³ Sloane's collection was an underpinning element of the collections of the British Museum and, later, the British Library. Works such as; Sloane, H. (1707 – 1725), *A Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbados, Nieves, St. Christopher's and Jamaica*, London, illustrate the scale of Sloane's collation of information and the lengths gone to in order to codify it into a logic useful to his medicinal and entrepreneurial interests. On the reinvention of this collecting ethos in the case of Henry Wellcome, see; Hill, J. (2004), *Cultures and Networks of Collecting: Henry Wellcome's Collection*, London: Royal Holloway, University of London PhD Thesis; and, Larson, F. (2009), *An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected the World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

collection, the contents of the collection were actually generated by a curious productive mechanism; that is, the calculation, or perhaps the whim, of the individual Canadian photographer. In practice, this is a collection composed of materials sent rather than gathered, and this has particular consequences for its interpretation today. In short, the key factor in the assembly of the collection was a notion in the mind of individual depositors that the value attached to the images submitted would justify the cost of copyright deposit. The result, therefore, is a collection whose composition is skewed by factors rarely considered within the confines of scholarship on the museum, archive or library.

While the Colonial Copyright Collection has received relatively limited attention from scholars, it has not altogether languished in obscurity: indeed, in recent years concerted efforts have been made by curators to catalogue the collection.⁴ However, it has nonetheless remained within something of an archival ‘twilight zone’ given persistent uncertainties over how to categorise and define the use of items that were originally deposited in an apparently haphazard manner as an appendix to a wider and seemingly more systematic archival endeavour. The interpretation of such a collection, in which the agency of individual donor photographers is uneasily yoked to the institutional dictates of archival acquisition by an imperial copyright library, presents specific challenges as well as opportunities. However, rather than portray the collection as a poor cousin of other supposedly less arbitrary and heterogeneous archives, the aim in this thesis is to shed light on its wider significance. This will require a more concerted attempt to outline the historical development and shape of the collection, its relationship to comparable photographic archives, and the views it can give us of the developing historical geography of Canada during a crucial part of its history.

Geography as a concept and as a discipline has provided a number of ways into the analysis of this collection. In this and subsequent chapters, the ideas of historical and

⁴ The 1980s saw concerted effort to reappraise the Library’s Canadian collections as it was in the process of becoming a separate entity from the British Museum. The Colonial Copyright Collection of Canadian photographs was reviewed as part of this work, resulting in the following papers and texts; O’Neill, P. B. (1984), “Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924” in *British Library Occasional Papers: Canadian Studies* (1: 83 – 90); O’Neill, P. B. (1989), *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Vol. V Photographs*, Halifax, N. S.: Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies

cultural geographers are deployed as a tool box to generate new perspectives on the collection, especially concerning relationships between colonial settlement and image-making, the visual economies of colonial expansion and the historical geography of Canada. That said, the key to understanding this collection is to engage effectively with its complexity and, as a result, a wide range of other literatures will be drawn upon, including work in Canadian history, imperial history, the history of photography, history of science, anthropology and museum and library studies.

The purpose of this preliminary chapter is twofold. Firstly, to provide an historical perspective on the development of colonial copyright legislation, in order to illuminate the legal and institutional context in which the collection developed. And secondly, to outline in greater depth the key concepts which have informed the research, especially arguments concerning the ‘imperial archive’, as developed by Thomas Richards and others; the notion of ‘visual economy’, drawn from the work of Deborah Poole on the Andean image world, and adapted here for use in a very different context; and recent work which has emphasised the value of a spatial perspective on the historical geography of colony, Dominion and empire.

Colonial Copyright Law in historical perspective

Colonial copyright legislation played a fundamental part in the process whereby printed materials collected from around the British empire were acquired by institutional depositories in the metropolis and in the colonies, making up what might be called a ‘paper empire’.⁵ This term is often linked with its use by Thomas Richards in *The Imperial Archive* and, while I do refer to Richards’ ideas below, it should be noted that the notion of a paper empire, that is an imperial system founded upon the flow and collation of information through the medium of paper, is not confined to the work of Richards but is also used by academic geographers such as Miles Ogborn. In *Indian Ink* Ogborn describes the East India Company’s world as, “one made on paper, as well as

⁵ ‘Paper empire’ is a term used by Thomas Richards in his discussion of the imperial archive. Richards, T. (1993), *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*, London: Verso (p. 4)

on land and sea”, illustrating the central role of printed knowledge especially in the functioning of imperial projects.⁶

Central to the idea of an empire run on paper is the significance of flows and accumulations of knowledge for the effective implementation of imperial and colonial projects. However, in Richards’ writing the idea of a paper empire, represented by the figure of the imperial archive, is somewhat monolithic, housed in gigantic repositories and sifted through by legions of civil servants. Yet the paper empire was much more fragmented and disjointed than this and was also managed by a diaspora of invested imperial and colonial parties, as illustrated by Ogborn’s discussion of the centrality of paper to the operations of the East India Company. The discussion of Colonial Copyright Law outlined below defines a part of the operating mechanism and eventual contents of the paper empire in the case of the Colonial Copyright Collection, but it should be noted that this is a paper empire generated by many sources and comprised of knowledge flows made up of more than just printed paper. Significantly, it is composed of cartography, painting, musical scores and photographic images too.

Institutions such as the British Museum, including its library, were instrumental in the development of an institutional knowledge framework involving the flow of large amounts of printed materials around the empire. In order to understand this role, it is first necessary to consider the origins and development of Colonial Copyright Law and its extension to a wide corpus of creative works, including photography. In the following section I will briefly outline some of the basic concepts embodied by the Act of Copyright, the mechanics by which the principle operated and the results it had in terms of political dynamics and intellectual property received by institutions such as the British Museum.

International and Colonial Copyright Law

The importance of copyright, as an idea and a law, is that it provides sole legal entitlement to works that could be classed as ‘intellectual property’ (to use a modern phrase which encompasses, literature, art, sculpture, music, etc) and grants the creator

⁶ Ogborn, M. (2007), *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. xvii

of the work sole right to disseminate and profit from the created work. In its modern institutional form as a legal guarantee for the protection of intellectual property, copyright has existed since 1537, when France endeavoured to protect its citizens who produced works of literature under the ‘Ordonnance de Montpellier’. In Britain, subsequent to Parliament’s passing of an initial ‘Press Licensing Act’ in 1662, the idea of copyright and its enforcement has been actively pursued and frequently redrafted, haggled over and nuanced.⁷

The sphere of influence of copyright law and the repercussions of its development and extension are not confined to the local or national scale. Instead, as a consequence of the increasingly international scale of the book trade, the idea of copyright operated on an international level where it engaged with a wide range of individuals, groups, institutions and nation states, each with varying degrees of interdependence upon one another.⁸ In order to standardise this, a copyright conference took place in Berne in September 1886 at which the main representatives were delegates from the leading European colonial powers of the time (Britain, France, Germany, etc).⁹ Between them they drew up an agreement for common copyrights across their borders and the borders of any other state wishing to be a member, including the nations colonised by the powers that drew up the contract, establishing a framework for globalised copyright.¹⁰ To summarise, a French author would be afforded the same rights and copyright protection in Britain as he or she would be granted in France itself, on the proviso that British authors in France received a level of protection equal to that granted in Britain.

Alongside this stood Britain’s own Colonial Copyright Law of 1842, which was designed not simply to protect the rights of authors but also to place Great Britain at the centre of the international copyright regulation process in the colonies and by doing so, extract as much useful material as possible for use in its institutions. The legislation

⁷ Sternberg, I. (1991), “The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit” in *The British Library Journal* (17: 61 – 82)

⁸ Barnes, J. J. (1974), *Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement, 1815 – 1854*, Ohio: Ohio State University Press; Cowtan, R. (1872), *Memories of the British Museum*, London: Richard Bentley and Son Publishers; and, Harris, P. R. (1998), *A History of the British Museum Library, 1753 – 1973*, London: The British Library

⁹ The Berne convention has grown from this point and now forms the basic copyright agreement between the majority of modern nations.

¹⁰ Public and General Acts, 49 & 50 Vict., c. 33, p. 5, section 8.4

which cemented the new Berne agreement in Great Britain (entitled, ‘An Act to amend the Law respecting International and Colonial Copyright’) therefore also sought to differentiate between nations which were directly covered by the Berne Treaty and those which would be covered indirectly by virtue of their affiliation with Great Britain.¹¹ This Act set out the distinction between nations covered by International Copyright Law and those covered by Colonial Copyright Law, defining those nations considered completely sovereign (France, Germany etc) as being protected under international copyright¹² and those nations under the Dominion, government or protection of Great Britain as being covered by colonial copyright.¹³ For a colonial territory within the British Empire, this subsection of the agreement provided protection, but only as an appendage of British Empire and upon condition of adherence to the additional conditions of Colonial Copyright.

As far as the British authorities were concerned, the distinction between international and colonial copyright legislation was a matter of status within the global system. For example, International Copyright Law would apply to relations with a nation such as France, while Colonial Copyright Law would be applicable in territories within the Empire, such as Canada, due to its status as a British Dominion. This distinction had acute consequences for defining what could be understood as geographies of both knowledge and dependency.¹⁴ Most significantly in the present context, it established the terms and mechanisms by which the British government could require the submission of material from colonial authors, publishers and institutions to British libraries. In principle, the idea of colonial copyright was intended to extend the protection of British copyright law to all intellectual property producers who resided and published within “all of Her Majesty’s Dominions, Protectorates and Dependencies

¹¹ Public and General Acts, 49 & 50 Vict., c. 33

¹² This granted them direct protection under Britain’s agreement to the Berne Treaty.

¹³ Public and General Acts, 49 & 50 Vict., c. 33, p. 1 – 2, sections 1 & 2

¹⁴ The complexity of the relationships built up through the expression of law within empires is draw out in; Benton, L. (2002), *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History; 1400 – 1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A Canadian context is provided by, Girard, P. (2008), “British Justice, English Law and Canadian Legal Culture” in Buckner, P. (ed.), *Canada and the British Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 259 – 277. Law and the relationships it develops is also used as a way of illustrating and discussing the differences between various imperial powers in; Butlin, R. (2009), *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies, c. 1880 – 1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

across the Seas”.¹⁵ While this law provided considerable benefit and protection to the authors and publishers of literature and artistic work who resided in other countries, the British government and various affiliated institutions were significant beneficiaries too.¹⁶ While common international copyright had long been accepted as mutually beneficial to the authors, institutions and governments of the majority of nations, the application of copyright law was very different depending on the situation of the nation itself. While France, Germany and other European and colonial powers were able to negotiate strict copyright deals with nations such as Britain and guarantee that their own laws would govern the copyright of their citizen’s work in foreign countries,¹⁷ nations under imperial governance were in a more prescribed position. They were forced to negotiate with the metropole over some of the finer points of colonial copyright terms and conditions, rather than presenting their own terms, as did Germany and France among others.

Foreign governments covered by the Berne Treaty were required to submit material to the British Museum Library as part of the copyright regulation process but the British government could not meaningfully enforce submission.¹⁸ There was also no chance of persuading foreign governments to submit material to other libraries, such as those of the Oxbridge Universities.¹⁹ Furthermore, under International Copyright the British government only received material defined as copyrightable under the terms outlined by the foreign government. As a result there was little direct control over what material was received. By contrast, through the Colonial Copyright mechanism, the government could in principle enforce submission more rigidly and potentially collate vast quantities of material, via notions of ‘Duty to the Crown’, legal networks, and financial and copyright penalties.²⁰

¹⁵ Public and General Acts, 49 & 50 Vict., c. 33, section 1 – 2

¹⁶ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*

¹⁷ Seen in the results of the Conference of Berne, 1852, as noted in, Public and General Acts, 15 & 16 Vict., c. 12

¹⁸ This is because in this case all a government could do is revoke copyright protection to that country’s authors in its territory, rather than impose other penalties. The British government’s experience with the United States in this area had created previous problems before Colonial Copyright was drafted.

¹⁹ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*

²⁰ Sternberg, “The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit”; Sternberg, I. (1991), *Acquisitions of Printed Books at the British Library, 1837 – 1960*, London: University of London

Colonial Copyright Law was thus a mechanism for enabling the accumulation of a wide variety of materials from around the British Empire and developing a significant part of the British Museum's collections. It is important to emphasise here, as noted above, that the materials collected under colonial copyright were not just photographic in nature. They included, for example, printed works of fiction, publications of scientific and academic work, musical manuscripts, cartographic publications and prints, philately, art prints,²¹ and other works that could be considered intellectual property. This large body of materials was treated in different ways, dependent upon type and the utility of the intellectual property to the mandate of the British Museum Library. As a result, printed material was often assimilated directly into the collections with no formal distinction from materials acquired through other means. This also is true of other materials, such as cartographic prints and drawings and musical manuscripts.²² The acceptance and classification of these materials was often further affected by the significance of the colonial territory and the perceived quality of the material, as well as the perception of the productive mechanisms of intellectual property for the area as a whole.²³ Within this hierarchy, territories such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, as Dominions, and India, as the jewel in the imperial crown, were the focus of extensive acquisition. Less significant territories, such as Singapore and Hong Kong, were subject to more selective collection, while others (usually smaller African territories) were discouraged from sending material that was not requested directly.²⁴

²¹ Art prints is taken as shorthand for myriad forms of small print run, artistic works that could be copyrighted. They are separated from general printed works by their limited run, use of artisan printing methods and/or finer varieties of paper, as well as the content and depiction of the subject matter of the print.

²² Indeed, it is worth noting that the British Library's ability to put on major exhibitions such as *Points of View* (October 2009 – March 2010) and *Magnificent Maps* (April 2010 – September 2010) is aided by this aggregation of material from different sources. The significance of this to the Library's contemporary practices is noted in recent academic reviews of British Library exhibitions, including Daniels, S. (2010), "Putting Maps in Place" in *Journal of Historical Geography* (in press: 1 – 8); Schwartz, J. M. (2010), "Oh! What a Parade: Context and Materiality in the British Library Exhibition 'Points of View: Capturing the Nineteenth Century in Photographs'" in *Photography and Culture* (3: 195 – 206)

²³ The productive mechanisms encompass publishers, printers, learned societies, photographic institutions and other bodies involved in mediating the production of materials that could be protected under copyright law.

²⁴ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*; Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit"

Colonial Copyright Law in action: Canada and the British Museum Library

Imperial rule could therefore significantly affect how much and what kind of material producers needed to offer up for copyright to be granted. However, as noted above, this could operate in uneven ways, as illustrated by the particular case of Canada's relationship to Colonial Copyright Law, Great Britain and the British Museum Library. An example of the particular conditions placed upon Canada as part of the Empire is the copyright legislation that resulted in the submission of an expanded body of materials, including photography, from Canada to the British Museum Library from 1895 onwards.²⁵ In this context, the British government and the British Museum Library exerted pressure by consistently reminding the Canadian government of its 'duty' to submit material to the British Museum Library.²⁶ It was agreed that compliance would garner benefits to the Dominion government of Canada, in the form of reduced tariff duties on published imports and submission of British documents to Canadian institutions,²⁷ but these benefits manifested themselves as a relaxation of colonially imposed restrictions.²⁸ The resulting stores of material and knowledge were held in high esteem as ways of educating about and understanding the Empire, as evidenced by institutions such as the Royal Colonial Institute.²⁹

When preparation began for the separation of the British Museum and the British Library in the 1980s, further work was done to investigate the extent of the British Museum Library's Canadian Collections.³⁰ This resulted in increased attention being

²⁵ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*; O'Neill, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924"

²⁶ Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit"

²⁷ Correspondence on the Law of Copyright in Canada, 1895, No. 44, p. 77; Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit"

²⁸ Esdaile, A. (1946), *The British Museum Library: a Short History and Survey*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*

²⁹ The Royal Colonial Institute Yearbook, 1913, in a passage about its own library, discusses at length the significance and importance of repositories of colonial knowledge and asserts them as being a key to the understanding and control of the Empire. Evans-Lewin, P. (1913), "IX. – The Library" in *Royal Colonial Institute Yearbook, 1913*, London: Royal Colonial Institute (p. 30 – 32). The role of the Institute as an imperial archive is discussed in detail by; Craggs, R. (2008), "Situating the Imperial Archive: The Royal Empire Society Library, 1868 – 1945" in *Journal of Historical Geography* (34: 48 – 67)

³⁰ This resulted in a colloquium at the British Library on 17th – 19th August 1983 from which the publication, *British Library Occasional Papers: Canadian Studies* was produced. Wilson, A. (1984), "Introduction" in *British Library Occasional Papers: Canadian Studies* (1: xiii – xiv); O'Neill, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924"

given to the Colonial Copyright Collection by an international group of curators and librarians, resulting in new perspectives on the history of the collection. For example, O'Neill's paper, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library Between 1895 and 1923", provides a useful account of the key points of the Colonial Copyright Law, highlighting the interaction between the various governments and institutional bodies who benefited from it.³¹ He points out that the British Museum Library actively pursued submissions from Canada under the Colonial Copyright Law and draws out how much government lobbying went into drafting, redrafting and implementation. However, some details in this account are erroneous, for example the statement that the Library had a 'purely local' interest in Canadian copyright deposits and relied solely upon actors local to London to elicit the material.³² This implies that the copyright deposits were desired simply for metropolitan users and were acquired solely through London's political and legislative mechanisms, masking the fact that Antonio Panizzi and his successors as Keeper of Books actively pursued Canadian material (and Commonwealth submissions in general) through myriad channels (Parliament, the courts, Commonwealth Office, etc) and sought to maintain as complete a record of Canadian intellectual property as possible.³³ As such, O'Neill's account hints at but underplays the globalised nature of this exchange network and the British Museum Library's role as an actor within it.

Subsequent research at the British Library drew out the complexities of the Colonial Copyright Law and the ways in which it was frequently amended following lobbying on behalf of governments, publishers, authors and libraries.³⁴ A paper by Ise Sternberg illustrates how the Colonial Copyright Law was at the forefront of the minds of many Keepers of Books at the British Museum Library, starting with Panizzi and extending to his successors. Within this, Sternberg draws attention to the constant interplay between

³¹ O'Neill, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924"

³² O'Neill, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924", p. 87

³³ Illustrated in, "Correspondence on the subject of the Law of Copyright in Canada", *Parliamentary Papers; Accounts and Papers*, 1895, no. 10, c. 7783; and, Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*

³⁴ Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit". Developing from a more broadly focussed PhD thesis regarding the general acquisition of printed books at the British Library between 1837 and 1960 (Sternberg, *Acquisitions of Printed Books at the British Library, 1837 – 1960*), the paper looks at how the mechanism of Colonial Copyright developed and shaped the collections of the British Museum Library, while in turn being shaped by the Keeper of Books and Trustees of the Library itself.

the Keeper of Books at the British Museum Library, the Trustees of the Library, the Library's solicitors (Bray and Warren of Great Russell Street), the British government, the Canadian government and individual lobbyists (such as the Earl of Derby). Sternberg's paper depicts a colonial exchange network in which the distinctions between core and periphery were often blurred, and where agency was distributed across various centres. This is important as it illustrates the complexity of the Colonial Copyright Collection's gathering mechanism and by extension the relationship between the collection and wider colonial projects.

However, as with many colonial mechanisms defined by the metropole, Colonial Copyright Law failed to fully assert the degree of control, or reap exactly the type of information, sought by the imperial administration. In reality it was very difficult to enforce the submission of material from Dominions and governed territories because the terms of submission were unrealistic, penalisation for non-compliance rare and, in the exceptions where they were enforced, the charges levied as penalty for non-compliance were hardly greater than the cost of printing and posting an extra copy of the copyrighted work to the submissions office in London.³⁵ As a result, representatives of various British government departments³⁶ were drawn into continuous correspondence with the governments and printers of colonially governed nations, all of whom saw their chance to negotiate better deals for their authors and themselves in terms of copyright laws.³⁷ In the run up to the passing of Canada's 1895 revision of its copyright law (in which stipulation for submission to the British Museum Library was inserted), there was a flurry of correspondence between government offices in Canada and Britain and the British government eventually redrafted its Colonial Copyright Law with some minor amendments favourable to the government of Canada.³⁸

³⁵ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*; Sternberg, *Acquisitions of Printed Books at the British Library, 1837 – 1960*

³⁶ An abbreviated list would include members of the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade and the Law Office.

³⁷ An example would be the wrangling done by representatives of both India and Canada in order to negotiate better deals over the source of import for literary products and royalty sums for their authors. Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit"; Sternberg, *Acquisitions of Printed Books at the British Library, 1837 – 1960*

³⁸ "House of Commons Parliamentary Paper, c.7785, presented 27th June, 1895"

Individuals such as Lord Knutsford and Lord Stanley of Preston engaged in substantial correspondence with each other and with Canadian political representatives in order to make sure that all the required components were in place for the passing of an amended bill.³⁹ The vast majority of correspondence was penned to remind Canada of its duty to submit material to the metropole, while Canada tried to amend the amounts of royalties paid to authors and gain agreement for the importation of American published books into the country.⁴⁰ In the end, minor amendments were made to the Act⁴¹ and eventually the British government acquired a regular submission of intellectual property material from Canada to the depositories of the British Museum Library.⁴² Such episodes serve as a reminder that the legislation governing the deposit of Canadian materials in the British Museum Library was not simply imposed from London, but relied on negotiation with the Dominion government as well.

In spite of the difficulties faced in the development and enforcement of Colonial Copyright Law the legacy of this regulatory process is a substantial collection of books, pamphlets, papers, music and photographs that currently reside in the stores of the modern British Library.⁴³ This material was not always in the form or of the quality desired by those with vested interests in the material acquired through the law. The result was an uneven absorption of this material into the collection and the creation of material satellites, arrayed uneasily around the rest of the British Museum Library's collections. This was the initial fate of the Colonial Copyright Collection of Canadian

³⁹ "House of Commons Parliamentary Paper, c.7785, presented 27th June, 1895", p. 16 – 27

⁴⁰ Something the Offices of the British government consistently refused to allow, creating an issue that peaked in 1911 and ran until the government of Canada stopped submitting material to the British Museum Library in 1924.

⁴¹ A letter was penned by the Earl of Derby (Secretary of State for the Colonies) suggesting British government material be sent to Canadian institutions in exchange for the similar exchange of Canadian material and this was readily accepted. Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit", p. 71

⁴² After strong encouragement for the Dominion to follow the 'good example' of India and Australia. Sternberg, "The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit"

⁴³ It should be noted that a similar process was undertaken to gain the same materials from other British colonial territories. The materials from these territories were treated in different ways, dependent upon the significance of the material and influenced by the importance of the territory of origin. As a result, photographs and photographically illustrated materials were submitted from other territories but either lacked volume to create a collection or were consumed by larger collections (such as those of the India Office). Therefore, only the Canadian photographs have coalesced into a free standing collection, known within the British Library and in this thesis as the Colonial Copyright Collection; Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*; O'Neill, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924"

photographs, as their unmediated submission and material form were problematic to the prevailing collections logic of the institution. That the material was retained at all is due largely to the significance of Canada to the empire; as well as the importance of information about the country to developing a geography of knowledge from this paper empire.

This brief history of Colonial Copyright Law as far as it affected Canada in particular has indicated the complexity of attempts to regulate the flow of information and intellectual property, and the fraught nature of the politics which grew around it during the colonial era. The development of a legal and institutional framework that both facilitated and managed the flow of intellectual property and knowledge from around the Empire to the metropole has left a significant legacy in Britain's institutions. Indeed, it has developed the collections of some, such as the British Museum Library, so significantly that the geography of the archive itself has also been fundamentally changed by the deposition of these materials. Further, the complexity of Colonial Copyright Law and the discussion outlined above suggests the care that must be taken in dealing with the collection's photographs, as a result of their complex history. In this respect material born of such a system inevitably has a complex genesis which must be considered when analysing the photographs today. However, the material biographies and diverse meanings embedded within these images are precisely what make the Colonial Copyright Collection significant today, and it is these which form the focus of the substantive chapters of this thesis.

Making a photographic collection

From the above we can see how the collections of the British Museum Library were developed through specific imperial and legal contexts. What has not been drawn out by the above is how the Canadian photographs within the Colonial Copyright Collection form a distinctive collection, what defines its boundaries and how it is different from many other photographic collections. First, it is important to stress that the term, Colonial Copyright Collection, is used in this thesis to refer to Canadian photographic deposits submitted between 1895 and 1924 and this provides one form of definition for

the collection.⁴⁴ It is also important to consider how the materials were created and how they were received by the institution as these are important factors influencing what any collection becomes. This discussion will be framed with reference to wider literatures regarding how the institution and the collection combine in the making of an identity and a context for individual items within the collections. This also involves consideration of the material form of the images. Photographic images have always come in myriad forms and these forms have significant impacts upon the way the image itself may be used, stored and read.⁴⁵ Further, the materiality of the image can also present starting points or significant factors in considering what these images tell us of Canada between 1895 and 1924.

Many major institutional photographic collections are acquired and developed through some sort of direct mechanism of material accumulation. In the case of the Victoria and Albert Museum's photographic collection, for example, the material has been acquired through the careful and considered selection of items by curators according to specific institutional criteria. By contrast, a collection such as that of the Royal Geographical Society has been accumulated largely through the production and deposition of images from individuals who were part of expeditions of many different kinds, of which only a few were directed by the Society itself. While the exact mechanism of selection may vary from collection to collection, the process of acquisition of photographic material is in principle driven by some sort of curatorial mandate – explicit or implicit – that ultimately is under the control of the institution.

The contents of the Colonial Copyright Collection, however, are dictated not by curatorial choice but rather by the eye of the photographer who created the image and in particular by their perception of the potential of the image for financial gain. The images were acquired by the Library essentially because they fell within the remit of copyright and not because a curator or librarian wished to acquire those specific items

⁴⁴ As such the use of the term excludes other forms of Canadiana (such as literature and music) collected under Colonial Copyright Law or photographic materials from other colonial territories (such as Australia and India)

⁴⁵ This is borne out by Joan Schwartz's discussion of the materiality of the daguerreotype, where she asserts the characteristics of the daguerreotype meant it acted in a unique and significant way as a souvenir and 'photographic' object; Schwartz, J. M. (2004), "*Un Beau Souvenir du Canada: Object, Image, Symbolic Space*" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 16 – 31

on the basis of their relevance to the institution. Each of the images had to be copyrighted in Canada by application to the Department for Agriculture in Ottawa, which was given responsibility for processing the copyright applications from across the nation and transferring them to their relevant recipients in Britain. The process was administrated without reference to the quality or content of the images, as the only significant factors in obtaining copyright were that the form should be filled out appropriately, the copyright deposit fee be paid in full and the relevant images attached. It was also important that the appropriate number of images be attached as the Canadian government required that a copy of the image also be provided for the collections of the Library of Parliament in Ottawa. These copies form a sister collection which still exists in Canada, but has been fragmented and damaged over the years.⁴⁶ Once the photographer applying for copyright had acquired a copy of the application form and submitted it with the appropriate documentation, there was nothing that would prevent the photograph being deposited in the British Museum Library. On its journey through the system, the item would be received and processed by various intermediary civil servants but provided the image passed the above checks it would be filtered along an administrative chain which led across the ocean and eventually to the British Museum acquisitions department, where it would be stamped and added to the collection.⁴⁷

As a result, the contents of this collection cannot simply be reduced to the collecting impulse of the Library. Moreover, the photographs deposited were rarely mediated by the critical criteria of intermediary producers, such as those involved in the production of printed, illustrated and cartographic work at the time. Here then we see the ephemerality, industrialisation and individualisation of the photographic and image-making process combining to usurp the role of the curator in creating this collection. The legacy for today's British Library is a certain curatorial ambivalence concerning the collection and what it actually represents, and this ambivalence is certainly not confined to curators. Alongside notions of the paper empire which shed light on the development of systems of colonial copyright, we therefore need to deploy other concepts which

⁴⁶ This damage was caused by a fire in the Library of Parliament (in 1916) and by flooding in the temporary accommodation of the collection during the 1950s (while the future and form of what is today's Library and Archives Canada was being debated).

⁴⁷ It is worth noting that the item, once copyrighted, had to be acquired by the Library under the terms of the law. It could be subsequently de-accessioned but, as noted above, this was rare for material from significant colonial territories and Dominions. As a result, the Colonial Copyright Collection photographs were deposited in the Woolwich Arsenal storage area.

acknowledge the role of photographs and photographers in systems and networks of exchange. In this regard, the idea of a visual economy, originally developed in a very different context, represents a useful way of understanding the process by which images in a photographic collection such as the one under consideration may accrue value across space and time.⁴⁸

The notion of a paper empire, as highlighted earlier, is important to understanding the relationship of the collection to the wider imperial endeavour. As Thomas Richards asserts, the British Museum had an administrative role in the archiving of empire through the collation of and access to knowledge about Britain's colonial territories.⁴⁹ On this basis we could interpret Colonial Copyright Law as an attempt to enforce greater control on the empire through the accumulation of a panoptical body of knowledge governed by an over-arching legal system. However, as Richards notes, the practical reality of attempting to control or understand empire through the accumulation of a panoptical imperial archive meant that the project was, ultimately, doomed. This is due not only to the impossibility of collecting all the required information but also the difficulty of collating it into useful bodies of knowledge.⁵⁰ The Colonial Copyright Collection inhabits this space as a body of material that could not be codified within the logic of the imperial archive.⁵¹ Instead, it is better situated as part of an unruly paper empire described at the beginning of the previous section, which is diverse in form, content, type and the perceived quality of the information circulating within it.

As Richards argues, the notion of the imperial archive was essentially a powerful fantasy which nonetheless had real, material and far-reaching effects, shaping both the form of colonial government and the development of metropolitan institutions such as the British Museum. However, the case of the Colonial Copyright Collection suggests that this was only one of the impulses behind the development of imperial – and

⁴⁸ Poole, D. (1997), *Vision, Race and Modernity: a Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, Chichester: Princeton University Press

⁴⁹ Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, pp. 3 – 4 and 11 – 18 in particular

⁵⁰ Within his own context Richards considers the impossibility of logically ordering the imperial archive into knowledge in the chapter, *Archive and Entropy*. Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, pp. 73 – 109

⁵¹ As a result, the collection languishes in the Woolwich Arsenal Depository for much of its time between 1924 and 1980, when it is attended to as part of the splitting of materials between the British Museum and the British Library.

colonial – collections. In order to characterise the distinct mechanisms which generated the form and content of this collection, we need to deploy concepts which allow more room for commercial processes, institutional politics and colonial agency. We also need to engage with the collection through a framework that embraces the plurality and heterogeneity of the embedded materials and affords space to consider the way their significance and meaning shifts as they move across spaces and are engaged with at different times. In this context, Poole’s notion of a ‘visual economy’ is suggestive. As used by Poole in the very different context of the Andean image world, the concept refers to the complex networks of exchange within which photographs operate, and to their status as objects with an economic value. For all the evident differences, her core concerns with the geography of image-making, the circulation of images across spatially extended networks, and above all the commercial contexts in which photographs are made and exchanged have distinct echoes in this study of the Colonial Copyright Collection.

Poole’s emphasis on the ways in which photographic images accrue value through circulation evidently depends on a spatial perspective on what she calls the visual economy. In short, the passage of images over space is key to modifying the way they are used and exchanged. In parallel, recent work on the historical geography of empire has emphasised the significance of the networks and sites through which imperial knowledge circulated. Butlin’s recent work, *Geographies of Empire*,⁵² illustrates the multiple and complex colonialisms at work internationally during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In detailing the different national colonialisms he also illustrates the various institutional, legal, commercial, scientific and other colonial networks that existed within these empires. Butlin’s work draws from extensive scholarship by historical geographers that has analysed the complex networks which drew colonial metropole and colonial territory into a spatially extensive and fragmented common framework.⁵³

⁵² Butlin, *Geographies of Empire*

⁵³ Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. (1999), “Imperial Cities: Overlapping Territories, Intertwined Histories” in Driver and Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1 – 20; Jacobs, J. (1996), *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, London: Routledge

In the case of the British Empire, this body of work has suggested that the flow of information, legislation and action in the colonial system was not homogenous or bound by a single logic; instead it was a system composed of multiple sites and actors each of which affected the various colonial processes they were involved with.⁵⁴ It is through this understanding that we should view Colonial Copyright Law and the geography of knowledge that formed around it. As the British Museum Library was composed of multiple individual actors and precipitated multiple administrative decisions between 1895 and the present, the institution was also characterised by a complex geography that affects how its collections were accumulated, used and perceived both then and now.

Throughout the colonial period the library, the archive, the museum and the exhibition space were significant sites in the making of meaning.⁵⁵ Major exhibitions such as the Great Exhibition in Crystal Palace or the various incarnations of the World's Fair and the Toronto Industrial Exhibition,⁵⁶ were important in the establishment of frameworks of understanding through which the modern and rapidly changing colonial world could be articulated. Through these events the geography and aesthetic of the fair and the exhibition demonstrated to the public a way of seeing the world. This was of crucial importance in a world where the pace of change was so great and the sites facilitating the development of Europe and the Americas were often so far beyond the everyday perspective of the ordinary metropolitan citizen.⁵⁷ Significantly these sites represented a geography within a geography, a fixed site that articulated and displayed to the public a

⁵⁴ Processes which bear a similarity to those outlined in; Lambert, D. and Lester, A. (2006), "Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects" in Lambert and Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1 – 31

⁵⁵ Barringer, T. (1998), "The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project" in Barringer, T. and Flynn, T. (eds), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, London: Routledge, pp. 11 – 27; Edwards, E. (2001), *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg; Walden, K. (1997), *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*, London: University of Toronto Press

⁵⁶ The Toronto Industrial Exhibition and its later iteration, the Canadian National Exhibition, are considered in Chapters 3 and 5.

⁵⁷ For example, in a Canadian context events such as the Great Exhibition of 1851 were hugely important in stimulating economic development and maintaining colonial interest. These events allowed individuals such as William Logan (head of the Canadian Geological Survey, 1842 – 1869) a global stage on which to assert the potential of, in this case, Canadian geology for economic benefit. See; Zeller, S. (2009, 2nd Ed.), *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation*, London: McGill-Queen's University Press, Carleton Library Series

way of seeing an expanding world. However, the exhibition was not the only medium within the urban centres of colonialism that was responsible for the making of meaning or the creation of authorised knowledge.

The British Museum Library effectively authorised a certain geography of knowledge through its curatorial, administrative, and pragmatic decisions concerning its collections. The role of the institution in the generation of this geography is illustrated initially through the lobbying of the government by the British Museum over the Colonial Copyright Law, as seen above. The result of this lobbying was the flow of material from Canada and other colonies to London and the British Museum's Library's repositories. Within this context the Library can be understood as a colonial hub in the network, with the bulk of material moving in the system flowing to the Library and a significantly smaller proportion flowing from London and back out to the colonies.⁵⁸ The dynamics of information exchange between colonial territories is indicative of the type of colonial relationship between them; the larger the degree of reciprocity the more significant the colony was to the coloniser. As a result, as colonies increased in importance they negotiated relationships increasingly similar to those direct exchange mechanisms that existed between colonial powers at the time.

A similar dynamic was present within the institution; as noted above, the British Museum Library de-accessioned a significantly higher proportion of material from minor colonies than it did from those deemed to be of greater significance.⁵⁹ Within this context material from the Dominions was regarded as second only to material from India in terms of its retention value: hence the survival of the Canadian photographs from the copyright deposits. Nonetheless, the photography within the Colonial Copyright Collection was not acquired as a result of an institutional commitment to its inherent value, and it came to be regarded within the Library as peripheral material. As O'Neill has illustrated, the images were treated as deposit records rather than as significant cultural and intellectual artefacts that needed to be accessible to the public

⁵⁸ This material was in the form of exchange agreements that existed between Britain and the more significant Dominion territories. Here we can see another facet of this colonial geography of knowledge where colonies were engaged with in different ways dependent upon their relationship with and geopolitical closeness to the metropole.

⁵⁹ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*

and researchers.⁶⁰ This was because the images were copyright records and submitted from numerous, mostly unknown, photographers across Canada,⁶¹ while the status of photography as a lesser art reinforced this approach.⁶²

The photographs within the Colonial Copyright Collection contained a myriad of photographic subjects and material forms submitted from across Canada. That so many images were submitted during the period covered by the collection reflected the significance of a rapidly developing consumer market for photography that was continuing to develop and grow rapidly.⁶³ There was a growing market for photographically illustrated books, portrait photographs, commemorative images, cartes-de-visite, photographic advertisements and newspaper illustrations.⁶⁴ Further, photographers found themselves able to cater to these markets with increasing ease as the photographic and print technologies underpinning their trade became more efficient, cheaper and smaller.⁶⁵ The images deposited in the Colonial Copyright Collection were produced to cater to these niches. The sheer diversity of different photographic subjects and formats that comprise the collection contributes to the perception, on an initial view, that the material is merely ephemeral in nature. That these images were submitted by individuals seeking to protect their work from the opportunism of others certainly

⁶⁰ The lack of detailed cataloguing, the assignment of the material to the Woolwich repository and the fact that it was largely unavailable to the public are all important signifiers here. Similar conclusions are drawn in, O'Neill, "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924"

⁶¹ Indeed, even those who were known in Canada, such as Notman and Sons, Byron Harmon and J. W. Jones, were often unknown in Britain outside of the social groups of those who practiced photography and were members of its societies.

⁶² Even by the late nineteenth century the photo still inhabited an ambivalent position between document and art. See Falconer, J. and Hide, L. (2009), *Points of View: Capturing the Nineteenth Century in Photographs*, London: British Library

⁶³ Hannavy, J. (2008), "Markets, Photographic" in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 896 – 898; Heinsch, H. K. and Heinsch, B. A. (1994), *The Photographic Experience, 1839 – 1914*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press; Kōdar, T. (1996), "The Canadian Photographic Periodical Press", in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20: 138 – 145). The special issue as a whole illustrates how dynamic the Canadian photographic economy was by the period of 1895 – 1924, as shown by; Schwartz, J. M. (1996), "Guest Editorial" in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20: ii)

⁶⁴ Hannavy, "Markets, Photographic"

⁶⁵ Hannavy, J. (2008), "Printing-Out Paper", in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 1174 – 1175; Harding, C. (2008), "Camera Design: General", in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 254 – 255; Ward, J. (2008), "Dry Plate Negatives: Gelatine", in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 438 – 439

damaged their status as items of lasting value, worth entering formally into the collections.

Notwithstanding some curatorial concerns over the suitability of these images for the collections of the British Museum Library, their Canadian origins ensured they had a certain status, given its status as one of the great British Dominions, increasingly viewed by the parent state as something less like a child and more like a developing sibling.⁶⁶ Given the selective disposal and even resistance to submission of similar materials from less significant colonies it is clear that the Canadian Colonial Copyright materials survived due to the perceived importance of the territory from which they hailed, even if they did survive by being separated from the main collections and placed in the Woolwich Arsenal Depository.⁶⁷ This illustrates that Colonial Copyright Law and its utilisation by the British Museum Library facilitated the articulation of a geography of knowledge and also perpetuated colonial perceptions of value based fundamentally on the geographical origin of the material. This geography is one of inclusion and exclusion, illustrating not just the limits of knowledge of the colonial world but also defining how much of the colonial world is worth knowing. In this world, some places are more visible than others. In a sense, the purpose of this thesis is to chart the geographies rendered visible through the collection: in this respect, the prominence of certain sites and scenes reflected both the geography of commercial photographic practice and the imaginative geography of an emergent Canadian modernity.

While noting the significance of technology, copyright and the institutional context to the creation of the Canadian Copyright Collection it is also important to consider the effect the material properties of the copyrighted images have had on its subsequent history. In short, it is important to consider the role of the photograph as a material object with a specific kind of agency. What has been produced in Canada, moved across the globe and stored in the British Museum Library is not just a collection of images, but an assortment of objects with their own material histories and effects. The object of

⁶⁶ Zeller gives a detailed indication of the increasing respect afforded to Canada from Britain as the nineteenth century progressed. Zeller, *Inventing Canada*

⁶⁷ Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library*; Sternberg, “The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit”; and, Sternberg, *Acquisitions of Printed Books at the British Library, 1837 – 1960*

the photograph comes in various shapes and forms, with Colonial Copyright Collection images deposited in forms from postcards, to individual photographic prints and photographically illustrated publications.⁶⁸ As noted above, the multiplicity of these forms was continually growing and changing during the period in which the collection was formed and this is significant to how we see the collection as a whole. Further, the material also wears and degrades, with consequences for future preservation of the photographs and form of the collection (as illustrated by the contemporary storage forms of the collection shown in Figure 1.1). The image as an object with particular material properties is significant as often our first engagement with photographs is negotiated through their material condition or feel, as opposed to what they show. This is the central point made by Edwards and Hart in their edited work, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*.⁶⁹

As will become clear in the substantive chapters of this thesis, the materiality of the image and conditions of its photographic reproduction have a material effect upon the view perceived today. These chapters will also illustrate that the materiality of the photograph's reproduction also had an effect upon the circulation of the image, the patterns of its consumption and the perspective it provided to audiences at the time the image was produced. For the researcher, materiality continues to have consequences as items become damaged, degrade unevenly, wear in specific ways and become accessible under different archival conditions as a result of their material properties. Extending from this, consideration must also be given to how the materiality of these images will continue to effect engagement with these photographs in a period where our contact with photographic objects is increasingly digital. As has been widely noted, this does not remove questions of materiality; rather it creates new modes of engagement and encourages thinking about different types of materiality.⁷⁰ This is especially pertinent as the Colonial Copyright Collection, as with other photographic collections both personal and institutional, increasingly moves into a digital domain, a process considered in the conclusion of this thesis. Whether it be through the changing

⁶⁸ See Figure 1.1 as illustration.

⁶⁹ Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), "Introduction: Photographs as Objects" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 1 – 15

⁷⁰ Sassoon, J. (2004), "Photographic Materiality in an Age of Digital Reproduction" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 186 – 202

technologies around at the time of production, the effect of time on the object or the shifting technological landscape of today, it is clear that the Colonial Copyright Collection carries with it significant materialities. Engagement with these characteristics heightens the sense of the complexity of the collection but also presents ‘ways in’ to considering the material, as will be seen in subsequent chapters.⁷¹

⁷¹ The complexity of the images of the Colonial Copyright Collection and the availability of multiple opportunities to reinterpret their meanings and significance, as a result of the interaction of image and institution, means they are often discussed in ways similar to the approach taken by Elizabeth Edwards in *Raw Histories*. As noted in this paragraph, this has particular significance for the twenty-first century life of the collection; Edwards, E. (2001), *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg

CHAPTER 2

Canada in the Frame: Researching the Colonial Copyright Collection

In the previous chapter we considered the origins and significance of the Colonial Copyright Collection, situating it in the wider context of the historical geography of empire and knowledge. This chapter focuses on the photographic materials in the collection as objects of research in themselves. The chapter begins by highlighting how various types of photographic collection have been researched from different disciplinary perspectives and illustrates how these methodological approaches have influenced this thesis. This is followed by a more detailed overview of the scale, scope and contents of the Colonial Copyright Collection, giving a sense of the geographical and temporal patterns of deposition of material from across various Canadian territories between 1895 and 1924. This account provides a context for the subsequent analyses of themes and genres which are presented in the substantive chapters of the thesis.

Interpreting a photographic collection

Firstly, it is important to highlight the specificity of the material form of the collection in the form in which it exists today. Photographic collections come in many shapes and sizes, as well as being accessible to wider publics in a variety of ways. In storage terms, the Colonial Copyright Collection is still somewhat fragmented in its organisation. While the majority of the collection is situated within the main body of the Library, having been bound into black albums or collated into storage boxes during a recent conservation programme,¹ there is a substantial body of materials held in other parts of the Library as a result of the way they have been catalogued. For example, a body of oversized material, usually at least two feet in length, is held in a secure storage location in the Library's basement as the shelves there are of appropriate size to house the photographs. More interestingly, on a cataloguing level, a substantial cache of images

¹ The conservation of the collection was undertaken during the 1990s, with the support of the Canadian High Commission. Where possible and practical the photographs were bound into the black albums, which provide a secure way of making the images publicly available while protecting them from wear. Materials which were too numerous to sensibly be placed in these volumes (for example, with postcards a photographer's collection could fill many of these expensive volumes on its own) or too large to fit practically were boxed in separate small storage boxes or oversize folios. Here the photographs have been individually laminated so as to increase their durability when used by the public.

have ended up as part of the Maps collections of the Library on account of their utility as topographic views.

The material not held in the main part of the collection tends to have some other defining feature, such as being oversize or having been already bound prior to submission. These latter items are rare as most of the collection is made up of loose, single-item submissions. However, the blurring of lines with regard to where the material has ended up in the collection is further evidence of the difficulty in situating this body of copyright acquired material within the prevailing printed and bound order of the institution, as described in Chapter 1. It is also indicative of the effect that the materiality of the image has had on the subsequent absorption of elements of the Colonial Copyright Collection into the meta collection of the British Library. These pragmatic decisions based upon size, durability, storability, etc, and also on the views of various curators through the life of the collection affect the way each item is positioned within the institution, causing it to accrue values and shift in meanings over time. This situation is similar to that of 'Box 54', discussed by Edwards and Hart in *Photographs, Objects, Histories*,² where the aggregation of materials in the aforementioned storage vessel creates new meanings and juxtapositions. In the case of the Colonial Copyright Collection, the processes of production, copyright, deposition and subsequent processing within the library has created a set of complex object biographies.

This difficulty in placing the images of the Colonial Copyright Collection within the Library's collections illustrates another major difference between this and more classical photography collections. While no collection of material can be perfectly codified, there are those which manage (or are made) to perform a coherent narrative, especially through the use of public display.³ The role of mass market publications can also be significant in reinforcing dominant ideas about the nature of such collections, as

² Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), "Mixed Box: the Cultural Biography of a Box of 'Ethnographic' Photographs" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 47 – 61

³ Much has been written on the subject of display, narrative and meaning, including the work of; Bal, M. (1996), "The discourse of the museum" in Greenberg, R. et al (eds), *Thinking About Exhibitions*, London: Routledge, pp. 201 – 218; Crang, M. (1993), "On Display" in Blunt, A. et al (eds), *Cultural Geography in Practice*, London: Hodder Arnold, pp. 255 – 268; McMaster, G. (1996), "Creating spaces", in Greenberg, R. et al (eds), *Thinking About Exhibitions*, London: Routledge, pp. 191 – 200; and, Saumarez – Smith, C. (1989), "Museums, artefacts and meanings" in Vergo, P. (ed), *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion, pp. 6 – 21

can be seen through the coffee-table books of the Royal Geographical Society.⁴ The Colonial Copyright Collection has been treated to one such work in the past, entitled, *Canada: The Missing Years*,⁵ and this book operates in the same mode, creating a bounded notion of the collection. The title attempts to frame the view provided through the collection as a whimsical gaze into a forgotten past and the book makes no attempt to engage with the individual photographers whose work makes up the collection, or its myriad material forms. Also, the idea of gazing back onto a lost Canada is at odds with the dynamic, plural and contested Canada on view in contemporary historiography. Surely these worlds cannot all be ‘lost’?

