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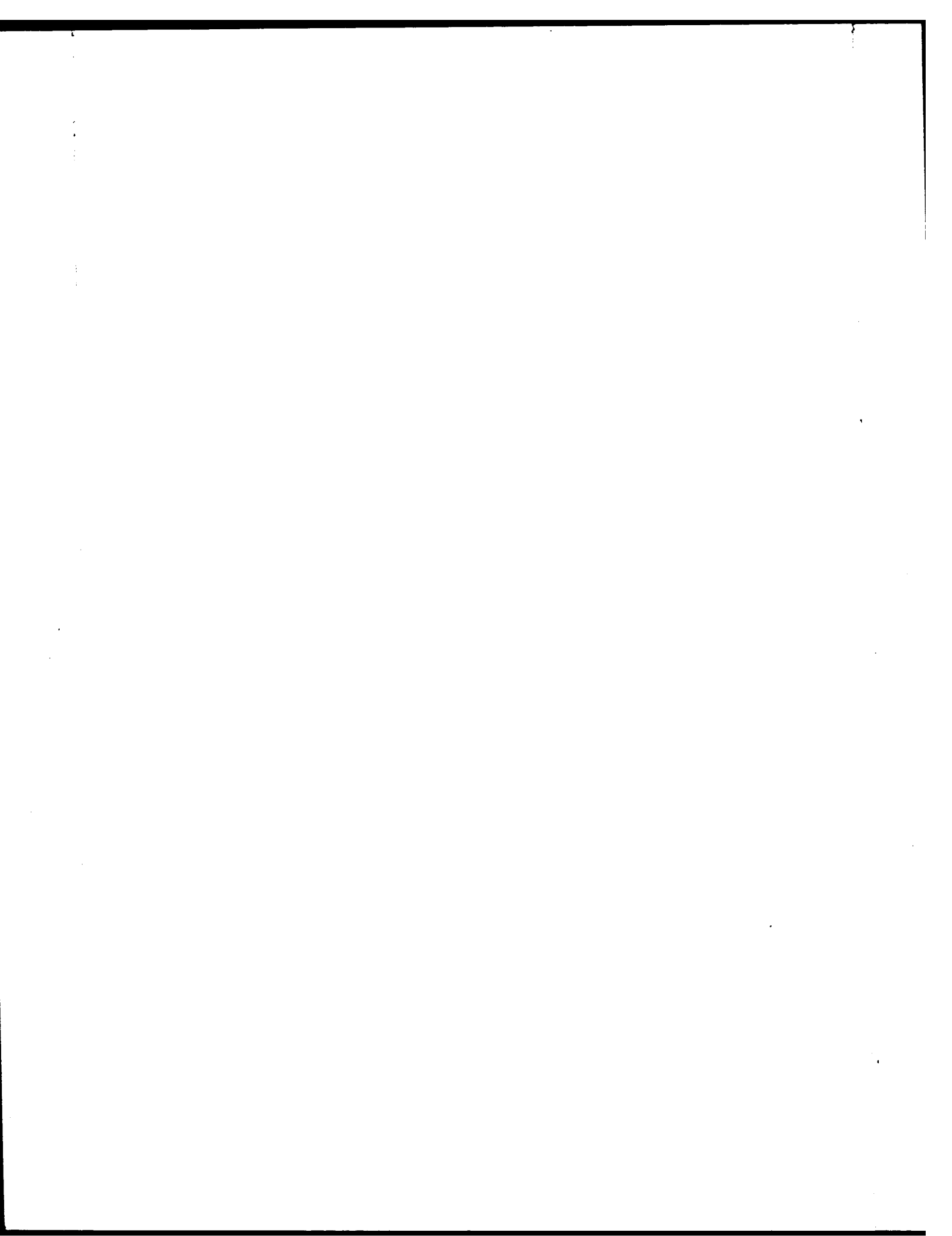
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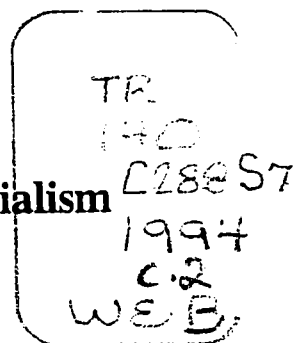
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Sidney Carter (1880-1956) and the Politics of Pictorialism

David Calvin Strong



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A Thesis in
The Department of Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
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Abstract

Sidney Carter (1880-1956) and the Politics of Pictorialism

David Calvin Strong

Pictorialism, a fine art movement in photography, first emerged in western Europe, and quickly spread to North America, around the turn of the century. The career of Sidney Robert Carter (Toronto 1880 - 1956 Montreal), a leading proponent of the movement in Canada, provides a window onto the Canadian experience, and furnishes an opportunity for the consideration of the particular nature of cultural transmission, specifically, the notion of the "international" art movement and its reception in colonial cultures.