When seen in the raw, the heterogeneous materiality and dynamics of the Colonial Copyright Collection to some extent forces us to engage with the inherent plurality of its contents. That the collection can be viewed as an agglomeration of individual images and corpuses of work situates it apart from collections based around single albums, ostensibly more coherent bodies of work (which have often been highly mediated by the producer and the curator) or tightly regulated institutional collections. Indeed, when viewed as a whole the collection might be said to have some affinities with domestic photographic collections. This is a big theoretical leap and I should clarify that by this I do not mean domestic albums; instead I mean something more like those collections of photographs that have fallen into shoe boxes and been stored in attics, often taken out, sifted and sorted into new forms but never falling into a stable cohesion. I also situate the Colonial Copyright Collection in this frame because of the work of Roland Barthes. In *Camera Lucida* Barthes discusses at length how photographs, their subtle details and their unknown connections with our own knowledges and other histories, develop *punctums* in their structure.⁶ These unknown connections are very much the sparks that have created the substantive chapters and also the engine which have driven their investigation.

⁴ Craig, D. (1997), *Royal Geographical Society Illustrated: A Unique Record of Exploration and Photography*, London: Scriptum Editions. This work was reviewed by James Ryan, who noted at length how the work embodied the colonial perspective of the Royal Geographical Society photographic collections, as opposed to critiquing the images from the postcolonial perspectives of the late twentieth century; Ryan, J. (2000), “Photos and Frames: Towards an Historical Geography of Photography” in *Journal of Historical Geography* (26: 119 – 124)

⁵ Pierce, P. (1985), *Canada: The Missing Years*, London: Hamlyn

⁶ Barthes, R. (2009, revised edition), *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, London: Vintage Classics

While Barthes uses the term on an emotional level to describe ‘that which punctures’ it is also used to highlight the occasion when an image makes unexpected and challenging connections beyond the basic *studium*.⁷ As with various sorts of domestic photography collections,⁸ the Colonial Copyright Collection is full of hidden and unexpected significances. Another way of putting this is that both the Colonial Copyright Collection and family photograph collections can be understood as palimpsests, and indeed this notion of a layering of information over time is appropriate to working with individual images within the collection. The key, therefore, is to interact with the collection in such a way that draws out these significances and allows them to be considered in depth. That way, the method to this thesis can be more systematic than Barthes’s serendipitous rummaging in his mother’s attic. Indeed, this connects to the points made earlier about the development of rich object biographies through the processes of collecting and preserving the Colonial Copyright Collection. Not only have these biographies been mediated and developed via the collection but the collections of the British Library as a whole present further opportunities to investigate and develop these biographies, through engagement with a wider range of materials. In each of the following substantive discussions a variety of materials, from newspapers, maps and philately, to official publications and institutional conference papers, have been consulted in order to contextualise the interpretation of these photographs through the materials that are arranged around them.

Undertaking research into a collection such as this requires engagement with a broad body of significant academic theory that has grown up around photography in general, and colonial photography in particular, over the last few decades, as also discussed in Chapter 1. Such work has influenced recent writing on vision, empire and geography by historical geographers. It is clear from this literature that colonialism provided an important impetus and opportunity for the realisation of the desire to see and perceive

⁷ Which means the overall and accepted reading which can be applied to an image.

⁸ Previous work illustrating these significances includes; Hamlett, J. (2006), “‘Nicely Feminine Yet Learned’: Student Rooms at Royal Holloway and the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges in Late Nineteenth Century Britain” in *Women’s History Review* (15: 137 – 161); Langford, M. (2008), *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographs*, London: McGill-Queen’s University Press

the world in imperial terms.⁹ Authors such Sontag,¹⁰ Ryan,¹¹ Schwartz and Ryan¹² and MacQuire,¹³ illustrate how the expanding role of technology in textual, visual and audio communication was bound up with the intensification of the colonial process during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth; and, moreover, that photography was integral to developing colonial understandings of place. This is the broadest visual context within which the Colonial Copyright Collection of photographs may be situated. It is a collection born of the desire of multiple actors to visualise the territories of British colonialism in a form which could be readily circulated throughout the empire, for economic benefit. Running in parallel to this economic imperative is an imperial one. Here the collection of images at the British Museum Library can be seen as part of a multi-faceted project of knowledge accumulation centred on the imperial metropolis, as discussed in Chapter 1.

For much of its history, there has been considerable debate over the photograph's capacity to illustrate to the viewer that which was factually true about the subject of the image.¹⁴ Within the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was also a strong belief that the deployment of photography would help illustrate the utility and reality of colonial territories and peoples, allowing their essential natures to be made visible.¹⁵ As

⁹ This tendency was not unique to British colonialism but instead is a pervasive trait of western colonialism underpinned by technological modernity, as illustrated in Butlin, R. (2009), *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies, c. 1880 – 1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁰ Sontag, S. (1973), *On Photography*, London: Farrar, Straus and Giroux Publishers.

¹¹ Ryan, J. R. (1997), *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire*, London: Reaktion Books

¹² Schwartz, J. M. and Ryan, J. R. (2003), "Introduction: Photography and the Geographical Imagination" in Schwartz, J. M. and Ryan, J. R. (eds), *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, London: I. B. Tauris, pp. 1 - 18

¹³ MacQuire, (1998), *Visions of Modernity: Representations, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera*, London: Sage

¹⁴ This is summed up well by John Thomson's statement, "We are now making history, and the sun picture supplies the means of passing down a record of what we are and what we have achieved in this nineteenth century"; Falconer, J. and Hide, L. (2009), *Points of View: Capturing the Nineteenth Century in Photographs*, London: British Library, p. 7. Works such as Ryan, *Picturing Empire* and Sontag, *On Photography* consider this point of view at length from a critical perspective. See also Berger, J. (1972), *Ways of Seeing*, London: B. B. C. and Penguin Books; Lutz, C. A. and Collins, J. L. (1993), *Reading National Geographic*, London: The University of Chicago Press; MacQuire, *Visions of Modernity*; and Price, D. and Wells, L. (2009, 4th Ed.), "Thinking About Photography: Debates, Historically and now" in Wells, L. (ed), *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge, pp. 9 – 64

¹⁵ An example of the use of photography to understand societies and individuals within them is the anthropological documentation of aboriginal groups across various empires using the

a result, the camera was often perceived as a tool for data collection, with the photograph itself being perceived often as an authoritative document rather than an artistic product.¹⁶ This attitude was reflected particularly in the literature of scientific disciplines such as anthropology and geography, where photography was represented as offering the possibility of entirely objective witnessing. However, in other spheres – notably those of artistic practise or popular tourism – the story was somewhat different: in this sense, the subjectivity of the camera was celebrated, or at least it was not quite so hidden.¹⁷ In this context, the inclusion of photographs within the remit of copyright legislation originally designed to cater for literary and artistic works suggests that within certain realms, value was placed precisely on the skill and imagination of the photographer. The camera like the pen was a tool for creating value: and as the record of copyright deposits shows, the photographer’s claims to authorship predominantly remained anything but invisible.¹⁸

The notion of visual economy, as we have seen above, has provided one useful tool for re-thinking the agency of the photographer in the making of a collection such as the one examined in this thesis. Another tool for interpreting the collection which has proved useful in this context is more metaphorical in nature: that is of the collection as a series of deposits, one layered upon the other. Subsequent to their deposition in the British Museum Library, new layers of information and interpretation were built up over time, shifting and changing perceptions of the spaces, places and peoples contained in the images themselves. As a result, researching the images is more like tracing a geological

camera and the photographic image. The combination of the camera and what was considered to be scientific practice aspired to document and illustrate racial and therefore cultural characteristics of groups and establish them within a racialised global hierarchy. See Edwards, E. (2001), *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg; Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*; Thomas, N. (1994), *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, London: Polity Press

¹⁶ Edwards, *Raw Histories*; Pinney, C. (1994), “The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography” in, Edwards, E. (ed), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 74 – 93

¹⁷ For example, individuals such as Dali and Moholy-Nagy were avid in their assertions that photography was not an all seeing eye but a creative media; Dali, S. (1927), “Photography, pure creation of the mind” in *L’Amic de les Arts* (no. 18, Sept. 30th 1927), reprinted in *Oui 12*; Dali, S. (1929), “Photographic Data” in *La Gaceta Literaria* (no. 6, Feb. 1929), reprinted in *Oui 70 – 71*. Moholy-Nagy warned about the potential effects of a world ‘compelled to see’ through the camera’s gaze; Moholy-Nagy, L. (1967), *Painting, Photography, Film*, London: Lund Humphries, esp. p. 28

¹⁸ In those exceptional cases where the photographer is invisible other factors in the biography of the image come into play, this topic is considered further in Chapter 3.

transect than mapping an individual moment frozen in time; and the landscape of the collection is more palimpsest than map.

As emphasised in this section, the Colonial Copyright Collection of photographs is composed of images produced during a period in time of tremendous change in Canada and globally. However, since the moment of their creation and deposition, the archive itself has changed significantly and the way we view and engage with images has also changed markedly.¹⁹ The once-dreamed of paper empire has thus continued to evolve. Far from being the static repository of knowledge some had once hoped for, the collection is an organic cache of knowledge that develops, shifts and changes as it interacts with institution, researcher and society. The undertaking of research for this thesis, and its application in a variety of other forms, may provide a new chapter in the life of the collection. In this phase of the collection's biography further interconnections and arrangements will be uncovered and articulated, developing the rich material and imaginative properties of the photographs.

The shape of the Collection

A key part of the research process conducted around the Colonial Copyright Collection was an item by item overview of the entire set of photographs it contains. This was an important stage in the selection of aspects for further study (such as themes, genres or the work of individual photographers), as well as developing an understanding of the significance of a specific image or body of images. This approach also allowed for the subsequent analysis of the context of each image, considering the interaction of photographer, photograph and collection in the life history of the photographic object, which would be significant to the discussions outlined in chapters which deal with images more directly. This approach is informed by methodological considerations such

¹⁹ The image world that we live in today is much richer and more diverse: see, Lister, M. (2009, 4th Ed.), "Photography in the Age of Electronic Imaging" in Wells, L. (ed), *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge, pp. 311 – 344; Poole, D. (1997), *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, Chichester: Princeton University Press; Sassoon, J. (2004), "Photographic Materiality in the Age of Digital Reproduction" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 186 – 202

as those developed by Edwards and Hart,²⁰ and Rose.²¹ These works illustrate how images, the ways in which they are stored, the other items they are collated with and the operations of the meta-collection itself affect the agency, meaning and biography of the image.

The task of the overview involved going through the entire collection, one image at a time, and recording basic data about each item in a database. This data included the name of the photographer, place of production, date of production and the content of the image and built towards depicting a portfolio for individual photographers as well as deposit portfolios for Canada's main regions. Within this process details pertaining to the links between images and points of wider significance around the image, notably relating to the historical geography of Canada in this period, were also noted down. The information collated through this process forms the backbone of the summary account presented in the latter part of this chapter. This process suggested affinities and connections between images that may have been kept markedly separate within the collection for geographical, temporal or curatorial reasons. For example, they may have been separate as a result of being taken at different times or originating from very different parts of Canada; or they could have been separated on account of their format or subsequent conservation methods applied to that image (i.e. was it placed in a bound volume or in an archive box?).

Differences in format have had marked effects on how and where material is stored within the Library. To illustrate, there are three broad categories into which individual items are arranged according to size, specifically, small, regular and oversize items. These materials are all currently stored in ways that best facilitate their preservation. As a result, the significant amount of regular size material, with its distinct preservation style (being bound into black volumes of 20 – 30 images), is both aesthetically and geographically (in terms of location in the building) separate from the oversize images which need large format storage folios and are located where there is space for them.

²⁰ Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), "Introduction: Photographs as Objects" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 1 – 15; Edwards and Hart, "Mixed Box"

²¹ Rose, G. (2000), "Practicing Photography: an Archive, a Study, some Photographs and a Researcher" in *Journal of Historical Geography*, (26: 555 – 571); Rose, G. (2007, 2nd Ed.), *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Images*, London: Routledge

These disjunctures are further exaggerated by place of production, time of submission and photographic subject as accession procedures varied over time. For example, in the case of Geraldine Moodie's Inuit images (discussed in Chapter 6), the place of production and their subject have led to their being retained by the British Museum, while her botanical images and other non-ethnographic subjects were retained by the British Library.²² The construction of an overview helped to develop a sense of a more cohesive, interconnected and diverse collection.

Producing such an overview had the further effect of facilitating a greater sense of perspective on what the Colonial Copyright Collection shows of the historical geography of Canada between 1895 and 1924. This is significant as it allows us to define what sort of 'evidence' the collection can be understood as providing in an historical period in which the nation went through profound change. The overview developed below makes it quite clear that this collection does not offer an unmediated and impartial view of Canada at this time. Instead it is a highly mediated perspective which reflects the preoccupations and concerns of the myriad photographers whose work constructed it, as well as the institutional requirements of the copyright process. Given the relative lack of any other forms of direct intervention (for example, in the form of curators making selection decisions), beyond applying for copyright in the appropriate way,²³ the collection represents a partial and fragmentary view of the Canadian image world.

The overview process was not undertaken in isolation. As it was important to attempt to perceive the interconnections between images, it was also significant to discern the imperial, national and institutional connections that affected the origins and genesis of the collection and the types of material now available for research as part of the Colonial Copyright Collection. This process involved tracking down the institutional connections that characterised the collection on national and international levels, investigating which institutions held what material and why,²⁴ and researching the legal

²² Although, it is worth noting that there were some ethnographic images that 'slipped through the net', as will be seen in Chapter 6.

²³ See Chapter 1

²⁴ For example, as seen above, some images by Geraldine Moodie are to be found in the collections of the British Museum, while images submitted after the 1924 endpoint are to be found in the National Archives at Kew as a result of their then becoming solely official records

means by which the British Library came to hold the Colonial Copyright Collection. By recording each item's basic features (such as photographer, genre of the image, format of reproduction or means of deposition), the overview process highlights the need to think carefully about 'ways in' to the collection as a whole. The ways in to the collection, in other words routes to more detailed analysis, are multiple. They may be based, for example, on format, genre, content, place of submission and even the significance of the individual photographer. Most often, the 'way in' required the multiple negotiation of these avenues, as is explained in the individual chapters. In addition, it was necessary, where possible, to link the materials found in this collection to other sorts of textual and visual evidence within the British Library itself and in the collections of the National Archives (Kew), and Library and Archives Canada. In each of the substantive chapters the relevant connections are discussed in detail.

Patterns of deposit: an overview

The sheer material weight, geographical expanse and scope of the Colonial Copyright Collection requires some effort to comprehend as a whole. The overview presented here is designed to illuminate the overall shape and genesis of the collection, providing a context for the subsequent thematic chapters. This analysis is designed to raise questions as much as to answer them; questions, for example, concerning why certain photographers were working in this field, why specific kinds of images recur and why these images were chosen for copyright deposit by the photographer. In the same way that a photographic image is lost without its caption, so too the summary diagrams which follow can be diminished if they are divorced from the collection which houses them. As noted above, these contexts are innately bound to the images and elaborate their material significance. Before one can understand the parts one must try to comprehend the whole.

(since their attached material was no longer a copyright deposit). Further, the collection at the British Library has a counterpart at Libraries and Archives, Canada. Detailed notes on this can be found in the Appendices of this work. Both of these Colonial Copyright Collections are incomplete due to archival damage and so it was significant to note the uniqueness of each collection. For notes on damage to the British Library and Libraries and Archives Canada, see; Harris, P. R. (1998), *A History of the British Museum Library, 1753 – 1973*, London: The British Library; O'Neill, P. B. (1984), "Canadiana Deposited in the British Museum Library between 1895 and 1924" in *British Library Occasional Papers: Canadian Studies* (1: 83 – 90)

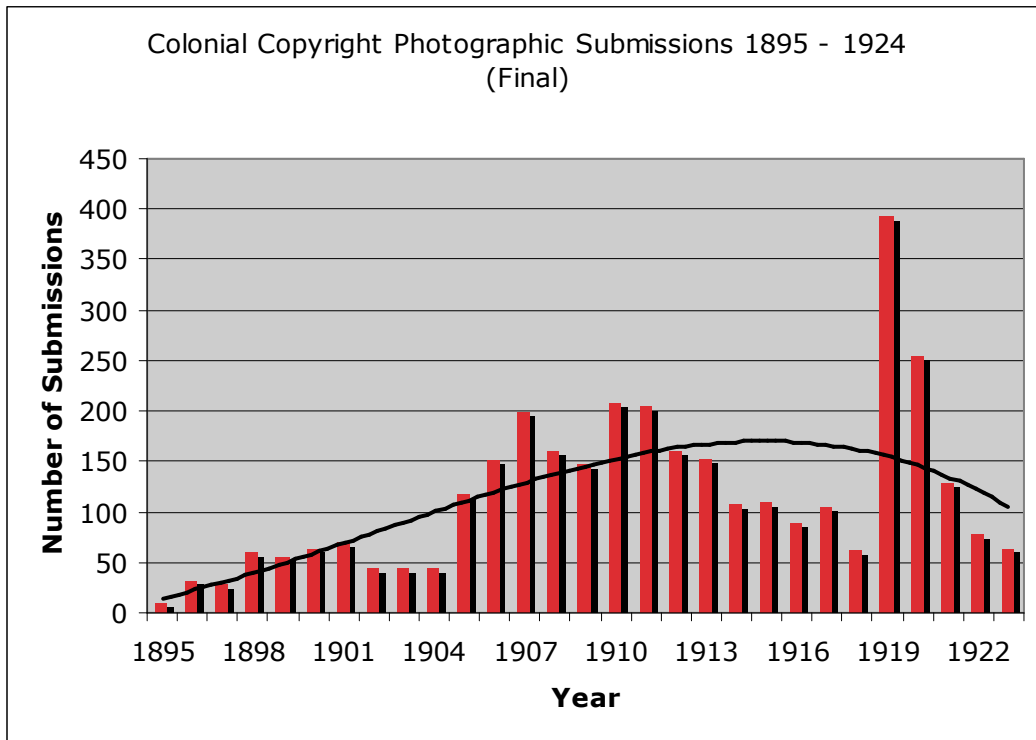


Figure 2.1: Unique Copyright Deposits, by Year of Submission, 1895 – 1924
(*N* = 4,263 copyright deposits)

As stated in Chapter 1, the Colonial Copyright Collection is composed of photographic images produced in Canada between 1895 and 1924 that were deposited in the British Museum Library. In total there were 4,263 individual photographic copyright deposits submitted to the Library in a variety of forms and they depict a significant number of subjects. The format of the images themselves range in size from images roughly 5 inches by 3 inches at the border to oversize folios that are several feet wide. Most images were submitted loose, originally attached to the copyright deposit sheet that was used in order to register for copyright, but there was also a significant amount of variation in the medium of submission across individual cases. Many images were attached to card backings to protect their shape, some photographers went further, using high quality card that sometimes bore their official stamp, and other photographers submitted material in expensive bound volumes and even in publication book format. As noted in the previous chapter, the level of attention to detail and skill displayed in many of the images and the attention given to their presentation and display is in contrast to their perceived ephemerality in the context of the Library.

This suggests one reason why it is so important to undertake some sort of overview of this collection as significant insights can come from being able to perceive how individual items relate to the whole. The quantitative overview presented here has been generated by conducting a thorough survey of the Collection, a process in which each item was inspected by hand. Associated documentary evidence at the British Library and Libraries and Archives Canada was also consulted, with specific emphasis on the beta-catalogue that provides a digital search template for the Colonial Copyright Collection.²⁵ Invaluable also was the multi-volume checklist collated by O'Neill that lists all materials deposited at the British Museum Library under Colonial Copyright legislation (including music, photography, cartography and so on). This list was printed in five volumes, each devoted to a particular kind of material.²⁶ It constitutes a near-

²⁵ These materials, in particular the beta-catalogue, are significant to how the collection may be accessed in the twenty-first century. This will be considered in the conclusion, where these materials and wider developments around them will be considered regarding their significance to the Colonial Copyright Collection.

²⁶ The full list of these publications is as follows; O'Neill, P. B. (ed) (1989), *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Volume I, Maps*, Halifax, N.

complete guide to the deposits received by the British Museum Library which survived until the 1980s. Subsequent to the publication of the list of photographic deposits in 1989, many of the materials listed as ‘missing’ have been located and my work for this thesis has helped to confirm that little of the original Colonial Copyright Collection is now unaccounted for. These lists are thus invaluable tools for overviewing and cross-referencing the Colonial Copyright Collection. They have been indispensable in the collation of the data displayed here, which often relied upon these works to supplement information gathered by going through the collection by hand. Further, these previous works also underscore the multiple evolutions of the biography of this collection within the British Library, of which this thesis is a further stage.

Figure 2.1 shows the number of photographic submissions to the collection by year, based on unique copyright deposits rather than individual photographs as the fundamental unit. This is a significant distinction as the number of images submitted varied between deposits. For example, some photographers submitting their work for copyright pinned several unique pictures to a board and photographed the board as a whole. This allows, under the law,²⁷ all depicted images to be protected by copyright but it does, of course, produce a different kind of visual record. In many cases there is clearly a value judgement operating on the part of the photographer who in these circumstances evidently did not judge each individual work to be worth the cost of a separate copyright deposit. In some other cases, the images are submitted as their own defined collection (by the use of slips, etc) or in bound volumes (in the case of photographic books). This suggests that the form of deposit was significant to the

S.: Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies; O’Neill, P. B. (ed) (1989), *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Volume II, Insurance Plans*, Halifax, N. S.: Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies; O’Neill, P. B. (ed) (1989), *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Volume III, City and Area Directories*, Halifax, N. S.: Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies; O’Neill, P. B. (ed) (1989), *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Volume IV, Sheet Music*, Halifax, N. S.: Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies; and O’Neill, P. B. (ed) (1989), *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Volume V, Photographs*, Halifax, N. S.: Dalhousie University School of Library and Information Studies.

²⁷ This is something of a grey area. In principle, these images should have been covered by copyright, however, whether they would have stood up to examination if involved in a dispute is not clear. As will be seen in Chapter 3 the ability to sue for copyright infringement was used by the photographers who deposited images in the collection. In this case J. W. Jones was successful but he thoroughly documented his work and submitted high quality reproductions as copyright records (as seen in Chapter 3, Figures 3.1 to 3.3).

meaning of the images and the product being produced by the photographer.²⁸ This said, these instances are relatively rare in the overall collection and the general pattern is one image per submission.

Another significant reason for collating data on individual submissions as opposed to individual photographs is that the data for numbers of submissions make up a complete record.²⁹ This is important as some of the individual images that make up the collection have been mislaid.³⁰ Using submissions as the unit of measure provides reliable data that represents the evolving pattern of copyright submission in Canada and provides insights into the prevailing national currents of the photographic economy operating between 1895 and 1924.

The trend line in Figure 2.1 indicates a general rise in numbers of unique copyright deposits up until the First World War, where afterwards copyright deposits plateau and drop off, interrupted by the peak years of 1919 and 1920.³¹ As the graph illustrates, photographers were relatively slow to copyright their own work after the amendments enacted in 1895. This is illustrative of the spatial constraints on the flow of information involved in the copyright structure, where information regarding the passing of a law allowing the copyrighting of photography would have to flow from metropole, to Dominion, to individual in order for copyright deposits to occur. The flow of information was also restricted by the relative weakness of professional and amateur photographic networks, similar to those that existed in Britain at the time, which could

²⁸ The significance of the method of producing and displaying the visual image is well drawn out by Joan Schwartz's discussion of gift daguerreotypes. While the visual format here is markedly different, her discussion illustrates wider practices of meaning making around visual images: see Schwartz, J. M. (2004), "Un Beau Souvenir du Canada: Object, Image, Symbolic Space" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 16 – 31

²⁹ There are various records of deposition which may be consulted through the British Library and Library and Archives Canada. These have been used by both myself and O'Neill and Ettlinger when they were constructing their overviews of the completeness of the Canadian Colonial Copyright Collection.

³⁰ O'Neill (1989). *A Checklist of Canadian Copyright Deposits in the British Museum, 1895 – 1923: Volume V, Photographs*

³¹ The peak years of 1919 and 1920 will be discussed in the subsequent chapter on Canadian Postcards. The images that created the skew were deposited by a single company, the *Bishop – Barker Co.*, and were intended for reproduction as postcards.

have acted as conduits.³² Camera clubs and professional groups did exist but there was not a well developed national network, rather strong regions within the whole, such as Quebec and Ontario. This is reflected in the regional submission trends (as will be seen in subsequent figures). Nonetheless, the volume of submissions gradually increased to a much higher level, reflecting the growing commercial opportunities associated with the practice of photography, as printing became cheaper and it became easier to make money from images as postcards or other visual media, such as the press, distributed on a local scale.³³

In its early years (to 1900), work deposited in the Collection was dominated by photographs with clear commercial value, including images of the inauguration of prominent civic buildings,³⁴ studies intended for scientific illustration,³⁵ or portraits of the elite.³⁶ It must be borne in mind in this context that the cost of deposit was not just the expense of the certificate but also the costs of transportation to the relevant government department in Ottawa and the production of three extra copies of the work for indirect, intangible financial gain. The rapid increase in deposits after 1900 did not only reflect the continuing increase in the uptake of photography among the general public and the reduction in cost of owning a camera. Rather, it was part of a broad social change that involved greater interconnection across the Canadian landscape,³⁷ a reduced cost of transporting post and information across this space and the other geographical barriers between Dominion and metropole,³⁸ and a considerable

³² Koltun, L. (ed.) (1984), *Private Realms of Light*, Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside. Also, Strong, D. C. (1996), “Sidney Carter and Alfred Stieglitz: The Canadian Pictorialist Exhibition (1907)”, in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20: 160 – 162), illustrates the difficulty in organising and maintaining even elite networks during this period.

³³ Hannavy, J. (2008), “Markets, Photographic” in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 896 – 898. See also Chapter 5, on the postcard.

³⁴ For example, the work of J. W. Jones and his photographs of the opening of the parliament buildings in Victoria of the visit of the Chinese Viceroy to British Columbia in 1896 (see Chapter 3).

³⁵ In the late nineteenth century Edward, P. Coalman was using the camera to document the anatomy of the horse, which he photographed in cross section having dissected the horse and deep frozen it. These images are deposited in the Colonial Copyright Collection.

³⁶ In this respect the clergy of Quebec seem to be early adopters of the photographic portrait to depict their image, closely followed by those from Ontario.

³⁷ The photography inspired by which is the subject of Chapter 4.

³⁸ Which is discussed in chapter 5.

cheapening of the cost of producing and reproducing photographic materials as the papers and chemicals involved became more mass produced and widely available.³⁹

A combination of financial, structural and political factors led to a significant increase in copyright deposits in the twentieth century, especially after 1904. While between this date and 1912 there was a general increase in the amount of images copyrighted, the period after 1913 saw a sudden decrease and then a gradual decline (with the notable exception of 1919-20), until copyright deposit was ceased by the Canadian government on the first day of 1924. The cause of this marked decline - the threat and actuality of war in Europe - is clear, but the exact reasons for the decline are worth highlighting as it illustrates further how, across its time period, this graph of photographic deposits mirrors many changes in Canadian society.

War between Germany and Britain and its colonies even had pronounced practical effects on photography, precipitating a drying up of the supply of chemicals and solvents required for photographic production, development and printing. Prior to the beginning of the First World War most chemical production for photographic purposes was done in Germany, where a great deal of development in the industrialisation and refinement of these chemicals had taken place during the nineteenth-century.⁴⁰ As a result, while the cutting off of the German supply of relevant chemicals created markets in the U. K. and North America, which contributed to significant shifts in the photography and printing industries,⁴¹ in the short term it created supply problems for photographers in Canada. This would have been more pronounced if there were as many photographers left in Canada during and after the war as there had been in the years preceding. Indeed, this highlights the main reason for the decline in copyright deposition during this period, which was the significant number of photographers who left to fight in Europe and did not come back.⁴²

³⁹ Anderson, A. and Tomlinson, B. (1978), *'Greetings From Canada': An Album of Unique Canadian Postcards from the Edwardian Era, 1900 – 1916*, Toronto: Macmillan; Woody, H. (1998), "International Postcards: Their History, Production and Distribution (Circa 1895 – 1915)" in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 13 – 45

⁴⁰ Woody, "International Postcards"

⁴¹ Woody, "International Postcards"

⁴² Andrew Rodger discusses the significant impact of the war on amateur photography in Canada in particular but the demographic shift the war initiated had affects across all Canadian

After the war, with the exception of the years 1919 and 1920, copyright submissions did not recover to their previous numbers and the record comes to an abrupt end in 1924. It is worth noting, however, that the deposits did not cease all together at this point as there are occasional stray copyright entries from Canada that found their way to the National Archives in Kew. These images seem to have been retained here as the document they were attached to (the copyright deposit record) has been archived under that institution's mandate. What is particularly interesting about this is the fitting end point it gives to a collection which was slow to start, partly on account of the amount of time it takes information to flow and people to adjust, and slow to end for the same reasons. As this detail suggests, the Colonial Copyright Collection does not offer a transparent window on Canadian history: its composition and form are also shaped by that history.

Also worthy of note is how the pattern of copyright deposits varies across other factors, notably geography and gender. Figure 2.2 illustrates how on the state level the territories of Ontario and Quebec dominate submissions across the period covered by the collection. This is not surprising given the demographic, commercial and political dominance of these areas during this period. Corresponding to this is a proportionately larger number of photographers, as indicated by the numbers of registered professionals operating in these areas at the time.⁴³ A further contributing factor is the significantly larger market provided by the people and institutions of the Ontario and Quebec regions. This both cultivates a photographic economy but also creates an environment whereby copyright could be seen as a worthwhile endeavour in order to protect an individual's market share.⁴⁴ Further, there are the contributing factors of greater proximity and easier access to the relevant institutions of copyright.

society; Rodger, A. (1984), "So Few Earnest Workers: 1914 – 1930" in Koltun, L. (ed), *Private Realms of Light*, Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, pp. 72 – 87

⁴³ Mattison, D. (1985) *Camera Workers: The British Columbia Photographers Directory, 1858 – 1900*, Victoria, BC: Camera Workers Press; Rudisill, R. (1991), "Directories of Photographers: An Annotated World Bibliography" in Palmquist, P. E. (ed) *Photographers: A Sourcebook for Historical Research*, Brownsville, CA: Carl Mautz Publishing, pp. 52 – 101

⁴⁴ Similar dynamics are described by Woody with regard to postcards: see; Woody, "International Postcards"

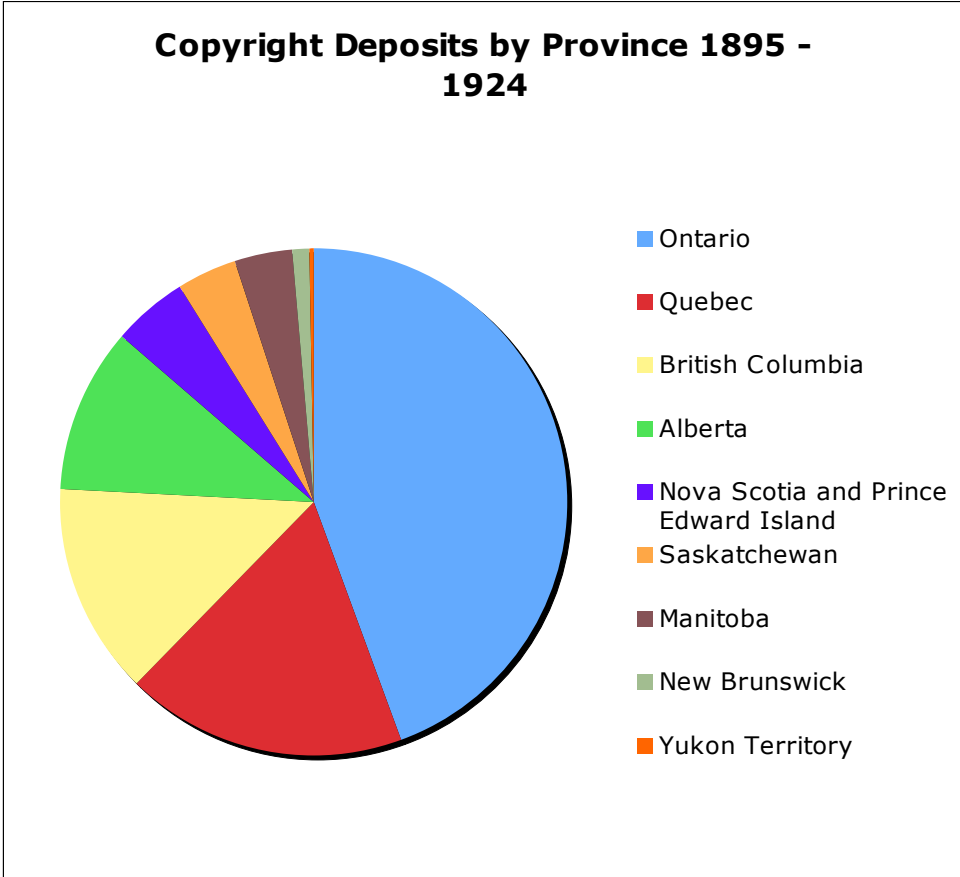


Figure 2.2: Unique Copyright Deposits, by Province, 1895 – 1924
(*N = 4,263 copyright deposits*)

For the rest of the provinces that make up the Dominion at this time, the distribution of deposited images is perhaps unsurprising, with British Columbia, Alberta, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Islands, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and so on following from the initial two.⁴⁵ Again, the pattern can be read simply as reflecting a combination of differences in the level of population, the development of commercial photography and connections to the administrative metropolis. In broad terms, the overall pattern reflects the level of urbanisation within each state: thus the more urbanised the state the more photographic deposits one would expect due to the likely clustering of commercial photographic studios in towns and cities.⁴⁶ This urban bias can also be read in the content of the imagery. For instance, well over half of all the photographs within the collection were taken in towns and depict urban scenes, cultural and political institutions, entertainment, civic infrastructure and so on (see Chapter 3).

There are, of course, many more nuanced readings that can be made of these patterns: for instance, why is British Columbia as high as third in the list? Manitoba, for instance, has much larger urban centres than British Columbia during this period and it would be hard to argue that B. C. was closer to the administrative hub of Ontario or better connected to it.⁴⁷ However, many areas in British Columbia were tourist and trade centres, mineral wealth (illustrated by the Pacific gold rushes) stimulated the economy and urbanisation was occurring at an unprecedented rate. These factors, in turn, stimulated the local economy to a significant degree and also created a large market for professional photographers.⁴⁸ Further, administrative ties between British Columbia and Ontario were strong especially due to the perceived threat of colonisation by the United States. These are factors which will be discussed in the thematic chapters to follow.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ There are no statistics for Newfoundland as although it is now part of Canada, it was not during this period and was only a Dominion territory during part of the period covered by the Colonial Copyright Collection. These records can now be located in the National Archives, Kew, to which some images intermittently found their way.

⁴⁶ This correlation between urbanisation and photographic studios is made by Joan Schwartz in her discussion of the studio photography of British Columbia in the nineteenth century; Schwartz, J. M. (1981), "The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858 – 1914" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 5 – 15). This therefore extrapolates to the incidence of uptake of the opportunity to copyright photographic work in these intense economies.

⁴⁷ In both these respects Winnipeg was better connected to the administrative hub of Ontario and had a larger population base than any other city in British Columbia until into the 1920s.

⁴⁸ Schwartz, "The Past in Focus"

⁴⁹ See for example the case study of photographs of Victoria in Chapter 3.

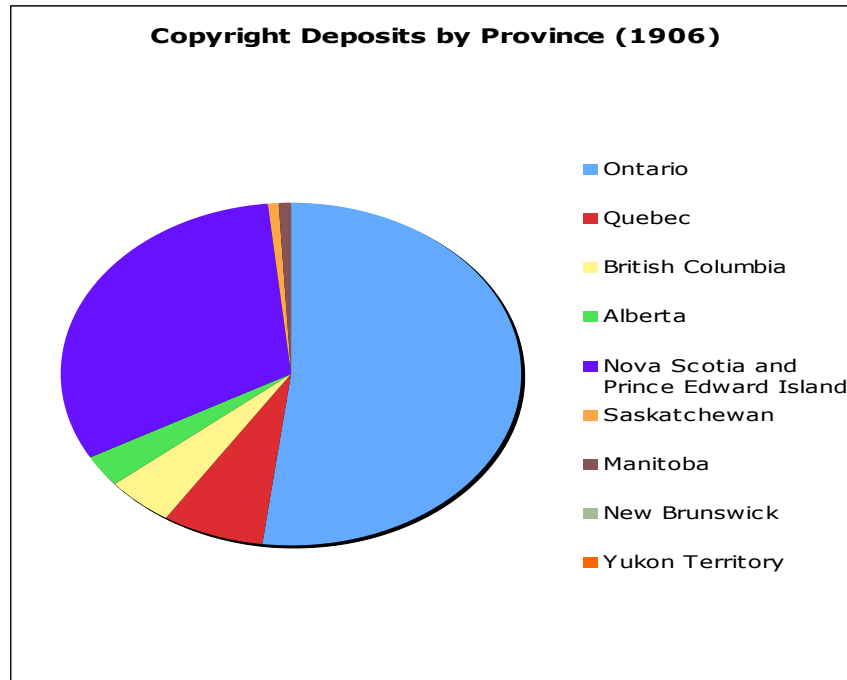


Figure 2.3: Unique Copyright Deposits, by Province, 1906
(N = 264 copyright deposits)

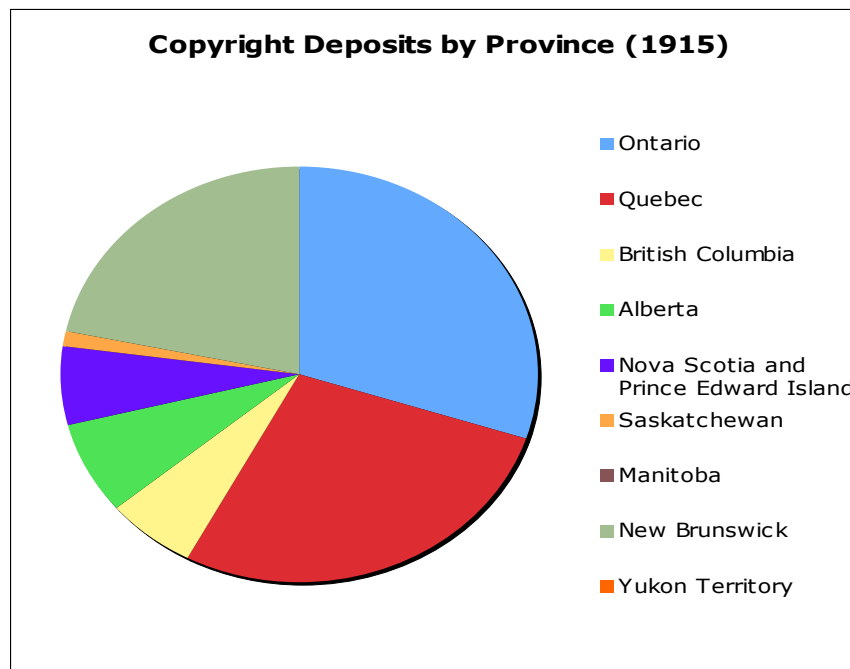


Figure 2.4: Unique Copyright Deposits, by Province, 1915
(N = 97 copyright deposits)

The geography of submissions under Colonial Copyright legislation also varied from year to year. While Figure 2.2 presents the geographical distribution of the origins of photographic deposits for the period as a whole, Figures 2.3 and 2.4 show the distribution by province for the single years 1906 and 1915 respectively. These significant annual variations often reflect significant events at local level. For instance, in Figure 2.4 (referring to 1915) New Brunswick photographers deposited an unprecedented amount of material. This was skewed by the joint factors of the war largely stifling the photographic production of many other parts of Canada (for reasons stated above) while also stimulating it in New Brunswick. The singular reason for this was the large number of military camps set up in Atlantic territories during the war and the employment of photographers to produce images of battalions and higher ranking personnel before they were dispatched to Europe. Another indirect effect of the war on the Colonial Copyright Collection will be considered in Chapter 5, which looks at the photography of the Bishop Barker Co. and their copyrights which single-handedly skewed the deposits for 1919 and 1920 (as seen in Figure 2.1).

Similar surges in the photographic production of territories are seen throughout the period. This was largely due to the limited size of the photographic economy at the time of the Colonial Copyright Collection's production, which meant that specific events had a significant impact upon deposition trends. Examples would include the Halifax Disaster of 1917, the Quebec Tercentenary of 1908, as well as the aerial photography endeavour of the Bishop-Barker Co. in 1919 and 1920.

Another notable aspect of the data is the view it provides of the distribution of copyright depositors by gender and corporate status. Figures 2.5 and 2.6 compare the proportions of submissions to the Collection made by individual men, individual women and Limited Companies. Figure 2.5 displays the relative numbers of individual men, women and companies that were submitting material to the collection between 1895 and 1924, while Figure 2.6 displays the pattern in terms of submissions. Given the time and the period covered by the Colonial Copyright Collection it is perhaps not surprising to see that male photographers make up over three quarters of the depositors applying for copyright protection. It is worth noting that while the chart contains only a thin sliver representing the female presence within the collection, this sliver does represent more

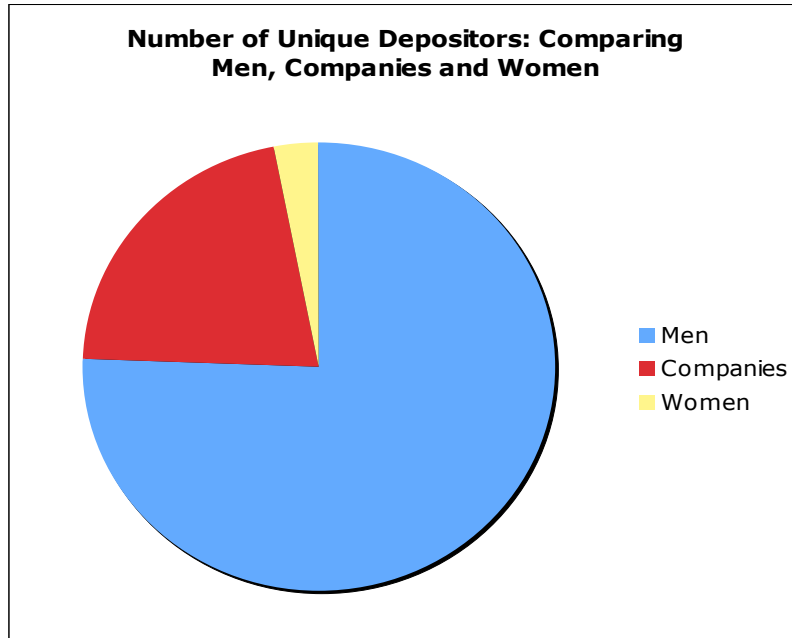


Figure 2.5: Illustration of Unique Depositors, Comparing Men, Women and Companies, 1895 – 1924
(N = 664 depositors and 4,263 copyright deposits)

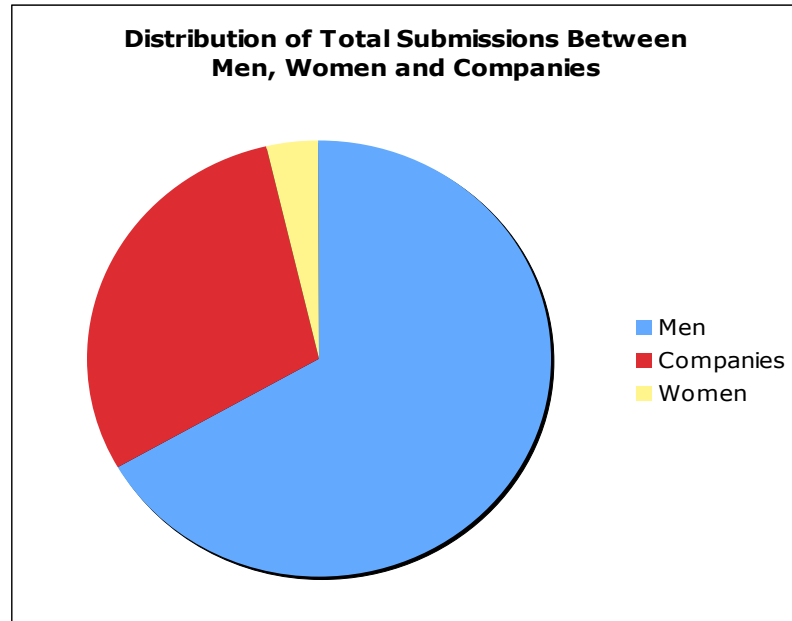


Figure 2.6: Individual Depositions, Comparing Men, Women and Companies, 1895 – 1924
(N = 4,263 copyright deposits)

than a handful of female photographers depositing for copyright, with 21 individual submissions in total. Moreover, those that did submit work produced a high volume of images with a correspondingly high quality. Within this list, the work of photographers such as Geraldine Moodie,⁵⁰ Olive Edis,⁵¹ Harriet May,⁵² and others stand out for the quality of their work. A comparison with Figure 2.6 also shows that on average women submitted a greater number of images to the collection.⁵³

Figure 2.5 also indicates that significant numbers of companies applied for copyright protection of images as the photographic image became a commodity of increasing utility for promotional, sales and illustration purposes. There is a general point worth noting here concerning the significant proportion of ‘invisible’, highly skilled photographers producing work for companies but who were given no direct accreditation in the produced material or the copyright register. This says much about the photographic economy displayed through the Colonial Copyright Collection. Comparing Figure 2.5 and 2.6, it is also apparent that limited companies were responsible for a higher proportion of the total than their numbers alone would suggest.⁵⁴ While some companies such as Bisto and Spalding submitted a handful of images, others, such as the railway companies and the Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd., submitted prodigious volumes of material. This is accounted for by the increasing importance of the photographic image as an advertising tool and its desirability and profitability as a consumer commodity.

Canada in the Frame: themes and subjects

Figure 2.7 presents a summary view of the subjects represented in the collection, based on a broad-brush thematic categorisation of each individual photograph. It is important

⁵⁰ Geraldine Moodie’s work is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁵¹ Although Edis was a British citizen, she did copyright her portraits of the conflict in Europe within Canada (even though under the letter of the law this was probably not required).

⁵² Harriet May’s work is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

⁵³ Men typically deposited only one or two images for copyright, while women typically deposited over ten images. In the case of photographers such as Geraldine Moodie the figure was much higher.

⁵⁴ This is discussed, in the context of a photobook deposited by the Timothy Eaton Co. of Toronto, in Chapter 3.

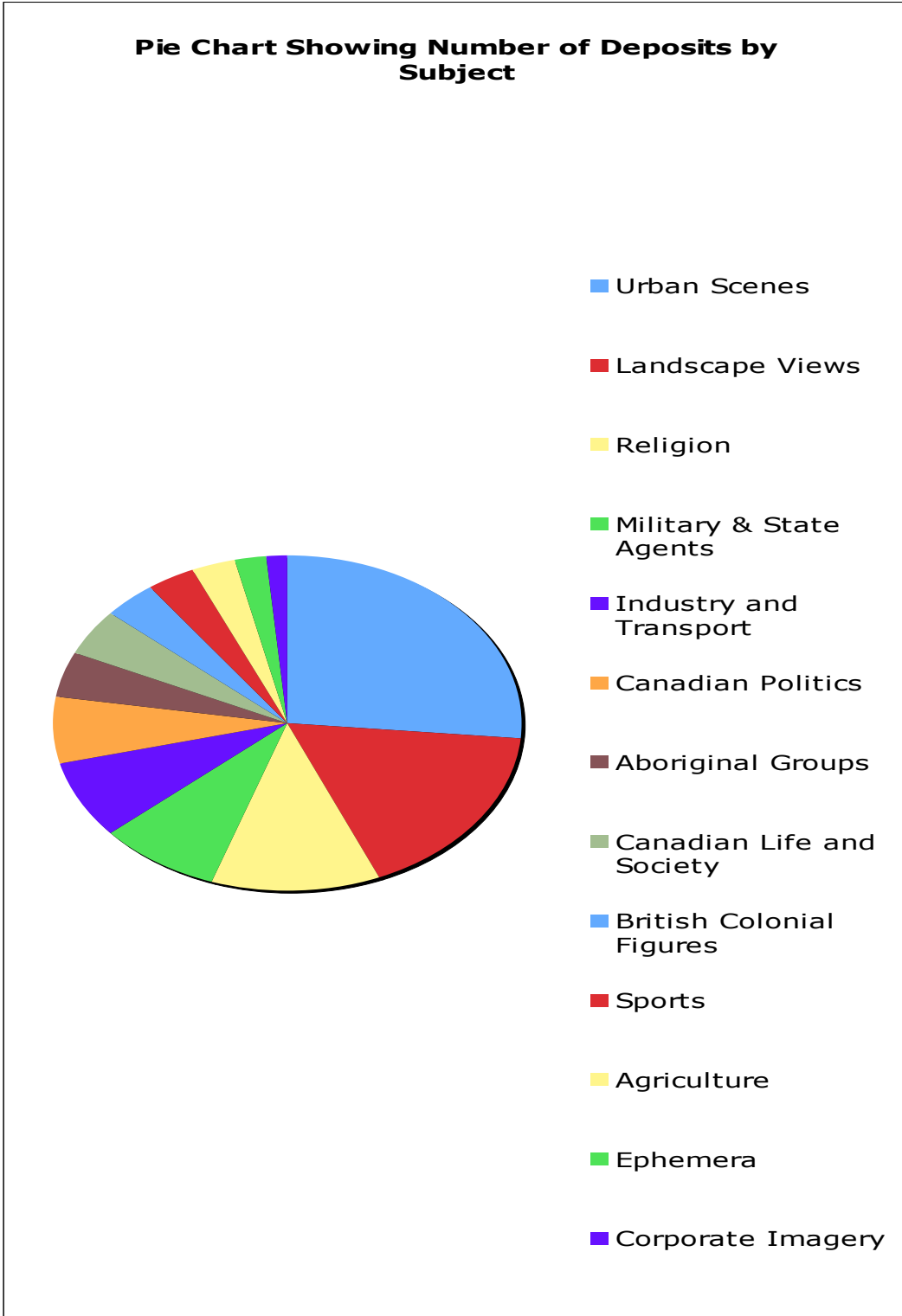


Figure 2.7: Unique Copyright Deposits, by Subject, 1895 – 1924
(N = 4,263 copyright deposits)

to note that there is some inevitable blurring of the deceptively clear distinctions made in this chart. For instance, certain categories such as the ‘landscape view’ and ‘aboriginal groups’ or ‘landscape view’ and ‘transport / communications’ often intersect simultaneously within the collection. Many images of Native American groups depict the group within a scenic setting and there are significant issues which arise from the situating of racialised photography in such settings, especially in the context of the consumption of popular imagery.⁵⁵ The depiction of transportation vessels in scenic settings also catered to a significant market of tourist consumers, again blurring what can be deemed a ‘scenic view’ as oppose to a depiction of ‘transportation/communication’. In these cases, I have chosen to distinguish images of transportation networks and Native American groups separately, meaning those marked ‘scenic’ are those which exclude these subjects.

Figure 2.7 gives a broad - though not definitive - guide to the subjects of photographs contained within the collection, while inviting the more elaborate discussion that will follow in proceeding chapters. In this sense, the chart describes the collection and highlights certain themes for further investigation. For example, the pattern allows us to pose further questions about the urban view and why it was such a significant photographic subject in the deposits of the Colonial Copyright Collection. As we will see in Chapter 3, the photographing of Canada’s rapidly growing and constantly changing urban centres was driven by political, corporate, financial and aesthetic factors, to name a few, and the reasons for production and consumption varied across Canada’s spaces.

Figure 2.7 also attests to the sheer range of photographic subjects covered by the Colonial Copyright Collection. In the previous chapter it was noted that the period 1895 – 1924 was one in which the camera became increasingly ubiquitous, portable and affordable, while printing and distributing the produced images also became easier and more cost effective.⁵⁶ The broad range of subjects depicted by the many photographers of Canada, as illustrated by Figure 2.7, is testament to the increasing ability of the

⁵⁵ Berkhofer, R. F. (1979), *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present*, New York: Vintage ; Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*

⁵⁶ Coe, B. and Gates, P. (1977), *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888 – 1939*, London: Ash and Grant Ltd; Falconer and Hide, *Points of View*

camera and its operator to access a growing number of sites and photograph what was occurring there with increasing swiftness. The extension of the camera's reach readily lent itself to a narrative of continual improvement, in which portability, speed and cost of production were the prime measures of progress,⁵⁷ reflecting the nineteenth-century belief in the constant development of science and civilisation. In studying this collection today, we are not just witnessing evidence of such development, but beholding the material and visual artefact that was itself a prime agent in promoting the diffusion of this imagination of progress. Chapter 4 thus considers the photographic depiction of the railroads of Canada and here we see the photograph operating as both historical record and active agent in the development of Canada's confederate and national identity. Similarly, Chapter 5 explores how postcards (whose imagery extended to the range of subjects highlighted in Figure 2.7), operated in the same vein, providing new views of Canada's urban, scientific and cultural progress at the beginning of the twentieth century.

By classifying the submissions of individual photographers or photographic companies into subject categories we can also begin to understand how their work was situated in the contemporary photographic economy. Again, this formulation poses more questions than it answers, providing significant points of departure for the analysis in the chapters to follow. Figure 2.8 shows subjects contained in the photographs deposited by Notman and Sons, one of the leading Canadian photographic companies. Notman and Sons (who by this point were the sons and their sons, as William Notman died in 1891) were one of the few depositors to submit material throughout the whole period of 1895 to 1924, incidentally illustrating how difficult it was for photographic enterprises to establish themselves in the market. Figure 2.8 illustrates that Notman and sons traded at an elite level, photographing Canadian statesmen, religious leaders and sporting groups while also producing some of the most popular scenic views of the time. The ability of Notman and Sons to occupy this niche was embedded in the success of William Notman in catering to the tastes of an emergent national elite and producing some of the best-

⁵⁷ While these three factors are consistently highlighted in discussions of the progress of photography, the quality of photographic imagery requires a different assessment. The industrialisation of the photographic process meant a certain degree of homogeneity: the quickest and cleanest production methods did not always produce the best images.

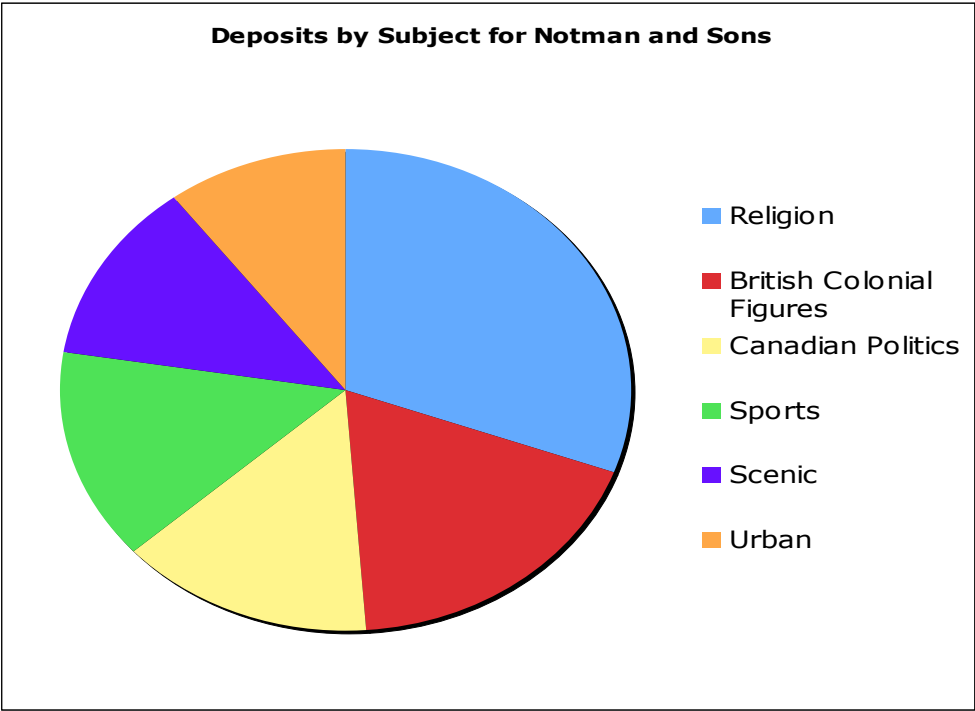


Figure 2.8: Subjects of Photographs deposited by William Notman and Sons, 1895 – 1924
(N = 53 copyright deposits)

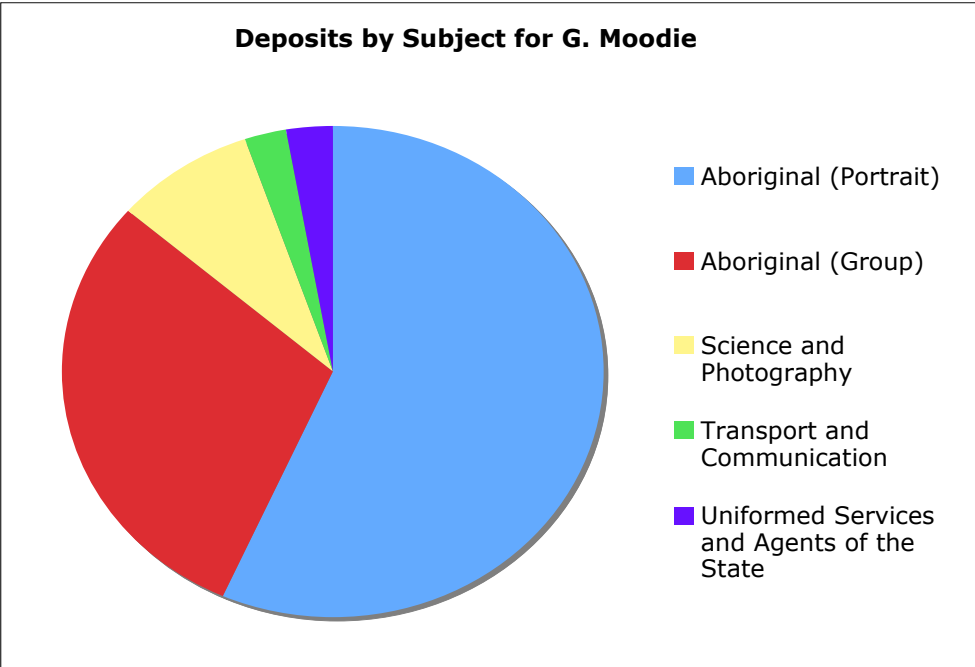


Figure 2.9: Subjects of Photographs deposited by Geraldine Moodie, 1895 – 1924
(N = 45 copyright deposits)

known images of Canada in this period.⁵⁸ Chapter 6 will consider the significance of portrait photography in Canada in the early twentieth century, including the work of Notman and Sons. Figure 2.8 illustrates the significance of political and social portraiture, as well as the importance of having the right photographer produce the image.

Figure 2.9 presents an analysis of the photographs deposited by Geraldine Moodie. This depicts an intriguing mix of Native American, scientific and official subjects, suggesting a particular orientation to Moodie's professional photographic interests and raising questions concerning her orientation to the Canadian visual economy. Chapter 6 investigates this at length as part of a broader consideration of the photographing of Native American and Inuit groups in the Colonial Copyright Collection. As Moodie's deposits are so significantly taken up by this subject, Figure 2.9 provokes questions concerning the ways in which photographers such as Moodie engaged in the business of making images of Native American groups.

The illustrations in this chapter raise questions about the relationship between individual photographers and their choice of subject matter, and the wider context of historical and geographical change in contemporary Canada. If we are to regard the photographs as in some sense offering a view of the historical geography of Canada during this period, we must also attend to the particular form of individual images and the functions of the collection as a whole. Through these images we are not just witnessing evidence of historical change, we are actually holding, counting and engaging with artefacts that were themselves active agents in the history which they were documenting. This sense of the agency of the photographs as artefacts requires a more focussed analysis, building on the outline discussion presented here, but examining particular images – and particular kinds of images – in more detail. This is provided in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

⁵⁸ Schwartz, J. M. (2007), "Photographic Reflections: Nature, Landscape, and Environment", in *Environmental History* (12: 966 – 993); Skidmore, C. (2008), "Notman, William and Sons (1856 – 1935)", in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 1011 – 1012; Skidmore, C (2002), "Photography in the Convent: *Grey Nuns*, Québec, 1861" in *Histoire Sociale / Social History* (70: 279 – 310)

Remainder of the thesis

The remaining chapters of this thesis deal substantively with the contents of the Colonial Copyright Collection by considering some of its most notable subjects, genres and forms. Chapter 3 examines the photographic record of Canada's rapidly expanding cities, using images in the Collection to discuss views of civic and entrepreneurial projects that were occurring in different parts of Canada. Two case studies frame the discussion: the photography of the opening of the parliament buildings in Victoria, BC, and the photographic work commissioned by the T. Eaton Co. of Toronto. The Chapter explores what these two contrasting sets of images show us about contrasting visions of urban development across Canada. In so doing the chapter illustrates the various social, financial and political processes that were shaping Canadian cities at the turn of the twentieth century.

Chapter 4 focuses on Canada's railroads and the views provided of them through the Collection. Photographic imagery represented both the potential bounties and the dangers of the railroad. This is particularly significant as between 1895 and 1924, the railroads threatened to both underpin and undermine Canada simultaneously. Using views from a variety of official and unofficial sources, the chapter uses the collection to illustrate the ubiquity of the camera and discuss how it affirmed, questioned and undermined the populist view of the railroads propagated at the time and throughout the twentieth century.

Chapter 5 also focuses on communication, but this time considers both the postcard and the aircraft. The Collection covers a period in time often understood to be the 'golden age' of the postcard as a novel and popular means of communication.⁵⁹ At the same time Canada was coming to know itself in new ways, both in terms of its situation within the British Empire and the development of new technologies that allowed different and more comprehensive views of its varied landscapes. The chapter focuses on how the picture postcard acted as a means by which these ideas and developments were communicated, both within Canada and globally, most notably through the promise of aerial photography.

⁵⁹ Staff, F. (1979, 2nd Ed.), *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, London: Lutterworth Press; Woody, "International Postcards"

Chapter 6 considers the depictions of various Native American groups from across Canada. While there are many notable photographic collections dedicated to Native American and other indigenous groups across the world, the Colonial Copyright Collection provides a unique perspective by virtue of its composition. Given that the collection is comprised of images submitted by myriad photographers from across Canada, of various levels of professionalism and photographic renown, it provides an opportunity to consider an unusually wide range of photographic depictions of Native American groups. The chapter explores some of the different ways in which photographic depictions of indigenous groups can be affected both by colonial stereotypes and more localised concerns.

Each of these chapters is shaped by the form as well as the content of the Colonial Copyright Collection, as the structure of the archive continues to affect the agency of these images even in the contemporary period. Partly for this reason, the conclusion gives explicit consideration to the present condition and potential future uses of the collection. Here I consider the role of the archive and of the images it contains in the digital age, in the context of new approaches to the production, consumption and preservation of photographic images. In so doing I will elaborate on parallels and differences between the past and present agency of the archive, suggesting how lessons from the past are still relevant in an age where paper empires have given way to digital domains.

CHAPTER 3

Copyright Photography and the Canadian City

This chapter considers images of the city within the Colonial Copyright Collection, as both the subject and the site of photographic work. In particular, the chapter explores representations of political and commercial aspects of modern Canadian urbanism through two extended case studies: J. W. Jones' photographs of the opening of the British Columbia parliament buildings in Victoria in 1898 and the views of Toronto produced by an unknown photographer (or photographers) for a display book published by the Timothy Eaton Co in 1901. In both case studies, images of the urban landscape were designed to associate particular historical events or sites of local significance with something more general such as civic progress, modernity, or commercial society. These photographic works are thus not simply depictions of places and events, they are active constructions: as Trachtenberg has argued of North American photography in general, "the history they show is inseparable from the history they enact".¹

John Wallace Jones was the primary partner of Jones and Co. and Jones Bros., a firm which operated photographic studios in Victoria and Esquimalt, British Columbia. His work, as represented in the Collection, has a distinctly official and public emphasis. A notable naval photographer, Jones specialised in photographing ships and their crew when in port, with a keen eye for scale and spectacle.² He also photographed the opening of civic buildings, and produced portraits of notable foreign dignitaries and members of British Columbia's political elite. His career as an 'official' photographer illustrates how photographic studios could establish themselves within the growing market for such imagery. Making sense of the images that Jones submitted for copyright protection requires his work to be situated within the wider context of official image-making, and its role in producing and disseminating a vision of political identity at provincial and national level. This intersects with the recent work on the relationship between visual technology and national and state identities in Canada.³ Druick's work

¹ Trachtenberg, A. (1989), *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, New York: Hill and Wang

² According to his obituaries; "Death Claims John W. Jones: Well Known Naval Photographer Dies", *The Times, Victoria*, 9th March, 1938; "John, W. Jones Passes Away: Former Naval Photographer Dies; here since 1888", *Victoria Colonist*, 8th March 1938

³ Charland discusses the importance of the camera and other technologies in developing images of identity that fit with the nation-building projects of governments and companies active in Canada in the nineteenth century: see Charland, M. (1986), "Technological nationalism",

on the Canadian National Film Board and its precursors, for example, explore official interest in the production of new images of Canadian landscape and identity from the late nineteenth century onwards.⁴

The second part of this chapter considers the more explicitly commercial aspect of the modern city, focussing on a photobook of views in Toronto. published by the Timothy Eaton company under the title, *Toronto, Album of Views: for the T. Eaton Co.*⁵ The city on display here is very much the Victorian ‘Queen City’ and the “city that works”, as described by Richard Dennis.⁶ The structure of the photobook situates Eaton and his business at the heart of a city aspiring to be a hub of both North American commerce and the British Empire, effectively in competition with better-established rivals like New York and London. In combination, the book’s photographs create a visual framework through which the values of the new commercial elite could be communicated to the wider public. There are potential comparisons here with other studies of the visual representation of commercial power, particularly Schein’s work on nineteenth-century representations of urban North America and Domosh’s work on the iconography of skyscrapers in the early twentieth century.⁷ The focus of the discussion of *Toronto, Album of Views* presented here is not so much on the agency of the individual photographer, as on the effect of a particular form of urban view. Indeed, while the book is dominated by a very notable presence – that of Eaton’s Toronto - there is also an absent presence at its heart. The contributing photographer (or photographers) get no mention, raising further questions about the role of the photographer in contemporary print culture as well as the operation of the urban photographic economy of the time.

Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory (10: 196 – 221). A similar discussion (though in this case the photographs discussed fail to elicit the desired response) is also advanced in an imperial context in Richard Huyda’s work on the location of Canada’s capital; Huyda, R. J. (1996), “Photography and the Choice of Canada’s Capital” in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20: 104 – 107)

⁴ Druick, Z. (2007), *Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board*, London: McGill-Queen’s University Press; Charland, “Technological nationalism”

⁵ T. Eaton Co., *Toronto, Album of Views*, Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co.

⁶ Dennis, R. (2008), *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840 – 1930*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 21

⁷ Domosh, M. (1996), *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston*, London: Yale University Press; Schein, R. H. (1993), “Representing Urban America: 19th Century Views of Landscape, Space and Power” in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* (11: 7 – 21)

Selected from a broad spectrum of urban photography contained in the Colonial Copyright Collection, the images discussed in this Chapter were not just illustrative of urban change, but were actively engaged with it. The case studies highlight political and economic aspects of urban change, respectively: the official, ceremonial spaces of performance and display, on the one hand, and the commercial modernity of modern urban life on the other. While distinctive, these visions are part of wider traditions in the representation of the modern city.

Photographing ‘British’ Columbia; the work of John Wallace Jones

As noted in Chapter 2, by the time Canada’s colonial copyright submissions began arriving in the British Museum Library (1895), the rate of photographic production and circulation within the empire and the world at large had increased dramatically.⁸ Furthermore, the public taste for photography, whether consumed in exhibits, newspapers or the home, had created opportunities within the urban economy for commercial photographers. This was a role filled by John Wallace Jones, professional photographer of the city of Victoria and naval base of Esquimalt, British Columbia, between 1888⁹ and 1938,¹⁰ the year of his death. Arriving in 1888 Jones was cresting the wave of migrants entering Victoria that would increase its population from 6,000 in 1880 to 20,219 in 1900.¹¹ Jones witnessed the development of Victoria from post-gold rush colony to a proud provincial capital.¹²

⁸ In the specific case of British Columbia, photographers had arrived between 1860 and the 1880s, seeking to profit from the gold rush generated photographic market. Schwartz, J. M. (1981), “The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858 – 1914” in *B. C. Studies* (52: 5 – 15)

⁹ In this year J. W. Jones moved from Winnipeg where he had operated as part of the studio “Jones Bros.” with his brother, T. M. Jones; Mattison, D. (1985), *Camera Workers: the British Columbia Photographer’s Directory, 1858 – 1900*, Vancouver, B. C.: Camera Workers Press

¹⁰ Jones died still living in Victoria, commemorated in the town for his work on photographing Victoria’s naval heritage; “J.W. Jones, Well Known Naval Photographer, Dies”, *Victoria Colonist*, 08th March 1938

¹¹ Gregson, H. (1970), *A History of Victoria, 1842 – 1970*, Victoria: Victoria Observer Publishing Co. Ltd, p. 72

¹² Between 1883 and 1890, Victoria saw a huge boom in public and per capita wealth (with the latter increasing four fold in the period), largely due to the city’s status as a free port with easy links to the mainland; Gregson, *A History of Victoria*, p. 73

During his professional career Jones was commissioned to photograph many of the civic and ceremonial events that occurred in the city, as well as the development of its urban and naval infrastructure. Between 1898 and 1902 he submitted a series of images from around the city and the province of British Columbia for copyright in Canada and they therefore became part of the Colonial Copyright Collection now held at the British Library. The images which Jones submitted for copyright cover many subjects, including political events, social occasions around the city, the major news events of the time and also an extensive portfolio of the naval vessels and infrastructure at Esquimalt on the western edge of Victoria. One of the aims of the following analysis is to illuminate Jones' motives in pursuing copyright protection for some, but not all, of his work.¹³ This in turn will aid the development of an understanding of the relationship between the urban photographic economy and Colonial Copyright Law. In this discussion two strands will emerge. Firstly, I will suggest that in copyrighting these images the photographer was asserting their potential value both as commodities and as works of art. The decision to copyright an image was made partly in order to protect its potential financial value, but partly also as a way of affirming its aesthetic value. Secondly, I shall focus upon one particular element of Jones' work, his photographing of the opening of the parliament buildings in Victoria, in order to discuss how these images accrued both economic and symbolic value.

Jones died in 1938, renowned in Victoria as a photographer of the naval culture and heritage that pervaded the city. Since its founding in 1843 as Fort Victoria (a trading outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company), the colony was protected by a naval base to its west. The base was situated also to enforce the British claim over the area and to provide a staging post for naval operations on the west coast of the Americas with easy access to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and Asian colonies.¹⁴ With Victoria's growth as a free port towards the end of the nineteenth century and the continued interest of the crown in what was now one of its most prolific new cities, the naval base at Esquimalt (across the bay from Victoria city) was of great and increasing significance in the area when Jones arrived in 1888. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are good examples of Jones' treatment

¹³ The Royal British Columbia Archives of Victoria hold many images produced by Jones that did not make it into the copyright collection in Canada or London, suggesting selectivity in the deposition of images. The reasoning behind these distinctions is discussed below.

¹⁴ Fort Victoria was founded in order to strengthen British claims over Vancouver Island; Gregson, *A History of Victoria*



Figure 3.1: “The Esquimalt Dry Dock”. Copyright, J. W. Jones, 1900
(Copyright Number, 12103, Mounted Print, 190 x 240mm)



Figure 3.2: “H.M.S. ‘Virago’ Firing in Honour of the King”. Copyright, J. W. Jones,
1901

(Copyright Number 11979, Mounted Print, 125 x 200mm)

of naval photography. What stands out in particular is how he composes the shot in order to draw out the technical sophistication and beauty of the subject, whether it be a dry dock or war ship.

To elaborate further, Jones's shots of the naval ships and yard of Esquimalt bay convey a distinctly modern technological aesthetic. In Figures 3.1 and 3.2 the photographer seems very much in control of the conditions; images seem to be painted onto the film of the camera. This delicacy comes across especially from the smoke in Figure 3.2 and the water in both figures. In Figure 3.2 the smoke is sharp, focussed, but still retains its wispy quality on the image. Jones also captures the water delicately, again, picking it out rather than blurring it. The composition of these images, in contrast to some of his other work, is considered and poised. In Figure 3.1, for example, the curved lines of the dry dock swoop down to meet with the swirling water that is pooling in its bottom and the image depicts a grace that masks its utilitarian functions. Moreover, many of Jones' ships have a metallic, industrial feel that pervades the picture as a whole, generated by the effect on the water and the background light as well as the subject of the image itself (see Figure 3.2 in particular).

These elements of Jones' naval portraits suggest a distinct aesthetic. Jones portrays the naval yards and ships at Esquimalt as more than just tools, in fact as achievements of science and skill. In their emphasis on scale and majesty, these images convey an effect akin to the technological sublime.¹⁵ The celebration of modern technology in such terms reflects a common theme in contemporary narratives of development in British Columbia. Through its maritime focus, this aspect of Jones' body of work connects to the earlier maritime history of British Columbia;¹⁶ through its emphasis on technological progress, it celebrates a new imperial era.

Jones' naval compositions are much more pictorially and aesthetically accomplished than the other work he submitted under Colonial Copyright legislation. Moreover, it is

¹⁵ Nye, D. E. (1994), *The American Technological Sublime*, London: The MIT Press. As Nye argues that the Golden Gate Bridge represents "an ideal America" in the mode of the technological sublime, so the images Jones produced of the naval yards and ships seem to represent an ideal British Columbia. In this sense, the ideal is rational and mechanical, as oppose to wild and biological.

¹⁶ This early colonial history is discussed at length in; Clayton, D. (2000), *Islands of Truth: the Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island*, London: University of British Columbia Press

clear from the holdings of other collections (such as the Royal British Columbia Archive) that Jones was copyrighting only a small proportion of his photographic work. Further consideration of the aesthetic distinctions between these different bodies of photographic work sheds light on one of the major questions arising from the Colonial Copyright Collection as a whole: namely, why were photographs copyrighted and what type of value was attributed, protected or secured in the process? It would be simple to assume that Jones and the other photographers who submitted work for copyright to the Canadian government between 1895 and 1924 were simply seeking to protect the financial value of their images by regulating their circulation within society.¹⁷ Evidently this was a key consideration: but it was not the whole of the story. Given the selectivity Jones displayed in applying for copyright and the distinctions between his naval images and the rest of his work, I argue that the copyrighting of his naval images was motivated more specifically by a desire to distinguish its artistic significance. In short, the photographer sought to elevate its aesthetic qualities and to assert his creativity as a professional.¹⁸ This was important in a period when photographic professionalism was still developing,¹⁹ especially in a part of Canada which had only recently begun to urbanise and had a fledgling photographic economy.

¹⁷ It is worth noting that Jones did make use of this sort of protection for his images, as evidenced by his taking a rival local photographer to court for copyright infringement on one of his images of the Victoria legislature. In 1901 he filed against his rival, “Mr. Maynard” for publication of a copyrighted image (copy num. 12030 in appendix 1) in *The Times* (of Victoria). Report in, *The Colonist*, (23/02/1901), archived in, Leona Taylor and Dorothy Mindenhall, *Index of Historical Victoria Newspapers*, host, Victoria’s Victoria (<http://web.uvic.ca/vv/newspaper/about.php>), 2007. Last accessed, 07/12/2010.

¹⁸ It has been noted in work on photography and copyright that one of the factors motivating photographers who copyrighted their work was a desire to protect and assert the artistic originality of their work and protect this from financial and creative impingement from others; Padfield, T. (2008), “Copyright” in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 337 – 338. This protection is still an important part of photographic copyright today and is represented by the aspects of copyright law which cover ‘originality’ (this concept is fairly universal amongst nations which use copyright laws similar to those of Britain, Canada and the United States); Gendreau, Y., Nordemann, A. and Oesch, R. (eds.) (1999), *Copyright and Photographs: An International Survey*, London: Kluler Law International

¹⁹ See, Price, D. and Wells, L. (2000), “Thinking About Photography: Debates, Historically and Now” in Wells, L. (2000, 2nd edition), *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge, pp. 9 – 64; Price, D. (2000), “Surveyors and the Surveyed: Photography Out and About” in Wells, L. (2000, 2nd edition), *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge, pp. 65 – 116

While copyrighting a photograph protected the financial viability of an image by tying it to the producer (or copyrighter), it also asserted ownership of the skills and perspective that went into producing a potentially unique photographic view, composition or style; a potentially significant claim in a field where many professionals were trying to establish a reputation and also carve a niche that would support further development of their practice. Given that Jones was remembered after his death as a well-known photographer whose reputation was founded in his naval work, it can be asserted that the copyrighting of such images contributed to expanding his reputation as an accomplished naval (and therefore military) photographer. This is a reputation that would, no doubt, also carry a considerable amount of social cachet that would improve the photographer's professional standing in the city as a whole.

It seems that Jones' reputation as a skilled professional photographer enabled him to secure further official commissions, giving rise to another significant body of copyrighted work held in the Colonial Copyright Collection. In the same period as Figures 3.1 and 3.2 were produced, Jones was also employed to cover the arrival of the Chinese Viceroy on his first official visit to the state (1896)²⁰ and the opening of the Victoria parliament buildings (1898).²¹ As will be discussed below, the photographs Jones produced of these events were important at the time of production as a way of promoting the economic and political development of British Columbia and, more specifically, presenting Victoria as a modern imperial city.

Official photography: inaugurating a new era

The images in Figures 3.3 and 3.4 appear to have been produced by Jones under the commission of the Victoria legislature, with Figure 3.3 in particular being produced in order to commemorate the opening of the new parliament building on 10th February 1898. The perspective suggests that he had a privileged view of the scene: indeed, other

²⁰ The viceroy Li Huang Cheng arrived in 1896 with the intent of conducting talks that would strengthen links between China and British Columbia.

²¹ The development, construction and opening of these buildings was a significant event that finalised Victoria's position as the capital of British Columbia and announced the city and the state's arrival as significant entities in the nation of Canada; Gregson, *A History of Victoria*. It also marked another stage in the development and re-situation of British Columbia as a modern, colonial hub; as noted in, Clayton, *Islands of Truth*



Figure 3.3: "Opening of New Parliament Buildings at Victoria, B. C., February 10th, 1898". Copyright, J. W. Jones, 1898
(Copyright Number 9754, Mounted Print, 192 x 242mm)



Figure 3.4: “Arrival of Li Hung Chang”. Copyright, J. W. Jones, 1896
(Copyright Number 8782, Mounted Print, 175 x 220mm)

images in the Collection confirm that the photographer was given access to a number of viewing platforms around the stage of the event in order to provide a clear and unobstructed view. It is this privileged view, something generally only conferred to the professional and official photographer, that indicates that Jones was the authorised photographer on this occasion. His role was to document the event as clearly as possible in a way which could be used in subsequent publicity. The image also served to highlight its status as an historic occasion. It would appear Jones was remarkably successful in this respect, given that his photograph of the opening of parliament is still used by the legislature to this day.²²

Despite the jubilant scenes portrayed in these photographs, the Victoria parliament buildings had been built under a cloud of public controversy and political turmoil. Having been completed late in 1897, the building cost over \$9 million to build and that amount was \$3 million over its original, already controversial, budgeted estimate of \$6 million. This provoked criticism both within Victoria and from outside, especially from representatives of those cities which had competed against Victoria to be capital of the state. These controversies were not solely about the parliament building itself; rather the parliament building was a symbol of a wider power struggle to maintain Victoria's primacy in a rapidly growing state.²³ Furthermore, the character of the state itself was being challenged from without as the Dominion of Canada attempted to articulate its identity in the face of cultural, political and economic encroachments from the United States. The Victoria parliament buildings and the photographs of its opening were, therefore, significant components in these attempts to express an identity to the wider world.

Victoria was a late entrant in the field of colonial settlements in Canada, not being founded until 1842 with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company fort on Vancouver Island. The subsequent history of Victoria's expansion was marked by the booms and busts of the gold rushes that occurred around the colony between 1858 and

²² See, http://www.leg.bc.ca/_media/flash/history-swf.html (last accessed, 21/10/10)

²³ See Rattray, A. (1862), *Vancouver Island and British Columbia: Where They Are; What They Are; and What They May Become*, London: Smith, Elder & Co. Rattray pays a significant amount of attention to the resource and trade potential of the area, as well asserting its importance to the British Empire. However, in this can be seen the seeds of competition between Vancouver Island and the mainland, areas with the potential to grow and succeed at different rates at different times. Also see, Gregson, *A History of Victoria*

the Klondike gold rush of 1896. As a result, the town had grown in a haphazard and fractured way, leading one historian to assert that, “[t]he visitor to Victoria in 1862 would have found not a city but a shacktown”.²⁴ By the 1870s Victoria was struggling to keep up with the rest of the state in terms of attracting new settlers and economic investment.²⁵ Therefore, despite winning the status of legislative capital in 1868, it was recognised that something had to be done in order to remove pressure from the mainlanders for Victoria to cease being the heart of the legislature.

These pressures led to a significant effort being deployed by the Victoria legislature to tidy up the capital and create a downtown that was architecturally worthy of being the state’s legislative centre. This was underpinned by the colony’s pride in being founded by British interests and largely settled by them too, generating an emphasis on European architectural styles and cultivating a desire to develop the city as not just a national hub but as one of the grandest cities of empire. In short, the city’s redevelopment was styled in an architectural fashion which drew extensively from the British metropole and was inspired by British Columbia’s history of being a colony founded upon maritime exploration and expansion.²⁶ This led to significant architectural and civic projects, such as the construction of an electric street lighting network that was to be, “‘the first place in the far west’ to follow the example of such progressive English cities as Godalming in Surrey”.²⁷ The parliament buildings were to underpin all of this and were designed to visually and spatially articulate Victoria’s goals and ambitions. The building also served as a marker of the city’s achievements to the state, nation and empire around it.

It is significant that the parliament buildings of Victoria were opened at a very particular moment in a broader imperial history, and helped to define British Columbia’s heritage as distinctly British at the height of the period of invented tradition in Victorian Britain and Europe at large.²⁸ These links are important as the legislature of

²⁴ Gregson, *A History of Victoria*, p. 16

²⁵ For example, after confederation British Columbia was added onto the Canadian rail network in 1886, but this terminated in Gastown (now Vancouver) rather than Victoria and acted as a major contributor to Vancouver’s economic predominance in the area since that point

²⁶ As discussed in Clayton, D. (2000), *Islands of Truth*

²⁷ Roy, P. (1976), “The Illumination of Victoria: Late Nineteenth Century Technology and Municipal Enterprise” in *B. C. Studies* (32: 79 – 92), p. 85

²⁸ Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. (eds.) (1999), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Space and Identity*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds) (1983), *The*

Victoria and British Columbia sought to define the state as a British founded colony; particularly in resistance to a growing American influence, exerted by the increasing political dominance of the neighbouring United States and continued influxes of migrants from San Francisco during the gold rushes. The building also opened at a point where the driving technologies of the age were also in flux as the historically dominant maritime influences on the area were being overwritten by the geopolitical influence of the railroad.²⁹ Jones' photography and wider body of work allows us insights into the visual articulation of this identity for the city and state, especially when considered using geographical work regarding the development and symbolism of the urban landscape and the imperial landscape.

The *Victoria Colonist's* stern criticism of the Victoria legislature's existing architecture, called, 'the Birdcages', sums up the sentiment that led to the creation of the spectacular new parliament. As the paper stated,

Mean and insignificant public buildings are outward and visible signs of a narrow minded, sordid and uncultivated state or province. Visitors are sure to judge the whole people by the buildings they erect for public uses. Those buildings ought to be handsome as well as commodious.³⁰

The paper's views mirrored many within the city and connected to wider calls to spruce up the image of Victoria, so that it would have all the appearances of a proud provincial and colonial city. Despite all the problems with the construction of the new parliament buildings, completed in 1897, one thing it achieved with great success and quickly was developing Victoria's new reputation as a beautiful and inspiring legislative city. By 1899, 70,000 visitors had been attracted to Victoria in order to view the impressive new parliament.³¹

The new parliament buildings thus played a central role in the redesigning and, most importantly, re-branding of the capital city. Once a boom and bust port, fed by the gold

Invention of Tradition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Jacobs, J. (1996), *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, London: Routledge; Keene, D. (2005), "Cities and Empire" in *Journal of Urban History* (32: 8 – 21)

²⁹ For more on the maritime history of Vancouver Island see; Clayton, *Islands of Truth*

³⁰ *Victoria Colonist*, 16 March 1883

³¹ Gregson, *A History of Victoria*, p. 72

rushes of the mid-nineteenth-century, the city now emerged as a stately and stable capital, increasingly composed of refined architecture and inspired by its British heritage. Jones's camera was instrumental within this context. The new imperial aesthetic is well displayed in Figure 3.3. The crowd gathered to celebrate the opening is well dressed, in hats and black suits, sheltering under black umbrellas to shield them from the rain. The guards lining the steps leading to the front door are formally stood, dressed in colonial military uniforms and emphasising the British heritage of the city. Jones' image also captures the ornate sculpture on the façade of the building itself, the grand curve of the main entrance and the quality of the masonry. Despite neglecting the building's tower, a key imperial reference, in capturing these features Jones manages to illustrate the British imperial influences that were placed in the design of the building by the architect Francis Rattenbury (a recent British migrant). Jones's photography highlights the similarities between the British parliament and the new Victoria parliament and, in turn, underscores the 'Britishness' of this Canadian colony.

Jones's photographs of the new parliament articulate what the building was intended to become, defining both its heritage and its future. That this was still a work in progress is suggested by some of the detail, such as the still unmade ground at the forefront of Figure 3.3. These are reminders that Jones is codifying and visually defining an institution, and a set of relationships, that are still in the process of development. The government of the time were keen to stress Victoria's credentials as a grand legislative city, part of the empire and proud of its heritage as a purely British colony. In undertaking the project of building the parliament, the government announced their vision for the state, its values and destiny. The decision to memorialise the opening of the building also demonstrated an enthusiasm for the publicity potential of photography, an important consideration given the 70,000 visitors who were attracted to the parliament in the first two years of its opening.

An 'Album of Views': Timothy Eaton's Toronto

Whereas Jones presented an official, often imperial, view of the city of Victoria, other visions of Canadian cities represented in the Collection were more decidedly commercial. In this section, I consider a collection of views published by the Dominion

Publishing Co. in 1901, entitled, *Toronto: Album of Views*. The photobook was produced under the commission of T. Eaton and Co., the largest and most profitable Canadian department store of the time and, indeed, for most of the twentieth century. In this case, the name(s) of the photographers are conspicuously absent, foregrounding the role of T. Eaton and Co. Department Store itself in commissioning the publication. Eaton's played a highly significant role in the development of the Toronto retail economy.³² Like Jones' photographs of Victoria, the Toronto album was designed to promote urban development: but here it was commerce, not politics, that was on view.

Timothy Eaton's impact on the physical landscape of Toronto, as well as the city's history and development, is notable and, as those who have written some of the many biographies about him would attest, partly attributable to his force of personality.³³ He constructed a business empire and negotiated access to the previously closed ranks of Toronto society from a starting point of little to nothing when he arrived in Canada as an immigrant from Ireland.³⁴ Notably, Eaton had a particular vision of how people should work, live and, most significantly, shop which affected not just the development of Toronto but the development of confederate Canada as a whole.³⁵ Timothy Eaton used all the technologies, forums and opportunities of the day to assert the primacy of his company. Underpinning all of this was a constant attempt to define Toronto as 'Eaton's City' where the identity of the man, family and company were writ large onto the urban fabric.³⁶ The photobook discussed here is part of this articulation of the urban landscape, but first I must elaborate on its wider context.

³² Eaton's impact on the geography, employment patterns and consumer habits of the city are drawn out in Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, pp. 296 – 321 (esp. pp. 304 – 305).

³³ McQueen, R. (1998), *The Eatons: The Rise and Fall of Canada's Royal Family*, Toronto: Stoddart; Nasmith, G. G. (1923), *Timothy Eaton*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart; Santink, J. L. (1990), *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

³⁴ Eaton and his family negotiated access to high society in Toronto in a way similar to that in Boston: see Domosh, *Invented Cities*. This social structure and its origin is described at more length in Story, R. (1980), *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800 – 1870*, Middletown, Con.: Wesleyan University Press

³⁵ McQueen sums this up well with the following quote, "In Ireland generations were reared on potatoes and the shorter catechism. In Canada it was Cornflakes and the Eaton's catalogue."; McQueen, *The Eatons*, p. 2. It is also notable in the significant presence given to Eaton's and its catalogue in Canadian fiction, such as Margaret Atwood's *Cat's Eye*; Atwood, M. (1988), *Cat's Eye*, Toronto: McClelland-Stewart

³⁶ This is the focus of, McQueen, *The Eatons*

Philanthropy, event sponsorship, an affinity for spectacle and a willingness to embrace the latest technologies and social developments were all means used to assert the significance of the T. Eaton Co. as a retailer and social influence in Toronto and Canada. A particularly significant tool was advertising, Timothy Eaton was a master craftsman in utilising the new techniques and opportunities provided by a rapidly changing media and social landscape.³⁷ The ‘Eaton’s Empire’ was underpinned by Timothy Eaton’s use of this constantly developing and changing tool of the nineteenth century.³⁸ In setting up his Yonge Street store, Eaton used swathes of on-site and window-based advertising to sway consumer choice away from his Queen’s Street rival, Simpsons, and other competitors who set up during Eaton’s thirty seven year running of his own Toronto store. His panache for window displays in particular led to them being tourist draws within the city, especially at Christmas time.³⁹ However, what set Eaton and his company apart was his adept use of the printed advertisement in order to both draw in customers and extend the reach of his company and its client base. During his stewardship of the company Eaton introduced the Eaton’s catalogue, debuted for the first time at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition in 1884, which would become the market leading mail order catalogue in Canada during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and he also was the first newspaper advertiser to pay for a “red band” (colour) back page advertisement.

In the use of these two iconic advertising strategies, Eaton demonstrated a grasp not just of the printed form, but of how to deploy it to the greatest effect. By taking risks, in that both these media were untried and the costs significant, Eaton made these marketing

³⁷ In this sense the media world was changing due to an exponential growth of the newspaper industry across the world, a growing level of interconnectedness (facilitated by the train, steam ship, telegraph and so on) and new forums of public engagement (such as the exposition and the fair).

³⁸ Indeed the term “Empire” was of great significance to the T. Eaton Co. as the term asserted the significance of the company to the British Empire at large and testified to the stature of the company itself. The term was even used in the *Illustrated London News* (18 February 1911), cited in McQueen, *The Eatons*; and Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store*. The dynamic here is similar to the rhetoric of empire used by department stores in London, as described in; Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. (1999), “Introduction: Overlapping Territories, Intertwined Histories” in Driver and Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1 – 20

³⁹ Eaton’s Window displays were so iconic that they are reproduced to this day. The Canadian Museum of Civilizations recreates an Eaton’s window scene to commemorate a man that it considers one of the most significant individuals in the country’s history (*Face to Face: the Canadian Personalities Hall*, Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilizations).

devices almost synonymous with the Eaton's brand. Monopolising forms of engagement was a tactic deployed by Timothy Eaton in many forms. His philanthropy operated in the same way (sponsoring Toronto's most significant hospital) and even his sporting engagements (in owning the most successful buggy racer of the time, Dan Patch). It is in this context – the role of print, image and the whole package of the advertisement - that I wish to consider Eaton's use of the photobook.

Published and copyrighted the year before Eaton's death, the photobook, *Toronto: Album of Views* was presented in a form which was becoming a popular consumer commodity. The book was well bound and printed on high quality paper, bearing title pages and the mark of the publisher in highly stylised characters. The publication feels impressive and provides a pleasing backdrop to the images themselves. It opens with the Ontario government buildings and the city hall, before moving on to depict Toronto's main shopping streets, education centres and churches, before concluding with views of its suburbs, parks and other notable landmarks. Notably, the shadow of Timothy Eaton looms large over the choice and composition of the images in the collection and it is unmistakable that there is an emphasis on producing Timothy Eaton's Toronto in its pages. This and the materiality of the photobook are significant, as the medium and its presentation have been discussed as displaying photographs in order to memorialise particular subjects.⁴⁰ Therefore, the object itself gives the impression of turning the Toronto Timothy Eaton has made into a form of urban, indeed national, heritage.