Pictorialists distanced themselves from both commercial photographers and the established camera club circuit, and sought out more prestigious alignments within the larger art milieu. In this thesis Carter's career as a Pictorialist is traced, beginning with his ambivalent relationship with the Toronto Camera Club, proceeding through his election to the Photo-Secession, his attempts to organize a parallel group of photographers in Canada, and culminating in his organization of an international exhibition of pictorial photographs in Montreal in 1907.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, my thanks go to my supervisor, Brian Foss, whose sound advice and meticulous editing greatly benefitted this project from start to finish. I would also like to express my gratitude to Ann Thomas and Joan Acland, who took time out from very busy schedules in order to read the complete manuscript. Their suggestions were much welcomed. Needless to say, any errors or omissions are solely my own.

I would like to record my gratitude to the staff of the National Archives of Canada, without whom this thesis would have been impossible. They responded with unfailing good cheer to my numerous requests. Archivist Sylvie Gervais deserves special mention in this regard, for her invaluable assistance throughout this project.

As is the case for any project of this size and duration, a great many individuals has assisted along the way. Each of the following has gladdened my researcher's heart by going beyond the call of duty: Peter Bunnell, Vince Graziano, Charles Hill, Ariane Isler-de Jongh, Ruth Jackson, Toby Jurovics, Lori Pauli, and Lois Valliant. A heartfelt thanks goes to Sidney Carter's daughters, Betty McTavish (and her daughter Joan) and Nora Britton, who shared their memories so generously.

Finally, I dedicate the finished work to Anita Henry, without whose unwavering support, grace, and good sense, it would never have been completed.

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Preface

This thesis sprang from the conviction that there was a significant lacuna in our understanding of artistic or pictorial photography in Canada at the beginning of this century. Photography's first and last fifty years have been comparatively well-served by a number of substantial critical and scholarly works which begin to explore 19th- and late-20th-century photography in Canada. Yet, a few Canadian photographers from the beginning of the 20th century — including John Vanderpant, Charles Macnamara, and M.O. Hammond — have also been the subjects of important exhibitions and publications. The National Archives' survey of one hundred years of amateur photography, *Private Realms of Light* (1983), presented the work of a number of pictorial photographers, including Sidney Carter. To be sure, their holdings of Carter prints reveal a rare breadth and depth of achievement in photography, over a span of several decades. Yet, as I learned more of his biography, I came to see Carter as not simply a recipient of various influences, but as an active participant in the construction and transmission of Pictorialism. Thus, this thesis rejects a conventional art-historical exegesis of images and the more recent concern for the "politics of representation," in favour of an investigation of the genesis of an aesthetic, in terms of the development of ideological and institutional structures of art.

The fundamental question of this thesis is "How was Pictorialism, an international art movement, manifested in Canada?" Tracing Carter's career sheds some much-needed light on the movement, and anchors what otherwise threatened to become an overly abstract study in the particulars of individual experience. This thesis does not claim to

be a comprehensive study of Carter and his œuvre. I do not deny the beauty and power of many of Carter's images, but wish to emphasize that which is so often left unexamined; the historical conditions, institutions, and personal relationships that made the creation of such work possible, valued it, and conserved it for the future. The goal is the broadening of our understanding of Carter and Pictorialism, not the reduction of them to some sociological construct.

This thesis distinguishes between the generic term pictorial photography, and Pictorialism, a particular art-historical phenomenon. Not synonymous in meaning, a quick survey of the photographic literature reveals a disconcertingly wide range of meanings ascribed to these terms. "Pictorial" was originally applied to "artistic" photographs, that is, to those photographs which aspire to the quality of pictures (paintings and drawings). But "Pictorialism" is much more usefully employed, when its meaning is restricted to a movement in photography, at a specific historical moment. The Pictorialists themselves clearly distinguished different styles or "schools" within the movement, so the haphazard retrospective labelling of work as being in a "pictorialist style" lacks precision. Studying the reproductions in contemporary publications such as *Camera Work* and *Photograms of the Year* soon persuaded me that many different styles existed simultaneously. The straight — pictorial polarity may be attractively simple, but it is ultimately false and misleading.

Chapter One begins with a review of the literature on photography in Canada, and of Sidney Carter's rediscovery in the mid-1970s. The second chapter traces the development of Pictorialism's ideological roots in Europe and considers the secessions

from established photographic societies, most notably the Linked Ring — which was the principal model for subsequent developments in North America. Chapter Three situates Sidney Carter's development within the social and political context of Toronto during the "Age of Laurier," and demonstrates the ways in which aesthetics and ideology ignored national borders. The final chapter begins with Carter's move to Montreal and his organization of an international exhibition of pictorial photographs, and considers the gradual decline of Pictorialism as a movement.

I. Introduction

The Pictorialist movement first emerged in western Europe, and soon spread to North America, and eventually much of the industrialized world, shortly before the turn of the century. Partly inspired by the German and Austrian Secessionist painters of the 1890s, Pictorialists distanced themselves from both professional/commercial photographers and the amateurs of the established camera club circuit, and sought out more prestigious alignments within the larger art milieu. Looking to such varied sources as the Pre-Raphaelites, Symbolism, the Arts and Crafts Movement, and Japonisme, Pictorialism can be seen as one expression of the more general cultural phenomenon of Aestheticism.

The Pictorialists took the unprecedented (and for some, the perverse and heretical) step of subverting the medium's supposedly privileged bond with concrete reality, suppressing the photograph's capacity for detailed information, in favour of effect and literary allusiveness. For the first time, photography was promoted on an international scale as a medium capable of self-conscious artistic expression, able to stir in the sensitive viewer as great and profound a range of ideas and aesthetic emotions as any other medium.

Despite being called the "most significant movement in Canadian photography after 1900," Pictorialism constitutes an absence in the literature of Canadian art history.¹ The career of Sidney Carter (Toronto 1880 - 1956 Montreal), a leading exponent of the movement in Canada, provides a window onto the Canadian experience, and presents an opportunity for the consideration of the particular nature of cultural transmission,

specifically, the notion of the "international" art movement and its reception in "colonial" or "emerging" cultures.

Photography in Canada: A Short Review of the Literature

During photography's first 125 years most publications were essentially how-to manuals. No Canadian histories were written,² but writers in Europe and the United States occasionally shed some light on early photography in Canada. One of the first significant departures from the technical manuals was John Werge's *The Evolution of Photography*, published in London in 1890, which also incorporated some of his earlier writings. In one of Werge's regular columns in *Photographic News* (August 1868) he had praised the "spirit of photography" in North America and highlighted the work of two Montreal photographers:

Mr. [William] Notman [1826-1891], of Montreal, has long been doing some excellent cabinet pictures representing out-of-door-life, pleasures and pastimes. Now Mr. [James] Inglis [1835-1904], of Montreal, also produces most beautiful carte-de-visite and cabinet pictures.... They are all very fine examples of photography. The tone and quality of some are beautiful.... At present I know there is not a place in London where photographic pictures possessing such a variety and interest can be obtained.³

It was not until the mid-20th century that Canadian writers began to take an interest in early photography. The pioneering Quebec historian Gérard Morisset was one of the first to write on Canadian photography. "Les pionniers de la photographie canadienne," which appeared in 1951, shows him in his familiar role as a modest populariser: "[J]e ne fais pas ici l'histoire de la photographie canadienne; j'attire seulement l'attention des amateurs sur les pionniers de cet art au Canada."⁴ Even though this article appeared in

La Revue populaire, a general interest magazine, his rigorous methodology is evident in his careful citation of sources. Another article, also published in 1951, appeared in *Canadian Art*, and was written by the Montreal architect and photographer Hazen Sise. "The Seigneur of Lotbinière — His 'Excursions daguerriennes'," was prompted by the appearance of Beaumont Newhall's article "The Daguerreotype and the Traveller" in the *American Magazine of Art* (May 1951), in which Pierre-Gaspard-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière is mentioned as one of the earliest daguerreotypists in the world for his architectural views made in the Near East in 1839. Evidently, the Lotbinière seigneurial archives were consulted, but Sise fails to provide any specific details of his sources. In 1955, J. Russell Harper, then Archivist-Librarian at the New Brunswick Museum, wrote "Daguerreotypists and Portrait Takers in Saint John."⁵ The article is both popular and informative, obviously the result of substantial research, yet somewhat frustrating because none of the many quotes are sourced. Nonetheless, aside from the few small errors to be expected from a non-specialist (especially one writing in 1955), the article displays a perceptive and balanced appreciation of the earliest years of photography in Saint John.