The invisibility of the photographer in the publication provides a contrast with the vast majority of images submitted for copyright in Canada between 1895 and 1924 (including those of Jones), where the photographer was the primary copyright holder. In the instance of the photobook considered here, the photographer is rendered invisible by the prioritisation of the Dominion Publishing Company (who hold the copyright for the publication) and, most importantly, the direct assertion that this is a publication undertaken as a direct commission from the T. Eaton Co. (see Figure 3.5). The presence

⁴⁰ Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), "Introduction: Photographs as Objects" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 1 – 15, referencing; McCauley, E. A. (1985), *A. E. A. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

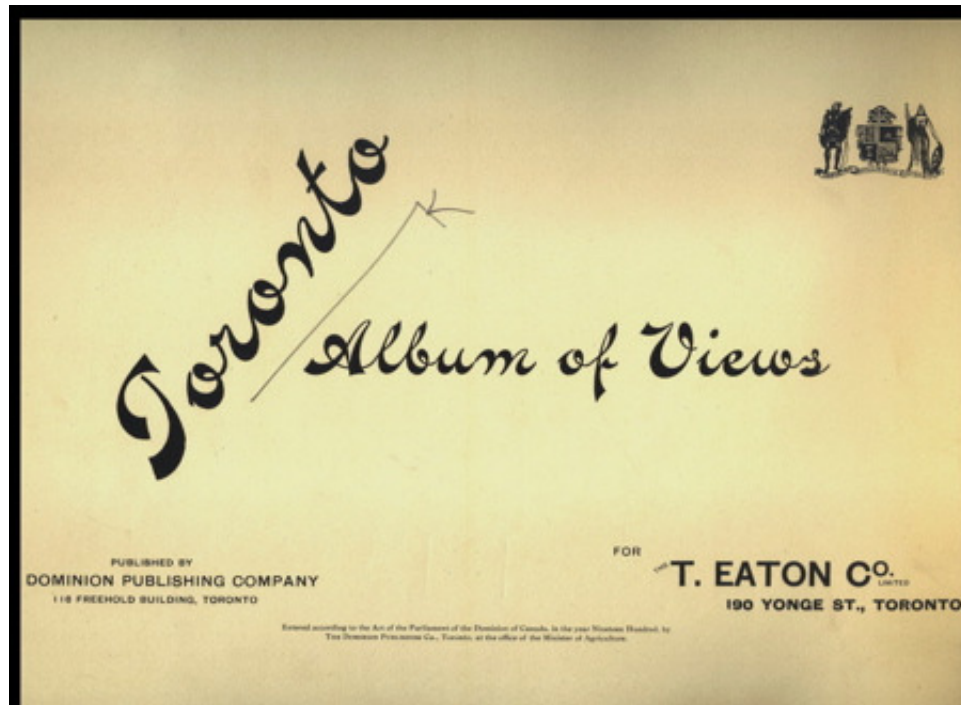


Figure 3.5: Title page of *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm)



Figure 3.6: “City Hall, Queen Street and James Street”, in *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm).

Flags in the image all bear the logo, “T. Eaton Co.”

of Timothy Eaton in the photobook looms large. After the introductory page, the book begins with photographs of the government infrastructure of Toronto. Depicting the Ontario government buildings on the first page and the city hall, which was only completed and opened two years before, on its second, the photobook maintains the trend seen in other publications of depicting the legislative infrastructure of the city and asserting its beauty and taste by drawing out its neo-classical parallels with British and European architecture.⁴¹ In depicting the legislative centre of the city the photobook also provides an opportunity to place the Eaton brand, and Timothy Eaton, at the heart of it.

Figure 3.6 is an interesting departure from the overall format of the book. The image is not a photograph of the scene; instead it is an architectural rendering from a semi-bird's eye view, depicting a hypothetical vista.⁴² In electing to use an engraved drawing, the image depicts an idealised view of the area, offering a perspective unavailable in reality. As a result, the image can depict the city hall, with completed and landscaped gardens, with the area of Queen and James Streets in the background. This angle allows attention to be drawn to the proximity of Eaton's store to the legislative centre of town. At the time, Eaton's store, factory and mail order depot took up most of the city block framed by James, Queen and Yonge Streets, with shop fronts on all three streets (these are the only identifiable shop fronts in Figure 3.6 and are picked out by the flags above them).

When Eaton set up his business in Toronto, many thought he was doomed to fail as he was located on the lower quality road of Yonge Street. Yonge Street was considered to be much less fashionable than Queen Street and, more prominently, King Street, the sites of most of Eaton's competitors, and markedly on the periphery of the city. Despite this, Eaton's prospered and by the beginning of the twentieth century the area of Yonge, James and Queen Streets had become much more influential in the city's consumer culture.⁴³ However, this success did not cause Eaton to drop his guard and he constantly

⁴¹ With regard to city hall in particular (see Figure 3.6) the building has clear similarities (in its clock tower, roof composition and façade decoration) to the national parliament of Ottawa.

⁴² Schein ("Representing Urban America") discusses the virtues of the bird's eye view technique, stating that it afforded to both the producer and the viewer an empowering gaze.

⁴³ Again, largely due to Eaton's use of advertising, which asserted Eaton's as a store of high quality that could be afforded, to some measure, by everyone in the city. This played upon the store's position in the city and was summed up by the advertising catch phrase of the 1870s, "Eaton's for the masses, Simpson's for the classes". This was printed in Industrial Exhibition

sought new ways to reaffirm the status of his store and himself within the city. As a result, the location of the new city hall was too good a promotional opportunity to be missed and the image in Figure 3.6 dramatically emphasises the centrality of Eaton's through both its compositional alignment of the two areas and its manipulation of the engraved image in order to emphasise this spatial relationship.

These spatial relationships and perceptions of the downtown geography of the city were very important to Eaton and his attempts to place Eaton's as a business at its centre are not limited to this one image. The series of images which follows in the photobook are solely composed of Toronto's retail districts, depicting Yonge Street and King Street from various angles. By the mid-1890s and beginning of the twentieth century Eaton's and, as a result, Yonge Street were the centre of Toronto's consumer culture and the Eaton's brand was beginning to concentrate on becoming Canada's major retail name. The main entrance of T. Eaton and Co. on Yonge Street is shown in Figure 3.7. This image indicates the importance of Eaton's to the street, again through flags and notices, as well as highlighting the grand architecture the store was famous for.⁴⁴ The next page depicts King Street (Figure 3.8). That this street is photographed is not surprising, as King Street was still regarded as a major fashion centre in the city, especially by those in the upper classes who determined fashion trends of the time. However, the emphasis through this ordering of images is that Yonge Street and Eaton's are the major engines of consumption in the city and are of primary importance to its structure. This point is driven home by the fact that the photograph of King Street is taken from Yonge Street, therefore visually asserting the links between the two streets. Similarly, the next photograph (Figure 3.9) in the book depicts the corner of these two great streets and enforces their importance to the city; again, strengthening the linking of King and Yonge Streets and asserting the primacy of Yonge Street, a development that would have been considered unthinkable when Eaton set up his business in 1864.

promotional literature and other advertisements, see Walden, K. (1997), *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*, London: University of Toronto Press

⁴⁴ The prominent archway and large windows seen in the image were viewed as a huge risk by many commentators when Timothy Eaton upgraded and expanded the store in the 1880s. However, the exterior architecture and interior design were so loved by the public that it became one of the major reasons for Eaton's success in the market; McQueen, *The Eatons*; Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store*



Figure 3.7: “Yonge Street, Viewed from Albert Street”, in *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm)



Figure 3.8: “King Street, Viewed from Yonge Street”, in *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm)

Later pages of the book have a format commonly seen in photobooks produced in other Canadian cities. The next fifteen pages are composed of illustrations of Toronto's educational and religious establishments, followed by its parks and well maintained suburbs. However, even in these depictions the shadow of Timothy Eaton and his family loom large, emphasising again that what is being seen depicted is very much Timothy Eaton's Toronto. For example, of the two non-university seats of education depicted in the book the institution placed at the front of the pack is a photograph of the building, playing fields and students of the Upper Canada College. This is significant not simply for the fact that it educated one of Timothy Eaton's children, but for the fact that it educated the Eaton child of that generation who would inherit the company. The school is also credited with furnishing him with the skills and knowledge to take over the Eaton empire after his father had relinquished control.⁴⁵ Similarly, in a montage of churches produced for the album, the church that takes precedence is the image of Eaton's own central Methodist church. In the wider trope of urban photobooks, images of a city's churches were placed in the volume in order to illustrate the grandeur of their architecture. This makes the centrality of Eaton's church all the more interesting, given that it is far from the most architecturally significant; however, its significance to the man is beyond doubt, given the centrality of church to his life and the sizeable donations he made to it during his life.⁴⁶

Depictions of the parts of Toronto's urban infrastructure that underpinned the Eaton family network are important as this highlights the role Toronto plays as the seat of the Eaton Empire. Through these wider social and cultural connections to the city, the book illustrates that Toronto is not just a landscape that the family and business act upon but that Toronto and the family are bound together; they combine to make a better, more effective whole. This is important as many great department stores of the era relied upon their 'local' geography to increase their significance, albeit in various ways. Harrods, London and the empire, for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had

⁴⁵ Indeed it could be argued that it did this very successfully, as Jack Eaton was influential in the development of Eaton's in Canada before Timothy Eaton passed away. Jack Eaton lobbied his father for and then took the lead in developing the T. Eaton Co.'s Winnipeg store, its first major branch outside of Toronto; McQueen, *The Eatons*; Nasmith, *Timothy Eaton*

⁴⁶ Both Nasmith, *Timothy Eaton*; and Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store* discuss the significance of the church to Eaton at length.



Figure 3.9: “Corner King and Yonge Streets, Looking North”, in *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm)



Figure 3.10: “The T. Eaton Co. Limited: Canada’s Greatest Store”, in *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm)

a symbiotic relationship. The empire supplied Harrods from all corners of the globe (and this wealth of supply underpins the store's popularity to this day) and Harrods sold the empire to London and the rest of Britain.⁴⁷

The conclusion of the book reverts to depicting the significant sites of Timothy Eaton and the T. Eaton Co. business more directly. In the preceding sections the significance of Eaton's store and its relationship to Toronto's urban geography has been discernible by carefully analysing the composition of the image and investigating the particular relationship the image developed between Eaton's store and its surrounding areas. The closing images of the photobook are more overt in their assertion of Timothy Eaton and his company's centrality to the city of Toronto as they situate the business and the family within myriad landscapes of the city. Five pages from the end of the photobook a whole page is dedicated to illustrating the stores and infrastructure of Eaton's in Toronto, illustrating the impressive scale of the T. Eaton Co. in significant detail (see Figure 3.10). The illustration is engraved, again, and manages to depict a view of the store that would be unattainable through photography. In showing the two main frontages of the store as well as the factory that lies behind them the illustration highlights the impressive architectural achievement of a store and factory that takes up an entire city block and underscores this with the tag line, "Canada's Greatest Store" at the bottom. Again, this image is placed in a section of other impressive private architectural achievements in Toronto that takes in its best hotels and private institutions and, again, Eaton's buildings are placed ahead of all its architectural rivals. It is important to note that this places the Eaton buildings alongside hotels and private banks (the I.O.F. Temple Building is also depicted), blurring the line traditionally drawn between industry and finance, and places Eaton's space of retail and industry at its head. Again, what we see here is Eaton using this publication to disturb the traditional, hierarchical perception of the urban geography of Toronto by creating new juxtapositions within an established photographic medium.

The penultimate photograph in the book is an image depicting the Industrial Exhibition pavilion, the site of Toronto's famous annual exhibition where recent scientific and agricultural developments were annually displayed (Figure 3.11). The pavilion was an

⁴⁷ For more on Harrods and the empire, see Driver and Gilbert, "Heart of Empire?"



Figure 3.11: “Southern view of the Industrial Exhibition pavilion”, in *Toronto: Album of Views*, 1901 (Photobook, 290 x 230mm)

impressive part of the Toronto landscape, inspired by the Crystal Palace in London and designed to indicate Toronto's ability to host a permanent scientific fair, after Canada's annual fare that rotated cities across the nation was denied to it.⁴⁸ Its inclusion in the book is in line with it displaying the best architecture Toronto has to offer. In choosing to include an image of the pavilion in the book, the Eaton Co. emphasises the special relationship the business has with the pavilion, the Industrial Exhibition itself and, at the heart of things, the city of Toronto. It was at the exhibition and in the pavilion (where many selling booths were located during the show) that Eaton launched the mail order catalogue that would make his company a household name across Canada.⁴⁹ The catalogue was such a success that within ten years of its first distribution there was such a phenomenon as "Eaton's catalogue English", where new arrivals to Canada would pick up the basics of their new language from the freely available publication.⁵⁰ From the instance of distributing the first catalogues, Eaton's and the Toronto Industrial Exhibition had a symbiotic relationship, with the exhibition's reputation for fashion and modernity underpinning the reputation of an Eaton's still making its name while, subsequently, the bombastic displays of an established Eaton's (particularly in competition with Simpson's) in the markets of the southern pavilion provided a massive draw to the show year after year.⁵¹

Toronto, Album of Views illustrates the complexity of the visual economy within which photographs and photographers were operating at the time. In this context we see images being drawn into a broad project to display the city through the vision of one man's personality while also asserting the links between this company and various commercial, industrial and government sites that had a significant impact on the geography of Toronto and Canada at large. In order to accomplish this, these photographs have been commissioned in order to display particular and narrowly framed geographies and it is notable that when a broader perspective was needed it was the bird's eye view and not the camera which was deployed as a way of seeing. All of these images, therefore, are directed and assembled in order to define the geographical imagination of the city in Eaton-centric terms. The process of copyrighting these

⁴⁸ Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*

⁴⁹ Nasmith, *Timothy Eaton*; Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*

⁵⁰ Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store*, p. 153

⁵¹ McQueen, *The Eatons*; Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store*

images, contained within *Toronto, Album of Views*, was not merely about protecting its potential as a source of income: in short, copyright was another way of claiming ownership of Toronto as ‘Eaton’s City’.

Conclusion

Focussing on two exemplary bodies of work, this chapter has sought to situate urban imagery within the Colonial Copyright Collection in the wider context of the continually developing market for, and technology of, photographic views in Canadian cities. As a commercial practice, photography was itself an essentially urban phenomenon, reflected in the establishment of significant numbers of studios and the marketing of photographic products in towns and cities across Canada.⁵² The business of photographing the city itself, and its most notable landmarks, was potentially lucrative: indeed individual photographers and companies came to specialise in this branch of work.⁵³ The two case studies examined here are, in this sense, representative of wider patterns and trends.

While both the case studies are situated at opposite ends of Canada and in very different social and political contexts, they illustrate the significance of the photographer and the photograph as actors in the articulation of understandings of the urban landscape. The case studies also illustrate that the relationships, technologies, geographies and exchanges involved in the creation of these understandings were complex. For example, sometimes the representation would be underpinned by the reputation of the photographer and their biography (as with Jones) and sometimes it would require the photographer’s vision to be appropriated by another character (as with Eaton). Also, we see in these case studies images which have been produced for different markets and circulated in different material forms. These factors, in turn, required the photographer to deploy a variety of technical skills, with varying degrees of success. Fundamentally,

⁵² Schwartz, J. M. (1981), “The Past in Focus”; Schwartz, J. M. (1996), “Guest Editorial” in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20: 2, ii)

⁵³ The Colonial Copyright Collection contains examples of this from across Canada, as companies such as the Winnipeg Photographic Co. and the Panoramic Photo. Co. deposited large amounts of photographs for copyright. Further, the individual photographer is particularly well represented, with the railroad providing a lucrative market and the promise of steady trade. See Chapter 4.

this illustrates why the Colonial Copyright Law was an important tool for the photographer or entrepreneur in the Canadian urban context. Copyright was not just a means of securing legal rights to an image, it was also a way of enhancing the authority of particular views of the city.

CHAPTER 4

Pictures of Modernity: Photography and the Canadian Railroad

The subject of this chapter has already sounded its whistle in the previous chapter. Assessing the relationship between urban development and place-making, as in the example of Timothy Eaton's Toronto, inevitably highlights the importance of the railroad. Indeed, the railroad has often been represented as being the prime technology in creating an integrated economy in confederate Canada.¹ Furthermore, it had a profound impact on the social geographies of communities across Canada, opening up spaces and changing the relationship between people and place. In global terms, the chronology of railway development runs roughly parallel to the development of photography and the two technologies have a much-discussed relationship.² Given the myriad views it offers of the impact of the railroad on society and space in Canada, the Colonial Copyright Collection provides an opportunity to consider Canada's changing relationship with the railroad at the end of the nineteenth-century and beginning of the twentieth. This chapter, therefore, will elaborate upon the depiction of the railroad through the Colonial Copyright Collection and consider the view it presents of the technology and its landscape.

As a symbol of national dynamism in turn-of-the-century Canada, there are few technologies that rival the railroad in the popular imagination. Since before confederation, as well as increasingly after the completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1885,³ the railroad came to stand for all that Canada had achieved in the latter half of the nineteenth century and could achieve in the twentieth century.⁴ Across Canada, the United States and the world, the railroad was held up with increasing vigour as an iconic technology that could breach gaps, link spaces and realise the

¹ Berton, P. (1974), *The National Dream and the Last Spike*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart; Stevens, G. R. (1960), *Canadian National Railways: Volume 2, Towards the Inevitable (1896 – 1922)*, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., p. 3

² This can be seen in works such as; Birrell, A. (1981), "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858 – 1900" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 39 – 60); Foster, J. (2003), "Capturing and Losing the 'Lie of the Land': Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa", in Schwartz and Ryan (eds), *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, London: I. B. Tauris, pp. 141 – 161; and, McDougall, M. H. (1981), "R. H. Trueman, Artist and Documentarian" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 129 – 141)

³ Berton, P. (1974), *The National Dream and The Last Spike* (abridged by author), Toronto: McClelland and Stewart and Stevens, G. R. (1960), *Canadian National Railways: Volume 1, Sixty Years of Trial and Error (1836 – 1896)*, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd.

⁴ This view is expressed in the writings of Berton, who attributes to the railroad the role of lifting Canada out of its national hibernation (p. 16) and thrusting it towards its destiny as a truly unified and productive nation (pp. 492 – 93).

national and imperial endeavours of politicians and capitalists while also increasing the potential of a truly globalised economy.⁵ Symbolically the railroad and the locomotive were seen to be ushering in a new era, one of irresistible progress and unbridled ambition. However, as the twentieth century in particular was to show, the effects of the railroad were not inevitable or uniform.⁶ Undoubtedly it was an engine of unparalleled change, with the construction of the trans-continental railroad and the resulting explosion of branch lines changing the face of Canada forever, but these changes were not evenly spread across a flat, featureless plain and the resulting effects were not uniformly positive. The railroad remade places, adjusted spaces and left many Canadian nationals, not to mention new arrivals, running to catch up with the pace of change.⁷ Furthermore, as the railroad brought new opportunity, it also brought unexpected dangers that Canadians, like others, had to become accustomed to.

These changes, mediations and articulations are pictured in the photographic record from a variety of local and individual perspectives, as can be seen within the Colonial Copyright Collection. While there are images which undoubtedly reflect the pride and wonder that many Canadians felt at the sight of the railway, they also represent more nuanced and localised responses to the iron horse. In dealing with images made locally by individual photographers, this chapter will consider the view of the railroad (and by extension the modernity of Canada) from a series of more local perspectives. By considering photographs depicting different types of event from a variety of locations, the chapter will attest to the complex processes involved as Canadians tried to come to terms with their new world and the idea of becoming modern.

⁵ See Charland, M. (1986), "Technological Nationalism" in *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, (10: 196 – 221); Daniels, S. (1993), *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 174 – 199; Foster, "Capturing and Losing the 'Lie of the Land'"; and Freeman, M. (1999), *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*, London: Yale University Press.

⁶ The re-printing of Charland's work in Daniel Robinson's, *Communication History in Canada* is illustrative of this, as the work situates Charland's piece with other works on nineteenth- and twentieth-century communication technologies and their uneven effects on the spaces of Canada: Charland, M. (2009), "Technological Nationalism" in Robinson, D. (ed) *Communication History in Canada*, Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, pp. 50 – 72

⁷ Osborne, B. S. (2003), "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual: Photography, immigration and the Canadian national railways, 1925 – 30" in Schwartz, J. M. and Ryan, J. R. (eds), *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, London: I. B. Tauris, pp.162 – 192

The Chapter begins with a brief overview of literature regarding the railroad in Canada to illustrate significant tropes that the photographic images reflect and reinforce. I will then consider the extent to which images from the collection articulate progressivist tropes widely associated with the railroad at the time.⁸ Not all of the images in the collection, however, speak directly to narratives of progress and modernity, and it is important therefore to consider the impact the railroads had on Canada's myriad spaces and how this was pictured by Canada's photographers. The focus here will fall on two specific subjects represented by the camera: the commodification of the landscape via the expansion of the railroad and the horror of the railroad accident. Through these two bodies of photographic work, which comprise a significant component of the Colonial Copyright Collection, it is possible to situate the culture of the railway within the complex, contested landscapes of Canada in the process of modernisation.⁹

The railroad as an icon of national development

Across the breadth of historical scholarship regarding Canada there are two significant and pervasive themes relating to the development of the nation which are relevant to this chapter. One concerns the harshness of the land and its reluctance to yield to European settlement; the other, the increasingly efficient use of modern technologies in the successful settlement of the nation from coast to coast. As examples of this, we can cite two works that are otherwise poles apart in terms of their time of publication, their proposed audience and their approach to historical narrative as a whole, namely, Pierre Berton's, *The National Dream*¹⁰ and Cole Harris' *The Reluctant Land*.¹¹ It should be noted that these are not the only works (Canadian or otherwise) that deal with this

⁸ This positivist narrative is exemplified by Berton, *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*

⁹ Historical geographers have highlighted the contested, complex landscape of Canada in various social and political settings, including Clayton, D. (2000), *Islands of Truth: the Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island*, London: University of British Columbia Press; Dennis, R. (2008), *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840 – 1930*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Harris, C. (2008), *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space and Environment in Canada before Confederation*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press

¹⁰ Berton, *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*

¹¹ Harris, *The Reluctant Land*

subject,¹² but the arguments put forward by Berton and Harris allow engagement with the major themes visible in the railroad images of the Collection. Berton's populist historical narrative about the building of Canada's transcontinental railroad is underpinned by the idea that the railroad was the technology by which the whole of Canada's inner shield could finally be tamed and opened up to settlement. His account of the endeavour is monumental in tone and it is underpinned by the casting of the landscape as a hard and unforgiving obstacle to the realisation of Canada's national dream that was realised only through technological ingenuity, combined with hard work and determination. Harris' more measured and methodical text also attributes prime importance to the 'reluctance' of the land itself to accept human habitation and cultivation as a crucial factor in the making of modern Canada. Throughout his book the landscape throws up obstacles as well as opportunities, while the application of communications technologies, such as waterway transport, canal building and, towards the end of the work, the building of railroads, gradually subdues the resistance of the landmass.

While Berton's rhetorical style in *The National Dream* has been criticised as nationalistic mythmaking,¹³ it is clear from looking at the broad scope of Canadian historical work that images of the landscape and the application of technology to master it have been very important in the development of ideas of the nation.¹⁴ More generally the importance of the railroad in the creation of nations was a common theme in the work of many artists, writers and theorists of the time.¹⁵ However, Berton's celebratory tone masks the possibility of further consideration of what sort of nation the railroad

¹² For illustration of the extent of this literature, see: Glazebrook, G. P. deT. (1964), *A History of Transportation in Canada: Volume II, National Economy (1864 – 1936)*, Toronto: Carleton Library and McClelland and Stewart Ltd.; Innis, H. (1923), *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.; Kroker, A. (1984), *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*, New York: St. Martin's Press; Robinson, D. (ed.) (2009), *Communication History in Canada*, Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press

¹³ See, Charland, "Technological Nationalism"

¹⁴ As examples, see Osborne, "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual"; Osborne, B. S. (1988), "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art" in Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (p. 162 – 178); Schwartz, J. M. (1981), "The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858 – 1914" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 5 – 15); and, Zeller, S. (2009, 2nd Ed.), *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation*, London: McGill-Queen's University Press

¹⁵ Even the exemplars of this are too extensive to mention in full, but a good example can be found in the illustrations of Frances Palmer in New York. These are discussed at length in; Daniels, *Fields of Vision*, pp. 174 – 199

wrought (if, indeed, it even wrought one homogenous space) and how it affected different groups in different places. Indeed, the same can be said for more academic histories of Canada and/or the railroad, for example accounts such as Stevens' two-volume work on the history of the Canadian National rail company.¹⁶ While much more sober in tone and rooted in compilations of historical documents, accounts such as this are prone to get bogged down in railroad-centric thinking which celebrates the creation of the nation, emphasising how this could only have been made possible by the railroad without moving too far away from the 4 feet and 8 ½ inches spanned by the railroad itself.

In contrast, the work of more recent historical geographers such as Cole Harris emphasises the various 'drafts' of the Canadian national landscape that were created by patterns of living, trade and communication with Canada's urban centres (and, by extension, the rest of the world, especially Europe).¹⁷ Harris' account illustrates how various communication and trade links persistently reshaped the economic and cultural geography of Canada, asserting with regard to the St. Lawrence Valley that, "[n]ew transportation technologies, and with them changing relations of space and time, reworked the relative locations of towns along the St. Lawrence River and even the St. Lawrence Valley itself."¹⁸ Similarly he draws out how the increasing rail interconnectedness of Canada and the United States increased trade between the two and opened the door for the economic and cultural changes that would affect Canada profoundly in the twentieth century.¹⁹ In this context, the railroad supplanted the maritime vessel while mineral resources created increasing connections to the United States, creating profound anxiety and a desire to fix the political identity of British Columbia more firmly. Through his discussion of these changing geographies, Harris's account stresses how different spaces and places move to the centre or the periphery of national and regional frameworks as a result of the medium of communication. Similarly, the cultural, social and political definitions of the nation were reshaped by the prevailing mechanism of communication and the real connections it makes between

¹⁶ Stevens, *Canadian National Railways: Volume 1 & Volume 2*

¹⁷ This can be seen both in the writings for *The Reluctant Land* and in the assembly and juxtaposition of maps from various historical periods in the historical atlas of Canada. Harris, R.C. ed., (1987), *Historical Atlas of Canada: Vol. 1 From the Beginning to 1800*, London: University of Toronto Press; Harris, *The Reluctant Land*

¹⁸ Harris, *The Reluctant Land*, p. 264

¹⁹ Harris, *The Reluctant Land*, pp. 356 – 57

places. As a result, an account such as Harris' allows the reader to consider exactly what type of nation was created in Canada by the development of the railroad network and its supplanting of other forms and networks of communication.

Harris' approach has some parallels with the arguments of the early twentieth-century historian Harold Innis who, in his paper *Empire and Communications*, argued that global empires required modern and thorough communication networks in order to work efficiently and survive, but that these networks also undermined the culture of the empire.²⁰ As such, modern technology, put to work on behalf of empires, would eventually bring about their transformation. The basis of this argument that efficient communication networks link places and people creating the conditions for unanticipated changes can also be applied to the impact of the railroad on economic and social geographies. That is, the railroad does have a central role in the formation of the nation but it also leads to the reconfiguration of its spaces and temporalities. The railroad, therefore, is not simply a homogenising force but instead one that creates the potential for changes and unintended happenings too.

It is from this perspective that I consider the railway photographs that form a significant part of the Colonial Copyright Collection. As Berton argues the completion of the transcontinental railroad had underpinned the successful confederation of Canadian states and by 1895 Canada was a nation on the cusp of major economic and demographic growth. However, the railroad also had significant, social, political and geographical consequences for the shape of the nation. It had rewritten the landscape and the economic infrastructure of the country, rural backwaters were now major settlement hubs, stable economic geographies (such as the St. Lawrence Valley)²¹ were changing dramatically and in many areas of the country people had to come to terms with the shining artery of modernity that was running through their land and next to their homes.

²⁰ Innis, H. (1950), *Empire and Communications*, Oxford: Clarendon.

²¹ Harris asserts, for example, that the regional economic and demographic primacy of Quebec was undermined and eventually replaced by Montreal as the city's rail links with the ice free ports of the United States made it a more efficient and profitable entry point to the global economy: Harris, *The Reluctant Land*, p. 265

There are a significant number of railroad scenes deposited in the Colonial Copyright Collection.²² As the above paragraphs stress, these deposits were made in a period of growth and change for both the railroads and Canada as a whole. While the railroad industry had actually struggled financially between the completion of the trans-continental railroad and the mid-1890s there was a great deal of political and public enthusiasm for the railroad as well as national pride in its construction.²³ Further, by the mid-1890s the railroad was beginning to benefit from (as well as facilitate) the changes currently being wrought in Canadian society. As a result it was, once again, expanding to cover the country ever more thoroughly.²⁴

The photographs in the Colonial Copyright Collection provide a series of ground-level views of this major historical transformation from various perspectives; the individual, the local, the corporate and the national. They provide significant evidence of the enthusiasm with which the railroad was greeted, how it was represented by investors, constructors and owners and some of the changes it wrought on the landscapes it cut across. However, it also highlights more unexpected repercussions of this sudden entry into modernity as the railroad intersected with people's lives and homes, as well as just the physical landscape. The Collection illustrates the impact the railroad had on the lives of people in Canada in those instances when the railroad relinquished its status as a symbol of progress and malfunctioned to create the conditions of disaster.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 are two of the most striking images of the railroad and its technologies. Copyrighted in 1910 by Byron Harmon, the images depict a snow plough

²² The figures provided in Chapter 2 give an illustration of the proportion of photographs depicting the railroad contained within the Colonial Copyright Collection, though the total (155) is an estimate due to the blurring of subject boundaries as explained in Chapter 2.

²³ It had fallen victim to a substantial amount of over enthusiasm of investment and many prospectors had built railroads on the assumption that markets could be developed without leaving the time or the finance to allow this to occur. In short, many line investments were fundamentally short sighted. Stevens, *Canadian National Railways: Volume 1*

²⁴ Significant social and geographical impacts included increased migration, settlement of the North West territories, the expansion of agricultural production and the increased exploitation of mineral resources. See; Cobb, M. and Duffy, D. (1981), "'A Picture of Prosperity': The British Columbia Interior in Promotional Photography, 1890 – 1914" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 142 – 156); Harris, *The Reluctant Land* (especially, p. 356 – 57), Osborne, "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual"; and, Stevens, *Canadian National Railways: Volume 1 & Volume 2*



Figure 4.1: “Rotary Snow Plow, Number 1”. Copyright Byron Harmon, 1910
(Copyright Number 22136, Mounted Print, 170 x 115mm)



Figure 4.2: “Rotary Snow, Plow Number 2”. Copyright Byron Harmon, 1910
(Copyright Number 22137, Mounted Print, 160 x 90mm)

that operated clearing the mountain pass railroads and services around Banff, Alberta.²⁵ The images convey a sense of the majesty of the scene and force of the machine, as the plough surges on through Canada's winter terrain forcing it to relinquish the stranglehold it attempts to place on the landscape and Canada's arteries of communication. Compelled by steam and mechanical power the plough forces its way through drifts (Figure 4.1) and avalanches (Figure 4.2) in order to clear a path for subsequent locomotives. The billows of steam and the arching plume of snow that erupts from the front of the engine communicate to the viewer the unstoppable progress of the locomotive and the plough. The message of the image is clear. The engine will progress without impediment, the locomotive will run on time and, despite the vicious Canadian winter, the country will not hibernate: it will keep moving.

Harmon's images articulate two key iconographic themes. The first is a narrative of progress. The railway and the locomotive are powerful icons of modernity, not due solely to their mechanical nature but also to the way the mechanics of the railroad and, especially, the locomotive are harnessed. The railroad and the locomotive always progress, the movement of the engine is, as near as possible, constant, due to the work of the surveyor, the engineer and the labourer in levelling the landscape and laying the track to provide the least possible impediment to the engine as it steams across the country. As a result the locomotive surges on across the landscape, linking places and vastly reducing what were once astonishing distances.²⁶ In these images the railroad and its machinery is also seen to be physically removing the snow that various historians depict as smothering the landscape, therefore, conquering Canada's great physical and meteorological adversary.²⁷ In such imagery the railroad was an exemplar of contemporary ideas of what it was to be 'modern'; modernity was progress and progress was linear. Through the lens of Harmon in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 we see these notions clearly communicated. Banff is part of a modern and powerful nation, one where the pulse of industry is not slackened and where progress through the application of technology is seemingly constant.

²⁵ Byron Harmon was primarily a 'druggist' (pharmacist) and photographer who ran his photography business from his pharmacy in the town of Banff, Alberta. Details from Phillips, G. C. (1997), *The Western Canada Photographers List (1860 – 1925)*, London, Ont.: Iron Gate Publishing Co.

²⁶ After the completion of the trans-continental railroads in the United States and Canada the time it took to cross from one ocean to the other was reduced from months to around a week.

²⁷ Berton, *The National Dream and The Last Spike*; Harris, *The Reluctant Land*

The ubiquity of snow in these images provides the second point in this discussion. In Harmon's images snow is everywhere, overwhelming the landscape and dwarfing the people placed in it. The photographer has gone to great lengths to communicate this in Figure 4.2, deploying a wide angle lens, panoramic film and considerable technical expertise to emphasise the scale of the task at hand for the indefatigable machine toiling at its centre. Canada's geography and climate, despite being the bearers of many virtues, were seen as the major factors in impeding its growth and economic success.²⁸ In the introduction to Berton's *The National Dream*, Canada's winter snow is deployed rhetorically in order to communicate a nation in hibernation and even bondage, restrained from achieving its goals by the conditions that smothered its interior for a third of the year.²⁹ Snow is still perceived as an obstacle today, its annual fall across the country bringing out a hastily mobilised militia of shovel bearing home owners and snow removal contractors in the cities and the countryside to engage in a contest of attrition with each new dump of snow.

It is the relationship between Canada, its citizens and the snow that informs the perspective portrayed through Harmon's images of the snow plough in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. In these images the plough is an agent of change and of progress. The force of steam and the irresistibility of the plough drive the snow from the line, clearing depots and reopening passes that once would have been closed to all travellers both before the railroad and in the early days of locomotive travel. As the indefatigable engine forces its way through the overwhelmed valley in Figure 4.2 the message is just as forcible: Canada has not only drawn in its spaces and increased its openness, it has conquered the elements. Such imaginative geographies of the landscape were influential not just in Canada, but in many other colonial projects of settlement, national development and industrialisation more broadly.³⁰

²⁸ See, Berton, *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*; Harris, R. C. (1991), *Canada Before Confederation: a Study in Historical Geography*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press; Harris, *The Reluctant Land*; and, Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art"

²⁹ Berton, *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*, pp. 16 – 18

³⁰ Foster, "Capturing and Losing the 'Lie of the Land'"; Kennedy, D. (1996), *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*, University of California Press; Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art"



Figure 4.3: "First Passenger Train to Leave Prince Rupert to Mile 100, June 14th, 1911".

Copyright Fred Button, 1912

(Copyright Number 25535, Mounted Print, 140 x 85mm)

The narrative of progress, both national and technological, is continued in another branch of railroad photography contained in the collection and evidenced here by Figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5. Figure 4.3 was taken in order to commemorate the opening of the railroad that linked Prince Rupert to the Grand Trunk Pacific line. It depicts the first passenger train to leave the Prince Rupert depot on June 14th 1911 and shows the train steaming along with its passengers in comfort. Button's image is striking both as a celebration of the opening of the railroad and for the composition it adopts in order to portray the event. In the image we see the train steaming off into the mountains, forests and wilderness of British Columbia and the juxtaposition of the locomotive, its carriages and the landscape deserves further consideration.

The landscape that surrounds the train in Figure 4.3 is rugged, even imposing, the woods are thick and the mountains are tall. It is the sort of landscape that has been perceived as a barrier to travellers and settlers alike since Canada was first settled. Yet now a channel has been cut, the gravel, wood and iron of the railroad wind through the landscape on the most gentle of inclines, carrying passengers across the landscape with ease. A landscape that was once a barrier and would have appeared as imposing as a result is now a backdrop, a pleasant vista to the passengers sat in utmost comfort on the back of the train. In a landscape where once sturdy boots, adequate supplies and the strength to carry all you needed were required, now a comfy suit and a hat to keep out the sun are all that is needed for a successful journey. In Button's image, the railroad is a highway of civility, linking the hubs of civilisation, through the sprawling wilderness. Such compositions are not rare among photographs of the railroad and were used to great effect by many in the promotion of the railroad and the implicit taming of the landscape. One example of this is the photography of William Henry Jackson, which was used to promote the Baltimore and Ohio Railway at the Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition, in 1893.³¹ As such, this image can be seen to be part of an intense mechanism of promotion for the railroad which had a developed and ideologically significant visual style.

³¹ Brown, J. K. (2000), "The Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Displays: Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, 1893" in *History of Photography* (24: 155 – 162)

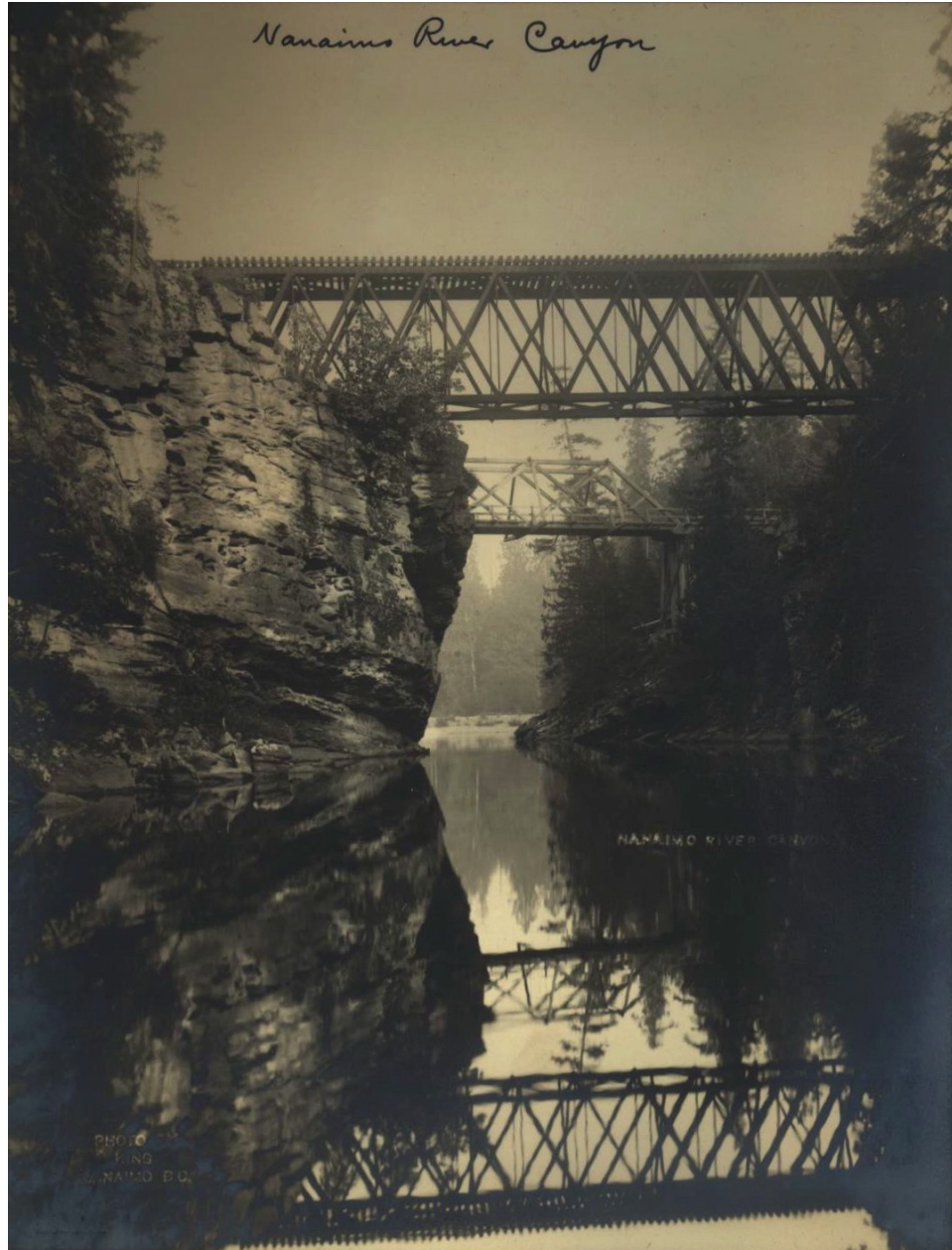


Figure 4.4: “Nanaimo River Canyon”. Copyright Howard H. King, 1907
(Copyright Number 19017, Mounted Print, 240 x 185mm)



Figure 4.5: “Panoramic view of the Canadian Pacific Railway viaduct, at Lethbridge, Alberta”. Copyright A. Rafton-Canning, 1909
(Copyright Number 22343, Panoramic Print, 950 x 350mm)

Figures 4.4 and 4.5 are striking examples of how these paths were cut and they nuance the relationship between the landscape and the railroad further. King's image of the railroad bridge crossing the Nanaimo canyon and Rafton-Canning's image of the dramatic Lethbridge Canadian Pacific Railroad viaduct are examples of how the boundaries of geography and nature were perceived as being conquered by feats of engineering and the appliance of technology. The gorge in Figure 4.4 and the valley in Figure 4.5 are obstacles in two ways, as the gorge represents a barrier to progress and the valley represents an impediment to efficiency. Figure 4.4 photographs the bridge and the canyon from the level of the river, accentuating the size of the cavern cut by the river and the relief of its walls. Further, the trees that bound it and loom in over the shot accentuate the characteristics of the bridge. It is an artery through the wilderness and an exclamation that the railroad will not be deterred, even when the landscape is suddenly rent apart. The ability of the railroad to cross, mediate and tame even the most extreme parts of the Canadian landscape is celebrated in the image as the camera looks up in awe of the bridge across the expanse.

The image of the Lethbridge viaduct (Figure 4.5) depicts a monument of a different kind. While the bridge over the Nanaimo canyon (Figure 4.4) is depicted by the photographer as evidence of the ability of the railroad and Canada to transcend any boundary, the image of the Lethbridge viaduct is one that captures more than the scale of the endeavour involved in having the railroad traverse the canyon. It is also a statement about the technological expertise deployed in the name of efficiency, another aspect of capitalist modernity. Rafton-Canning's image captures the straightening and flattening of the landscape by the railroad and communicates this to the viewer in his gigantic reproduction of the scene.³² In this respect this image of the viaduct is a testament to the rationalising of the Canadian landscape as what was once a sloping, winding river valley has been overlain by sculpted, straight, flat lines in the name of efficiency for the locomotive. In iconographic terms, this has two effects; firstly, transcending geography's barriers asserts an undoing of the natural order with nature now subservient to society's needs and overwritten by its constructions, an endeavour

³² The image itself is actually 950mm long, a staggering reproduction for the time (especially to submit for copyright).

underpinned by architectural and technical expertise.³³ Secondly, the production of a panorama further enforces the opening up of the landscape, as the panorama was, by this point, often deployed in order to symbolise the opening up of previously uninhabited spaces.³⁴ As a result, both visual effects combine to communicate that the landscape has been tamed and opened up; it no longer hinders human progress.

Together these five figures provide an entry point into the visual culture of the railroad during the period covered by the Colonial Copyright Collection. A significant proportion of the railway scenes deposited in the Collection highlight the civilising and taming of the landscape, contrasting the wild and inhospitable surroundings of the railroad with the straight, flat, uniformity of the railroad itself. In creating these juxtapositions and accentuating the civility (Figure 4.3) and irresistibility of the locomotive (Figures 4.1 and 4.2) the images create a narrative for Canada itself; a nation that can tame its rugged contours, bend them to its will, use them to its benefit and develop into a great power.

Commodities and collisions: the impact of the railroad on Canada's landscape

Significant as these generic visual tropes are, they only go so far in illuminating the image world represented within the Colonial Copyright Collection. The railroad's effects on space and place were not homogenous or ubiquitous and, as Harris points out, Canadian landscapes were constantly in the process of being reshaped to accommodate new pressures and endeavours.³⁵ Given its localised origins the Collection reflects more than just the narratives discussed above as the camera was turned on the railroad for all manner of reasons, not all of which were intended simply to celebrate the grandeur of

³³ Freeman discusses at length how the 'straightening' of the landscape was seen as a challenge to the agrarian ideal in Victorian England and how the work of the artist was deployed to render the effect more palatable within the new order of things: Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*, p. 221

³⁴ At least, structurally uninhabited by Europeans. Figure 4.5 has different meanings in the context of Native American habitation, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. For more on the reordering of the landscape by settler societies, in the broader North American context, see Daniels, *Fields of Vision*, p. 174

³⁵ Harris, *The Reluctant Land*

modern technology. In this section we consider the ways in which photography was used to promote the railroad and to depict the results of railway disaster.

Commodities

The camera played an essential role in the commercial promotion of the railway. Beyond acknowledging the grandeur of the achievement of the railroad, many Canadians had little experience of it and the railroad companies, at first, struggled to generate enough use of their tracks to justify the expense of their production and maintenance.³⁶ The railroad therefore had to promote itself to the public, generate interest and stimulate use. The following discussion focuses on how the railroad companies set about establishing a relationship with the public and the importance of the camera and the photograph in this project. This continued an established relationship, as the development of photography and the railroad drove each other forwards in the early days of both technologies, especially in Canada during the 1860s and 1870s.³⁷

In discussing the commercial significance of the railway, it is necessary to look beyond images of the railway *in situ*. Figure 4.6, for example, is a revealing image of the Canadian Northern Railroad Company permanent exhibit in Winnipeg, taken in 1912 by the Lyall Commercial Photo Company.³⁸ The exhibit, despite its small space, is spectacular, with trophies, trinkets and decorations adorning all the wall space and large sections of the floor space. It depicts a cross-section of the technologies, locomotives,

³⁶ In the early days of the railroad it was primarily used for the transport of bulky goods such as grain and lumber. While these materials provided a constant amount of custom, it was the transit of the public that was required to turn a large profit. Stevens, *Canadian National Railways: Volume 1 & Volume 2*

³⁷ In this context, the camera was important to the construction of the railroad (specifically in surveying the proposed path of a potential railroad). As a result of this, the rigours of using the camera in such a field stimulated the technical development and reliability of the camera and image production considerably. As Schwartz points out, “By the time the last spike was driven, advances in photographic technology had reduced the cumbrousness of equipment and the length of exposure.”; Schwartz, J. M. (1981), “The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858 – 1914” in *B. C. Studies* (52: p. 12). This is drawn out further in Birrell, A. (1981), “Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858 – 1900” in *B. C. Studies* (52: 39 – 60)

³⁸ Lyall’s were active in Winnipeg between 1910 and 1925 and represented one of Winnipeg’s main professional photographic companies. They photographed a variety of Winnipeg events and businesses during this time and employed various stock photographers. From; Phillips, *The Western Canada Photographers List (1860 – 1925)*



Figure 4.6: “Section of the C.N.R. Exhibit, at the Winnipeg Permanent Exposition”.