Beginning in the mid-1960s interest in photography exploded. Photographers themselves frequently became the subjects of hagiographic treatments in best-selling coffee-table books, and even of popular commercial films.⁶ This was a time of unprecedented expansion for educational and cultural institutions, often with the accent on innovation and democratisation. All of these things conspired to produce a wave that soon gathered up photography in its wake. More schools, at all levels, began to offer

photography programs, and photography collecting, exhibiting and publishing grew by leaps and bounds.

Some of this interest was manifested in increased activity at archives and museums. The Public Archives of Canada, long a major repository for photographs in this country, created a separate section for its photography collection in 1964, and then a full division in 1975. The National Gallery of Canada inaugurated its Department of Photographs in 1967 under James Borcoman. The mandate of the Stills Division of the National Film Board grew through the 1960s and 70s, increasing its active support of contemporary work through purchases and an ambitious exhibitions program along with increased publishing of catalogues and modestly priced monographs. Important periodicals began to emerge in the late 1960s: the National Film Board's ten-volume *Image* series was inaugurated in 1967, *Camera Canada* and *Image Nation* in 1969, *Ovo* and *Impressions* in 1970. *Photo Communiqué*, born at the *Eyes of Time* conference sponsored by the Public Archives (May 1978), served the growing "serious" art and photography community in Canada. The early issues contained an eclectic mix of historical writing, as well as contemporary, theoretical and philosophical articles. Just as significant an indicator of photography's new status was its appearance outside of the sometimes narrowly circumscribed world of photography magazines. *Artscanada* devoted a special double issue to photography in December 1974, which generated sufficient interest to be reprinted the following year. From their beginnings, contemporary arts periodicals such as *Parachute* and *Vanguard* embraced photography and, increasingly, what has become known as photo-based art.

From the late 1960s onward there was a new audience not only for contemporary, but for historical photography as well. The Montreal-based Notman Studio has consistently been the subject of attention. One of the most beautifully produced books in Canadian photographic history is Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs' *Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs 1856-1915*, published by McGill University Press in 1967. Primarily a picture book (with no bibliography or index), it contains short though well-written texts. The McCord Museum's extensive Notman Archives has proven to be a motherlode for scholars from various disciplines, including Art History.⁷

Surveys of Canadian photography have struggled to construct historical continuity from a vast store of images⁸ which, large as it is, still represents only a tiny fraction of the photographic production of the past. The first book-length history was Ralph Greenhill's *Early Photography in Canada*, which appeared in 1965. This handsomely produced volume, published by Oxford University Press, suffers from the same deficiencies that plagued many early histories of photography. An engineer and amateur photographer, Greenhill's interest centred on the technical aspects of the medium, and in those photographs which document the built environment; the list of plates reveals that over half of the 106 reproduced images were from Greenhill's personal collection. The captions display an anecdotal interest in the subject matter — personalities, things, and events — but little concern for photography's social or cultural impact on Canadian life. The select bibliography lists only five works — all American or European general histories.

In 1974 the critic and photographer Geoffrey James called attention to photographic history's immaturity in *artscanada's* special photography issue:

Where photography's claim to youthfulness holds true is in its own history — that is to say, in the vast scholarly and curatorial apparatus of preservation, documentation, analysis and publication with which we surround the arts. There is an irony here. Photography, as William M. Ivins, Jr pointed out, has effected a profound change in the basis of connoisseurship in the plastic arts; the photographic image and the photomechanical reproduction act as surrogate art objects for they are the basic tools that scholars use to compare artworks and the means by which most people become acquainted with art. Yet photography has failed to illuminate its own history and achievements.⁹

Consciousness of these lacunae galvanized a new generation of cultural historians interested in more broadly defining their areas of interest, and in bringing a new interdisciplinary approach to bear. Historians were becoming increasingly interested in material culture — looking at all of the artifacts, together with a new emphasis on the social aspect. Photography (and its progeny, film and television), which had so profoundly affected society and the fine arts, came under increasing scrutiny. Ann Thomas' *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900* (1979), based on her M.F.A. thesis¹⁰ completed under the supervision of Russell Harper, was a ground-breaking work which studied the complex relationships between photography and painting, especially the substantial European (primarily British) influences on art and photography in Canada in the second half of the 19th century. Dennis Reid's *"Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* (1979) continued the cross-media investigations, although he focussed on the theme of landscape. Looking at landscape painters and photographers, Reid explored the ways in which Canadian nationalism and,

in particular, the expansionist drive of English Canada toward the western frontier, were visually represented.¹¹ Canadian photography of the last half of the 19th-century has received substantial attention, especially when compared with the more neglected first half of the 20th century.¹² Only in the last decade or so, with few important exceptions, has that begun to change.