Copyright Lyall Commercial Photo Co., 1912

(Copyright Number 25424, Mounted Print, 205 x 145mm)

sites and commodities that are linked together and brought into Canada by the Canadian Northern Railroad. The pictures on the walls depict the company's famous locomotives and some of the sights of the route (such as the Pacific coast), while on the wall hang the trophies from hunting opportunities (predominantly Moose and Deer) opened up by the railroad's branches. On the floor and the lower walls too are statements of what the Canadian Northern Railroad brings to Canada, in the form of agricultural produce and even alcoholic beverages. The sheer abundance of these products in the exhibit makes the claim that the Canadian Northern is a gatekeeper to the agricultural plenty of Canada's North West.³⁹

The composition of the photograph and the decision to create such an exhibition also deserve further comment here. Forty years previously the landscape covered by the railroad was untouched by commercial development, but by 1912 its spaces and produce were being represented in and transported through Winnipeg as the effects of the railroad were felt. Further, animals that were once wild in this untamed landscape were now placed on the walls as trophy-commodities, icons of nature's untapped potential in the north. The same can be said of the other products pictured in Figure 4.6, all harvested, branded and organised in order to be sold (symbolically) elsewhere in Canada or even the world. The exhibit is a symbol of what has happened to the wild spaces surrounding the railroad. They have not only been tamed by its rationalising effect, through it they have been changed into commodities, products packaged for export and sale. This binding of the landscape to a corporate enterprise has parallels with the depiction of Timothy Eaton's Toronto, as discussed in the previous chapter. Here too was a landscape rearticulated for the purposes of a business and a brand. In the case of the Canadian Northern Railroad exhibition, we see the landscape articulated to express the control and opportunity extended by the company, as well as to promote the sale of its produce. As in the case study of *Toronto, Album of Views*, the identity of the photographer is unknown, asserting that these are corporate productions and imaginations.

³⁹ Mackenzie and Mann (the founders of the Canadian Northern Rail System) originally founded the line after developing an awareness of the agricultural possibilities of the prairie and realising that there was profit to be made in providing a means of transport for this material to the rest of Canada. Regehr, T. H. (1976) *The Canadian Northern Railway: Pioneer Road of the Northern Prairies, 1895-1918*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada



Figure 4.7: “Bull Moose Swimming”, “Bull Moose Pursued by Canoe”, “Canoe Man Stepping on Back of Bull” and “Canoe Man Dropping onto Back of Bull”.

Copyright Canadian Northern Railway Company, 1914

(Copyright Numbers 28254 – 28257, Un-mounted Prints, 160x115mm)

Figure 4.7 too was taken in order to promote an image of the Canadian Northern Railway, but its focus and delivery are somewhat different. Depicting two men pursuing and then riding a Bull Moose across a lake, at first appears an unlikely vehicle for the promotion of a railroad. Indeed, the only initial clue to its purpose is that the copyright to the image is owned by the Canadian Northern Railway Company. Once considered in this context, the aim of the photograph is clearer, suggesting that it has been produced and copyrighted as a result of its promotional value. The image depicts two men pursuing their quarry across an open wilderness, vast, empty and no longer inaccessible. Now that the railway has opened up a passage it is a place of prospect, full of bountiful hunting opportunities to be exploited. As the animals and plants discussed in the Winnipeg image have been re-appropriated from characters of the wilderness into commodities bound to the urban centre so here the camera is rearticulating the northern wilderness into a leisure space that is now accessible via the railroad. The image offers the viewer a taste of the opportunities for hunting and exploration in these spaces, where even the most bizarre adventures can be catered for. This point is driven home further by other images produced by the railroad company that bear titles such as, “A Good Day’s Haul” and “Up to the Limit” and depict hunters struggling to carry their quarry home.

By considering these more evidently commercial images we gain another perspective on the relationship between the railroad and the camera in twentieth century Canada. While the images discussed in the previous section celebrated railroad technology, here we see the camera being used to articulate and promote the railway and the landscapes surrounding it as commodities. Figure 4.6 is almost a shrine dedicated to the railroad and its produce: progress through technology is still the theme, but the exhibit has converted it into tangible qualities that the public can discern. In these images, the focus is not the abstract qualities or aesthetic associations of the locomotive and the railroad itself; the focus is how the railroad is benefiting Canada and providing opportunities by opening up fertile land and hunting grounds that make it more productive. The images and the exhibit, viewed as advertisements, assert that Canada is being driven forward by the railroad, becoming more modern, more productive and using its land more positively. Further, it asserts that the land and its produce are there for the taking. Technology, in the form of both the camera and the railroad, has practically and visually

turned the wild into a commodity, the wilderness into a tourist destination. All one needs to do is use the railroad to reach it.

However, these images, viewed in the context of their dates (1912 and 1914 respectively), evidence something else about the Canadian Northern Railways System. Despite the enthusiasm that had greeted the railroad and its operators since the completion of the trans-continental line, many, including the Canadian Northern, were not actually delivering on their proposed financial potential. While the photographs and public image of the railroad portrayed it as unstoppable, many of its branches had in fact over-extended their reach and were running their owners into bankruptcy.⁴⁰ Indeed, despite the Canadian Northern's best attempts to promote use by the public it was, by 1914, running on empty and by 1916 it would be bankrupt and in need of nationalisation. The bankruptcy of Canadian Northern and many other national rail network owners was a major crisis for the Canadian government and resulted in the buying of major shares in the rail network and taking the lines under their own maintenance, creating a nationalised system that still operates today.⁴¹ In covering this particular period and presenting many views of the railroad, the Colonial Copyright Collection might be said to evidence the volatility of railway investment as much as the triumph of the railroad in early twentieth-century Canada.

Collisions

“To invent the train is *to invent the rail accident* of derailment.”⁴²

The relationship between the accident and technology is a well-discussed field.⁴³ A dominant theme is the assertion that the ‘acceptability’ of new mechanical technology (objects that bestow, speed, power, force, etc) is underpinned by the ability to pass off

⁴⁰ Dorin, P. C. (1975), *The Canadian National Railways' Story*, Seattle: Superior Publishing Co.

⁴¹ Nationalisation began in 1918 and the system expanded until 1925, when it reached a stable state and ceased taking over bankrupt lines. See Dorin, *The Canadian National Railways' Story*; Stevens, *Canadian National Railways: Volume 2*; Regehr, *The Canadian Northern Railway*

⁴² Virilio, P. (2007, trans. Rose, J.), *The Original Accident*, London: Polity, p. 10

⁴³ Aldrich, M. (2006), *Death Rode the Rails: American Railroad Accidents and Safety, 1828 – 1965*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press; Featherstone, M. et al (eds.) (2004), *Automobilities*, London: Sage; Schnapp, J. T. (1999), “Crash (Speed as Engine of Individuation)” in *Modernism/Modernity* (6: 1 – 49); and, Virilio, *The Original Accident*, as a selection of examples.

the ‘accident’ as just that, an aberration; a far from normal occurrence.⁴⁴ According to the view of Virilio and others, however, the invention of technology is in actual fact also the invention of its accidents. As a result, the attempt simply to suppress the inevitability of the accident is indicative of a desire to mask the duality of modernity; the potential for both unbridled progress and disastrous crashes.⁴⁵ This is a theme that has been hinted at in the preceding discussion. In spite of the boosterism surrounding the railroad the technology was in reality, fragile, partial and carried the potential for catastrophic financial and physical derailment.⁴⁶

The Colonial Copyright Collection provides a lens through which we can perceive various sorts of understandings, positive and negative, about the railroad. The following section focuses on two sets of images submitted for copyright after significant accidents on the rail network and uses them to investigate perceptions of the darker, often hidden, side of the railroad. My perception of these images is influenced by Marshall Berman’s argument in *All That is Solid Melts Into Air*, where he asserts that ‘modernism’, as a concept, embraces a wide variety of projects to get to grips with the experience of modernisation.⁴⁷ In this perspective it is possible to see photography as a means of getting to grips with a new technological modernity that was bringing both benefits and hazards into Canadian lives.

The images that comprise the focus of this section were taken at the site of two major train wrecks, in two different places and by two different photographers. While the context (what the trains were carrying) and situation (where they occurred) of these accidents differed, both occurred when the rail network was expanding again nationally. The first set of images are William Gillespie’s photographs of a train wreck near the settlement of Azilda, Ontario. The Azilda wreck was a collision between two trains consisting of freight and passengers outside Azilda in September, 1906 and it stimulated

⁴⁴ Featherstone (2004), “An Introduction” in Featherstone et al (eds), *Automobilities*, London: Sage, p. 3

⁴⁵ Featherstone et al, *Automobilities*

⁴⁶ Freeman gives a good account of how the image and text were mobilised in Victorian England to promote the railroad and calm safety concerns. The imageries developed by artists during these campaigns form the basis of much subsequent railway imagery. Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*,

⁴⁷ Berman, M. (1988, orig. 1982), “Penguin Preface: *The Broad and Open Way*”, in *All That is Solid Melts Into Air*, London: Penguin, p. 1



Figure 4.8: "Azilda Wreck, No. 1". Copyright William G. Gillespie, 1906
(Copyright Number 17685, Mounted Print, 200 x 155mm)



Figure 4.9: "Azilda Wreck, No. 10". Copyright William G. Gillespie, 1906
(Copyright Number 17688, Mounted Print, 200 x 155mm)

considerable local interest.⁴⁸ Figure 4.8 illustrates the scale of the incident. The discussion here centres especially on Figure 4.9, which depicts a large number of individuals (including children) attending the site in order to view the accident and subsequently posing for their portrait in front of the wrecked locomotives.

It is the size of this crowd that interests me predominantly, as a substantial proportion of what is still a small community turn out in order to view the spectacle that has unfolded just outside of town. Theorists of the crash have argued extensively that the public act of crowding and viewing the accident is an expression of “eye hunger”, where the dynamics of the crowd accentuate the visual stimulus at the “spectacular centre”.⁴⁹ In the context of these images, the locomotive wreck forms a spectacular centre to the scene; an awe-inspiring object in a condition rarely seen. Similarly, the crowd are present in order to view the spectacular event and the presence of children in the scene serves to underscore the idea of their being a sort of “eye hunger” indulged in this scene as the object is divorced of some of its horrors and rendered acceptable, into a pure spectacle, for a child to see. However, while the lure of the spectacle is evident it is important to consider what the spectacle represents: the crowd too is witnessing the scene in order to make sense of the event, and one needs to understand what it means for them and what they think of the collision of these two gargantuan objects. Similarly, the photographer is present in order to document the spectacle of the accident, but also to deploy a tool and produce a product that helps subsequent viewers to make sense of this accident.

What has brought the photographer and this small town together is the need to understand a new type of event, to perceive the danger of something promoted as so safe and unstoppable. The photographer, as a result, captures not just the scene of an accident but the site of an investigation, where people are making sense of an object that has changed all their lives, since Azilda was made into a place by the presence of the railroad, but that now represents a new and previously unperceived danger. These images remind us that the railroad was not just significantly re-forging spaces on the

⁴⁸ Incidentally, the settlement is still known for its train accident even today and it is recorded extensively in online local histories.

⁴⁹ See, Littau, K (2003), “Eye Hunger: Physical Pleasure and Non-Narrative Camera” in Arthurs, J. and Grant, I. (eds), *Crash Cultures*, Bristol: Intellect, pp. 35 – 51

frontiers but it was also remaking long-established settlements, as noted in Chapter 3, where the impact of the railroad on the relative economic significance of Victoria and Vancouver was highlighted.⁵⁰ In the case of Azilda, the space has also been re-made as one of potential danger, a concept at odds with the boosterist narratives discussed above.

The potential of this danger is depicted more strikingly in Figures 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12, which reproduce images from the Enterprise train disaster. This accident occurred in Enterprise, Ontario in June, 1903, when a train ferrying artillery across country was derailed into the town itself. What is intriguing about these images is the vivid contrast between them and the images of the rotary snow plough and passenger trains in Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. As discussed above, the overall message from these images is one of uninhibited progress, as the locomotive steams on across rugged terrain. Figures 4.10 through 4.12 are the exact opposite of this, providing a riposte to what exactly happens when an unstoppable force is halted.

In the eighteen images which photographer Harriett Amelia May took of the Enterprise derailment, the explosion of material is the predominant theme. The images communicate to the viewer where all the speed and momentum of the locomotive go during the incident of derailment, flinging the carriages and their contents in all directions away from the confinement and order of the railway line itself. Figure 4.10 captures the scale of the devastation and communicates the attempt to take in what has happened, as a sole military officer stands on the wreck, surveying the scene. May's images are also a statement of what the image that celebrates the railroad necessarily omits, that this new technology brings unprecedented dangers to personal, intimate spaces, as well as opening up previously unobtainable benefits and riches from the frontiers.

Figure 4.12 provides the most striking evidence of this. The images produced by Harmon (Figures 4.1 and 4.2) and Button (Figure 4.3), as well as many famous railroad

⁵⁰ This is with regard to the waning predominance of Victoria in British Columbia, as the coming of the railroad to Vancouver created new economic geographies; see Chapter 3. The politics of this is discussed in; Gregson, H. (1970), *A History of Victoria, 1842 – 1970*, Victoria: Victoria Observer Publishing Co. Ltd



Figure 4.10: “The wreck of the artillery train at Enterprise, Ontario, June 9, 1903 (Number 8)”. Copyright Harriett Amelia May, 1903
(Copyright Number 14100, Mounted Print, 170 x 120mm)



Figure 4.11: “The wreck of the artillery train at Enterprise, Ontario, June 9, 1903 (Number 7)”. Copyright Harriett Amelia May, 1903
(Copyright Number 14100, Mounted Print, 170 x 120mm)



Figure 4.12: “The wreck of the artillery train at Enterprise, Ontario, June 9, 1903 (Number 10)”. Copyright Harriett Ameila May, 1903 (Copyright Number 14100, Mounted Print, 170 x 120mm)

photographers from later in the twentieth century,⁵¹ portray the domain of the railroad, its sphere of influence, predominantly as the spaces between places (that is, the natural world of forests and mountain passes). However, in Figure 4.12 May draws out the dangers of the intersection of the train with urban space and human lives. When the train acts on and within a natural setting (as in Figures 4.1 through 4.3) the interaction between machine and natural world is depicted as being without human danger, the locomotive progresses constantly and nature stands (or is moved, in the case of Figures 4.1 and 4.2) out of its way. But in Figure 4.12 the locomotive has come smashing into the homes of those families who live in Enterprise, it has shattered the everyday rhythm of the place and has violently deposited its machinery and cargo into a place where it should not be. The result of this is danger, to the depicted family and to the running of their lives. While the subjects in Figure 4.12 are obviously posed after the event (as the family stand to have their portrait taken in their Sunday best, surveying the scene of the accident), it still communicates how horrifying the few confused moments of the event must have been.

It is the disjuncture caused by the invasion of the railroad into everyday life that poses questions here. It forces the viewer to consider the inherent dangers of technology that Virilio discussed at length almost a century after this event. The central arguments in Virilio's work, *The Original Accident*, are, firstly, that you cannot invent the machine without also inventing its inherent dangers and, therefore, the accident itself.⁵² And secondly, that the full potential of technology's inherent dangers are realised when the technology is placed in close proximity to, or intersects with, the general public.⁵³ It is these two themes that the population of Enterprise are trying to understand and the photography attempts to communicate in the production of these photographs. In so doing, they assert (after the accident has revealed) that the characteristics of the railroad articulated and promoted by the images of the railroad in Figures 4.1 through 4.3 and the bounties of the railroad depicted in Figures 4.6 and 4.7 are not all that technology actually brings. Instead, these images (along with the chequered commercial history of the railroad boom) remind us that there is a politics of omission in imagery intended to

⁵¹ See, as an example, the work of Richard Steinheimer on the North American railroad; Steinheimer, R. and Brouws, J. (2004), *A Passion for Trains: The Railroad Photography of Richard Steinheimer*, London: W. W. Norton and Co.

⁵² Virilio, *The Original Accident*, p. 5

⁵³ Virilio, *The Original Accident*, p. 70

promote the railroad. Theorists of the accident from Virilio to Beckmann would assert this is intended to mask the inherently unsettling nature of the accident and promote the acceptability of the technology.⁵⁴

In this way, the railroad images contained in the Colonial Copyright Collection, when taken as a whole, can be read as attempts to understand the varied characteristics of the iron horse and its effects, both positive and negative. While those in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 communicate the irresistibility of the locomotive and the image in Figure 4.6 illustrates its potential bounty, the images produced by May in Figures 4.10 through 4.12 are an attempt to articulate the railroad's inherent dangers and their destructive affect on the lives of those whose path it crosses. Essentially then, what we see in all of these images is an attempt by Canadians to grasp the multi-faceted effects of rapid modernisation since confederation and the subsequent opening of the trans-continental railroad. It is particularly fitting then, that these visions of modernity should be constructed through the lens of the camera, a machine that offers the possibility of infinite reproducibility.

The accidents and their documentation that have formed the subject of this section are not used here in order to discredit the images discussed in the previous sections or to frame them as 'untrue'. Instead, they are used to nuance these more celebratory images and to establish a relationship between the triumphant, promotional and warning sets of images in the light of arguments made by Virilio and others concerning technology and accidents. The defining characteristic of the Colonial Copyright Collection also reminds us that all these images are potential commodities in which individuals have invested time and money. Both sets of images reflect not just a fascination with the railroad and its puncturing and reordering of spaces, but also an attempt in principle to capitalise on it. While the images depict different locomotives, different lines and were produced by different photographers, together they combine to form a collage of the 'substance' of the railroad itself. In this sense, the Collection allows us to perceive photographers and publics grappling with the notion communicated by Virillio, that accidents should not be seen as 'exceptionalities' but rather as 'eventualities', something that is pre-ordained to happen by virtue of the characteristics of technology.⁵⁵ In turn, the Collection's

⁵⁴ See, Virilio, *The Original Accident*; and, Beckmann, J. (2004), "Mobility and Safety" in Featherstone et al (eds), *Automobilites*, London: Sage, pp. 81 – 100

⁵⁵ Virilio, *The Original Accident*, p. 70

railroad images as a whole present a reflection upon the price paid for technological progress across Canada's landscapes as a whole. Through the multiplicity of views, we see modernism in action.⁵⁶

Conclusions: the collage of the railroad

Between 1895 and 1924, the national landscape and imaginative geography of Canada underwent marked change. As the railroads traversed the vast distances of the continent and obliterated its obstacles, cities became more closely linked together, settlements sprang up and the six confederate territories coalesced together to form one, increasingly independent, nation. With these changes came other developments, as Canada shifted from being a settler nation to one underpinned by its metropolitan spaces and ideals. Networks of radio, electricity and other modern advances also sprung up, largely using the railway and the paths it cut as their guides between cities.⁵⁷

Alongside this came changes in the perception of Canada's landscape. The once unruly and overbearing force of nature was increasingly transformed into a commodity. As a result, Canada's natural wildernesses were being re-packaged and re-branded for integration into Canada's and the global economy, turning once inhospitable places into landscapes of opportunity for wealth and leisure; an absolute expression of human control over nature. However, this process was partial and uneven, meaning national, regional and local spaces and Canadians themselves had to adapt in a multitude of ways.⁵⁸ Further, the railroad also brought the risk of crisis and hazard, most violently represented at the scenes of great railway disasters.

The Colonial Copyright Collection offers a variety of ways of visualising these changes in the material and imaginative geographies of Canadian railway development. The images discussed in the first section of this Chapter evoke the power of the railroad and

⁵⁶ Taking the definition given in Berman, *All That is Solid Melts Into Air*, p. 1

⁵⁷ The economic networks set up by individuals such as Timothy Eaton and the impact this had on Canada's perception of itself, as discussed in Chapter 3, are illustration of the significance of these networks. Also see; Charland, "Technological Nationalism"

⁵⁸ Harris, *The Reluctant Land*

its ability to reshape the Canadian landscape.⁵⁹ The images in the next section are more self-consciously commercial, promoting railway investment and use. They indicate the insufficiency of the imagery of technological mastery to sustain the railway boom: what was also required were money and passengers. Finally, the images of accidents discussed in the final section bring the other side of railway development into full view, enabling others to imagine and memorialise the experience of disaster. In all these cases, photographic imagery was not only the means of representing these geographies of progress and crisis, it was also in itself a form of investment. The fact that the raw materials of these points of view – the photographs themselves – were made locally, and their copyright protected by local photographers across Canada, gives a ‘bottom up’ perspective on the public imagination of the railroad.⁶⁰ These images, like the railway itself, were meant for circulation.

⁵⁹ See Figure 4.3 for example.

⁶⁰ This is in contrast to accounts such as Berton, *The National Dream and the Last Spike*; and, Charland, “Technological Nationalism”. Both these accounts focus on the highest level of the formation of railroad policy and culture (businesses, governments and national broadcast networks)

CHAPTER 5

Canada by Postcard: Views Over the Land

The previous chapters have looked at the insights to be gained from situating photographs of cities, communication and technology in the wider context of Canadian society and culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While these chapters have made some reference to the circuits and institutions which supported the production of such imagery, they have not considered any specific form of circulation in detail. This chapter will redress this by focussing on the postcard – a commodity whose development had significant consequences for the photograph and its markets in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The postcard is an exemplary material form of the period, providing a cheap, easy and visually stimulating means of communicating across a rapidly globalising world. It thus had a significant impact on the contents of the Colonial Copyright Collection. The coming of the postcard provided photographers with a distinct reason for copyrighting their work and made it financially sensible to do so.

In the literature on the history of the postcard, the first twenty years of the twentieth century are often referred to as the ‘golden age’ of the popularity of the medium.¹ By this point the postcard came in a huge variety of forms, from the kinds of cards we still know today to intricate, embroidered structures that could be shaped to stand on a dresser. Postcard imagery also contained a plethora of photographic, cartographic and hand-illustrated subjects, serving an international and voracious consumer market.² While this golden age represented a high point in the international consumption of the postcard, the medium itself came into being through developments that had been in process since the middle of the nineteenth century. Firstly, steam ships, railways, telegraphs, postal reform and many other developments hastened the rate and efficiency of the movement of people and things across the whole of the globe. This created the market and some of the distributive mechanisms for the postcard. The development of ever more efficient printing technology, eventually allied with the mechanical reproduction of images provided by the photographic camera, paved the way for the postcard to become a cheap and visually stimulating means of communication. Indeed, in places where developments in the field of postal regulations and printing advanced

¹ Staff, F. (1979, 2nd Ed.), *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, London: Lutterworth Press, p. 8

² Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*; Woody, H. (1998), “International Postcards: Their History, Production and Distribution (Circa 1895 – 1915)” in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 13 – 45

more quickly, such as Germany, it was already a fashionable and exciting means of communication by the late 1880s. The postcard had started to become internationally popular as early as the 1890s, meaning that the medium was popular and prevalent, in global terms, throughout the time period covered by the Colonial Copyright Collection (1895 – 1924). As in the rest of the world, Canada was not immune from this communicative craze. By the beginning of the twentieth century the postcard was an established consumer taste across the nation.

This chapter aims to consider the relationship of the postcard to Canada's visual economy and, by extension, its significance within the specific context of the Colonial Copyright Collection. The main focus is on how the visual image on the surface of the card communicated ideas about people and places across the nation and indeed beyond. Given the lack of written information on the specific examples of cards under study (the Colonial Copyright deposits were made by the copyrighter and therefore have not themselves been used for correspondence), the focus here is on potential rather than actual use. The chapter will consider how the image on the card functions to communicate messages about place while also considering the ways in which the postcard was a vehicle for the transformation of the visual economy of the nation, as the prevalence of mass produced, affordable images was still a relatively new phenomenon.

The chapter is organised into three substantive sections. The first will provide a brief account of the historical context of the emergence of the postcard as a mass communication medium. The aim of this section is to illustrate how the postcard was both born of and represented nineteenth-century technological modernity, sustaining an effective visual economy and communicating images of place and landscape. There follows a discussion of the specific significance of the medium of the postcard for the contents of the Colonial Copyright Collection. This section will consider the Canadian postcard material found in the Collection, illustrating how the popularity of the postcard affected the Canadian photographic archive as it now exists in the British Library. Within this discussion and the case study that forms the subsequent section, the materiality of the image will receive particular attention. This is significant as the material form of the postcard affected the communicability of the photograph while also affecting the production and material development of many of the images found in the

collection. By engaging with this materiality it is possible to discern the place of the postcard within the collection.³

The final section of the chapter provides a case study of a substantial deposit of aerial photograph postcards. These images were produced by the Bishop-Barker Co., a firm set up by Canadian pilots after the First World War. This section will discuss the role of the postcard in circulating new views and ideas as well as expressing and communicating the modernity of Canada in the twentieth century. In examining the images produced by the Bishop-Barker Co. the case study will illustrate how the consumer appetite for a constantly updated market of postcard images drove photographers and postcard manufacturers to great lengths to find new views. The study will also consider how the postcard became embedded in larger social networks and events as a material souvenir and how this too facilitated the development of new imaginative understandings of the landscape and Canadian national identity. In this context, looking at aerial photographs produced by the Bishop-Barker Co. for the Canadian National Exhibition will illustrate how the postcard was used to articulate and circulate novel ideas and perspectives to a wide audience.

Contextualising the postcard

Asa Briggs has noted that the postcard is an exemplary object from the material world of the Victorians - and more especially the late Victorians.⁴ The object is illustrative of a material world more intense and visually stimulating than those which preceded it, as well as a world of increasingly globalised knowledge and information flows.⁵

³ Relevant here is the discussion of the materiality of the collection, in Chapters 1 and 2, and especially the work of Edwards and Hart; Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), "Introduction: Photographs as Objects" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 1 – 15; Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), "Mixed Box: the Cultural Biography of a Box of 'Ethnographic' Photographs" in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 47 – 61

⁴ Briggs, A. (2003, 4th edition), *Victorian Things*, London: Sutton Publishing.

⁵ In this respect one might note, despite the contextual differences, the overlap between Briggs's arguments and those of Deborah Poole. While Poole discusses the Andean image world and Briggs the Victorian material world there is an emphasis in both upon how the increasing mechanisation of production (material and visual) affected the perception of various publics of the worlds around them. Briggs, *Victorian Things*; Poole, D. (1997), *Vision, Race and*

The history of the postcard during this period highlights some of the technical and societal developments which were also shaping the visual economy of Canada and by extension the activities of photographers who deposited material in the Colonial Copyright Collection. Postcards circulated around an increasingly dynamic global consumer network, became enmeshed and embedded in the lives of all aspects of society and continued to influence consumer cultures and everyday life well into (and beyond) the twentieth century.

The postcard was not a new invention in the late nineteenth-century. Rather, it evolved through centuries of writing habits, paper printing developments and various postal reforms.⁶ One crucial development in the pre-history of the modern postcard was the increased popularity of the ‘court carte’ (short card) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the postal reforms of 1840, where the penny post was introduced and regular, personal, written correspondence became a practical reality for an increased body of consumers, these ‘court’ sized cards provided the dimensions and templates for the pre-paid and increasingly (between 1850 and 1890) decorative short correspondence cards that gained popularity under a cheaper postal system.⁷ The postal reforms of 1840 also created a market for decorated envelopes as postal regulations (to different extents across Europe and the Americas) now allowed the decoration of the front of the penny post envelopes. Markets were produced globally for the decorated envelope as the relaxation of regulation in countries such as Germany allowed the development of a huge printing industry geared towards the short card that would eventually evolve into the modern postcard. The dynamism of this industry, its production of various high quality scenes and use of the most modern postal and travel technology of the age, created not just a European market for the attractive cards, but a global one.⁸ These networks of material circulation, corporate ingenuity, international competition and global product demand were defining characteristics of the nineteenth century that would continue into the twentieth. By the 1880s the form of the postcard

Modernity: a Visual Economy of the Andean Image World, Chichester: Princeton University Press

⁶ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p. 8

⁷ See, Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*; Willoughby, M. (1992), *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, Singapore: Studio Editions; Woody, “International Postcards”

⁸ Woody, “International Postcards”

(albeit with the writing on the front) had been largely established and by the 1890s postcards were available and popular in most European cities.⁹

Continual internal pressure meant that most major European and North American governments (including Britain and America) had allowed the private printing of postcards by 1895 and, with the growth of the tourist industry and the continuance of emigration from many European states to New World colonies, by this point there was a considerable popular market to be exploited by the postcard producers.¹⁰ There was also more than enough capital available to encourage innovation in printing and a voracious exploration for new and unique views of places to sell to the consuming public. This appetite was all the more easily catered for as photographic printing onto postcards, directly, became possible after 1902.¹¹

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century there were some important developments in the photographic and printing equipment available to the local photographer in many corners of the world. An exemplar of this is the *No. 3 Folding Pocket Kodak*, the first model of which was released for sale in 1900 and was produced until 1914. The *No. 3* was a small, portable camera (with dimensions of 3 ¾ and 4 ¼ inches) with limited (but always increasing) lens aperture and shutter speed adjustment capabilities and the ability to print the developed image directly onto a specially designed card that had a back laid out for posting as a postcard.¹² These sorts of technological developments, along with the increasing enthusiasm of the public for postcards that could be used as greetings cards, tourist mementoes or illustrations to friends and family back home of places visited,¹³ allowed the field of postcard production to be entered by the local, jobbing photographer, who could produce

⁹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*

¹⁰ Tourism is one aspect of the discussion of images of Victoria, BC, in Chapter 3.

¹¹ Willoughby, *A History of Postcards*, p. 62

¹² Coe, B. and Gates, P. (1977), *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888 – 1939*, London: Ash and Grant Ltd.

¹³ A trend enlivened by the publication of the first German, “Gruss Aus...” (“Greetings From...”) card in 1895. These cards were unexpectedly popular and hugely influenced the future form of the postcard industry and the legacy of what the postcard is today. Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*; Willoughby, *A History of Postcards*; and, Woody, “International Postcards”

interesting and unique images to meet the public desire quickly, easily and in limited print runs.¹⁴

In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, then, the global postcard market was at its peak, with technological means and market demand underpinned by an ever more efficient postal network.¹⁵ The postcard lent itself to a variety of uses by tourists corresponding home, migrants corresponding with family, friends and loved ones, or simply to mark significant events. The sheer size of the market is evident from one account:

At the height of the postcard industry's boom, postcards were virtually everywhere in the world. The international use of postcards can be interpreted by the sale of one-cent stamps in 1909: 833 million in Great Britain; 668 million in the United States (1908); 400 million in India; 398 million in Austria; 280 million in Belgium; 210 million in Russia; 160 million in Germany; 110 million in Hungary; 76 million in the Netherlands; 74 million in Sweden; 71 million in Italy; 28 million in Romania; and 18 million in France (at two-cent rate).¹⁶

This massive increase in the volume of postcards was accompanied by a shift in the circulation of photographic images. Now, the photograph moved from a relatively expensive material object with limited circulation among the higher social classes to a mass media object affordable to own and send by most members of society. This circulatory shift and the attached change in the agency of the photographic image is noted by Deborah Poole, who states,

By opening the market in photographic portraits to include what Disdéri referred to as the 'public masses,' cartes de visite marked the threshold between photography's early artisanal years, in which the concept of the image remained tied to art, and its later development as an industrial technology for the reproduction of visual images as capitalist commodities.¹⁷

¹⁴ Woody, "International Postcards"

¹⁵ In many cases the card could be posted directly via the vendor and then they were transferred onto the national and international postal networks that were increasingly serviced by ever more efficient train and steam ship networks that criss-crossed the globe. Headrick, D. R. (1981), *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Patterson, S. (2006), "Postcards from the Raj" in, *Patterns of Prejudice* (40: 142 – 158); and Willoughby, *A History of Postcards*, p. 1

¹⁶ Lowe (1982), *Walden's Postcard Enthusiast Revisited*, Ridley Park, Penn.: Deltiologists of America, p. 77, cited in Woody, "International Postcards", p. 42

¹⁷ Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, p. 107. Disdéri patented the 6x10cm carte de visite photograph.

Poole is far from alone in considering the postcard an exemplary object, through which wider histories can be glimpsed, and there is now a large literature on the history of the postcard. In broad terms, the literature can be divided into three parts, each with a distinct perspective on and interest in the medium. The first, and most prevalent, is that which seeks to provide information for the enthusiast and the collector. These works tend to focus on the history and the detail of the postcard industry, with a particular focus on how to find and identify those items that could be regarded as collector's items and also with some reference as to how to negotiate the complex and fragmented world of the international postcard collector. The second, which overlaps significantly with enthusiast literatures, are the publications drawing out the history and historical significance of the postcard in itself, largely in isolation from broader social and cultural histories. Lastly, there is the huge field of interdisciplinary academic interest in the postcard that uses the medium as a research tool (in social studies and ethnographic work) or historical exemplar of way(s) of seeing. Irrespective of their analytical differences, these literatures are all linked by their articulation of the increasing intensity of the postcard industry and its material circulation.

General histories of the postcard industry illustrate just how intensely competitive the industry was, especially from the beginning of the twentieth century and up until the First World War.¹⁸ More critical accounts provided by specialised historians of the postcard further illustrate the object's wider cultural and political significance. For example, the collection edited by Geary and Webb highlights the place of the postcard in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world, as well as illustrating how national and international developments affected it – and in turn how it affected the nation.¹⁹ In this body of literature, the emphasis is often on the use of the postcard to reduce complex, multilayered messages into stereotypical visual forms. Elizabeth Edwards, for example, focuses on the use of the postcard in the late twentieth-century tourist industry and the visual imaginations of place and people this produces,²⁰ Steve Patterson explores the postcard as a way of communicating social, cultural and racial

¹⁸ Two significant and useful works in this respect are; Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*; Willoughby, *A History of Postcards*

¹⁹ A detailed account of this is provided in; Woody, "International Postcards"

²⁰ Edwards, E. (1996), "Postcards: Greetings From Another World" in Selwyn, T. (ed.), *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd, pp. 197 – 222

messages and understandings in simplified forms, underpinning the right to rule of the British in India.²¹ This use of the postcard's visual imagery to interrogate broader historical and cultural concerns is prevalent throughout the literature on the postcard.²²

Another common feature in the literature on the history of the postcard is attention to its format, most notably its printing and design. While there has been increasing interest in the use of postcards, especially the writing on the reverse of the card (and at least one such work is referenced below)²³ the substantive analysis in this chapter focuses primarily on the material form of the postcard and the nature of its image. In one sense, this reflects the pristine nature of the documents in the Colonial Copyright Collection: they were not yet commodities in use. However, while these postcards are not modified by any consumer, they were of course specimens of whole classes of material intended precisely for consumption, and their form bears traces of that function. In addition, attention to the techniques of the photographer and the approach adopted by the copyrighter in depositing the material can add further layers of meaning to the history of the object.

The postcard in Canada and Colonial Copyright

The advent of the photographic postcard represents a significant change in the means and meaning of communication at a distance in Canada. In 1913, just past the mid-point of the period covered by the Colonial Copyright Collection, 60 million postcards were sent via Canadian postage, an impressive figure considering that the total population of the country at that point was only roughly 7.3 million.²⁴ The huge market for postcards

²¹ Patterson, "Postcards from the Raj"

²² For further examples see Cooper, F. and Stoler, A. L. (1989), "Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule" in *American Ethnologist* (16: 609 – 621); Albers, P. C. (1998), "Symbols, Souvenirs and Sentiments: Postcard Imagery of Plains Indians, 1898 – 1918" in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 64 – 89; and Booth, A. (1996), *Postcards From the Trenches: Negotiating the Space Between Modernism and the First World War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

²³ Anderson, A. and Tomlinson, B. (1978), *'Greetings From Canada': An Album of Unique Canadian Postcards from the Edwardian Era, 1900 – 1916*, Toronto: Macmillan

²⁴ Anderson and Tomlinson, *'Greetings From Canada'*, p. xiii. The number is derived from the amount of penny stamps sold in Canada in that year. Penny stamps could only be used for posting items of postcard size and dimensions.

and view-cards was appealing to photographers locally and nationally as it provided a ready market for the easy sale of their work. Before 1902 most photographers in Canada would sell their images to national or even international printers, publishers or sponsors who provided a market to photographers who could produce unique and interesting local views or who produced particularly good images of national and state civic events.²⁵ However, with the improvements to printing technology and photographic equipment by the beginning of the twentieth century, localised amateur and semi-professional photographers soon began to be able to print their own images cheaply and efficiently and sell them in limited runs, making it much more profitable than selling the copyright of the image to a large national or international printer.²⁶

Evidence of the popularity and profitability of this market for photographers in Canada is provided by the change in the pattern of copyright deposits that occurs after 1902, a point in the collection's history where photographic copyright deposits become much more numerous (see Figure 2.1). To develop the points made previously in Chapter 2, the expense of copyrighting material in Canada under the Colonial Copyright Act (especially when accessory expenses, such as postage of the deposit, were taken into account) meant the cost of the process was, in many cases, prohibitive.²⁷ However, the technological, economic and circulatory changes outlined above necessitated protection of images that were well received and thus increased copyright deposits in subsequent years. Further, the fact that photographic production and printing had now become cheap enough so as to allow the production of small batches of images for postcard

²⁵ Within the literature on postcards the term 'sponsor' is taken to mean a commissioning company, such as the Canadian Pacific Railroad or the organisers of the Canadian National/Industrial Exhibition, who would pay a lump sum for the ability to reproduce and sell the image at will; Woody, "International Postcards"

²⁶ A good example of this, seen in previous case studies, is the photography and business practice of the Alberta photographer Byron Harmison. He extensively photographed the railroads and aboriginal groups around Banff, Alberta, and the surrounding areas and printed the images himself for sale as postcards. These cards would then be made available to locals, tourists and travellers, the most substantial market being those individuals passing through on the trans-continental railroad. For a detailed discussion, see Albers, P. C. (1998), "Symbols, Souvenirs and Sentiments: Postcard Imagery of Plains Indians, 1898 – 1918" in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 64 – 89

²⁷ For reference, the form for copyright cost 1d, certificate of copyright 5d (as this was expressed in U.K. monies exchange values would also effect the overall cost), plus the expense of producing the image and posting the oversize form and material to the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa. Figures for copyright costs obtained from original certificates still held at the National Archive, Kew, records of British copyright.

reproduction mitigated the overhead expense of submitting for copyright. As such, if the production cost was lower and the potential benefit from copyright greater the financial penalties tied to copyright become less of a resource drain and also help to regulate the circulation of the image in the visual economy.

As a result of the rapid development of printing technologies, local photographers were able to produce high quality postcards annotated with the card's title and photographer's name.²⁸ These were also printable on an appropriately laid out backing papers, so as to be annotated by the purchaser with the recipient's address and the message of the sender.²⁹ This new production capability, along with the desire of local enthusiasts, tourists and collectors for postcard producers constantly to produce new images, resulted in a further explosion of views and subjects being depicted through the lens of local photographers for sale to the public.³⁰ As a result, by the end of the 1920s few public gatherings, natural beauty spots or striking views of human settlements were left un-photographed; wherever there was a view to be depicted, a photographer had journeyed to the spot and portrayed it through the camera's lens.³¹

The creativity of Canada's photographers in meeting this challenge is well illustrated by the contents of the Colonial Copyright Collection, as it is evident that many of the images deposited were once reproduced as postcards. To illustrate, *Greetings From Canada*,³² an enthusiast's publication detailing the variety of postcards posted in Canada between 1900 and 1916, contains several postcards decorated by images deposited in the Colonial Copyright Collection. The Azilda train wreck (seen in the previous chapter and here Figure 5.1), the social views of the arrival of the Moose Jaw

²⁸ This process was undertaken by scoring the details onto the original negative, resulting in an etched white writing on the final reproduction of the card; a detail seen in many of the images of the Colonial Copyright Collection.

²⁹ Anderson and Tomlinson, *'Greetings From Canada'*, p. xi

³⁰ The public appetite for new views is summarised well by Woody who notes, "In many ways, collectors stoked the industrial machine of postcard production. Hobbyists developed voracious appetites for new and exciting cards, and they continually pressured local merchants to expand their stock with new issues."; Woody, "International Postcards", p. 13

³¹ Geary, C. M. and Webb, V. L. (1998), "Introduction: Views on Postcards" in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press; Willoughby, *A History of Postcards*, pp. 72 – 73. For an example from the collection see Byron Harmison, whose photographic lens depicted large parts of the national parks and the edge of the Rocky Mountains around Banff, Alberta, from exquisite viewpoints scouted on his walks around the area (Figure 5.4).

³² Anderson and Tomlinson, *'Greetings From Canada'*



Figure 5.1: "Azilda Train Wreck, No. 10".
Copyright, William G. Gillespe
(Copyright Number 17688)



Figure 5.3: "Ruins of Toronto Fire,
1904". Copyright Galbraith Photo.
Co.
(Copyright Number 15423)



Figure 5.2: "Homesteaders Trekking From
Moosejaw, Saskatchewan". Copyright
Lewis Rice (Copyright 20797)



Figure 5.4: Approaching Wilcox Pass.
Copyright Byron Harmon
(Copyright Number 24781)

Images from the Colonial Copyright Collection known to be reproduced as postcards
although submitted as photographic prints

homesteaders in 1909 (Figure 5.2) and the ruins of the fire in Toronto, 1904, (Figure 5.3) are all displayed in the book as examples of some of Canada's more unique postcards. Similarly, the contents of the postcard collector's website delcampe.net³³ suggests that the postcards of copyright depositors such as Byron Harmon (Figure 5.4) and Albert Rafton-Canning are still popular among enthusiasts for their beautiful views of the early twentieth century Rocky Mountains. These postcards were designed to appeal to and benefit from the huge market for new, interesting and novel images or subjects to send home to friends and relatives or to add to one's collection or the collections of others, through the nation's huge postcard networks.³⁴

It is worth emphasising here that the absence of direct material evidence for the production of a particular image on a postcard is far from being an indication that it was never reproduced as such, as trying to find postcard variants of particular scenes is akin to finding a needle in a haystack. Many postcards from this period survive only in private collections and the photographers who deposited images in the Colonial Copyright Collection would have printed their own cards in small volumes for sale with little or no formal record – meaning there is no centralised archive of their professional work in this medium. However, reading the material clues on the deposited images (their size, subject, layout, negative markings, etc) is often enough to discern that an image could potentially have been reproduced as a postcard or view-card.³⁵ This underscores the significance of the materiality of the images, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Much can be read from the material form of photographs and this is particularly important for a collection composed of images often significantly removed from their original context. As Edwards' work suggests, photographic objects carry considerable biographical traces in their material form.³⁶ In the context of the Colonial Copyright Collection the markings on images discussed earlier provide a clear insight into the

³³ <http://postcards.delcampe.net/page/main/language,E.html>, last accessed, 20/04/2009.

³⁴ Anderson and Tomlinson, *Greetings From Canada*

³⁵ The view-card would have been produced in a similar shape and style to the postcard, but printed in higher quality and usually sold as a personal keepsake to tourists and other visitors. The distinction, therefore, is that while in many ways the view-card was similar to the postcard (form, style, content) it was not for posting.

³⁶ Edwards and Hart, "Introduction: Photographs as Objects"

potential use, economic and exchange values of many of the images in the collection, displaying their use even when this value has been forgotten.³⁷

The absence of supplementary archival evidence for many of these photographs does not diminish the significance of the Colonial Copyright Collection as one of the most substantial and complete archives of potential, if not actual, postcard production across Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This is particularly important as many Canadian historians and postcard scholars regard the sphere of the local producer as the most dynamic part of the postcard production market. It has often been suggested that the work of local photographers gives a more authentic picture of the visual diversity of the place and the nation than the larger, less visually dynamic publishers who struggled to source material from more marginal locations due to problems in their supply chain.³⁸

The prevalence of photographs designed for postcard use within the collection suggests that questions of format are as important as those of context. Many of the themes discussed elsewhere in this thesis – the representation of cities, railroads and people – take shape in the form of postcards. In the remainder of this chapter, the focus is on the developing Canadian postcard industry and how it mobilised views of the nation, nationally and internationally, notably through the aerial view. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century these visual identities of Canada were continually under (re)construction. Within Canada the ability to communicate ideas about new places of settlement between families and friends who were moving within this vast nation was very important given the context of rapid change.³⁹ Globally too the postcard

³⁷ In many ways the process of investigating these palimpsests is similar to that described in; Edwards and Hart, “Mixed Box”

³⁸ Anderson and Tomlinson, ‘*Greetings From Canada*’; Koltun, L. (ed) (1984), *Private Realms of Light*, Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry; Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*; and, Woody, “International Postcards”

³⁹ For more on the development and importance of Canadian visual identities and imaginative geographies see Harris, R. C. (1991), *Canada Before Confederation: a Study in Historical Geography*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press; Osborne, B. S. (1988), “The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art” in Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 162 – 178; Schwartz, J. (1981), “The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858 – 1914” in *B. C. Studies* (52: 5 – 15); Schwartz, J. M. and Ryan, J. R. (2003), “Introduction: Photography and the Geographical Imagination” in Schwartz, J. M. and Ryan, J. R. (eds), *Picturing Place: Photography and the*

was important in communicating and changing ideas about a nation that was seen both as an agrarian dominion and a modern nation.⁴⁰ In order to illustrate the role of postcards in creating an imaginative geography of a modern Canada, the next section focuses on a case study: the Bishop-Barker Co. and their images of Canada from above.

Inter-war aerial photography: bringing a new vision to Canada

The aerial photographic postcards deposited by the Bishop-Barker Co. and the Canadian Postcard Co. were produced, printed and copyrighted from 1919 to 1920. The postcards represent an attempt by ex-flying aces from World War One to transfer their military skills into a post-war living. Notably, the images are also some of the first examples of photographs of the Canadian landscape produced from the air and made available for popular consumption. Between the wars the aeroplane and the view of the landscape it allowed inspired excitement amongst all sections of society, across politicians, artists, businessmen and the general public, as it represented post-war hopes and ideals that a “great period [had] just begun”.⁴¹ This was a technology no longer with simply a military purpose; now it represented the ability of technology to provide people with new agency and a ‘New Vision’ that many thought would define the rest of the century.⁴² In Canada the aeroplane and the view from above were greeted with enthusiasm after the war as they represented new and unthought-of opportunities for crossing and developing the landscape.⁴³ The alliance of the aerial photograph with the postcard served to communicate these ideas to a wider audience and increase the public scope of this excitement.

Geographical Imagination, London: I. B. Tauris, pp. 1 – 18; and, Anderson and Tomlinson, ‘*Greetings From Canada*’.

⁴⁰ Geary and Webb, “Introduction: Views on Postcards”; Patterson, “Postcards from the Raj” provide global examples of postcards communicating national messages.

⁴¹ Le Corbusier (1988, first published 1935), *Aircraft*, New York: Universe, p. 5

⁴² Certainly this was the case for the architect Le Corbusier, whose initial experiences of the aircraft led him to extol how it would change the ability of people to perceive and act upon the world around them irrevocably. Le Corbusier, *Aircraft*

⁴³ Cronin, M. (2007), “Northern Visions: Aerial Surveying and the Canadian Mining Industry, 1919 – 1928” in *Technology and Culture* (48: 303 – 330); Shaw, S. B. (2001), *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*, Brunstown, Ont.: General Store Publishing House. More global contexts can be found in; Cosgrove, D. and Fox W. L. (2010), *Photography and Flight*, London: Reaktion Books

This case study considers how aerial photography in postcard form produced an idea of the modern nation of Canada within a rapidly changing context. The aerial photographs of the Bishop-Barker Co. were produced at a time when Canada was coming to terms with the effects of the First World War. It was a time of global change, as power geometries shifted, technological modernity continued to reshape societies and a violent pandemic swept across the world in the wake of the war. The following discussion also pays particular attention to the role of the Canadian National Exhibition (which had evolved from the Toronto Industrial Exhibition discussed in earlier chapters)⁴⁴ in articulating and disseminating an understanding of Canadian urban and modern identities, notably through the aerial display and the postcard.⁴⁵

The images in the Collection that comprise the raw material for this case study are aerial photograph postcards of Toronto, Kingston and other Ontario urban areas produced by the Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. The photographs were taken after the company's founders, Billy Bishop and William Barker, returned from their assignments to various British aerial squadrons during the First World War.⁴⁶ Their experience was part of a broader movement in which returning airmen applied the skills they had acquired in the service of the empire to a variety of schemes in an attempt to create a viable niche for the aircraft and the aviator in the post-war world.⁴⁷ These various projects, in which Bishop and Barker's company played an important part, instigated a new wave of changes in the perception and use of the Canadian landscape by its politicians, businesses and citizens.

⁴⁴ The Toronto Industrial Exhibition became the Canadian National Exhibition in 1912. The structure and architecture of the exhibition had always changed incrementally and continued to do so after the renaming, however, the change of name marked an acknowledgement that the exhibition and Canada itself had become more internationally significant since the days of the first Toronto Industrial Exhibition in 1878.

⁴⁵ The idea of the exhibition as a space for the articulation of national identity in modern cities draws from the work of; Barringer, T. (1998), "The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project" in Barringer, T. and Flynn, T. (eds), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, London: Routledge, pp. 11 – 27; Bennett, T. (1994), "The Exhibitionary Complex" in Dirks, N. B., Eley, G., and Ortner, S. B. (eds), *Culture / Power / History*, Chichester: Princeton Press, pp. 123 – 154; Mitchell, T. (1989), "The World as Exhibition", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (30: 217 – 236). Walden, K. (1997), *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*, (London: University of Toronto Press) provides a specific Canadian example of the same theme.

⁴⁶ Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*, p. 8

⁴⁷ For more on this see; Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*

There are some points to note prior to an analysis of the postcards themselves. Firstly, there is a substantial popular literature on the subject of returning Canadian airmen, largely focusing on momentous dates, iconic technology and famous names. This literature, which pays a significant attention to William Bishop and Billy Barker, also suggests that the aeroplane and the view of the landscape it brought was yet another technology applied to the landscape of the nation, binding it together and using its resources more effectively. Essentially, the aircraft and its opening up of a broader view of the landscape is depicted as a nation building tool.⁴⁸ This exuberant enthusiasm for the aerial view and the possibilities of its ability to change society echoes wider themes concerning the allure of aerial photography.⁴⁹ It is also important to situate this study within the context of the literature on technological modernity, as discussed in Chapter 4.⁵⁰ This discourse links the aeroplane with the canal, railroad and automobile as technologies that constantly changed Canada's national horizons and were linked to its national destiny. As such, the aerial view and its potential impact on the landscape represents what Cole Harris would call another 'draft' of the geographical imagination of Canada.⁵¹

The aerial view in Canada was not reserved for visual pleasure and popular spectacle alone. In the inter-war period persistent attempts were made to exploit the commercial potential of the aeroplane, with forestry programmes, the development of airmail services, aerial terrain mapping and various other schemes trialled in order to create a market for air services.⁵² However, few worked to produce any sort of sustained income for aviators, although in some cases the benefit to the Canadian economy (especially

⁴⁸ Ralph, W. (2007, 2nd Ed.), *William Barker, V. C.: The Life, Death and Legend of Canada's Most Decorated War Hero*, Mississauga, Ont.: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.; Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*

⁴⁹ See Hauser, K. (2007), *Shadow Sites: Photography, Archaeology and the British Landscape, 1927 – 1955*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for a discussion of how aerial photography excited a generation of European planners, artists (and archaeologists) with its Apollonian view of familiar landscapes and, Le Corbusier, *Aircraft* for a direct articulation of this enthusiasm and an insight into how the view from the air would shape European twentieth century modernity.

⁵⁰ Berton, P. (1974), *The National Dream and The Last Spike* (abridged by author), Toronto: McClelland and Stewart; Charland, M. (1986), "Technological Nationalism" in *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, (10: 196 – 221); Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art"

⁵¹ Harris, R. C. (2008), *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space and Environment in Canada before Confederation*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press

⁵² Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*, p. 8

from terrain mapping) was alleged to be significant.⁵³ Despite these attempts, the few significantly profitable avenues of employment for Canadian aviators in the 1920s were those provided by the aerial display and aerial photography, which were particularly popular after the idea of the “flying ace” had taken hold in the public imagination during the First World War. In Eastern Canada the niche of the aerial display and aerial photograph production was inhabited by the company of Billy Bishop and William Barker, two of the war’s most celebrated heroes.⁵⁴

Bishop and Barker had gained renown in the war for their exploits as pilots in the British army. By the end of the war they finished as “most kills” and “most decorated” respectively and the tales of their daring and bravery had been communicated across the British Empire.⁵⁵ The flying abilities of both men were well known but it was William Barker’s first forays into flying, working as a reconnaissance pilot flying over German lines, that provided the skills to produce the images with which this case study is concerned. It was the combination of the skills of these two men that allowed the company they founded upon their return to remain in business for three years. In this time, the only profitable ventures the duo undertook were the displays they put on for the Canadian National Exhibition and the aerial photographs they produced for private sponsors or reproduction as postcards, either by themselves or the Canadian Postcard Co.

The Canadian landscape from above

Figure 5.5, one of Bishop-Barker Co.’s most well known images, forms the starting point for this discussion. The photograph depicts Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario, and the image was one of the company’s first profit-generating commissions

⁵³ These trials noted profitably accessible lumber resources, sites for hydro-electric power generation and other such natural resource benefits while some scouted new communications routes (especially for roads) and even suitable sites for new settlement locations; Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*. In this respect the technology was still too much in its infancy to provide the perceptual and economic benefits which were gained later in the century; Cosgrove and Fox, *Photography and Flight*

⁵⁴ Billy Bishop’s fame endures today, as evidenced by the production of films such as, *The Kid Who Couldn’t Miss*; Cowan, P. (1982), *The Kid Who Couldn’t Miss* (film), Ontario: National Film Board of Canada. Available at: <http://www.nfb.ca/film/the-kid-who-couldnt-miss> (last accessed, 07/12/2010)

⁵⁵ A detailed discussion of the life of William Barker and his acquaintance with Billy Bishop is given in, Ralph, *William Barker, V. C*



Figure 5.5: “Queen’s University, Kingston, Ont., Taken From an Aeroplane”. Copyright Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd.

(Copyright Number 36546, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)



Figure 5.6: “Looking Up Yonge Street, Toronto, Ont., From an Aeroplane”.

Copyright Canadian Postcard Co. Toronto

(Copyright Number 35818, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)

after its formation.⁵⁶ Before discussing the wider implications of this new perspective on the landscape, it is important to outline the composition and significance of the image in terms of its visuality, materiality and intended market. This sets the scene for the other images discussed below. Further, there are some important distinctions to make between these images and others produced through the process of aerial photography. In turn, this provides insights into the market and circulation of these images, especially in their postcard format.

The first point to make regarding the view in Figure 5.5 concerns its function: these images have an aesthetic, rather than a cartographic, purpose. This can be discerned by considering the angle at which the camera is mounted in relation to the plane. Cameras fitted for landscape survey purposes have to be positioned, as near as possible, in the undercarriage of the plane, facing straight down to the ground, in order to reduce the effect of the earth's curvature on the image and prevent a skewing of perspective over increasing distances.⁵⁷ In the images produced by the Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. the camera is side mounted to the plane, negating the usefulness of the images for the purpose of aerial mapping. Instead, the side mounting allows a co-pilot control of the camera's mechanical features allowing the selection of shots, varied compositions and the production of photographs from various altitudes.⁵⁸ As a result the images are not suitable for measurement but instead are intended to produce a pleasing aesthetic view of the central scene (in the case of Figure 5.5, Queen's University) and the surrounding landscape.

Secondly, Figure 5.5, as with other Bishop-Barker Co. photographs, depicts a highly recognisable landmark at its centre. This not only provides a striking centrepiece to the image but also allows viewers to orientate themselves around this relatively unfamiliar view of the Canadian landscape with more ease and locate other sites of interest. The

⁵⁶ Ralph, *William Barker, V. C.*, p. 167; Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*, p. 8

⁵⁷ Avery, T. E. (1977, 3rd Ed.), *Interpretation of Aerial Photographs*, Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess Publishing Co.; and, McKinley, A. C. (1929), *Applied Aerial Photography*, London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., p. 330. Also, in *Photography and Flight*, Cosgrove and Fox provide a detailed account of the effects of different types of vehicle and mounting on aerial photography in chapter two, "The Camera in the Sky"; Cosgrove and Fox, *Photography and Flight*, pp. 26 – 51

⁵⁸ This is distinct from under-mounted cameras where the pilot would have to fly at a fixed altitude so that the pre-arranged aperture and f-stop values of the camera (which could not be altered in flight) would produce viable images; McKinley, *Applied Aerial Photography*

ability to orientate within this new visual perspective is particularly important, given the ability of the view from above to flatten topographies and mask well-known features perceptible to the ground-based view, in turn overlaying them with previously imperceptible landmarks.⁵⁹ Members of the Avant Garde relished the view from above precisely because of this feature of its dizzying perspective.⁶⁰ Avant-Garde artists and photographers used aerial photography in order to provide a new view, challenging the familiar perspective of landscape (see below).

Thirdly, it is clear that the camera work and picturesque composition are highly accomplished for a field still in its infancy. The sharpness of the image and the altitude from which most of the shots were produced is unusual for the time. Taking Figure 5.15 as an example, the technical difficulties of a shot involving two planes, a rapid exposure and a good eye to get the other aircraft in just the right point of the frame attest to skills built up on the missions flown over France during the war. The core of this skill is the ability to control the alignment of aircraft and camera in order to produce the most pleasing shots. This is something the Bishop-Barker Co. did throughout their work and the skill had been developed through extensive practice in a high-pressure environment. Similarly, the dictates of military reconnaissance (that required the camera should produce a clear and legible image) are here re-used in the company's production of images for the Canadian public. Therefore, a significant understanding of what constitutes a viewable image has already been developed. It is the combination of these skills learnt in the theatre of war that allowed and informed the production of the new landscape perspective articulated by the Bishop-Barker Co.

Figures 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 are examples of the varied vistas of Canadian landscapes provided by the aerial photography of the Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. These images reflect a perspective of the landscape that cannot be perceived from the ground and that even the relatively widely distributed 'bird's-eye-view' perspectives in print media could not capture.⁶¹ In all of the images the elevation of the camera's lens and the aeroplane's mobility reveals the larger geometries of Canada's landscapes.

⁵⁹ Cosgrove and Fox, *Photography and Flight*; Hauser, *Shadow Sites*

⁶⁰ Hauser, *Shadow Sites*, p. 187

⁶¹ Schein, R. H. (1993), "Representing Urban America: 19th Century Views of Landscape, Space and Power" in *Environment and Planning D* (11: 7 – 21)



Figure 5.7: “London, Ont., Taken From an Aeroplane”. Copyright Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. (Copyright Number 36075, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)



Figure 5.8: “Woodstock, Ont., Taken From an Aeroplane”. Copyright Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. (Copyright Number 36519, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)

Figure 5.6 is an image of the downtown area of Toronto, with Yonge Street running South to North through the middle of the image. At ground level the hustle and bustle of the commercial district created a claustrophobic clutter that masked the structure and underlying order of North American urban development. From the air however the impregnable density of Yonge Street and the rest of Toronto's downtown is opened up to reveal the straight lines and organisation of a regimented grid system. The city becomes no less confusing, as its gigantic sprawl covers every inch of the frame, the aerial view levels the ground's relief and the scale of the scene provides few prominent landmarks to the untrained eye, but its overriding logic is revealed and rather than enveloping the viewer (as at street level) the city is laid bare for all to see. As Le Corbusier was to assert in enthusiasm fifteen years later, the aerial view reveals in infinite detail the city's scope, achievements and failures while exhilarating the viewer, "[w]ith its eagle eye".⁶² In making these views available the Bishop-Baker Co. disseminate this sensation among a wider public. These images were no longer confined to military use or specialist exhibitions or published only in expensive photobooks for the few with the disposable income.⁶³ By using the medium of the postcard these images circulated in a format available across Canada and the world.

In Figures 5.6 and 5.7 the aerial view is utilised to provide new perspectives on some of Canada's wider urban and rural geographies. In Figure 5.7's shot of London, Ontario, an example of the interlocking relationship between Canada's towns, industry and landscape can be discerned as the view focuses in on the meeting of the two forks of the Thames River. The view illustrates London's industrial growth, as various industrial complexes front up against the river bank, but also the residential and leisure opportunities provided by the slow, un-navigable Thames River. This is shown on the opposite banks, where houses and green spaces run down to the water's edge. It is a complex scene illustrating the importance of Canada's landscape features to its urban geographies and the complex, inter-twining and sometimes contradictory ways that it

⁶² Le Corbusier, *Aircraft*, p. 11

⁶³ This contrasts to some of the early photographs of the railroad which were initially produced and displayed for particular uses (such as surveying) or to appeal to particular audiences (such as those affluent enough to afford extensive leisure travel); Birrell, A. (1981), "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858 – 1900" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 39 – 60); Brown, J. K. (2000), "The Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Displays: Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, 1893" in *History of Photography* (24: 155 – 162)

has been appropriated for human use. While this idea of the relationship between Canada's geography and settlement is not unprecedented, the depiction of this understanding in such an all-encompassing and grand scale of vision is new. Cosgrove describes the aerial view of the North American landscape as 'Apollonian' due to the god-like view provided but also because of the implication of dominion that the term provides.⁶⁴ The term situates the aerial view in the wider context of attempts to constrain and control the landscape which were prevalent across the United States and Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Figure 5.8 is a further example. The image depicts Woodstock's suburban borders opening out into the agricultural spaces that bounded the town in the 1920s. Specifically, the rigid geometries carved into the landscape by rational agricultural practices become apparent from the air as the division and management of Canada's large and diverse landscapes is perceived from a new perspective. In both these respects, the images are a testament to Canada's modernity and modernist, rational control over its environment in the twentieth century. Here we see the photographic view from above being used to articulate man's relationship with and ordering of the landscape and, in parallel, the Apollonian photographic view asserts human control over the scene even more directly. As the postcard in Figure 5.7 transferred a subjective understanding of the urban environment into 'substance', so Figure 5.8 provides a substantive visual overview of Canadian agricultural space.

The above images produced by Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. resound with Cosgrove's assertion that, "[t]he American landscape makes sense from the air"⁶⁵ as the view they provide gives an overview of the patterns and logics at work in the management of the landscape. Cosgrove asserts that the grand scale of the American landscape, in which the horizon and gigantic scale nature predominate, coupled with the development patterns expressed upon it by European settlers, creates a landscape that can only be fully comprehended from the extended horizon of the sky. As with American photographers and the American landscape, Canadian photographers too have, since the advent of photography, always tried to get the camera higher in order to depict more of

⁶⁴ Cosgrove, D. (1997), "The Measures of America" in Corner, J. and MacLean, A. S. (1997), *Taking Measures Across the American Landscape*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 3 – 13

⁶⁵ Cosgrove, "The Measures of America", p. 3

the area around them and afford a better perception of their similarly vast landscapes.⁶⁶ The aerial photography deployed by the Bishop-Barker Co. and other aerial photographers trained by the reconnaissance efforts of the First World War therefore offered the first versatile realisation of this desire as they produced large-scale, mobilised, views over the landscape. In turn, the mobility afforded by the aeroplane could produce, through these neat series of images, depictions of whole areas and more fully convey the vastness not only of Canada's largest cities but its formidable natural landscape as well.

The combination of the aerial photograph's capacity to produce large-scale images of the Canadian landscape with the distributional reach of the postcard greatly reinforced the significance of the new vision. The reproduction and dissemination of aerial views in readily accessible postcard form ensured them an important place in the visual economy of the Canadian landscape. As a result of the alignment of the aerial photograph with the medium of the postcard, the aerial view became a highly valued and widely circulated feature of the twentieth-century image world.⁶⁷

This point can be developed further with reference to Figures 5.9 to 5.11. Part of a series of nine images taken over and around the Ontario town of Brantford the images were produced by a fly-through of the town, running roughly North to South. This angle allows a cross section to be produced of the Grand River and down town area, thus taking in most of the town's significant features. Figure 5.9 is the beginning of the shoot, Figure 5.10 falls in the middle and depicts the centre of the city and Figure 5.11 is taken as the plane passes the river into the city's residential areas. Figure 5.9 draws the viewer's focus to the Grand River and its centrality to the city as its substantial channel cuts through the left third of the image, which also picks out its slightly abraded southern stretch and upper islands that form centre points in the city structure. It also

⁶⁶ Guerra, F. and Pilot, L. (2000), "Historic Photoplanes" in, *International Archives of Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing* (33: 611 – 618), provides an interesting overview of the earliest uses of the camera to gain views from increased elevations (using towers and hot air balloons) in Europe and North America. Perhaps most interesting is the synopsis of aerial photography provided by Shaw where the author, indirectly, affords the camera and the aerial view, and Canadians' inventiveness in allying the two technologies, status as the tools that allowed Canadians to perceive the whole and value of their national landscape. As a result, the aerial view is portrayed as one of the tools that helped secure the geographical cohesiveness of the Canadian nation state; Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*

⁶⁷ Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, pp. 9 – 11



Figure 5.9: “Brantford, Ont., Taken From an Aeroplane” [1]. Copyright Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. (Copyright Number 36575, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)



Figure 5.10: “Brantford, Ont., Taken From an Aeroplane” [2]. Copyright Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. (Copyright Number 36578, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)



Figure 5.11: “Brantford, Ont., Taken From an Aeroplane” [3]. Copyright Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. (Copyright Number 36574, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)

illustrates the bridges that straddle the river and the industry of the town, supported by the city's location at the highest navigable point of the River and place of the town in the Quebec City – Windsor Corridor. Figure 5.10, by cutting off the west bank of the River, serves to emphasise the scale of the Grand River, while also highlighting the architecture of the city's centre.

The perspective given across the two images is one of development, progress and a technical capacity to tame Canada's landscape for the benefit of its citizens. The final image, of the residential areas to the north of the city centre, portrays an image of leafy idyll. The straight lines of the residential streets, thick tree cover and the disappearance of the residential scene beyond the border of the image emphasises the ability of Canadian urbanisation to convert the Canadian landscape into a comfortable lifestyle. In many ways the image produced in Figure 5.11 is somewhat mundane; however, that is also a major part of the significance of the image. While aerial views had been produced before, geographical restrictions (as they were generally taken from balloons or kites that were tethered and costly to move) limited their potential for depicting wide areas of the Canadian landscape.⁶⁸ In Figures 5.9 through 5.11, the mobility of the aeroplane allows the aerial view to be deployed across the whole area, providing affordable portraits of local areas to those who lived in them and conveying and articulating the beauty of the Canadian landscape and the achievements of its urban areas to those same individuals in a distinctly localised way.

Most importantly, Brantford is not a unique case and it was not singled out for a particular photographic purpose. Instead it was photographed as part of a series of private commissions along the Quebec City – Windsor Corridor that followed after the enthusiastic reception of the company's Kingston and Toronto images. Brantford is one of the many urban and rural areas in Ontario photographed extensively (with many urban areas depicted in their entirety) in these sponsored runs for commission sale or for distribution as postcard images.⁶⁹ As a result, what was made available to

⁶⁸ Cosgrove and Fox, *Photography and Flight*; Guerra and Pilot, "Historic Photoplanes"

⁶⁹ Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes*, p. 8. During the introduction to his extended work on the beginnings of aerial photography in Canada, Shaw makes reference to the popularity of these views among the public and asserts that they may have been the most *directly* profitable form of aeroplane work (forestry work, surveying and other uses were seen as

commissioners or to the public, through postcards in particular, was not the fixed location shot of the bird's-eye-view or balloon aerial photograph but a portfolio of images from which consumers could select particular views of specific places that were of interest to them – for example homes, leisure sites, notable landmarks and public buildings. Seen in series, the aerial view opened up new geographical perceptions of place to the consumer, one unbound from routine and habit at street level, that offered comprehension of the whole local area from a dizzying and exhilarating height.

The postcards of the Bishop-Barker Co. presented a new vision of the geography of Canada at a time when Canada's perception of itself was changing in a world of shifting political power geometries. Further, the postcard provided a format that could disseminate this view and its perspective on the landscape of Canada to an ever increasing population; not just in Canada, but globally. The final section of this chapter considers the relationship between the aerial view and the postcard in the specific context of the Canadian National Exhibition.⁷⁰

The Canadian National Exhibition and the postcard

Reference has already been made to the Canadian National Exhibition (also referred to under its earlier title as the Toronto Industrial Fair). The exhibition promoted the appropriation of modern technology within Canadian cities while also working to articulate a vision of metropolitan modernity to the Canadian upper and middle classes.⁷¹ As a result of this, and the canny use of the exhibition by many Canadian entrepreneurs, the exhibition played an important role in the development of metropolitan capitalism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Canada.⁷²

Much attention has been paid to the role of exhibitions and world fairs in the development of nineteenth and twentieth-century modernity and its articulation to the

having a direct cost with an indirect benefit) in Canada and the rest of North America during the 1920s.

⁷⁰ Referred to elsewhere in the thesis as Toronto Industrial Exhibition, the name was changed to compete with other national and international fairs after 1910.

⁷¹ This is the main focus of, Walden, K. (1997), *Becoming Modern in Toronto*

⁷² As seen in Chapter 3 there was an extremely close and mutually beneficial relationship between the Exhibition and the T. Eaton Co. Also, see; Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*

public.⁷³ Bennett, for example, asserts that the fair ordered the world for the understanding of the public, while also ordering the public in order to fit with the social, technological and political ideology represented by the exhibition itself.⁷⁴ In his view, the exhibition and the world's fair were therefore akin to the museum in that they provided an ordered, visualised understanding of the operation of the world, not just in respect to the nation, but the relationship of other nations to the host nation as well. The exhibition, as with the museum, provided visual templates for the understanding of the order of things in the world and extensively contrasted western modernity with the orientalism of the Other in order to assert the achievements of the host state.⁷⁵ One significant difference between the exhibition and the museum though was the versatility of the space utilised for the exhibition. Whereas the museum provided a fixed space (and its social messages were underpinned by this fixedness) the exhibition provided a space made of prefabricated facades, underpinned by mass communication and mass production. As a result, the exhibit and its message could be changed and adapted in the face of continued developments of technology and the workings of the world.⁷⁶

While most of this academic discussion has focussed on European, and to a lesser extent American, exhibitions relatively little work has been done on the role of exhibitions in Canada. Walden suggests that the Toronto Industrial Exhibition and the Canadian National Exhibition spanned a period of significant change and played an important role in shifting understandings of Canada from a rural and agrarian state to a metropolitan one as well as developing an urban and modern mindset within elements of the population.⁷⁷ As the predominant national exhibition and an annual one too, the Canadian National Exhibition provided a centre-piece for the articulation of new developments within or that affected Canada. Given its predominance and routine

⁷³ Generally, see; Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex"; Greenhalgh, P. (1988), *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851 – 1939*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Mitchell, T. (1992), "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order" in, Dirks, N. B. (ed), *Colonialism and Culture*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, pp. 289 – 316; and Rydell, R. W. (2006), "World Fairs and Museums" in Macdonald, S. (ed), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, London: Blackwell, pp. 135 – 151

⁷⁴ Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex"; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*

⁷⁵ Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order"

⁷⁶ Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex"; Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums"

⁷⁷ Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*

nature it was also important for the Exhibition always to have something new and ‘cutting edge’ on show.⁷⁸

In the international sphere, the Canadian National Exhibition was one of the first national fairs to re-open after the war and busily set about promoting Canada’s role in the war and the positive effects of the conflict on Canada. In particular its organisers were enthusiastic about the new technology of flight that had undergone rapid developments technically and culturally during the First World War. Most importantly, the exhibition was keen to celebrate the role of Canada’s most celebrated airmen in the war. Therefore, the Canadian National Exhibition was a space in which to celebrate the significance of Canadian airmen’s achievements during the war and also to impress upon visitors the wonder of the aircraft and its view from above. Further, it would highlight Canada’s involvement in the new technology as a means of asserting the nation’s own modernity. Central to this was the by now well-established device of the postcard which was used as a way of disseminating the message of the fair in an accessible and mobile form.⁷⁹

The show of summer 1919, the first after the end of the war, hosted the first display of formation flying in Canada, performed by the fledgling Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. and their associates in ex-German air force Fokker D-VII’s.⁸⁰ The company was loaned the planes by Arthur Doughty,⁸¹ who was placed in the role of Director of War Trophies in Canada after the war.⁸² The display was well received by a large, enthusiastic crowd, leading the *Toronto Globe* to headline the resulting article, “‘Stunt’ Flying Thrills the Crowd – Spectators at Exhibition Gasp at Feats of Daring Airmen’”.⁸³ Subsequent to this

⁷⁸ Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*

⁷⁹ Rydell, R. W. (1998), “Souvenirs of Imperialism: World’s Fair Postcards” in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 47 – 63

⁸⁰ Ralph, *William Barker, V. C.*, p. 165

⁸¹ The Dominion Archivist

⁸² The ‘Director of War Trophies’ position and its placement of captured German and surplus British materials (given to Canada as ‘Imperial Gifts’) was influential in stimulating use of the aircraft in Canada. Many of these aerial materials were used to scout Canada’s interior areas to locate lumber, hydro-electric and mineral resources and, as a result, opened up much of the country’s landmass to development in the twentieth century. Ralph, *William Barker, V. C.*; and, Shaw, *Photographing Canada from Flying Canoes* provide more details on the post war use of Imperial Gift materials to develop Canadian natural resources.

⁸³ Ralph, *William Barker, V. C.*, p. 165



Figure 5.12: “Col Barker V. C. in One of the Captured German Aeroplanes Against Which He Fought His Last Battle” Copyright Canadian Postcard Co. (Copyright Number 36752, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)



Figure 5.13: “Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, 1919. Taken From an Aeroplane” [1]. Copyright Canadian Postcard Co. (Copyright Number 36086, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)



Figure 5.14: “Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, 1919. Taken From an Aeroplane” [2]. Copyright: Canadian Postcard Co. (Copyright Number 36083, Postcard Print, 120 x 85mm)

first show, stunt and formation flying became regular parts of the show calendar, wowing crowds keen to see the pilot's daring and thrilling manoeuvres. Enhanced by media reports of the sensational lifestyles of iconic figures such as William Barker and Billy Bishop,⁸⁴ as well as the availability of souvenir materials produced for the display (discussed below), the technology of flight was associated with excitement and innovation. In a word, flight represented the cutting edge of modernity.

Capitalising on the excitement for aerial shows the exhibition organisers soon began to sell aerial view postcards of the exhibition grounds, its pavilions and crowds. These were produced by the Canadian Postcard Co. and taken by the Bishop-Barker Co.⁸⁵ Some examples are shown in Figures 5.13 and 5.14. As in the discussion of the images of Brantford, London and downtown Toronto, the view provided by the aerial photographs was unlike any previous view of the Canadian National Exhibition grounds. Bird's-eye-views had been produced in the previous twenty years, but these had only served to highlight the height and grandeur of the buildings; the logic of the overall exhibition site could not be perceived. In these images however, the topography of the landscape is flattened and the people visiting the fair look like nondescript ants moving around the grounds. Figure 5.14 in particular displays the grounds to the viewer in an all-encompassing view that displays the order of the place in a way that before would have only been visualised through cartographic means.

In combination, these three elements – the war hero, the aerial performance and the aerial photographic view – gave the visitor to the fair a sense of the wonders of a new technology and its potential for modern Canada. In this sense, the last century had seen Canada tame the landscape and achieve confederation through the use of the railroad and now the twentieth-century promised a new era of this development with the mastery

⁸⁴ The two pilots were known in Ontario for their alcohol-fuelled and celebrity life style; Ralph, *William Barker, V. C*

⁸⁵ Given the date and style of the photographs, as well as the type of wing captured in some of the shots (which is similar to the company's, Curtiss JN-4, one of the only planes of this model in service at the time), it is likely the shots were produced by the Bishop-Barker Co. Added to this is the fact that the Bishop-Barker Co. were working for the exhibition and undertaking substantial amounts of aerial photography at the time. Further, the relationship between Barker and the Canadian Postcard Co. is established by Figure 5.12, which shows Barker in one of the Fokkers used for the first aerial display.



Figure 5.15: "A Friendly Call Over St. Clair and Avenue Rd. District, Toronto, Ont."
Copyright Canadian Postcard Co. (Copyright Number 35828, Postcard Print, 120 x
85mm)

of the sky. Further, all of this is depicted on the affordable, portable format of the postcard, to be taken home or sent across the world.

The postcards produced by the Canadian Postcard Co. form a microcosm of the function of the Canadian National Exhibition itself, which was to display, promote and articulate to the wider public the possibilities of new technology and illustrate the modernity of Canadian society. Through the interaction of the aerial display and the aerial view the postcard reduces the values and ideals of the exhibition into a manageable imaginative space, where the new perspective emphasises the modernism promoted by the fair. The interlinking of the exhibition message with the visual image on the postcard was a common feature of the exhibition throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁸⁶ Across Europe the postcard and other souvenirs were used to commemorate the understandings and messages of the world's fair and the same effect is being generated in these postcards.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to illustrate the significance of the postcard to the Colonial Copyright Collection and, in turn, the importance of the medium to the visual economy of Canada. The discussion of the photographic postcard in the first section of this chapter highlighted the historical significance of the medium while also noting its representation in many accounts as an exemplar of wider technological, economic and cultural processes. In particular it was emphasised that the mass circulation of images instigated by the postcard was central to the development of a globalised image world, where images of places became globally consumed items.

Technological innovation therefore created a market for the photographer to exploit. The Colonial Copyright Collection contains myriad examples of photographs that were produced in order to satiate the appetite of the tourist, the collector, the individual corresponding with friends or family, the visitor to the exhibition and many other interested consumers. The work of the photographer then circulated through various

⁸⁶ See, Patterson, "Postcards from the Raj"; and, Rydell, "Souvenirs of Imperialism"

networks to become part of complex understandings of place, underpinned by the visual imaginations attached to the postcard itself. This is illustrated here through the case study of one group of postcards, the aerial photographs of the Bishop-Barker Co. Ltd. These images portray Canada's modernity and development, providing a new perspective on its landscape; that of the Apollonian view. The aeroplane's ability to depict large areas of Canada from this new perspective, allied with the mobility and affordability of the postcard is what is most significant about these images. With the help of institutions such as the Canadian National Exhibition, which placed the modernity of the aircraft and the spectacle of its view at the forefront of the public imagination, the postcard distributed a new perspective of the Canadian landscape. In short, the view and the technology that provided it were symbols of possibilities of modern technology and modernity in the early twentieth century. As a result these postcards communicate a visual imagination of a modern Canada and its imaginative geography. When viewed in parallel with the images discussed in previous chapters, the images of the Bishop-Barker Co. remind us of the pace of change across Canada between 1895 and 1924.

The postcards in the Colonial Copyright Collection convey many different Canadas through the images reproduced on their front. While the Canada depicted in aerial view is one on the cutting edge of modernity, reaching skywards in its aspirations, other postcards in the collection also speak of the relationship between Canada and its environment in earlier years, through the medium of the railroad. Meanwhile other postcards illustrate the development of the urban centre in Canada, the various attitudes and gazes deployed onto its Native American groups and many other aspects of this diverse nation. The depiction of Canada's Native American groups, whether on a postcard, a commemorative souvenir or a newspaper, is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Native Portraits: the Photographic Representation of Native Americans in Canada, 1900 – 1910

This chapter considers depictions of Native Americans¹ in the context of social and cultural change in early twentieth-century Canada and in the light of wider conventions of photographic portraiture. Photographs of Native American individuals, groups and cultural practices are common in the Collection, with images deposited frequently throughout the period of 1895 to 1924 by various photographers, for various purposes. The consumer market for such images had a variety of local specificities and the interaction between photographic subject, photographer, market and geography forms the core of this chapter. The images studied in this chapter, all deposited in the period 1900 – 1910, were produced for consumption as souvenirs, postcards or some other commemorative format. They are drawn from a variety of geographical contexts reflecting some of the diverse contexts in which Native Americans found themselves interacting with White Canadians in early twentieth-century Canada.²

The first section of the chapter considers the images of Blackfoot and Blood Indian tribes from the area around Lethbridge, Alberta, produced by Albert Rafton-Canning between 1907 and 1910. Rafton-Canning's work was produced at a time when the railroad and confederation were changing the relationships between communities and perception of the landscape around them, in ways similar to those discussed in Chapter 4. As a result, the images of the Blackfoot and Blood Indian tribes of the area are influenced by the photographer's perspective on this encroaching modernity. The second section moves to consider images of the Onondaga runner Tom Longboat after his marathon victories in 1907, produced by Charles Aylett, a photographer of Toronto's social elite. Tom Longboat's story has been variously documented and all agree his career as a runner was affected significantly by the racial and cultural politics of the time. Aylett's images not only provide context to these politics but are deeply affected by them. The third section of the chapter looks at the images of Fullerton Bay Inuit produced by Geraldine Moodie during her expedition to the Arctic in 1904 – 1905, an expedition bound up with the expression of Canadian sovereignty over the area and its residents. Here, as with the other case studies, we see the effect of people, politics and place on the production of visual representations of Native American groups across Canada.

¹ Here I am using Native American as a broad short-hand for the various groups and cultures which will be considered in this chapter, including the Inuit.

² Figure 6.1 illustrates the locations where the case study images were produced.

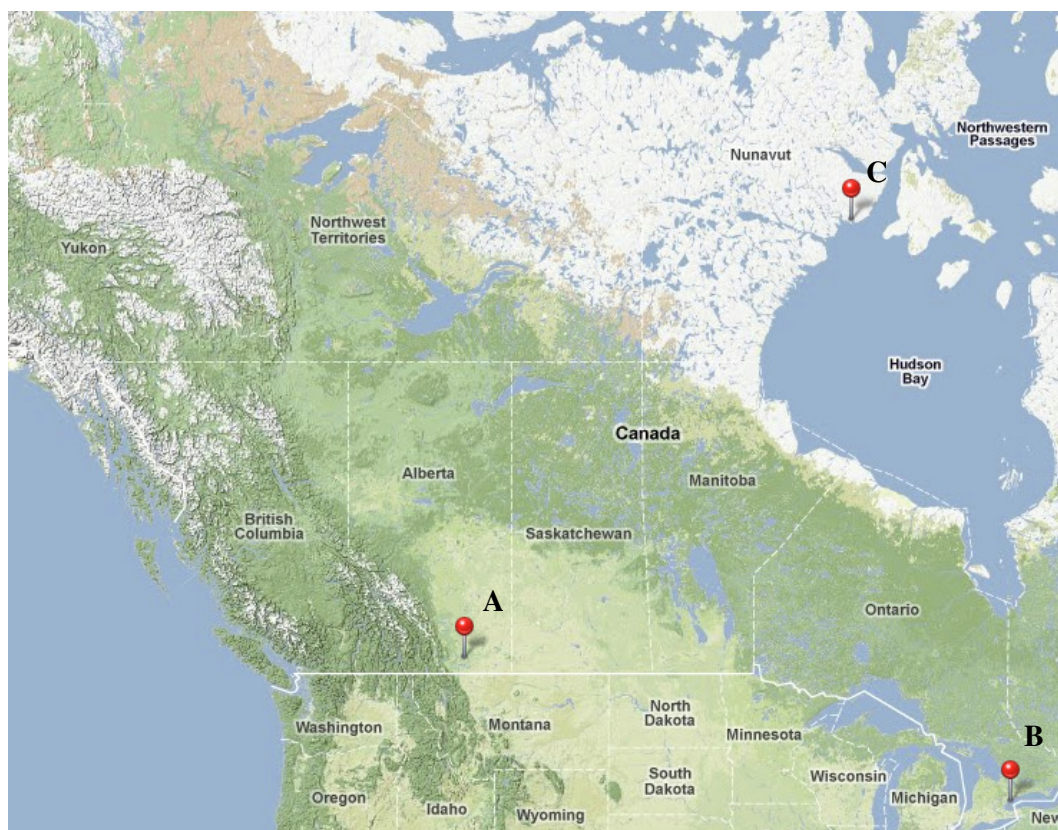


Figure 6.1: Illustration of locations where case study images were produced

Marker **A** denotes Lethbridge, where Albert Rafton-Canning operated his studio.

Marker **B** denotes Toronto, where Charles Aylett produced Tommy Longboat's portrait.

Marker **C** denotes Fullerton Bay, where Geraldine Moodie produced her images.

These photographic works will be considered in the light of two key themes, underpinned by recent work in post-colonial studies, anthropology and the intersection of biography and geography. It will become clear in the course of the discussion that the visual culture of colonialism did not function as a unified whole and that different colonial projects varied across different time-spaces.³ While the socio-political dynamics being played out in front of and behind the lens, as well as in the circulation of these images, can be framed in many ways it is important to engage directly with the specificity of context. While the images discussed here could be framed in terms of modernity, capitalism and urbanisation the context usually considered to override the rest when considering images of Native American groups is that these were all parts of a broader colonial project. This project, ongoing from the early days of trade and settlement, witnessed a dramatic expansion under the plans for confederation, which required a large scale re-imagining of the Canadian landscape. This landscape was being re-imagined as one in which the Native American was either entirely absent, or where the Native American existed as a spectre with a singular identity.⁴ However, as Nicholas Thomas has argued colonial projects not only varied significantly over time, they also varied geographically.⁵ The images considered here have been selected partly with the intention of exploring the diversity of visual representations of Native Americans which reflected, in part, the variety of geographical contexts in which indigenous peoples became subject to the camera's gaze.

Recent work on 'life geographies' provides a further context for the studies presented for this chapter.⁶ The concept of life geography engages with how the spaces and

³ Blunt, A. (1994), *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*, London: The Guildford Press; Edwards, E. (1994), "Introduction" in Edwards, E. (ed), *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 3 – 17; Pratt, M. L. (1992), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge; and, Thomas, N. (1994), *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Cambridge: Polity Press

⁴ Francis, D. (1992), *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Culture*, Vancouver, B. C.: Arsenal Pulp Press. Also, in an American context see; Jackson, P. (1992), "Constructions of culture, representations of race: Edward Curtis's 'way of seeing'" in Anderson, K., and Gale, F., *Inventing Places*, Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, pp. 89 – 106

⁵ Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*

⁶ Daniels, S. and Nash, C. (2004), "Lifepaths: Geography and Biography" in *The Journal of Historical Geography* (30: 449 – 458); Thomas, N. (2004), "Exploring the Boundaries of Biography: the Family and Friendship Networks of Lady Curzon, Vicereine of India 1898 – 1905" in *The Journal of Historical Geography* (30: 496 – 519)

places of life affect the development of biographies in ways which are spatially situated. As such, individuals are not coherent, pre-formed personalities (in the way biography often portrays them to be) but instead people shaped by space, time and socio-political interactions in different contexts. This is relevant to the following discussion, though in a particular way, reflecting the specific nature of the photographic event in question: the portrait. While the photographers and their subjects interact to create portraits, they operate in very different social and geographical spheres, and have highly contrasting life geographies. The complexities of these geographies and the mediation of space by these individuals has a significant impact upon the composition of the image. Moreover, the portraits of indigeneity necessarily invites a question of genre: the fact that these are portraits of Native Americans makes a difference to the way we see their form as well as their content.

Geographies of colonial representation: Canadian contexts

In considering the images that form the core of this chapter it is important to foreground the colonial contexts at work in the time period considered as well as in the preceding decades. Alongside the insights of post-colonial theory, we need to highlight the specific histories and geographies of transformation shaping the landscapes of Canada at the time. Social changes, such as large-scale immigration, evolving gender roles and the waning of the dominance of the British Empire, had implications for the cultural and visual understandings applied to Native American groups. This is important as it nuances the idea that the understandings constructed around indigenous groups in the early twentieth-century were expressly influenced by colonial interactions and further focuses the social role and significance of the images considered. However, before moving onto this I will highlight the prevailing social and political conditions under which many Native American groups found themselves subject to increasing regulation by the twentieth-century Canadian government. This is a distinctly colonial story.

Canada's expansion across the North American continent in the decades after confederacy was and is often portrayed as being benign, fair-minded and paternalistic in its interactions with Native American groups. This has the dual benefit of both justifying paternalistic and puritanical policies of creating reservations for various tribes

in newly-defined Canadian spaces and contrasting Canada with nations seen as being more heavy-handed in their geographical expansionism, in particular the United States.⁷ The reality, however, as Cole Harris has illustrated, is that the Canadian government operated a particular mode of colonial expansionism in its attempts to secure geographical cohesion for the fledgling nation that, while recognisably different from the geopolitical actions of other settler states, was still based on technological supremacy, political manoeuvring and forcible coercion.⁸

In the years following confederation and as late as the early twentieth century geographical cohesion was an important preoccupation for the Confederate government. In the face of feared encroachment from the United States on its borders, between the 1860s and 1910s the Canadian government set about solidifying claims regarding its northern, western and central territories in a process that would have direct implications for the status of aboriginal groups and their lands and hunting grounds. In the period covered by this chapter (1900 – 1910) the confederate phase of this project was drawing to a close in some areas and consolidating its gains in others.⁹

The specificity and geography of the experience of confederation in Canada lends support to the claims made by Thomas, Blunt and others that colonial projects varied in shape and form depending upon the government implementing them and the space within which they were implemented.¹⁰ The idea that there were multiple colonialisms

⁷ This idea of a non-colonial Canadian state is still promoted today, as illustrated by Prime Minister Stephen Harper's recent statement to the G20 in Pittsburgh in which he asserted, while articulating Canada's place in the twenty-first century, "We also have no history of colonialism. So we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers but none of the things that threaten or bother them."; Ljunggren, D. (2009), "Every G20 Nation Wants to be Canada, Insists PM", for *Reuters*, available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE58P05Z20090926> (last accessed 12/11/2010)

⁸ Harris, R. C. (1987), *Historical Atlas of Canada: Vol. 1 From the Beginning to 1800*, London: University of Toronto Press; Harris, R. C. (2008), *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space and Environment in Canada before Confederation*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press provide a good overview, especially regarding trade and politics on the east coast in early Canadian history. On geographical expansion in the Plains, see Tobias, J. L. (1983), "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879 – 1885" in *The Canadian Historical Review* (64: 519 – 548)

⁹ In many ways, however, a sense of paranoia about geographical cohesion has never left Canada and the United States and this continued into the twentieth century, through the Cold War and now manifests in the new phase of Arctic resource exploitation politics that Russia has pushed onto the agenda.

¹⁰ Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism*; Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*

in operation across the globe is important to the consideration of the images used in this chapter. The perspective advanced here has some similarities with the arguments expressed by Alan Lester in *Imperial Networks* whereby he argues that a consideration of the social relations between groups in specific geographical regions creates a more nuanced view of the colonial project.¹¹ In this respect the images selected from the Colonial Copyright Collection will be used to consider how Native American groups and colonial actors interacted across Canada's widely varying spaces, creating diverse visual forms of colonial portraiture in the process.

The images discussed in the remainder of this Chapter are selected from three Canadian regions that were at different stages of integration into the Canadian state between 1900 and 1910. The northern lands photographed by Geraldine Moodie and many other Arctic expedition members in the early twentieth century arguably portray the least incorporated part of the Canadian geographical sphere in this period. As a response to wider geopolitical pressures and the promise of mineral resources, the Canadian government co-ordinated a series of expeditions, using mariners, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and professional photographers, whose mandate was to document various Arctic regions and peoples, and produce visual evidence of Canadian government control over the lands.¹² There were various individuals involved with these expeditions in unofficial capacities - for example, Geraldine Moodie, who was accompanying her husband John Douglas Moodie (known as J.D.) on an expedition to assert Canadian control over the area and monitor the welfare of the Inuit communities of Fullerton Bay. This case study will therefore consider not only how these expeditions generated understandings of the Native American groups that inhabited these areas of interest to the Canadian colonial project but also how the contingent connections (for instance between Geraldine and the Inuit subjects she photographed) also generated new visual imaginations.

¹¹ Lester, A. (2001), *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain*, London: Routledge. In this case the project was the colonisation of South Africa by white settlers and the subjugation of the Xhosa.

¹² Moodie, J. D. (1905), "Report of Superintendent J. D. Moodie" in *Sessional Papers No. 2 (Session 1903 – 1904)*, Scott Polar Research Institute holdings, pp. 3 -12; Moodie, J. D. (1907), "The Hudson Bay Expedition" in *Sessional Papers No. 9, Third Session of the Tenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada (Session 1906 – 1907)*, Scott Polar Research Institute holdings, pp. 179 – 181; and Burant, J. (1998), "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The A. P. Low Expedition of 1903 – 04 aboard the CGS *Neptune*" in, King, J. C. H. and Lidchi, H., *Imaging the Arctic*, London: British Museum Press, pp. 77 – 87

The chapter also considers images made in areas where there had already been a great deal of established interaction between settler and Native American groups, for example the Six Nations groups that lived around the major eastern Canadian metropolises such as Toronto. Within Ontario, the interactions between Native American groups and settlers were much more rigidly bounded affairs than elsewhere, with groups such as the Six Nations Onondaga living in geographically defined reserves of their own territory by this point. However, although the colonial project of defining reservations was much more complete here than elsewhere, interaction between native and settlers could still take a variety of forms. Through detailed consideration of the photographing of the Onondaga runner Tom Longboat, the flexible definition of Canadian identity and the significance of the attempted ‘whitening’ of the Indian population become clear. In short, the colonial project in Ontario could be seen as still in process.