In 1977 the Public Archives' Richard Huyda identified a new approach to acquisitions, in addition to the traditional content-driven approach:

Only recently have Canadian repositories collected on the basis of works by particular photographers, by type of photograph or in light of the interrelationship of photographic trends and practices.¹³

Yet a major impediment to researching photographic history remained: the general lack of supporting documentation:

Diaries, studio records, and writings by and about photographers are scarce. Few records of photography associations, either professional or amateur, exist and the records of the Canadian photographic industry — supply houses, photo finishers and equipment manufacturers — have not yet been attracted into our archives.... Indeed, the role of the photographer in the Canadian experience has not been preserved in any usable way; what evidence does exist remains largely buried in records created and retained primarily for other purposes.¹⁴

The Public Archives' redefined mandate of January 1983 was reflected in a landmark exhibition later that year: *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*.¹⁵ According to the "Acquisitions Policy Statement," the photography section's responsibility henceforth included "the documenting of the history of the photographic medium and its impact on Canadian life as a medium of communication and expression."¹⁶ Before this exhibition, the Archives had tended to mount photographic "displays" of indifferently printed (and often greatly enlarged) *reproductions* of

photographs; with *Private Realms of Light* the original, "vintage" print becomes the object of scrutiny. This signals two important shifts in thinking about photographs at the Archives: the original print is considered an important historical document, beyond the level of mere subject matter; and, especially important for the *Private Realms of Light* exhibition, the photograph is recognized and valued as a vehicle for personal expression. The struggle to establish a privileged status for the photograph had been played out earlier in museums. For instance, James Borcoman's 1970 exhibition, *The Photograph as Object*, produced by the National Gallery of Canada, demonstrated the formal qualities of the photograph, and especially the expressive value of the original photographic print, quite apart from the appeal of content and the transmission of information.

Photography produced in early 20th-century Canada and, more particularly, Pictorialism, began to be studied only comparatively recently. In 1974, Borcoman focused on an issue that was once again dividing the photographic community. Bringing some historical perspective to the discussion, "Purism versus Pictorialism: The 135 Years War," he traced through the literature a debate that has long polarized photographic discourse.¹⁷ One stream of thought had ceased being merely descriptive and become prescriptive, championing "pure or straight" photography, contending that its unique force exists precisely in its privileged relation to reality. On the other side of the debate, the finished print was viewed as a product of the creative imagination, and hand-manipulation of photographic materials was not only accepted but encouraged. The photographic negative was seen as merely the raw material upon which the artist/genius worked; detail was suppressed and "effect" enhanced. Borcoman demonstrates that the

terms of the debate are overly reductive. The transition in Stieglitz's photography, conventionally characterized as a move from Pictorialism to "straight" photography, actually embodied not a return to photography's positivist roots, but an attempt to use the camera as a creator of metaphor, or what Stieglitz called the "equivalent." Pictorial photography, then, is more than an isolated historical blip; it is part of a long and contentious schism in photographic practice and history.

From the mid-1970s, several exhibitions have brought some much-needed depth and specificity to the study of Pictorialism in Canada. Charles Hill became interested in the photographer John Vanderpant (1884-1939) while working on the exhibition *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* (1975), and the following year he explored Vanderpant's photographs in an exhibition which contextualized his work in a broad historical way, and underscored Vanderpant's involvement in the larger artistic community, including his relationship with Fred Varley and Jock MacDonald.¹⁸

The notion that pictorial photography and "straight" or documentary photography are mutually exclusive was questioned by the 1980 Toronto Archives' exhibition which featured the work of Arthur Goss, who made major contributions in both veins.¹⁹ Goss, an active member of the Toronto Camera Club, and later the Arts and Letters Club, was an important Pictorialist, whose work received international exposure. But for nearly three decades he also produced documentary work in his official capacity as photographer for the City of Toronto's Health Department, during the period 1912-20.

During photography's sesquicentennial in 1989, two exhibitions focussed attention on lesser-known Pictorialists: Charles Macnamara (1870-1944) and M.O. Hammond

(1876-1934) at the Art Gallery of Ontario; and William Gordon Shields (1883-1947) at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre.²⁰

Sidney Carter

Sidney Carter's rediscovery is a relatively recent event, and a product of the Public Archives' evolving mandate. Andrew Birrell believes he first came across references to Carter in the British periodical *Photograms of the Year*, and in investigating the history of the Toronto Camera Club in 1975 while researching the book *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920* (1979).²¹ Once aware of Carter's membership in the New York-based Photo-Secession, formed around Alfred Stieglitz, Birrell contacted the Beinecke Library (Yale University), which contains the Stieglitz archives, and discovered a cache of 15 letters from Carter to Stieglitz, written over a period of more than two decades. However, it was New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art that first published research on Carter, together with their Carter portrait of Rudyard Kipling, and a self-portrait reproduced from *Photograms of the Year 1907*, in 1978.²² That Carter first appeared in an American study on the Alfred Stieglitz collection only underscores the international nature of Pictorialism.

Encouraged by his own research for *Canadian Photography*, Birrell urged his successor, Lilly Koltun, to continue the research on Carter for the *Private Realms of Light* exhibition. It was Koltun who managed to trace Carter's surviving relatives, and she eventually succeeded in acquiring most of the extant prints. Her chapter, "Art Ascendant, 1900-1914," focused on Pictorialism, "undoubtedly the most significant

movement in Canadian photography after 1900," and Carter's place in it received considerable attention. A selection of his prints was reproduced in a series of full-page plates.

The present study is less concerned with constructing a detailed biographical portrait of Carter, at least for its own sake, than with exploring his role as a promoter of Pictorialism, and with examining his connections to various lines of influence both within and outside of Canada. Pictorialism was more a movement — an organized effort to promote or attain an end — than a style. Three inextricably linked cultural developments of the 19th century institutionalized and managed the systems of art authentication and validation: the art society or association, the illustrated fine art/photography periodical, and the exhibition. The first of these, the artists' society or association, while often functioning as a network for an international élite, also bore a relationship to the more popular art unions, contemporary taste, and the rising middle class. Carter was a member of the Toronto Camera Club, subsequently a charter member of the breakaway Studio Club, and was one of only two Canadians elected to the New York-based Photo-Secession. The illustrated fine art/photography periodical, such as *Camera Work* and *Photograms of the Year*, ensured the rapid diffusion of ideas and images, and contributed to a sense of community, while maintaining centralized control. *Photograms* published numerous articles and photographs from Carter and his Canadian contemporaries. Exhibitions set standards and provided models, and ultimately

a system of validation. The Salon system, and the ease with which prints could be mailed, fostered an international cross-fertilization.

Taking Carter as a focal point, Pictorialism's social relations will be traced as they were played out in the Canadian context. The difficulties Canadians encountered in attempting to simply import an aesthetic is seen in the internal convulsions of various photo societies. The notion of Pictorialism as a monolithic style must be dismantled; there are too many discontinuities, gaps, and "looks." The conflicts within and between various groups include, but go beyond, base power plays and personality conflicts. There were more fundamental tensions between, for instance: competing visions of what photography was and ought to be; of Art versus leisure and craft; of a small avant-garde élite versus more populist groups; and of the utopian attractions of internationalism versus the pull of national "schools."

NOTES

1. Only a handful of Canadian institutions have produced exhibitions relating to this topic. No graduate-level research has been produced.
2. The first Canadian work that could be loosely considered a photographic history was *Jules Livernois*, written by the abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, a friend of the recently deceased Quebec City portrait photographer Jules-Isaï Benoit Livernois (1830-1865), based on notes provided by his widow. This forty-page "courte biographie 'romancée'," published in Quebec City in 1866, marks an important but isolated precedent which was not repeated for many years. Michel Lessard, *Les Livernois, photographes* (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987), 61.
3. John Werge, *The Evolution of Photography* (London: 1890; New York: Arno, 1973), 287-8. Werge's history remains a useful reference work, noteworthy for its comprehensive index, extensive bibliography, and a chronology stretching back far into photography's prehistory.
4. Gérard Morisset, "Les pionniers de la photographie canadienne," *La Revue populaire* 44.9 (septembre 1951): 62.