Turning to western Canada, the study of interactions between native tribes and the growing body of settlers brought into the area by the railroad offers further insight into how this process played out differently across Canada. The territories that by 1905 formed the state of Alberta had only recently been brought under the control of the Dominion government through the development of a railroad infrastructure,¹³ increased white settlement in the area and the subjugation of local Native American tribes. Within these contexts the place of Native American groups in Alberta was being strictly defined both geographically and socially. In the aftermath of the wars and reservation development programme that operated between 1870 and 1885, members of the Native American tribes that made their settlements in the plains that were central to Alberta found themselves tightly restricted to reservation areas, away from urbanised areas.¹⁴

As a result most settlers had little direct contact with members of the various tribes who had once inhabited the landscapes of the Canadian west. This is the context within which Arthur Rafton-Canning’s work is situated. Rafton-Canning was a migrant from

¹³ See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the project of linking Canada’s territories by the railroad.

¹⁴ Dempsey, H. A. (1983), “A. Rafton-Canning, Lethbridge Photographer: a Pictorial Feature” in Dempsey, H. A. (ed) *Alberta History* (31: 16 – 23); Dempsey, L. J. (2007), *Blackfoot War Art: Pictographs of the Reservation Period, 1880 – 2000*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press; and, Tobias, “Canada’s Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879 – 1885”

Britain who arrived in western Canada with his new bride in 1885 and moved to a few locations as member of the Northwest Mounted Police and photographer before settling for an extended period of time in Lethbridge, Alberta, where he operated a photographic company from 1909–1914.¹⁵ During his time in Lethbridge, Rafton-Canning was an avid photographer of the developments that occurred in the town, picturing the opening of new buildings and infrastructure as the town flourished. In particular he was a keen proponent of the railroad and the benefits it would bring.¹⁶ While photographing the area around Lethbridge, Rafton-Canning also produced many images of local Blackfoot and Blood Indian gatherings. These images focus on groups, individuals and the materials used by members of the depicted tribes but Rafton-Canning’s images subject the depicted individuals to a peculiar documentary gaze which contrasts with those of Moodie and Aylett.

In considering the work of Rafton-Canning this chapter will set out to consider how his depictions of the Plains Indian tribes from around Lethbridge were mediated by his own experiences as a migrant and a white, European settler. Consideration of his biography or ‘life geography’ is useful here as the images studied say as much about the photographer and the society from which they hail as they do about the depicted aboriginal groups. In this context, Daniels and Nash suggest replacing conventional biographies with an emphasis on ‘life paths’, geo-biographies shaped by disjunctures, developments and the circumstances within which individuals find themselves.¹⁷ Such an analytical perspective intersects with feminist and postcolonial works undertaken in the previous twenty years, in particular those works that consider the agency and role of women on the frontiers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁸ This chapter seeks to

¹⁵ Information from the Galt Museum Archives (Alberta); Camera Workers Website (<http://www.members.shaw.ca/bchistorian/cw1858-1950.html>, last accessed 05/12/2009); and, Dempsey, “A. Rafton-Canning, Lethbridge Photographer”

¹⁶ This can be seen in the few surviving remnants of Canning’s correspondence, especially once he moved away from Lethbridge to Fort McMurray, Alberta. In his letters from here he writes how the salvation of the area shall be in the coming of the railroad (see the Galt Museum and Archive holdings, www.galtmuseum.com, under the curation of Greg Ellis).

¹⁷ Daniels and Nash, “Lifepaths”

¹⁸ Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism*; McEwan, C. (1994), “Encounters with West African Women: Textual representations of difference by white women abroad” in, Blunt, A. and Rose, G., *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, London: The Guildford Press, pp. 73 – 100; Mills, S. (1991), *Discourses of Difference: an Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*, London: Routledge; Skidmore, C. (ed.) (2006), *This Wild Spirit: Women in the Rocky Mountains of Canada*, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press

draw out the complex interactions between biography, society and photography in the works of Charles Aylett, Geraldine Moodie and Arthur Rafton-Canning. By intertwining both the life and the art and considering how one affects the other this chapter will illustrate the complexity of the photographic images produced by settler Canadians of indigenous groups during the period between 1895 and 1924. To illustrate this we will start west and work east, beginning with the images of Arthur Rafton-Canning, Alberta pioneer, railroad enthusiast and photographer.

A lens on the West: the photography of Arthur Rafton-Canning

Arthur Rafton-Canning was, in many ways, an exemplar of the many migrants from various European backgrounds who came to settle in Canada and its Western territories. The descendant of a Parisian family and an Englishman by birth, Rafton-Canning moved to Canada shortly after marrying his wife in England in 1885, attracted by the mystique of the west. From this point he worked for the Royal North West Mounted Police, the Edwards Bros.¹⁹ photographic studio in Vancouver and then eventually settled in Lethbridge, Alberta, where he opened up his own photographic studio, the British and Colonial Photographic Co., in 1907. By 1907 Lethbridge was no longer simply a fledgling pioneer town; it was receiving more pairs of hands, more businesses and benefiting from the crucially important connection to the railway line which made it into a regional hub. The area that comprised the Alberta territory had only recently been brought under the full control of the Confederate government, which had to surmount geographical obstacles and a considerable amount of resistance from Native American tribes in the area in order to bring the territory into the confederate scheme and continue progress toward a geographically cohesive Canadian state.²⁰

The fragmentary material archive that remains of Rafton-Canning's life indicates that it was the chance to be a genuine pioneer that caught his interest and caused him to move himself and his new family across the world.²¹ Once settled in Lethbridge, Rafton-Canning used his skill in photography to set about documenting life in the new territory

¹⁹ This company's work can also be found deposited in the Colonial Copyright Collection.

²⁰ Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879 – 1885"

²¹ Dempsey, "A. Rafton-Canning, Lethbridge Photographer"

and the explosion of modernity that, he hoped, was about to erupt from the soils of the western Canadian plains. His work was used in Chapter 4 to illustrate the discussion of the photography of the Canadian railroad. The image of the Lethbridge viaduct spanning the landscape (Fig. 4.5) can be read as a metaphor for all that Rafton-Canning saw as happening to the plains of Alberta. He saw railroads and towns as rising out of the ground in order to underpin the development of the agricultural wealth that could be propagated using the soils he now stood on as the base of a vast agricultural economy. The Lethbridge viaduct was a source of continued fascination for Rafton-Canning, his camera lovingly documenting its every step to traverse the vast gorge and illustrating to the viewer this engineering marvel as an icon of efficiency, ingenuity and development.

The discussion of Fig 4.5 presented in that Chapter was incomplete, for it is also necessary to consider what Rafton-Canning understood to be the antithesis of the utilitarian development of the Alberta landscape undertaken by the white man. That is, the society of those who also called this landscape home, the members of the Blackfoot and Blood Indian Tribes who now found themselves living on geographically restricted reserves that strove to separate settler and indigene as the white man transformed the landscape in his own image. Rafton-Canning's images of the Native American groups that lived around the Lethbridge area offer a stark contrast to the depictions he created of the incoming settler society. This contrast is the focus of the discussion developed here.

The argument here is that Rafton-Canning's depictions of settler and aboriginal societies should not be viewed in isolation: both sets of depictions are part of the same tableaux, one designed to illustrate and celebrate the development of a new settler society and economy on the vast Alberta Plains.²² A settler colony that would be the lynchpin of the Canadian nation was underpinned by the railroad.²³ This had particular consequences for the way aboriginal groups were portrayed. The stereotypes that were

²² In this respect, the argument is similar to that presented by James Faris, regarding the photographing of the Navajo in America. Faris asserts that the images developed of the Navajo in nineteenth century America were influenced by the fact that the deployment of the camera to depict the Navajo also coincided with the extension of capitalism into the territories of these tribes. Faris, J. (2003), "Navajo and Photography" in Pinney, C. and Peterson, N. (eds), *Photography's Other Histories*, London: Duke University Press, pp. 85 – 99

²³ Berton, *The National Dream and The Last Spike* (abridged by author), Toronto: McClelland and Stewart

constructed and disseminated, particularly through the medium of photography, have had a significant impact upon socio-cultural understandings of Plains Indians in the past and continue to do so today.²⁴

The portrayal of the white man and the Indian as at opposite poles of the development spectrum was far from unique amongst Canadian photographers.²⁵ Indeed, Rafton-Canning's work is part of a broad range of photographic, literary and political works committed to this perspective. However, he is a significant figure in developing the visual imagination of Alberta during this time. Rafton-Canning was one of the most notable western Canadian photographers, a significant voice in the locality of Lethbridge and a dedicated copyrighter of his work, with the result that the Colonial Copyright Collection contains a significant volume of images of Albertan life at the beginning of the century.²⁶ This case study uses Rafton-Canning's work as illustrative of issues regarding the perception of indigenous groups not just in Lethbridge and Alberta, but also in Canada at large. As a result it will speak to a set of broad historical issues that continue to resonate in the present.

Before considering Rafton-Canning's photographic work in more detail it is important to note that the worlds of the Plains Indian and the settler Canadian ('pioneer-Albertan', to those cultivating an identity for the state) rarely overlap. They were thought of by settlers as belonging to strictly separate spheres in which one is the major culture and the other a minor and receding one. This reflects a distinct social conceit pervasive in Alberta at the time, which was a concerted effort on the part of the state authorities to keep members of the Plains Indian tribes out of white urban and agricultural spaces. The authorities also contrived to try to keep settlers out of the Indian reserves and away from

²⁴ Dempsey, *Blackfoot War Art*; and, Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879 – 1885" are specific Plains examples. Wider similarities can be seen in the representations discussed in; Dippie, B. W. (1994), "Representing the Other: The North American Indian" in, Edwards, E. (ed), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press (p. 132 – 136); Francis (1992), *The Imaginary Indian*; Street, B. (1994), "British Popular Anthropology: Exhibiting and Photographing the Other" in, Edwards, E. (ed), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 122 – 131

²⁵ The most noted example in this respect is the work of Edward Sheriff Curtis. See, Jackson, "Constructions of Culture, Representations of Race"

²⁶ Rafton-Canning's significance to the visual record of Lethbridge and Alberta is borne out by the reliance of recent research work upon his images for illustrative purposes; see Brownstone, A. (2002), "Ancestors: The Deane-Freeman Collections from the Bloods" in *American Indian Art Magazine* (Summer 2002: 38 – 77); Dempsey, *Blackfoot War Art*

the cultural life of tribes,²⁷ an attempt Rafton-Canning fell foul of a few times during his efforts to photograph the Plains Indian groups living around Lethbridge.²⁸ It has been noted that these moves by the Albertan authorities reflected a continuation of policies which marginalised, undermined and subjugated the tribal cultures of groups indigenous to the area. Further, this practice was born out of the conflicts of the 1870s and 1880s that surrounded the construction of the railroads and the formalisation of the state boundaries of Alberta, with the resultant establishment of defined tribal reserves as were seen across the rest of confederate Canada.²⁹

Amongst the broader white public of Alberta and Canada, these policies had the effect of allowing negative cultural stereotypes to be perpetuated.³⁰ Further, when illustrations of Plains Indians did circulate amongst the general public, they often pandered to a popular desire for depictions of the war-like and blood-thirsty Indian warrior dramatised during the westward expansions of the American and Canadian states. As a result, they suggested little of the actual complexity of indigenous cultures.³¹ Rafton-Canning's work depicting the Plains Indians around Lethbridge operates within these social conditions and is informed by them. While his images do not attempt to portray the Blackfoot and Blood Indians as overtly blood thirsty and war-like killers (although he does display a particular relish when annotating his negatives regarding the Blood Indian tribe) Rafton-Canning's work is complicit in portraying his subjects as members of backward or relic cultures.

Figures 6.2 (*Chief Body*) and 6.3 (*Many Tail Feathers*) are two of Rafton-Canning's portraits of tribal elders from around the Lethbridge area. Each depicts the men in their full ceremonial dress and in contact with status items, in the case of Chief Body a rifle

²⁷ This was at the rare times the Plains Indian gatherings and festivals were allowed to occur.

²⁸ Evidenced by correspondence between, J. D. McLean to British and Colonial Photo. Co. Jan. 23rd 1914 (from NAC, RG10, vol. 3826, file 60,5 11-3). Galt Museum and Archives, Lethbridge, Alberta.

²⁹ Pettipas, K. (1994), *Severing the Ties That Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press

³⁰ Dempsey (2007) *Blackfoot War Art*; Tobias (1983), "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879 – 1885"

³¹ Albers, P. C. (1998), "Symbols, Souvenirs and Sentiments: Postcard Imagery of Plains Indians, 1898 – 1918" in Geary and Webb (eds), *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 64 – 89



Figure 6.2: "Chief Body". Copyright Arthur Rafton-Canning, 1910
(Copyright Number 23385, Un-mounted Print, 150 x 110mm)



Figure 6. 3: “Many Tail Feathers”. Copyright Arthur Rafton-Canning, 1910 (Copyright Number 23391, Un-mounted Print, 150 x 110mm)

and ‘Many Tail Feathers’ being astride a horse.³² While both images were copyrighted in the same year there is a noticeable difference in quality between them, with the print quality of Chief Body’s portrait being significantly less than that of ‘Many Tail Feathers’ as the paper on which the print is reproduced is thinner and of significantly less porosity. Further the visual aesthetic of the image of Chief Body would also illustrate that different photographic materials were used in the production of these images. The image of Chief Body also appears over-exposed and to have less overall clarity, indicating that less care has been taken in the production of this image when compared to ‘Many Tail Feathers’.

This suggests two further things. Firstly, in spite of the similar date and close copyright numbers we may deduce that these images were produced at different times and possibly during different festivals. Secondly, the print quality of ‘Many Tail Feathers’ and the notation on the image (indicating scoring of the negative) would seem to suggest additional value has been placed on this image. This would fit with the idea that Rafton-Canning was producing these images for sale as postcards and souvenirs, a market that was developing substantially after Lethbridge became a major hub in the CPR rail network as a result of becoming a divisional point (railway depot) in 1905. The production of postcards as souvenirs for passengers on the rail network was common during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Equally common was a desire among photographers to pander to the demand of the market for images of ‘genuine’ Plains Indians.³³

These deductions regarding value judgement and market are significant as they open up further ways of analysing the images produced by Rafton-Canning. Given that the trend was to provide the market with images of ‘genuine’ Plains Indians, it is important to consider the visual mode utilised in the production of these images. Most notably, the positioning of Canning’s subjects in Figures 6.2 and 6.3 is contrived out of a desire to document the photographic subject. Chief Body is positioned face on, his rifle nestled in

³² It should be noted that I use the italics around ‘Many Tail Feathers’ to denote that there is some doubt that this is the name of the sitter. Instead it may be a promotional title added to the material by Canning.

³³ The exemplar here is the work of Edward Curtis, as discussed by Faris, “Navajo and Photography”; and, Jackson, “Constructions of Culture, Representations of Race”. The importance of the postcard industry in driving photographic markets was discussed in Chapter 5.

his left arm on clear display to the viewer. Alternatively, 'Many Tail Feathers' is positioned so as to present his side to the viewer, allowing a comprehensive view of the sitter to the viewer. In both cases the documentary style deployed is utilised in order to confer succinctly to the viewer concise visual messages about the subject. The sitter is arranged in both images to highlight the material culture of the tribesmen being photographed, with particular emphasis on the weapons, ceremonial objects and dress of both *Chief Body* and *Many Tail Feathers*. Recent work on the production of portraits of indigenous groups from across colonial spaces has asserted the significance of deploying the camera to depict these objects as part of an established way of visualising these cultures, especially in the context of Native American groups where the poem *Haiawatha* provided a well-known template for depicting the indigeneity of Native Americans through their material culture.³⁴ Through these visual cues the images illustrate succinctly and with simplicity the vibrancy, ethnicity, violence and, by extension of these, primitivism of the Plains Indians.

Figure 6.4 and its depiction of Plains Indian methods of transport works in a similar way. Its quality and presentation suggest that it is another image that Rafton-Canning felt he could sell to the market of train passengers and Lethbridge residents communicating with those further afield but its focus shifts away from attempting to illustrate the perceived violence of Plains Indian society. Instead Rafton-Canning is utilising his documentary gaze again in an attempt to illustrate the primitive and simple life-style led by Plains Indian groups. His angle of vision is selected in order to capture as much of the horse and its load in shot as possible while also containing a depiction of a woman in ceremonial dress without overcomplicating the composition. It should be noted that the images produced by Rafton-Canning are undoubtedly well composed so as to highlight the beauty of the material culture of the groups he is photographing. His composition foregrounds the complexity of dress and other living materials arranged around his photographic subjects. Further, the quality of his photography is such that his

³⁴ Dippie takes this focus when discussing the photography of Native American groups in nineteenth-century America, underscoring the importance of Lewis Henry Morgan's anthropological text about the Iroquois, *Haiawatha*. In this respect, the images can be understood to be an anthropologically grounded depiction of the sitter: see Dippie, "Representing the Other". The importance of photographing material culture to visually communicate anthropological messages is also evident in Hannouda's discussion of Auresian Women; Hannouda, N. (1994), "Two Portraits of Auresian Women" in Edwards (ed), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 206 – 210



Figure 6.4: "Indian Travois" Copyright Arthur Rafton-Canning, 1910
(Copyright Number, 23390, Un-mounted Print, 150 x 110mm)

images are valued by many contemporary descendants of these groups who are now attempting to piece back together their material heritage after the oppression of the twentieth-century.³⁵

However, notwithstanding the skill deployed in their composition and the utility that Rafton-Canning's images have for descendants of those depicted, we must not lose sight of the wider significances of his work at the time. To illustrate this it is worth constructing the following thought experiment. Imagine, if you will, a traveller disembarking from a cross-country CPR service in Lethbridge as the train takes time to refill water and fuel for the last stage of its journey to Vancouver. The traveller decides, to commemorate crossing the magnificent Lethbridge viaduct by calling into the British and Colonial Photo. Co. to pick up a postcard of the structure at which time they also pick up a postcard with the image reproduced in Figure 6.4. What would the effect of this juxtaposition be? Quite simply it would be to contrast the modern with the past, it would juxtapose modern, western, rationality against a 'vanishing' (or conquered) people. The ideas communicated by these two examples of Rafton-Canning's work are present in the whole of his catalogue from his time in Alberta: one could contrast Rafton-Canning's images of the Lethbridge viaduct with the depiction of the travois in Figure 6.4 and achieve the same effect. This interpretation does mask some of the intricacies of Rafton-Canning's work, notably his attention to the aesthetic qualities of the material culture of Plains Indian society, but even in these aspects of his vision you cannot escape the notion that Rafton-Canning's lens, as with E. S. Curtis and many others across North America in the same period, was depicting a lifestyle and culture that he perceived as belonging to the past. Further, as a result of this, the images do not convey the complexity of Plains Indian society and its adaptations to the landscape, an irony given Rafton-Canning's celebration of the conquering and rationalisation of the landscape in his image of the flattening Lethbridge viaduct.

As noted above, the denial of the complexity of Plains Indian society, their relationship with the landscape and their ability to interact as equal partners with white settler societies was far from unique to Rafton-Canning, Lethbridge and Alberta. Indeed the

³⁵ Dempsey, *Blackfoot War Art*. Such use of various materials that form the Colonial Copyright Collection, as well as those of Rafton-Canning, and their continued agency beyond the archive is a subject that will be discussed in the conclusion of the thesis.

true significance of Rafton-Canning's work is derived from its situation within a broad spectrum of Canadian and American photography perpetuating the myth of Indian backwardness juxtaposed against settler modernity. In turn these tropes perpetuated nineteenth-century stereotypes and also came to define white perceptions of indigenous groups in the twentieth century as well as informing the policies and actions perpetrated against them at this time.³⁶ However, while Rafton-Canning may have been perpetuating a common stereotype in these images, it was a visual trope also influenced by his own biography and perception of the developments happening around him.

The portrait of Tommy Longboat

Some of the earliest experiments with photography were made through the composition of human portraits, with photographers such as Fox Talbot developing and refining his calotype process while producing images of his family around their home. This opened up the commercial potential of the new medium and the photographic portrait soon began to supplant the expensive painted miniature. Indeed, early in the development of effective photographic practices many individuals began to undergo the laborious task of trekking up a strenuous number of stairs to reach both the photographer's studio and the good light above the smog and gloom of the city in order to have their portrait produced. Very soon the portrait became a widely available medium used to remember close relatives and loved ones in homes across the world.³⁷

The taste for the portrait photograph and the cheapening of photographic production was accompanied by an increase in the use of pictorial and, eventually, photographic portraits in newspapers, journals and magazines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the early twentieth century it was the norm for a significant event to be reported in the press with an accompanying image of the individual or individuals involved sitting above the text of the article to illustrate the writing. Indeed,

³⁶ Francis (1992), *The Imaginary Indian*

³⁷ The development of the portrait is traced in Falconer, F. and Hide, L. (2009), *Points of View: Capturing the Nineteenth Century in Photographs*, London: The British Library; Helibrun, F. (2009), "Portraiture", in Helibrun, F. (ed), *A History of Photography: The Musée d'Orsay Collection, 1839 – 1925*, Paris: Flammarion, pp. 103 – 124; Marien, M. W. (2006, 2nd Ed.), *Photography: A Cultural History*, London: Laurence King Publishing; and, West, S. (2004), *Portraiture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

if an accompanying image could not be found to embed in the text this was a cause of much anxiety to editors of local, national and international newspapers, who needed a visual backdrop for their stories.

This brief account of the historical development of the commemorative portrait provides a context in which the portrait of the Onondaga runner Tom Longboat (reproduced in Figure 6.5) can initially be read. The photograph was taken by the Toronto photographer, Charles Aylett, after Longboat's victory in the 1907 Boston Marathon. Longboat had won the race in Massachusetts in style, exploding onto the long-distance running scene and receiving the praise and indeed adulation of all in Ontario (and even some, grudgingly, in Massachusetts). However, upon reporting the spectacular win the Toronto papers found that they had no image of this runner, who hailed from the Onondaga reserves outside the city, and so Aylett was commissioned to produce a series of images which were run in the papers and are discussed here.³⁸

Longboat's success on the race course thrust his image onto the public stage. The subsequent years of Longboat's career were defined by struggles over his identity and these struggles indicate the contested place of indigenous groups in Canada both then and now. It should be noted that there is no evidence that Longboat ever publicly questioned his own identity: he was an Onondaga and nothing else. However his athletic success provoked public interest in and debate over his identity in wider Canadian social circles.³⁹ What is of interest here is the relationship between Aylett's image of Longboat and those public debates. This case study considers Aylett's image and its context in order to interrogate what it shows about these relationships between elements of Canadian society, in this case the popular media, and its diverse Native American groups, in order to show the importance of photographs in framing perceptions of the role and place of the Native American in Canadian society. This analysis will illustrate a further aspect of the visual depiction of Native Americans across Canada in the period 1900 – 1910.

³⁸ Another image of Longboat taken by Aylett and deposited for copyright depicts Longboat running and it is still used to this day as part of the display on Native Americans in Canadian society in the Museum of Civilization, Ontario.

³⁹ The assurance Longboat felt in his own identity, and confusion regarding its attempted appropriation by others, was frequently expressed by himself and friends throughout the rest of Longboat's life; Zeman, B. (1988), *To Run With Longboat: Twelve Stories of Indian Athletes in Canada*, Edmonton, Alberta: GMS Ventures Inc.



Figure 6.5: “Tom Longboat, Standing”. Copyright Charles Aylett, 1907
(Copyright Number 18314, Mounted Print, 140 x 100mm)

The focus here is on the role of the camera in representing a celebrity sportsman, in the broader context of the colonial context between settlers and indigenous peoples. There is now a large literature on the history of sport as a sphere where national, colonial and gender identities are formed and contested. A central influence on this literature was the writing of C. L. R. James on cricket and its place in Caribbean culture.⁴⁰ James' account of the export of cricket around the colonial sphere to develop and underpin British values in the colonies only for it to become appropriated and rearticulated within local conditions and subsequently used to 'bat back' at the empire portrays the nuanced relationships that develop between individuals, groups and nations through sport.⁴¹ In the North American context, sport also provide a sphere in which identities are constructed and contested, a process in which ethnic and racial identities continue to be significant factors.⁴²

The running of races had long been a part of Native American cultures and it was something Canadians were brought into, as opposed to vice-versa.⁴³ Indeed, migrant Europeans working on the Canadian landscape had spent much of their time since the founding of Quebec being soundly beaten, in what could be more-or-less termed marathons, by Native American runners. Similarly, Longboat's childhood was punctuated by many instances in which his abilities as a runner could be interpreted as a mechanism for subverting the desires of the expanding Canadian state as he regularly

⁴⁰ James, C. L. R. (2005, Orig. 1963), *Beyond a Boundary*, London: Yellow Jersey Press.

⁴¹ The agency of sport in the development and questioning of national and colonial identities is taken further in; Bairner, A. (1996), "Ireland, Sport and Empire" in Jeffery, K. (ed), *'An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 57 – 76; Gemmell, J. (2004), *The Politics of South African Cricket*, London: Routledge; Hutchinson, R. (1996), *Empire Games: The British Invention of Twentieth-Century Sport*, London: Mainstream Publishing; and, Mangan, J. A. (1992), "Prologue: Britain's Chief Cultural Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond" in Mangan, J. A. (ed), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire and Society*, London: Frank Cass, p. 1 – 10

⁴² Carrington, B. (2010), *Race, Sport and Politics: The Sporting Black Diaspora*, London: Sage; Gems, G. R. (2005), "Negotiating a Native American Identity Through Sport: Assimilation, Adaptation and the Role of the Trickster" in King, C. R. (ed), *Native Athletes in Sport and Society: A Reader*, London: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 1 – 21; Simpson, K. (2005), "Sporting Dreams Die on the 'Rez'", in Eitzen, D. S. (ed), *Sport in Contemporary Society: An Anthology*, London: Paradigm, pp. 259 – 265; and, Springwood, C. F. (2005), "Playing Football, Playing Indian: A History of the Native Americans Who Were the NFL's Oorang Indians" in King, C. R. (ed), *Native Athletes in Sport and Society: A Reader*, London: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 123 – 142

⁴³ Kidd, B. (1980), *Tom Longboat*, Don Mills, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside; Nabokov, P. (1981), *Indian Running*, Santa Barbara: Capra Press

ran away – as fast and far as he could – from his schooling and the oppressive environment of the imposed education system.⁴⁴

Furthermore, once Longboat began to compete in formalised races in the early twentieth century it is clear, from his own words, that it was an undertaking fuelled by his desire to compete and illustrate his abilities as an Onondaga runner. It is notable, therefore, that Longboat's successes from 1907 onwards, in spite of the history of Native American athletes in general and the role of running in his life up until this point, garnered him the honour of being appropriated by the Canadian press, "as a Canadian".⁴⁵ It is within this context of individual and cultural appropriation that the photographs considered here were produced in a studio by the photographer of many in Toronto society, Charles Aylett, to illustrate Longboat and his successes in the Ontarian media.

Before considering the portrait of Longboat produced in the wake of his victory in the 1907 Boston marathon, it is worth reflecting on how the composition of a portrait, or for that matter any image, was intended to work. Portrait shots, in particular formal ones, are a mix of rigidity and informality, the signifiers of the image pointing towards the status of the individual while also making them appealing to the eye and inviting to view. Within this structure the interplay between the background aesthetic, the sitter's attire, their posture and their stature within the scene must all speak to each other in order to communicate the appropriate message. To illustrate this, I will briefly consider an image from the portfolio of Notman and Sons, who deposited a significant amount of material for copyright between 1895 and 1924 and are considered exemplars in the field of Canadian photography and studio portraiture.⁴⁶ William Notman produced some of the earliest iconic images of Canada, with his studio scenes representing Canadian life

⁴⁴ Kidd, *Tom Longboat*, pp. 2 – 10

⁴⁵ *Toronto Daily Star*, 19th April 1907, p. 1

⁴⁶ Schwartz, J. M. (2007), "Photographic Reflections: Nature, Landscape, and Environment", in *Environmental History* (12: 966-93); Skidmore, C. (2008), *Notman, William and Sons (1856 – 1935)*, in Hannavy, J. (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, pp. 1011 – 1012; Skidmore, C (2002), "Photography in the Convent: *Grey Nuns, Québec, 1861*" in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (70: 279 – 310); Triggs, S. (1994), *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart



Figure 6.6: "Lady Grey". Copyright Notman & Sons, 1905
(Copyright Number 15717, Mounted Print, 240 x 180mm)

in the mid-nineteenth century in a way that still resonates today.⁴⁷ The reputation that William Notman built up as the major Canadian photographer meant that by the late nineteenth century he, and his sons who would inherit the business, were the photographers to employ for the production of commemorative portraits.

Figure 6.6 is an image produced by Notman & Sons and deposited in the Colonial Copyright Collection. It depicts Lady Grey in 1905, during Lord Albert Henry George Grey's time as Governor General of Canada (from 1904–1911). Although the image is contextually very different from that of Tom Longboat, it is typical of the format of elite portrait photography in Canada during this period. William Notman's reputation as the exemplary Canadian photographer endured, extending to what is now Notman & Sons Photographers after the founder died in 1891. As a result, between 1895 and 1924 Notman & Sons were still the predominant photographers of internationally significant individuals, as Figure 6.6 illustrates. Lady Grey stands clad in fur, with a snowy background used as the studio drape. In this respect, the scene is reminiscent of 'A Chance Shot' and the wider body of work of Notman & Sons. The clothes worn by Lady Grey communicate the popularly understood coldness of the Canadian landscape (something frequently invoked by William Notman) and also reflect her status as a governess of Canada through her posture, look and clothing. Shearer West notes the importance of the confluence of subject, photographer's reputation and scene in the communication of the intended message through portraiture photography and portraiture in general.⁴⁸ These factors are all present in the above image of Lady Grey and they combine to create an effective commemorative portrait of Canada's new governess.

This outline of the practice of studio-based, elite portrait photography provides context and counterpoint for the following discussion of the images produced of Tom Longboat after his Boston Marathon victory. In Figure 6.5 we see Tom Longboat, as with Lady Grey, clothed in the garb of his trade and surrounded by the paraphernalia of his victories. The viewer is encouraged to see this as an image depicting and immortalising Longboat's moment of glory. Longboat stands, placed with his shoulders back, next to a

⁴⁷ As illustrated by the fact that Notman's 'A Chance Shot' often fronts special issues on Canadian photography and is still seen as the iconic depiction of Canadian winter; Schwartz, J. M. (1996), "Guest Editorial" in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20, 2: ii)

⁴⁸ West (2004), *Portraiture*

stool which holds a trophy the scale of which seems to dwarf Longboat's frame. This, it should be noted, is not an insubstantial feat, given that Longboat stands just short of six feet tall and weighs in at over one hundred and forty pounds, meaning those are quite some trophies that he is standing next to. The size of these awards and the gaudily ostentatious setting present a scene that to the casual view, as in a newspaper, would most successfully illustrate Longboat's success.

However, a deeper reading of the scene itself may illustrate something else, especially regarding the comfort of the sitter and the ambition of those who commissioned it, of more substantial interest than the fleeting glare of sporting glory. To begin with, the setting may not be as appropriate for Longboat as the snowy, fur-clad scene in which Lady Grey stands. Longboat stands in an ornate, decorated room, backed with dark wallpaper and punctuated by the fashionable trimmings of the time. The setting is ceremonial and distinctly formal in its aesthetic. Further, Longboat is somewhat Europeanised in his physical posture as a portrait sitter. He stands bolt upright with not even a hint of a smile on his face. This, it should be noted, is in marked contrast to many other images that exist of him in more relaxed situations, where his posture is comfortable, with a hint of roundness in the shoulders and an easy smile. Overall, the rigidity of Longboat's posture here suggests the dominant aesthetic of Victorian portraiture, where sitters were encouraged to compose themselves as austere as possible.⁴⁹ In this bodily arrangement we begin to perceive some clues as to the other messages embedded in the image. To add to these physiological visual clues he also stands dressed unmistakably as a Canadian, the Maple leaf of the Confederation daubed across his chest. There are no circles or other iconographies of the Onondaga nation, there is no headgear decorating Longboat's crown.

Constructing a distinctly Canadian aesthetic around Longboat within this image reflects an attempt to assert Longboat's identity as consistent with the hegemonic identity being created by confederate Canada, that was being gradually enforced upon the Native American groups within its expanding geographical confines. Here in Ontario, where contact with indigenous groups had a longer history than in the western sphere within which Rafton-Canning was acting, the process of trying to 'whiten' Native American

⁴⁹ Berkhofer, R. F. (1979), *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present*, New York: Vintage

groups and assimilate them into Canadian culture had been developing for some time, Longboat found himself at the front of a new phase of this relationship.⁵⁰ Within this phase individuals from Native American groups existed in a fluid space in Canadian society, portrayed as degenerate natives when out of step with urban Ontarian thinking but appropriated as Canadians when bringing glory to a confederate Canada still trying to find its identity and compete in international spheres. The image of Longboat is an illustration of this position.

Prior to the Boston Marathon, when the papers were printing biographies of the runners registered for the event, an image was not required for the unknown Native American who had entered in the race.⁵¹ However, subsequent to Longboat's successes at the Boston Marathon and beyond his achievements were celebrated as a considerable coup for Canada by the Ontario press. This meant that an image of Longboat's exact likeness was required and within this image, discussed above, Longboat was to appear as 'white' as possible. Essentially, as an 'Indian' Longboat was devoid of individuality, visual or otherwise, but as a successful runner he was appropriated as a Canadian who required an appropriate image to be constructed through the medium of portraiture. This is best summarised by the following text from the *Toronto Daily Star*, published after Longboat's Boston Marathon victory, under the headline 'Canadian Won Big Race':

Canada makes no bones about gaining a little glory from an Indian. In other matters than footraces we have become accustomed to leaders from the Six Nations. We give the Boston papers notice, one and all, that we claim Longboat as a Canadian.⁵²

Actually, this statement was economical with the truth. The claim that "Canada makes no bones" about Longboat's ethnicity applied only so far as he was successful. Indeed, when Longboat occasionally lost a race the media and even many of his confidantes, including his trainer, were quick to put this down to his lazy, Indian ways. This continued throughout his career and often resulted in the most ridiculous and racist of

⁵⁰ The use of photography in the wider project of 'Whitening' Native American individuals and groups in Canada is also discussed in, Racette, S. F. (2009), "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography" in Lerner, L. (ed.), *Depicting Canada's Children*, Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, pp. 49 – 84

⁵¹ Kidd, *Tom Longboat*, p. 24

⁵² *Toronto Daily Star*, 19th April 1907, p. 1, British Library Newspaper Collections

statements. An example was provided in a repost of Longboat's marriage to Laretta Maracle in the *Toronto Star*,

She does not like to talk of feathers, war paint and other Indian paraphernalia. She is ambitious for Tom and if anybody can make a reliable man and good citizen of that elusive being, Tom Longboat, it will be his wife.⁵³

Such statements are significant as they reinforce the ingrained social stereotypes that affected the daily life of an individual such as Longboat as well as the production of images of his athletic prowess. Individual images do not work in isolation to construct an imagination of Longboat as an honorary Canadian. Instead, the image acts as a signifier, a visual reference point, that seeks in its composition to underscore Longboat's 'Canadian' identity and attributes and mask his identity as an Onondaga. The combination of the image with reporting, text, editing and the pervading social sense that Native American groups should be brought into Canadian society and civilised is what actually asserts the visual trope of the image and embeds it as part of this visual-cultural exchange mechanism.⁵⁴

Aylett's image of Longboat can also be read in the context of the efforts of the Toronto press and wider society to remove Longboat's honorary status when he dissatisfied his audience. Many of the cultural slurs levied against Longboat during his time as a runner were borne out of cultural misunderstandings, essentially misperceptions of his running style and training regime that were interpreted as being illustrative of his aboriginal nature, especially its negative qualities.⁵⁵ It has been noted, however, that the training regimes used by Longboat are now actually widely appropriated in the stamina development procedures of professional sports persons in the twenty-first century.⁵⁶ That aside, the ability of the press to shunt Longboat back and forward between 'Indian' and 'Canadian' does illustrate the fact that Longboat cannot be a Canadian as he is

⁵³ *Toronto Daily Star*, 29th December 1908, p. 8, British Library Newspaper Collections

⁵⁴ Edwards, E. (2001), *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg.

⁵⁵ These misconceptions are still common today, as articulated in Gems, "Negotiating a Native American Identity Through Sport"; Nabokov, *Indian Running*; Springwood, "Playing Football, Playing Indian"

⁵⁶ Kidd, *Tom Longboat*. This was and is a common perception of aboriginal athletes that is often proven erroneous, as highlighted in, King, C. R. (2005), "Identities, Opportunities, Inequities: An Introduction" in King, C. R. (ed), *Native Athletes in Sport and Society: A Reader*, London: University of Nebraska Press, pp. xi – xxxiii

Onondaga, more to the point he does not want to be Canadian, as shown by his resistance to the state throughout his young life.

This shows through in Aylett's image as the face and features that stare back at the camera are unmistakably that of a powerful and striking Onondaga runner, as opposed to a statuesque and passive exemplar of Canadian sporting prowess. That Longboat himself should still shine through in this portrait is perhaps not remarkable within the context of portraiture, but within this particular image, with all its drapery and Canuck imagery, it is testament to the strength of his cultural and personal identity that it does at all. The irrepressibility of Longboat's personality was a theme that ran through his career, as he continued to look after his own interests and retain his individual identity, much to the chagrin of the political bodies, press, trainers and promoters around him who were eager to whiten this prodigious runner and claim him as Canadian.⁵⁷

Longboat's resistance to all those who attempted to appropriate and redefine his own identity, even within the confines of the photographic image, is a testament not simply to the force of his own personality, but also to the potential for resistance within this colonial project as a whole. The dynamic that developed between Longboat, the photographer, Aylett, the Toronto press and many in the Ontarian political and athletic establishments and led to the production of the image discussed here is illustrative of the role these images played within Canadian society in the twentieth century and continue to do so today. Longboat's image also illustrates the complex dynamics that exist between subject, photographer, market and circulation of an image, as each of these factors was agent not just in affecting the creation of the image but also in making it a depiction that can be viewed differently in various socio-political contexts.

By extracting these images from the archive and re-analysing them within the wider contexts of the worlds that surrounded them at the time we can perceive how important they were to underpinning appropriations and understandings being forged regarding the role of individuals from Native American groups in the most settled parts of confederate Canada. However, we can also see that the conflicting identities thrust upon Longboat by the Canadian press and the frustrations Torontonians felt he visited

⁵⁷ Zeman, *To Run With Longboat*

upon them were present from the moment Canada attempted to call him its own. For, despite all the trappings of a Canadian sportsman what looks back at us from the portrait of Tom Longboat is an Onondaga national and the “man who ran faster than everyone”.⁵⁸

Looking North: the photography of Geraldine Moodie

The photography of Geraldine Moodie has attracted much academic and popular attention in Canada and beyond. Whether her photographs are seen as offering a distinctive perspective on the Arctic,⁵⁹ a feminised photographic interpretation of a realm more often seen through a masculine lens,⁶⁰ or as exemplars in the art of photographic image making,⁶¹ Moodie’s work provides ample sustenance for the academic researcher or photographic enthusiast. The following account considers Moodie’s work in the Arctic in the context of the wider histories of photography of Native American groups in Canada.

Geraldine Moodie owed her encounter with the Inuit population of Fullerton Bay to the involvement of her husband, J. D. Moodie, in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police project of enforcing Canadian sovereignty over its Northern borders. Between 1903 and 1905 J. D. Moodie had the task of asserting and documenting Canadian control over the territories surrounding Fullerton Bay.⁶² This project involved the erection of police barracks, the documentation of the local population, the extension of limited state functions (the keeping of medical records, enforcement of the law, etc) and the use of

⁵⁸ Batten, J. (2002), *The Man Who Ran Faster Than Everyone: The Story of Tom Longboat*, Toronto: Tundra. Publications such as this children’s book illustrate too how the achievements and legacy of Longboat continue to be rearticulated and redefined even in the twenty-first century.

⁵⁹ Hatfield, P.J. (2006), *Drawing Back the Curtain: Geraldine Moodie and the Canadian Arctic, 1904 – 1905*, University of London M. A. Thesis

⁶⁰ As cast by A. P. Low in the 1904 – 1905 exhibition; Burant, J. (1998), “Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The A. P. Low Expedition of 1903–04 aboard the CGS *Neptune*” in, King, J. C. H. and Lidchi, H., *Imaging the Arctic*, London: British Museum Press, pp. 77 – 87

⁶¹ White, D. (1998), *In Search of Geraldine Moodie*, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Centre

⁶² Burant, “Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic”. Also, the reports directly submitted by J. D. Moodie and Low attest to this; Moodie, “Report of Superintendent J. D. Moodie”; Moodie, “The Hudson Bay Expedition”

photography in order to provide a record of the state's presence in the Arctic. In short, Geraldine Moodie arrived in the Arctic during a major state and geopolitical project. Within this project the population of Fullerton Bay were being interacted with, documented and defined as new members of a Canadian state that was expanding both its borders and ambitions.

Photography played a central role within this project, providing a visual record of a Canadian presence in the Arctic and documenting the individuals who already lived on the landscape. In particular the camera was deployed in order to depict ill-health, malnutrition and general social conditions in such a way as to provide a rationale for the extension of Canadian welfare and support for these cultural groups, thereby extending the borders of the Canadian state.⁶³ This was not unique: indeed, it was part of a suite of similar projects conducted throughout the twentieth century to both project and protect the northern border of the state. It should be noted that the only images from this expedition which are part of the Colonial Copyright Collection are those produced by Geraldine Moodie, who took the images for her own professional use and copyrighted them in line with her established professional practice.⁶⁴ Those of other photographers involved in the Fullerton Bay expedition (such as Albert Low and J. D. Moodie) are held at Library and Archives Canada as befits records made for official government reports.⁶⁵

The images produced by J. D. Moodie and Albert Low, the ship's captain, are comparable to many other images produced in colonial anthropological expeditions

⁶³ Burant, "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic"; Ross, W. G. (1984), *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay 1903 – 05*, London: University of Toronto Press. What we see at this point is the fledgling attempts of the Canadian government to extend a policy of social provision north, this policy was to have disastrous consequences for many Inuit societies and the repercussions are still being dealt with today.

⁶⁴ As noted in Chapter 2 (and illustrated by Figure 2.9), Geraldine Moodie had an established photographic career before arriving in the Arctic. She was already known for her photographs of the Cree Sundance Festival, which occurred near to the settlement of Battleford, Saskatchewan, and was one of the first white settlers to be allowed to photograph this event; White, *In Search of Geraldine Moodie*. These images are part of the Colonial Copyright Collection and are now held in the British Museum (see Appendix A for more).

⁶⁵ Some of these records are also held at the Scott Polar Research Institute in Cambridge, but the collection there is not as complete as the Canadian version and mainly includes the reports of J. D. Moodie.

carried out in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁶ Further, in their use of the camera as a documentary device these images also bear some similarity to those produced by Rafton-Canning (as discussed above). By contrast, Geraldine Moodie's images have more in common with a genre of intimate portraiture, appropriated by photographers from the portrait artists that preceded them, and with the practice of the photographic social study often seen in artistic photography. In short Geraldine Moodie's work stands apart from that of the officials who travelled to the Arctic with her. The work of Low, for example, might be compared with the anthropological views of photographers such as E. H. Man and others across the colonial world,⁶⁷ while Geraldine Moodie's bears a resemblance to the works of August Sander, Eugène Atget or the more intimate, if still anthropological, portraits of Everard Im Thurn.⁶⁸

Figure 6.7 reproduces what is probably Moodie's most famous photograph from Fullerton Bay. A portrait of a local chief's daughter, the image depicts Kootucktuck entering the photographic studio and drawing the curtain closed behind her. The image has recently become better-known to academic researchers, having formed the frontispiece for *Imaging the Arctic*, the proceedings of a 1998 British Museum conference at which her grandson, a member of the Makivik corporation, was a speaker.⁶⁹ The photographic object itself exudes evidence of care and attention, with the image being well developed and printed on high-quality paper, suggesting its intended status as an art object.⁷⁰ The composition of the portrait, showing a beautiful young woman adorned with a richly-decorated costume is striking. The dark background

⁶⁶ Reproductions of Low's work may be found in Burant, "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic"; and, Hatfield, *Drawing Back the Curtain*

⁶⁷ Edwards, E. (1994), "Science Visualised: E. H. Man in the Andaman Islands" Edwards, E. (ed), *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 108 – 121

⁶⁸ While Im Thurn's view was an anthropological one it has been noted that he was critical of the de-humanising practice of anthropological photography and produced his photography in order to communicate more of a sense of the personality and the relationships he had with the sitters. In this respect it was akin to portraiture and has similarities with Geraldine Moodie's work. See, Taylor, D. (1994), "'Very Loveable Human Beings': The Photography of Everard Im Thurn" in Edwards (ed), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860 – 1920*, London: Yale University Press, pp. 187 – 192

⁶⁹ Qulaut, G. Q. (1998), "Keynote Address" in, King, J. C. H. and Lidchi, H., *Imaging the Arctic*, London: British Museum Press, pp. 19 – 23

⁷⁰ This, it should be noted, is an image sent for copyright and itself of no direct financial use to the photographer. It is this kind of attention to detail that lifts the photograph from illustration to art: see Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds) (2004), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge



Figure 6.7: “Kootucktuck” Copyright Geraldine Moodie, 1905
(Copyright Number, 16595, Album Mounted Print, 140 x 100mm).

Courtesy of the British Museum.

serves to accentuate the detail of Kootucktuck's dress and the lighting of the scene creates both tone and texture. The enveloping silence of the scene (communicated by the voluminous, black drapes) seems to mirror the silence of Kootucktuck's own experience as a deaf and mute woman.⁷¹ Moodie has positioned her subject so as to recreate a fleeting moment of intimacy - the closing of the curtain - that could have occurred as the sitter entered the studio, highlighting the grace of her subject and accentuating the erotic charge of the image.

The contrast between Geraldine Moodie's work and that of other photographers deploying an ethnographic or anthropological gaze is clear but not absolute. The communication of a set of values and judgements beyond documentation, for instance regarding the grace and sensuality of the photographic subject, was a common feature of the depiction of indigenous groups by Western photographers across the globe.⁷² The anthropological image came to express Western values and stereotypes of the indigenous population in order to fulfil particular demands, in this context for example extending the control of the Dominion of Canada over an Inuit group by articulating and communicating the inability of this group to care for themselves. However, Geraldine Moodie's images communicate rather different values and are clearly intended for a different purpose, as reflected in her decision to copyright the photograph. Geraldine Moodie's portraits present her Inuit sitters as strong characters with adult personalities (as reflected by Kootucktuck's sensuality) whose distinctive material culture was set against a hostile and barren landscape. These images were designed to appeal to a photographic market for images of exotic indigenous groups in urban Canada. Like those of her husband and Albert Low, Geraldine Moodie's images were produced for consumption in urban Canada. But her audience were those consumers interested in purchasing portraits and postcards, rather than the readers of official reports. The exoticism of the portrait would appeal to purchasers back in Ontario, where Geraldine Moodie settled for a short time after returning from the Fullerton Bay expedition before her husband.⁷³

⁷¹ While Kootucktuck's deafness is not mentioned in the caption to this image, it appears in another, of her sitting with her child, which refers to her as being deaf and mute.