5. J. Russell Harper, "Daguerreotypists and Portrait Takers in Saint John," *The Dalhousie Review* 35.3 (Autumn 1955): 259-70.
6. Michelangelo Antonioni's 1967 film *Blow-Up* modeled the protagonist on the real-life London fashion/portrait photographer and jet-setter David Bailey. In a lower key, the 1976 Canadian production *J. A. Martin, Photographe* followed the travels of a 19th-century itinerant photographer in rural Quebec.
7. See, for example: Jana Bara, "Furs in Fashion as Illustrated in the Photo-Portraiture of William Notman in the 1860s" (M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1987); Jana Bara, "The Image of Canada: Iconological Sources of Canadian Popular Symbolism: Nineteenth-Century Souvenir Photographs" (PhD diss., Concordia University, 1991); Katharine J. Borcoman, "William Notman's Portraits of Children" (M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1991). Martha Langford is currently completing a PhD dissertation (McGill University), based on the family photo albums in the Notman Archives.
8. There are enormous holdings of photographs across the country, and many of these continue to grow at exponential rates. The National Archives has over 20 million photographic images, and the Notman Archives has 750,000 prints and negatives, of which 400,000 were produced by the Notman Studios. Just cataloguing recent acquisitions, let alone retrospectively, consumes much of these institutions' resources.
9. Geoffrey James, "Responding to Photographs: A Canadian Portfolio," *artscanada* 31.3-4 (December 1974): 1.
10. "The Role of Photography in Canadian Painting 1860-1900: Relationships Between the Photographic Image and a Style of Realism in Painting," (M.F.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1976). Ann Thomas, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900 / Le réel et l'imaginaire: peinture et photographie canadiennes, 1860-1900* (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979).
11. This was not Reid's first foray into photography. He noted the common vision evident in a comparative study of Thomson's paintings and photographs, in "Photographs by Tom Thomson," *Bulletin* (National Gallery of Canada) 16 (1970): 2-36.
12. Aside from items mentioned elsewhere in this chapter the following, though by no means an exhaustive list, is a selection of noteworthy explorations of 19th-century Canadian photography: Andrew Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly: Photographs & Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia, 1871* (Toronto: Coach House, 1978); and *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West 1858-1900* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1975); Jim Burant, "Pre-Confederation Photography in Halifax, Nova Scotia," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 4.1 (1977): 25-44; Nicole Cloutier, "Les disciples de Daguerre à Québec, 1839-1855," *JCAH / AHAC* 5.1 (1980): 31-8; Louise Désy, "L'histoire de la photographie au Québec à travers les périodiques: 1839 - c. 1880" (M.A. thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1984); Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior, 1858: H.L. Hime, Photographer* (Toronto: Coach House, 1975); David Mattison, *Camera Workers: The British Columbia Photographers Directory, 1858-1900* (Victoria: Camera Workers Press, 1985); Monique Rémillard, "Louis-Prudent Vallée (1837-1905), photographe. La vue stéréoscopique au service de l'industrie touristique à Québec dans le dernier quart du XIX^e siècle: l'exotisme culturel." (M.A. thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1987); Joan M. Schwartz, "Images of Early British Columbia: Landscape Photography, 1858-1888" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1977); Jean Trudel, *Québec vu par... Livernois, Vallée, Notman, Leggo, Henderson, Ellisson* (Québec: Musée du Québec; Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1969); Claire Weissman Wilks, *The Magic Box: The Eccentric Genius of Hannah Maynard* (Toronto: Exile Editions, 1980).
13. Richard Huyda, "Photographs and Archives in Canada," *Archivaria* 5 (Winter 1977-78): 6.

14. Huyda, "Photographs and Archives in Canada," 6.
15. A major publication based on the exhibition appeared the following year: Lilly Koltun, ed., *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940* (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984).
16. Quoted in Ann Thomas, "Reflections on an Exhibition," *Archivaria* 17 (Winter 1983-84): 138.
17. James Borcoman, "Purism versus Pictorialism: The 135 Years War," *artscanada* 31.3-4 (December 1974): 69-82.
18. Charles C. Hill, *John Vanderpant: Photographs*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976).
19. Victor L. Russell, and Linda G. Price, *Arthur S. Goss, City Photographer: Works by Toronto's Official Photographer, 1911-1940* (Toronto: City of Toronto Archives, 1980). There were far fewer pictorial photographs than documentary in this exhibition, as those images were widely dispersed and difficult to recover.
20. Maia-Mari Sutnik, *Photographs by Charles Macnamara and M.O. Hammond: Pictorial Expressions in Landscape and Portrait*, with essays by Janet Dewan, and Martin Hunter (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1989). As a naturalist, Macnamara produced finely executed straight photographs, as well as Pictorialist landscapes. His documentary work includes a series of photographs of lumber shanties (now in the Ontario Archives), and a long-term insect study (deposited with the National Research Council). Hammond, a journalist and author, is best known for his Pictorialist portraits of members of the artistic and literary communities.
 Michael Bell, *Pictorial Incidents: The Photography of William Gordon Shields* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1989). Shields perhaps qualifies for inclusion here by dint of being born and raised in Hamilton, but he lived his adult life working in New York.
21. Andrew Birrell, letter to the author, 11 January 1993.
 Ralph Greenhill, and Andrew Birrell, *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920* (Toronto: Coach House, 1979). This was the first historical survey of Canadian photography to include Pictorialism. What Birrell, then Head of Acquisitions and Research of the Photography Division (PAC), brought to this work over Greenhill's earlier effort was a diminished concern with technical matters, and a greater emphasis on thematic and stylistic issues. Yet this was still a publication dominated by illustrations: text accounts for less than a third of this 183-page history. No original prints had been located, so the sole reproduction of a work by Carter (*The Rose*) was taken from *Photograms of the Year 1920*.
22. Weston Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz: Fifty Pioneers of Modern Photography* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978).