⁷² Edwards, E. (2001), *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg; Ryan, J. (1997) *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire*, London: Reaktion Books

⁷³ White, *In Search of Geraldine Moodie*, p. 105

The plainness and intimacy of the studio setting of these images is notable. The studio that Moodie was afforded in Fullerton Bay was constructed for her so that she had space to live and work away from the actions of the official, masculine, party. J. D. Moodie and his colleagues felt their work was no place for a woman, and so Geraldine was provided with a space in which to pursue her photographic endeavours, for which she was well-known before arriving in Fullerton Bay. Yet provision of a separate space also allowed Moodie to form relationships with her photographic subjects which differed in quality from those of members of the expedition when they were taking their own photographs. This is borne out by another portrait, in Figure 6.8.

The sitter in this image, Shenookshoo, was a renowned whaler and elder in the Fullerton Bay area and had previously had a great deal of contact with Canadian whalers such as George Comer and explorers such as Albert Low.⁷⁴ Moodie's image of Shenookshoo is a striking piece of portrait photography, as he stands in her studio in full hunting dress, with his harpoon in hand.⁷⁵ Shenookshoo, in contrast to Kootucktuck, is backed in white which has the effect of accentuating his size and stature, as opposed to black which envelops and reduces the sitter. Here the aesthetic evokes the cold of the Arctic and accentuates the role of the hunter in the space. The stature of Shenookshoo and the gaze he returns to the camera also accentuate his authority, experience and knowledge. This contrasts to Figure 6.9, another image of Shenookshoo produced by Captain Albert Low while Moodie was in Fullerton Bay.⁷⁶ In Figure 6.9 we do not see Shenookshoo, instead we are presented with "Old Harry", the name by which he went in dealings with whalers around the Fullerton Bay area.⁷⁷ The image, therefore, immediately carries a different meaning, reinforced by the perspective, with "Old Harry" depicted in a seated, head focussed portrait, as opposed to the full-body one produced by Moodie. This

⁷⁴ Burant, "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic"

⁷⁵ It is notable from the way he holds it that it is Shenookshoo's own harpoon, as he handles it so confidently and possessively. This is a significant contrast to most portraits of indigenous sitters who were encouraged to have their portraits taken with props which they seldom sat with and held comfortably: Dippie, "Representing the Other"

⁷⁶ This image is not part of the Colonial Copyright Collection but is drawn into the discussion for illustrative purposes. See caption for further details.

⁷⁷ Albert Low, the photographer, had visited the Arctic many times before as the captain of a whaling schooner.



Figure 6.8: “Shenookshoo” Copyright Geraldine Moodie, 1905
(Copyright Number, 16595, Album Mounted Print, 140 x 100mm).

Courtesy of the British Museum

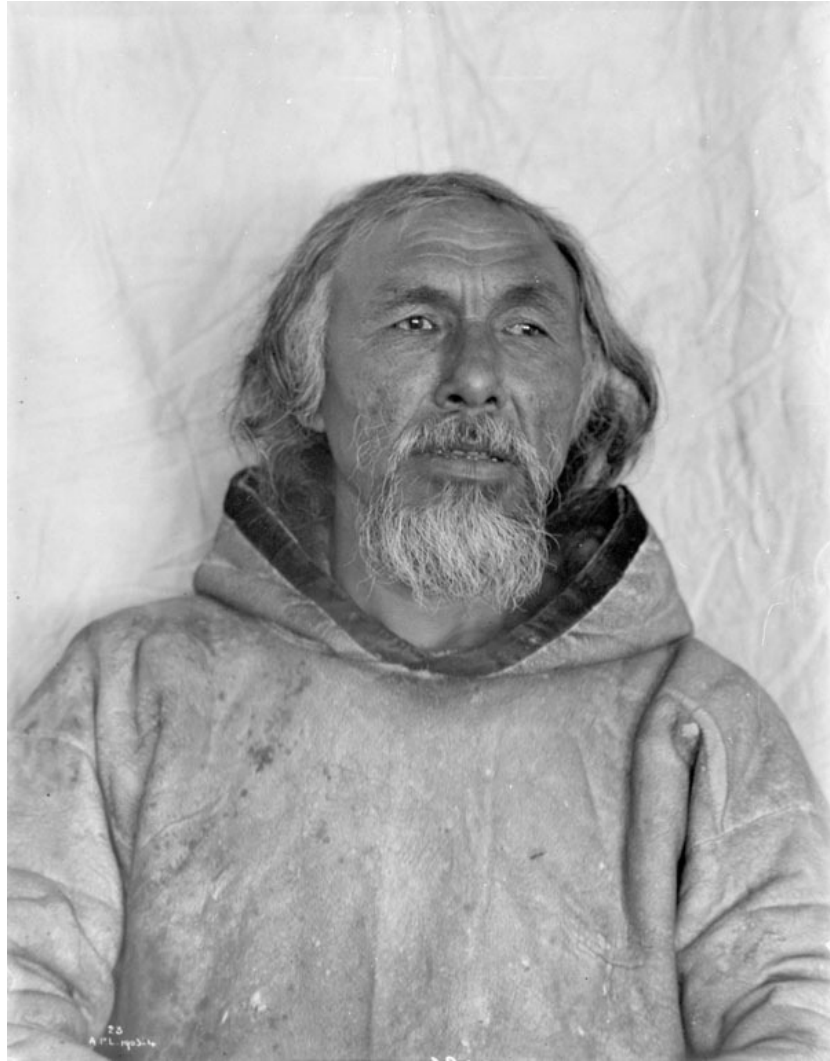


Figure 6.9: “Old Harry” Albert Low, 1905 (No Copyright Details).
Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada

compositional format was used in all but a few occasions by Low reflecting the way in which images appeared in the reports of the expedition.⁷⁸

Each of these portraits of Shenookshoo or “Old Harry” have a specific purpose. Low’s image is constructed so as to convey a sense of the character of the head of the community while focusing on his age. This is significant to the broader project of the expedition, given that other photographs of the male members of the community taken by Low tended to emphasise their ill-health. The image, especially when situated within the context of others produced during the expedition, therefore communicates that which the expedition hopes to find; preconditions for the extension of the Canadian state into the area of Fullerton Bay based on the inability of the group to care for its own welfare effectively.⁷⁹ While Geraldine Moodie’s image may seem to provide an appealing contrast, evoking Shenookshoo’s prowess as a hunter and communicating his agency within the landscape as a hunter, it is nonetheless a partial portrait designed to convey a sense of cultural exoticism which would appeal to a consumer market in Canada, in the same way that images of Plains Indians on horseback and adorned with feathers appealed to the postcard market in Western Canada.⁸⁰

The images of Shenookshoo illustrate not only the significance of the market for photographic portraits but also how the biography of the photographer affects the composition of the image. Geraldine Moodie’s perspective on Shenookshoo developed along a different path from that of Albert Low or her husband due to the qualitatively different interactions she had with him, by virtue of being in Fullerton Bay for different reasons and being a woman. This is suggested by the different titles given to the individual in the portrait, Shenookshoo and “Old Harry”. That is not to say that Moodie’s images are any less problematic or to say that they are driven by markedly different purposes (after all, both Moodie and Low’s work were produced for audiences back in the south), instead it is to emphasise the significance of the photographer’s position and their interactions with the subject in producing views of Canada’s Native American groups. In short, Moodie’s images illustrate the significance of the

⁷⁸ Low produces one full-body image during this trip and it depicts his Inuit wife, “Shoofly” (a name given to her by Low and his crew, not her Inuit name).

⁷⁹ This is the central point of Burant, “Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic”

⁸⁰ Albers, “Symbols, Souvenirs and Sentiments”

photographer's biography and social status, as well as his or her relationship with the subject and the eventual market for the image, in the construction of images of Canada's Native American and Inuit groups. Further, by comparing Moodie's context to that of Rafton-Canning or even Aylett's photograph of Tom Longboat we can see how photographer-subject relationships and the particularities of the moment of the photograph provide nuance to the study of Native American portraits.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated some of the complex dynamics which affected the representation of Native American groups not only between 1895 and 1924 but over a longer and continuing period. The influence of factors such as the increasing ubiquity of the camera, the demands of the market, the biographies of the photographer and requirements of specific genres, including portraiture and anthropological photography, is evident in many photographs within the Colonial Copyright Collection. In addition, these images contain traces of profound geographical difference; in the spaces in which an image was produced, the events playing out in that place and the agency of the photographer and subject within the landscape. The images discussed in this chapter need to be seen in the context of wider photographic tropes regarding the depiction of Native American groups or indigenous peoples in other colonial spheres. Yet engaging with the specific geographies underpinning the production of the image can produce deeper readings. The relationships involved in the production of these images also vary from place to place, highlighting the diversity of interactions between colonists and native peoples.

Canada between 1895 and 1924 was a place of change, where individuals and images were increasingly mobile and geographies were being continually shaped and re-moulded. The Colonial Copyright Collection, offering up a collage of partial views, provides evidence of how these processes were being perceived and consumed by individuals across the nation; while also presenting glimpses of how they were affecting many communities and individuals too. Since this time, and since the images were deposited for copyright, Canada has continued to change. This has not diminished the significance of the images but rather suggests new contexts in which these images can

be read and used for a variety of purposes. Further, since the images were deposited the ways in which photographs circulate and archives work has developed and changed too. This raises questions regarding the visual economy of these images as artefacts in the twenty-first century, questions which will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

“For a moment, while the film receives the image, everything is still, the other tunnel workers silent. Then Arthur Goss the city photographer packs up the tripod and glass plates, unhooks the cord lights that create a vista of open tunnel behind the two men, walks with his equipment the fifty yards to the ladder, and climbs into the light.”¹

Quotations from Michael Ondaatje’s *In the Skin of a Lion* bookend this work. These lines illustrate a fictitious recollection of Arthur Goss’s trip to Commissioner Harris’s civic engineering project, while the quote on page 9 imagines Harris’s reading of the photograph taken above. These two quotations depict how the images produced by Goss in this scene are experienced in various ways by each of the characters. Patrick, the novel’s protagonist and a worker in the tunnel, witnesses the act of photography but never sees the photograph. Goss composes the scene and develops the image, he also experiences the tunnel first hand but he does not produce the image for himself; he is commissioned by Harris, who witnesses neither the production of the image or the day-to-day reality of working to build his tunnel but does imbibe Goss’s image with his own understanding of his grand vision.

The plurality of vision, imagination and experience, which is a narrative thread throughout Ondaatje’s stories about Patrick and those who surround him,² has also been at the heart of *Canada in the Frame*. As the preceding chapters have shown the images contained within the collection represent, to borrow directly from Ondaatje, ‘unfinished world(s),’³ having been produced for various reasons, collected via a distinct and peculiar colonial legislation and continuing to evolve in terms of their significance and meaning. This chapter seeks to underline how this has been illustrated through the thesis while also outlining other aspects of these unfinished worlds which would benefit from further research. To begin, I provide a synthesis of the argument presented in this thesis, highlighting themes which cross-cut the specific chapters and revisiting the ideas of the paper empire and visual economy introduced early in this thesis. Moving on from this, I also consider connections beyond Canada and this particular collection as well as the contemporary possibilities opened up by new digital technologies for the management of such photographic collections in the twenty-first century.

¹ Ondaatje, M. (1988), *In the Skin of a Lion*, London: Picador, p. 109

² The same narrative style is also used in *The English Patient*. While Patrick is not present in this novel many of those who are part of his life during the events of *In the Skin of a Lion* form the hub of the story and the subjectivity of their experiences of war time Italy is used to drive the plot of the novel forward. Ondaatje, M. (2004), *The English Patient*, London: Bloomsbury

³ Ondaatje, *In the Skin of a Lion*, p. 115

Canada in the Frame

This thesis has sought to explore the significance of the Colonial Copyright Collection of Canadian photographs through interpretation of its individual components, namely images and sets of images deposited by a variety of photographers across Canada between 1895 and 1924, and through analysis of its institutional and formal qualities as a collection. As noted in Chapter 1, the Collection has spent much of its life in the British Museum Library and latterly in the British Library in something of a ‘twilight zone’, with successive curators unsure what to make of it and researchers unable to access it. The origins of the Collection, and the particular mechanisms of its growth, help to explain the context in which it developed and the ambivalence of curators towards it in the succeeding years. The fact that the raw materials of this particular collection were photographs – as opposed to text or musical scores, for example – only added to the challenge faced by the librarians whose task it was to manage the collection.

The account of Colonial Copyright Law presented in Chapter 1 initially situated the Colonial Copyright Collection within the context of wider projects of knowledge accumulation associated with the British Empire in the nineteenth century. As such, the Collection examined in this thesis may be considered part of a geography of knowledge which centred on the imperial metropolis and institutions such as the British Museum Library in particular. However, consideration of the nature of copyright also illustrates the role of the individual, the market and the commercial value of photography in the formation of the Collection. As its development was ultimately dependent on the decisions of individual photographers seeking to protect the commercial value of their photography, this Collection reflects the logic of the market for photography as understood by producers at this time. The concept of a ‘visual economy’, used throughout this work, explicitly acknowledges the materiality of the photographic image and its status as a commodity, as well as its situatedness within specific local and regional contexts of production and consumption. That is to say, notions of the market, of consumption and of the value of the photograph were neither abstract nor homogenous across Canada or across different periods of time. Each chapter in this

thesis has illustrated the way in which local photographers catered to somewhat different markets, responded to different popular tropes and articulated different photographic values. These differences are inherent to a collection founded on local initiative and the logic of the market. They also invite us to appreciate the multiplicity of views sought by ever greater numbers of consumers.

The substantive studies making up the body of this thesis were selected on the basis of the content and format of the Collection, as outlined in Chapter 2. They explore the significance of particular themes (the city, the railroad, the postcard and the portrait) for the Canadian image world as a whole during the period between 1895 and 1924. Chapter 3, for example, illustrated how the urban landscape provided opportunities for photographers to respond to various kinds of place-making projects. Here the camera is not just a witness to urban change, it was actively involved in the process of change. Chapter 5, meanwhile, highlighted the importance of a particularly significant photographic medium - the postcard – in creating a market for the increasing number of photographers operating across Canada in the period. In these and other sections of the thesis (notably Chapters 4 and 6), photographic imagery was also used as a means to address wider questions about the visualisation of landscape and people in an era of significant change.

In undertaking this research, I have therefore sought to broaden the understanding of the Colonial Copyright Collection, its place within the British Library and its relationship to the Canadian image world. In the process, the work has highlighted the historical and material depth of a significant component of the Library's collections as a whole, contributing to an established body of research on their history.⁴ This has been done by intensive scrutiny of the materials within the Colonial Copyright Collection itself, and also by linking them to other materials within the Library, including for example newspapers, government papers, journal articles and books, as well as collections elsewhere, notably at the National Archives (Kew), The British Museum and Library and Archives Canada. The research also paid close attention to the colonial origins and significance of the Collection, as these factors have important consequences for its

⁴ In this respect Harris's work on the history of the British Museum Library is exemplary: Harris, P. R. (1998), *A History of the British Museum Library, 1753 – 1973*, London: The British Library

future uses, particularly in the context of the British Library's commitment to public engagement.⁵ (This is considered in a digital context below).

The thesis has also sought to show how work on the Collection can provide insight into both Canadian history and visual culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contributing to a growing body of research on the history of Canadian photography in particular.⁶ Chapter 3, for example, illustrated how important the photograph was to developing contrasting visions of the urban environment in Canada while also highlighting the complexity of the photographic networks of production, exchange and meaning making. Chapter 4 used images in the Collection to reconsider Canada's relationship with the railroad, starting from Charland's call to problematise Canada's 'technological nationalism'.⁷ Chapter 5, meanwhile, makes a significant contribution to the history of the postcard by locating it more firmly in the context of Canadian visual culture and economy.⁸ This chapter also shows how the material form, as well as the content, of many of the photographs contained in the Colonial Copyright Collection provides further clues as to their intended function, in this case as postcard images. Finally, Chapter 6 illustrates how the depictions of Native Americans varied significantly across Canada, reflecting differences in the regional context of settler-indigenous relations, the intended photographic market and the nature of the relationship between photographer and subject. As in the other chapters, the research in this chapter is intended to contribute to a substantial body of existing research, much of it non-Canadian, on portraiture in colonial contexts.

The thesis has also highlighted the relevance of the Collection to contemporary concerns within Canada, as illustrated in particular by the study of portraits of Native

⁵ The Library's Online Galleries and the 2010-11 *Growing Knowledge* exhibition represent examples of the Library attempting to engage practically with this challenge. In the context of *Growing Knowledge* there has also been an attempt to engage with this more theoretically too, as the exhibition posed the question of how public engagement with Library collections will continue to change in an ever-shifting technological landscape.

⁶ See especially Schwartz, J. M. (1996), "Guest Editorial" in *History of Photography: Special Issue on Canadian Photography* (20: ii)

⁷ Charland, M. (1986), "Technological Nationalism" in *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, (10: 196 – 221)

⁸ Anderson, A. and Tomlinson, B. (1978), *'Greetings From Canada': An Album of Unique Canadian Postcards from the Edwardian Era, 1900 – 1916*, Toronto: Macmillan; Poole, D. (1997), *Vision, Race and Modernity: a Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, Chichester: Princeton University Press

Americans in Chapter 6. Rafton-Canning's images provide some of the few records we have of nineteenth century Blackfoot material culture, partial though his perspective undoubtedly was.⁹ Similarly Geraldine Moodie's images have been used in the late twentieth century to reinvigorate the Inuit oral history tradition as they provide important material links with a past at risk of being lost if histories are not passed on.¹⁰ Many of the other Native American images in the Colonial Copyright Collection could be put to similar use and the research presented in Chapter 6, while contextualising and problematising the images, also opens the door to different kinds of work with these photographs.

This thesis also seeks to contribute to the history of photography in more general terms, working at both the level of individual images and at the level of the collection as a whole. By extending the notion of 'visual economy' beyond the specific context in which it was initially developed by Deborah Poole, I have sought to demonstrate the value of focussing specifically on the market value and materiality of photographs.¹¹ While the approach departs from Poole's concerns (for example I have not dwelt at any length on the connections between photography and the worlds of literature, painting and the creative arts), the idea of visual economy and the 'image world' has particular resonance in the case of the Colonial Copyright Collection. It also emphasises and contextualises the ways in which photographs and photographers themselves circulated.

In the search for new contexts for the interpretation of photographs in the Collection, a number of general themes have recurred throughout the thesis. The first thematic context is that of colonialism and colonial networks. As noted in Chapter 1, there is an increasing body of work which emphasises the spatial differentiation of colonial networks, whether they be political, legislative or economic.¹² The thesis has shown

⁹ Dempsey, L. J. (2007), *Blackfoot War Art: Pictographs of the Reservation Period, 1880 – 2000*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

¹⁰ Writing about this work can be found in; Eber, D. (1989), *When the Whalers were up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press

¹¹ Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*

¹² Benton, L. (2002), *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History; 1400 – 1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Butlin, R. (2009), *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies, c. 1880 – 1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Lambert, D. and Lester, A. (2006), "Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects" in Lambert and Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1 – 31

Canada's photographers and their work as drawn into a colonial network which sought to regulate the intellectual property of empire and aggregate a vast span of knowledge about the places of the globe under imperial rule. We have also seen colonial landscape and colonised peoples visualised through the lens of individuals and firms operating across Canada. In this respect, the images of civic ceremonies discussed in Chapter 3 and of the railroad in Chapter 4 can be seen as attempts to re-imagine Canada's spaces in the light of the various colonial projects which spread out across a nation that had only relatively recently spanned the continent. Similarly, Chapter 6 considered photographs of Native Americans produced directly or indirectly as part of Canada's colonial projects. Born of colonial legislation, the Collection as a whole must be seen in the context of the effects of British colonialism in Canada between 1895 and 1924.

A second thematic context running in parallel and sometimes in contradiction to this colonial history concerns the lure of modernity within Canada during this period. This is frequently expressed through images of technological modernity and its impact on the Canadian landscape and society. The culture of technology is an inescapable aspect of Chapters 4 and 5, in which the railroad and the aeroplane are depicted as having significant effects upon the landscape imaginary. The evolution of the camera itself, along with changes to printing and postal technology, were just as significant elements of this technological modernity.¹³ The significance of modernity as a theme is also reflected in the history of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition (and its later guise, the Canadian National Exhibition) as discussed in several chapters. The images contained in the Colonial Copyright Collection both depict and were most probably sold at this significant site of Canadian modernity.

Alongside colonialism and modernity, the emergence of a market for photographic imagery has provided a third thematic context for the substantive analyses undertaken in this thesis. The visual materials forming the basis of the Colonial Copyright Collection were assembled through a piece of legislation designed to protect the market value of photographs for their producers. The development of this market provided opportunities

¹³ The significance of the development of increasingly efficient and easy to carry camera equipment is illustrated in; Schwartz, J. M. (1981), "The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858 – 1914" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 5 – 15); and, Birrell, A. (1981), "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858 – 1900" in *B. C. Studies* (52: 39 – 60)

for photographers across Canada to depict new subjects and disseminate their work in myriad ways. This is perhaps most clearly evident in Chapter 6, where the market for particular views of Native Americans encouraged the production of portraits showing Canada's indigenous people as either unchangeably exotic or increasingly white. In Chapters 3 and 4, we also saw how larger scale business interests (in the form of Eaton's consumer empire and the Canadian railroad companies) used photography to present particular views of the modern Canadian landscape.

A final thematic context is provided by geography itself, both material and imaginative. At the level of the Collection as a whole, geography mattered to the very definition of Colonial Copyright. A colonial geography of knowledge pulled information about the colonies back to the imperial hub, creating an archival, museum and library system which is still both world leading and, to some degree, shaped by its imperial past. Furthermore, a geographical perspective on the contents of the Collection provides a lens on how the Canadian landscape was persistently rearticulated and reinterpreted in light of the progress of technological modernity, producing insights into successive 'drafts' of the Canadian landscape as discussed by Cole Harris.¹⁴ It is clear from the various chapters that the Canadian image world itself had a distinctive geography which both reflected and shaped the modern history of Canada. Taken as a whole the Collection illustrates the complexity of the Canadian landscape and its constantly changing nature, perceived from the perspective of many photographers and communities.

Having illustrated the complexity of the view of Canada provided by the collection it is important to link this back to the discussion of the paper empire and visual economy which was developed in Chapters 1 and 2. According to Richards the imperial archive was doomed to fail as the project of creating and maintaining this paper empire was beyond the practical scope of the institutions of the imperial metropolis. For Richards this failure was embedded in the structure of the archive; the institution would inevitably grind to a halt, collapse under its own weight or be out competed by foreign

¹⁴ Harris, C. (2008), *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space and Environment in Canada before Confederation*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press

bodies of knowledge.¹⁵ The Colonial Copyright Collection does not refute these failings of the paper empire, indeed it illustrates them. However it also highlights the role of the material of empire, including these depictions of many Canadas, in overwhelming the imperial archive. *Canada in the Frame* has illustrated that the multiplicity of views and the plethora of imaginations was fundamentally at odds with the notion at the heart of this paper empire; the desire to comprehend Canada and the Empire as a whole. Instead, each image is a unique idea, a question and an unfinished world rather than a piece of an homogenous whole. This perspective on the Collection, therefore, has contributed to the discussion of why these archives failed in their task by asserting the inherent ability of the material itself to subvert the archive, through its partiality, plurality and ability to provide more questions than answers.

The appropriation of Poole's notion of a visual economy of the image has helped to underscore why this should be the case. As Poole argues and as this thesis has shown, the movement of images through space and time affects their meaning and significance. Poole's work, by emphasising their mobile and multiple nature, therefore illustrates the process by which these materials became unsuitable for the function they were desired to perform within the paper empire. The thesis has therefore contributed to the understanding of these two concepts by illustrating the nuanced mechanics of the imperial archive and the significance of the visual economy on a wider imperial and global scale than that in which Poole develops the term. While *Canada in the Frame* has gone some way beyond the imperial archive, in that it has developed a framework which illustrates the meaningfulness of the photographs contained within the Collection, its emphasis on the plurality of these images has inevitably opened up as many questions as it has proposed answers. The following paragraphs highlight some of these and propose how the research contained here could be developed further.

Beyond the Frame: further questions from *Canada in the Frame*

There are, inevitably, subjects raised within this thesis which would ideally be subject to further research. Here the omissions have been due to the practical constraints of a

¹⁵ Richards, T. (1993), *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*, London: Verso

thesis in itself as well as limited intimate contact with the home territories in which these images were created. In this respect *Canada in the Frame* represents a particular view which could be developed significantly by research based in Canadian archives and libraries. The subjects which would benefit most from subsequent exploration can be described under three headings; motivation, circulation and reception. The following paragraphs will deal with each in turn and suggest ways in which more detailed research into these areas could be conducted.

Motivation

Chapters 1 and 2 drew out the eclectic mechanism by which the Colonial Copyright Collection was developed, that is through the copyright submissions of individuals who were motivated by various values they perceived in the images. However, each chapter has also illustrated just how complex the motivations to deposit for copyright were amongst Canada's photographers. Chapter 2 illustrated that deposition patterns across the Collection could be linked to local economies, national concerns and colonial events, while the case studies of the latter chapters drew attention to the local factors influencing each photographer's decision to copyright. All of this, though, merely opens the door on this issue and suggests many other possible avenues of research and questioning in the area of motivation to copyright.

On the meta scale there are two questions worth addressing further; to what extent is the Colonial Copyright Collection a distinctly Canadian case study and how could the national and colonial level factors affecting the collection be tested further? With regard to the peculiarity of these images as a Canadian collection it would be of interest to further investigate similar photographic holdings within the British Library or in other national libraries. As noted in Chapter 1 there are no comparable photographic copyright collections, in terms of size, at the British Library but there are some deposit images from other colonial territories, such as Hong Kong and Malta. While these photographs would provide a very different type of study a consideration of them would allow a more nuanced perspective on the development of the Colonial Copyright deposit. It could also reveal how the acquisition process worked for other British possessions and also how patterns of deposit worked in areas with spatially smaller photographic markets which catered to a different audience. It would also be of interest

to discern how photographic copyright was used in places such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. This would require access to materials in these countries, as the Library's sporadic materials would not provide a cohesive study in the way the Colonial Copyright Collection does. However, as more and more photographic archives are digitised the opportunity may present itself in coming years to conduct this work remotely.¹⁶

While studies along these lines would, no doubt, continue to illustrate the plurality and fluidity of photographic collections created through copyright deposits, a pan-Empire perspective on copyright deposits and, therefore, photographic economies could contribute significantly to academic understandings of how Empire was imagined and viewed through photography. Lastly, to address questions raised regarding Canadian copyright deposit trends, as illustrated in Chapter 2, significant insights could be gained by studying the deposits from fixed localities across the time period of the collection in more detail. For example, a study of deposits made in Toronto across the period 1895 and 1924 would allow assertions made in Chapter 2 to be tested and other factors, such as the possible impact of the economic troubles of 1913, to be tested. This could be done by tying considerations of deposit trends and the images themselves to wider media, social and economic data available from these areas, thus producing an holistic picture of circulations in specific areas that this thesis, with its pan-Canadian approach, has not been able to accommodate.

This leads to a consideration of how the agencies of individual photographers and their valuation of their work could be developed further. Each of the photographers (and their body of work) considered in this thesis could have formed a study in their own right. A more intimate analysis of individual photographers might reveal more about the micro-economics and local decisions which went into applying for colonial copyright, the legal value of these copyright deposits and the potential to investigate further how much material photographers copyrighted and why they may have privileged some works over others. In order to analyse this certain photographers stand out as notable

¹⁶ As will be discussed a little later this remote work has implicit pros and cons, but the development of resources such as *Trove* (the digital research resource of The National Library of Australia) present a significant opportunity for UK researchers to broaden the scope of work regarding photography in colonial territories. *Trove* can be found at: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/>

case studies. For example, J. W. Jones's copyright deposits covered many photographic subjects, various styles and did not represent his whole photographic output. As much of Jones's archival material is still held at the British Columbia archives in Victoria an opportunity is present to explore the above issues in more depth. A detailed search of the archival holdings here, as well as those of various institutions in Victoria that Jones was connected with,¹⁷ would provide further information as to why Jones copyrighted some of his images and not others, thus providing an in-depth case study of why a photographer in British Columbia would apply for colonial copyright. Further, as noted in Chapters 1 and 3, Jones also prosecuted another photographer for breach of copyright. This provides a test case for the legal strength of colonial copyright and a study conducted in the local area would provide access to legal archives and other materials not currently available in a digital form. This practical and financial aspect of Colonial Copyright Law could be developed by locating further case studies from across Canada over the 1895 – 1924 period, which at the moment requires access to materials and expertise only available in Canada.

Circulation

The legal aspect of the Colonial Copyright Collection also draws attention to the significance of the circulation of these images for depositing photographers, as well as for this thesis and any other study of the images contained in the collection. Throughout *Canada in the Frame* it has been apparent that the photographs discussed have circulated in various forms; J. W. Jones's photographs commemorated the opening of parliament but now circulate on web pages, the images of Notman and Sons have circulated as everything from souvenir portraits to coffee table book reproductions and those of the Bishop-Barker Co. were sold as postcards at Canada's major international exhibition. These examples outline a deeply complex photographic market and means of circulation which could be explored in more depth. In particular, detailed searches of regional Canadian archives could draw out the local complexity of how some of these images were mobilised further. In this respect the materials that exist in the Galt Archives which pertain to Arthur Rafton-Canning could provide a detailed case study of the complex processes by which these images were created, distributed locally and

¹⁷ Such as Victoria's newspapers, the legislature, naval bodies and so on.

circulated internationally. Here the presence of Rafton-Canning's correspondence, local business records, wider photographic catalogue and richer evidence of the various formats he used could significantly illuminate understandings of how these images circulated within an economy in transition (as illustrated in Chapters 4 and 6).

It is also possible that the photographs of Byron Harmon, the Banff photographer discussed in Chapter 4, could provide insights in a similar way. Both Harmon and Rafton-Canning were druggists and a local study would provide interesting information as to how being a druggist and photographer mixed from the point of view of selling images, as well as producing them. The various material forms in which photographers such as Harmon reproduced their images are also worthy of further study in order to comprehend, in a more nuanced fashion, the circulation of the Colonial Copyright Collection's images. Harmon produced and copyrighted images in large format, as postcards and as stereographs, suggesting materials which were valuable and circulated in different ways. A more localised study, paying particular attention to how and where Harmon was retailing these various material images, would further illuminate how the many production options open to photographers affected the markets they targeted and *vice versa*.

This is also true of examining how these images circulated in other media, such as journalistic, artistic and tourist/visitor circles. In these cases detailed studies of the work of photographers such as Byron Harmon, Charles Aylett (Chapter 6) and Notman and Sons (Chapter 6) could provide further information regarding how photographers worked within and moved between different genres, markets and product circulations. For example, a wider study of Charles Aylett, possible by using more archival and press sources from Toronto, would illustrate how the photographer became enmeshed with different elements of Toronto society and the cases in which he believed copyright was important in regulating the circulation of the images he produced.

Reception

This movement between subjects and audiences draws attention to the reception of the images discussed in *Canada in the Frame*. While this has been an undercurrent in the thesis, it has been confined to articulations of the photographer's desired public

response, leaving a significant body of work which could be developed in terms of the actual response. In particular Chapter 5 noted that while many of the photographs in the Collection circulated as postcards, the Colonial Copyright Collection forms a peculiar postcard archive, as there are no annotations or marks from consumers on the images even when they are deposited in postcard form. Case studies such as that of the Bishop-Barker Co. aerial photographs would be advanced if annotated cards (especially those purchased at the Canadian National Exhibition) were located. This would provide insight into how the confluence of international event, Apollonian vision and war hero derring-do was consumed and communicated by those who visited. Annotated and sent copies of the postcards mentioned in Chapters 4 and 6, which were produced to cater to a market provided by the railroad, would also elaborate upon discussions regarding how the railroad, continental travel and the myriad subjects of the images were experienced and articulated by those consuming them. Further, information regarding where these cards were sent would provide significant evidence as to the importance of copyrighting these images in order to regulate their local, national and (in this context most importantly) colonial and international circulations.

The above, as with the rest of *Canada in the Frame*, illustrates the significance of the format, mobility, circulation and reception of the photographs of the Colonial Copyright Collection. These are, however, fluid and variable factors which, joined with the critiques offered above about the paper empire and visual economy, emphasise how the materiality and circulation of these images has continued to change as the world around the archive has developed. For this reason it is important to consider the twenty-first century life of the Collection.

The Colonial Copyright Collection in a Digital Age

If the late nineteenth century was a time of paper empires then today's world is one of digital domains. This presents challenges and opportunities for research on the Colonial Copyright Collection, which was born of the material mobilities and collecting impulses of the nineteenth century. Given its origins in a systematic process of information relocation across the Atlantic, it is ironic that the Collection then languished for so long in the backrooms of the British Museum Library, until the cataloguing work of curators

and academics in the 1980s prepared the path which led eventually to the undertaking of this thesis. However, *Canada in the Frame* does not represent an end point in the academic engagement with this collection nor in the social life of these photographic objects. Research for this thesis has suggested many ways in which work on the Collection could be taken further, notably highlighting the potential of digital technology in shaping its life in the twenty-first century. It is this relationship between the material, the institution and new technology which will form the main avenue for future work with the Colonial Copyright Collection.

This final section will consider the possible ‘digital life’ of the images contained in the Colonial Copyright Collection, but first it is important to highlight how the twenty-first century’s technology will also affect access to the original materials of the Collection. Electronic systems have affected access to the British Library’s wider collections for many years through the *Integrated Catalogue*, an online search and request database. Through this system materials from the collections may be sought, ordered and delivered for use in the Library’s reading rooms. This system has allowed more efficient and wider access to the collections than a time consuming card system would have done. However, access to the Colonial Copyright Collection currently requires input from the curator responsible for Canadian Collections as there is no item level search capacity for this collection. The evaluation of the Colonial Copyright Collection undertaken for this thesis (discussed in Chapter 2) has laid the ground work for item level searching to be done. Combined with the evolution of the British Library’s catalogue to *Primo* there is now the technical potential for more detailed user searches of the Colonial Copyright Collection to be conducted.¹⁸ This would significantly develop future researchers’ means of access to the Collection as it would do away with the necessity to gain access via the curator. Thus, as electronic search technology evolves and is implemented, opportunities exist for the material Collection to be accessed in greater detail by researchers; and consequently used and reinterpreted in new and interesting ways. A similar situation could also develop through the digitisation of the images in the Colonial Copyright Collection, which would widen access to those unable to visit the Library in person.

¹⁸ *Primo* can currently be found here:
http://search.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=BLVU1

Canada in the Frame has highlighted that the Colonial Copyright Collection is a mobile, internationally significant collection of potential contemporary interest to many different public audiences in the UK, Canada and beyond. Given the emphasis throughout the thesis on the plurality of these images, their ability to be produced in particular contexts and subsequently to speak to broader themes, this should come as no surprise. This perspective on the continuing life of collections is very much in tune with the argument of Elizabeth Edwards in *Raw Histories*, which suggests that the rawness and infinite re-codability of the image invests it with significant potential for re-engagement and re-articulation, particularly within the context of the museum, archive and library collection.¹⁹ Indeed, Edwards argues that it is the responsibility of the institution to provide opportunities within which the image can be, “articulated, digested and made active” in a variety of contexts.²⁰ Such a call resonates with a wider body of work on the role of museums and other public institutions involved in the promotion of access to culturally significant artefacts, which asserts the inherent role of these sites in recontextualising the meaning of objects. Charles Saumarez-Smith made this argument in his chapter in *The New Museology*, pointing out that from their inception museums (and by extension other public institutions of this ilk) were conceived as spaces which would change the meaning of objects, by virtue of moving them from the private sphere to the public.²¹ Similar arguments have been taken up in Geography, by Hilary Geoghegan, Jude Hill and others.²² The digital landscape of the twenty-first century offers yet a further context for engagement with the Colonial Copyright Collection, with the possibility of its virtual mobility bringing access to a global audience.

The account of the shape and development of the Collection has illustrated its sheer size, diverse contents and varied forms. As a result of its obdurate and sometimes awkward materiality, the Collection is relatively stationary and its audience is therefore somewhat limited. By this I do not simply refer to the absolute geographical distance between, say, London and the rest of the UK, let alone Canada, but also the relative

¹⁹ Edwards, E. (2001), *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford: Berg

²⁰ Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 237

²¹ Saumarez-Smith, C. (1989), “Museums, artefacts and meanings” in Vergo, P. (ed) (1989), *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion books, p. 6

²² Geoghegan, H. (2010), “Museum Geography: Exploring Museums, Collections and Museum Practice in the U. K.”, *Geography Compass* (4): 1462 – 1476); Hill, J. (2006), “Travelling Objects: the Wellcome Collection in Los Angeles, London and Beyond”, *Cultural Geographies* (13): 340 – 366)

distances between the Colonial Copyright Collection and the various specialist and non-specialist publics who may potentially be interested in its holdings. As many of the case studies have suggested, there are a large number of images in the Collection which could potentially speak to these sorts of publics. To re-mobilise the collection digitally provides opportunities for engagement of these photographs with these publics and for the sorts of re-articulation of these ‘raw histories’ envisaged by Edwards and others.

Mapping out the next phase in the life of the Collection presents some serious challenges, as highlighted by wider discussions regarding the digitisation of various types of material object, image and text. Here I take my cue from Joanna Sassoon’s work in *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, where she suggests that the digitisation of material objects is more than just a translation of the object from physical to digital form, but also represents the creation of a new object, which speaks to different audiences and has different cultural effects.²³ This perspective needs to be nuanced as the ‘raw histories’ of the digital images themselves are liable to undergo change and yield multiple interpretations, just as the original images themselves are. In both forms, paper and digital, the object would be open to being read in specific ways, mediated by the setting of engagement and the audience doing the reading. Digitisation, in this respect, does not bypass the need to consider the forms and channels of engagement, nor does it diminish the importance of the material object.²⁴ Rather, it opens up opportunities for further and more varied kinds of engagement.

The potential of the digital era can be exemplified with reference to the images discussed in Chapter 6. The photographs of Albert Rafton-Canning and Geraldine Moodie have recently been used to re-establish links with the lived and imagined histories of the Plains Indian and Inuit groups, whose cultures and memories had been

²³ Sassoon, J. (2004), “Photographic Materiality in the Age of Digital Reproduction” in Edwards and Hart (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 186 – 202

²⁴ In this respect, digital images are still open to situational readings in the same way as the material objects discussed by Elizabeth Edwards & Janice Hart and Gillian Rose, in various works, are affected by the archives in which they are held. Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (2004), “Mixed Box: the Cultural Biography of a Box of ‘Ethnographic’ Photographs” in Edwards and Hart (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 47 – 61; Rose, G. (2000), “Practising Photography: an Archive, a Study, some Photographs and a Researcher” in *Journal of Historical Geography*, (26: 555 – 571)

eroded by the colonial projects discussed in Chapter 6.²⁵ Dorothy Eber, for example, used the photographs of Geraldine Moodie to prompt discussions about the history of the Inuit of Fullerton Bay from individuals who were the Elders of the area in the 1980s. Similarly, Dempsey used Rafton-Canning's images from the Galt Museum Archives to construct a thesis about the material culture of his ancestors. In both these contexts the colonial gaze of these images is re-directed in order to reconnect with and redefine the culture and identity of these indigenous groups. However, in both these cases, and others like them, regret is frequently expressed that the collections are not more extensive and, most importantly, that they are not more publicly accessible. An opportunity therefore exists to exploit the full potential of the Colonial Copyright Collection, using readily-available digital technology.

The digitisation of images in this Collection would have benefits beyond the immediate context of First Nations and indigenous history. The scale and depth of the Collection is such that it would provide a useful resource for studying and teaching a variety of subjects, such as the growth of Canadian cities during the early twentieth century, the study of immigrants (including the Doukhobour pilgrims from Russia), the history of transportation including the railway, the automobile and the aeroplane, and the history of Canada's involvement in the South African and First World Wars. Furthermore, the photographic views of landscape will be particularly valuable, especially to those wishing to research the expansion of agriculture, industry and the railroads across Canada. In this respect, the collection also constitutes a notable resource for artists and scientists interested in the possibility of re-photography. Photographers such as Byron Harmon (discussed in Chapter 4 for his railroad photographs) depicted much of Canada's natural heritage. Harmon in particular extensively photographed the eastern side of the Rockies and its many glaciers and these provide opportunities for considering how the landscape around these features has changed through re-photography and other techniques.

A further opportunity presented by the digitisation of the images of the Colonial Copyright Collection would be the possibility it would create for undertaking a full reappraisal of the contents of the original Collection by comparing photographs held in

²⁵ Dempsey, *Blackfoot War Art*; Eber, *When the Whalers were up North*

London with those in Canada. As noted in Chapter 1, neither the British Library nor Library and Archives Canada hold a complete collection as a result of historical damage or other forms of loss. On the basis of a 2008 research visit to Ottawa and Gatineau, the sites of Library and Archives Canada, I was able to confirm that the two collections are nearer completion than previously assumed, suggesting that obtaining an accurate overview of the original collection would be feasible. A digital ‘bridge’, highlighting duplicates and displaying each collection’s unique images, would in principle provide the possibility of access to the complete collection on either side of the Atlantic. This is a project that is now technically possible for the British Library to pursue in collaboration with Library and Archives Canada, in the light of curatorial links developed through *Canada in the Frame*. Such a project would also enable enhanced public engagement with a variety of audiences, as highlighted above.

The Colonial Copyright Collection, born of a ‘paper empire’ and composed of myriad individual deposits, may yet take on a new life in a digital age. Despite, or because of, its colonial origins, the histories and geographies it depicts remain relevant to Canada in the twenty-first century. I have sought in this thesis to make a case for the significance of the Collection, and to provide examples of the sort of stories that can be told about and through it. Transforming the material form of the Collection through digitisation would enable these stories to be engaged with by a much larger and diverse public audience. It would also allow new stories to be added. Given the origins of the Collection in the experience of mobility and the possibilities presented by the communications technology of the twenty-first century, the only thing we should truly fear for this collection in the future is immobility.

Appendix A: List of Institutions with Photographic Material Deposited via Colonial Copyright Law

Institution	Material
British Library (formerly British Museum Library)	Main location for Colonial Copyright Law material from the areas which were part of Canada between 1895 and 1924. Collection has gaps as a result of material lost as ‘war damage’, a small amount of damage incurred within the institution and materials removed to form part of the Museum of Mankind now at the British Museum.
British Museum	Still retains some materials from the original Colonial Copyright Law deposits, all of which are ethnographic in nature, as part of the Museum of Mankind collections. Some of the Geraldine Moodie images discussed in this thesis are part of this collection.
National Archives	Contains some material deposited under Colonial Copyright Law. This includes material deposited from Canada before or after the active copyright period (largely post-1924), as well as deposits from areas which were not part of the Dominion at the time (including particularly strong holdings from Newfoundland).
Library and Archives, Canada	Amendments to Colonial Copyright Law secured by the Canadian government required that a copy of any image submitted for copyright in London be deposited with the Canadian Library of Parliament. As a result there is a sister collection to the Colonial Copyright Collection now held at Library and Archives Canada’s facilities in Gatineau. This collection was damaged by a fire in 1916 and flood in the 1950s.

List of archive, library and museum collections consulted (primary sources)

British Library (St. Pancras, London)

British Library Newspaper Collections (Colindale, London)

British Museum (Bloomsbury, London)

National Archives (Kew, London)

Scott Polar Research Institute (Cambridge)

Library and Archives, Canada (Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec)

Galt Museum and Archives (Lethbridge, Alberta)

Royal British Columbia Archives (Victoria, British Columbia)

Archives of the Times-Colonist Newspaper (Victoria, British Columbia)

Digital only resources (primary sources)

Camera Workers website (<http://www.members.shaw.ca/bchistorian/cw1858-1950.html>)

(last accessed, 01/12/2010)

Delcampe website <http://postcards.delcampe.net/page/main/language,E.html> (last

accessed 20/04/2009)

Discover Your Legislature (History of B. C. Legislature website)

http://www.leg.bc.ca/_media/flash/history-swf.html (last accessed, 21/10/10)

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“House of Commons Parliamentary Paper, c.7785, presented 27th June, 1895”, British Library Holdings

Moodie, J. D. (1905), “Report of Superintendent J. D. Moodie” in *Sessional Papers No. 2 (Session 1903 – 1904)*. Scott Polar Research Institute holdings

Moodie, J. D. (1907), “The Hudson Bay Expedition” in *Sessional Papers No. 9, Third Session of the Tenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada (Session 1906 – 1907)*. Scott Polar Research Institute holdings

Correspondence between J. D. McLean and the British and Colonial Photo. Co. Jan. 23rd 1914 (from NAC, RG10, vol. 3826, file 60,5 11-3). Galt Museum and Archives, Lethbridge, Alberta

Newspaper materials (physical holdings and online)

“Canadian Won Big Race”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 19th April 1907, p. 1. British Library Newspaper Collections

“Longboat Married”, *Toronto Daily Star*, 29th December 1908, p. 8. British Library Newspaper Collections

“Death Claims John W. Jones: Well Known Naval Photographer Dies”, *The Times, Victoria*, 9th March, 1938. Provided by Times-Colonist Archive

“John, W. Jones Passes Away: Former Naval Photographer Dies; here since 1888”, *Victoria Colonist*, 8th March 1938. Provided by Times-Colonist Archive

“Every G20 Nation Wants to be Canada, Insists PM”, *Reuters*, 25th September 2009. Available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE58P05Z20090926> (last accessed 12/11/2010)

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Colonial Copyright Collection. British Library. Main Shelfmark: HS85/10

Toronto, Album of Views for the T. Eaton Co. British Library. Shelfmark: 20.c.25

Geraldine Moodie holdings. British Museum, Department for Africa, Oceania and the Americas. Reference: Am-A42-1-69

Photographs of Newfoundland. National Archives, Kew. Can be found as part of series: CO 1069

Photographs of Canada (British copyrighters). National Archives, Kew. Can be found as part of series: COPY 1

Copyright deposit photographs held by Library and Archives Canada, 1895 – 1924. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa and Gatineau (Ontario and Quebec). Embedded in wider photographic collection

Arthur Rafton-Canning holdings. Galt Museum and Archives, Lethbridge (Alberta).
Holdings searchable by photographer name

J. W. Jones holdings. Royal British Columbia Archives, Victoria (British Columbia).
Holdings searchable by photographer name

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