II. Pictorialism: European Roots

The 19th century witnessed a tremendous upheaval in the arts and culture of the West. Sweeping changes in the production and reception of culture involved a fundamental reworking of the very purpose and function of art, the invention of new subjects, and a changing relationship of the artist (indeed new definitions of the artist) within society. Faced with the myriad styles and subjects of the paintings at the 1855 Paris Universal Exhibition, the Goncourt brothers questioned the nature and role of art:

Is a painting a book ... an idea ... a visible voice, a language painted and derived from thought.... Does it appeal to the intellect? Is painting, in a word, a spiritualistic art form? — Is its purpose and destiny not, rather, to appeal to the eye and be the embodiment of a fact, the representation of a thing, and not to aspire far beyond providing recreation for the optic nerve? Is painting not, rather, a materialistic art form, giving life to form by means of colour?¹

Similarly, much of photography's history — and this is not restricted to photographic practice that aspires to art — can be considered in terms of the questioning of its capacities, its 'truth' value, and its identity as the site of negotiation between art and science, and man and machine. For photography's purists or essentialists, the medium's evolution is simply the discovery and application of photography's supposedly *a priori* characteristics, those elements that are so often, unblushingly and simply, called "photographic." There is a half-truth in John Szarkowski's over-simplified biological metaphor:

The history of photography has been less a journey than a growth.... Like an organism, photography was born whole. It is in our progressive discovery of it that its history lies.²

Yet, it can be argued that photography's history is also a "progressive" history of invention, of artifice, of the creation of new subjects, and of the elaboration and development of technical means to respond to changing needs and to articulate new visions. Thus, discovery and invention may be posited as the polarities of a debate which has characterised much of photography's history.

Photography was heralded, first and foremost, for its instrumentality. The French scientist and statesman François Arago (1786-1853), in his official report on the daguerreotype in 1839, stressed the great potential benefit of these "*images fidèles*" to science, and he quoted the renowned French painter Paul Delaroche (1797-1856), who had concluded that the daguerreotype constituted "*un immense service rendu aux arts*."³ A flurry of accounts was published in Europe and North America, proclaiming the daguerreotype's extraordinary capacity for detail and unerring draughtsmanship:

The extraordinary minuteness of such multiple details as was shown in the street views ... was much admired. The slightest accidental effects of the sun, or boats, the merchandise on the banks of the river, the most delicate objects, the small pebbles under the water, and the different degrees of transparency which they imparted to it, — everything was reproduced with incredible exactness. The astonishment was ... greatly increased when, on applying the microscope, an immense quantity of details, of such extreme fineness that the best sight could not seize them with the naked eye, were discovered....⁴

And all was rendered with "wonderful truth." The tenor and often the vocabulary of these remarks were endlessly repeated.

William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), the English inventor of the rival negative-positive process, must have been somewhat disheartened by the enthusiasm

expressed by his friend, the astronomer Sir John Herschel, at seeing his first daguerreotypes in Paris:

It is hardly saying too much to call them miraculous. Certainly they surpass anything I could have conceived as within the bounds of reasonable expectation.... Excuse this exultation.⁵

Talbot had already been working for several years on creating "photogenic drawing" on paper, which he soon perfected and called the calotype ("beautiful picture," from the Greek *kalos* and *typus*). This process created a negative image, which was then used to print potentially unlimited numbers of positive images, and was the prototype of most subsequent photographic processes. The image was *in* the paper, rather than *on* the daguerreotype's highly polished silver surface. Instead of the daguerreotype's precisionist images, the calotype tended to give subtler tones, and favoured the more artful rendering of masses rather than detail. However, what was initially viewed as the calotype's weakness was soon recognized, along with its reproducibility, as a potential strength. The Scottish painter David Octavius Hill (1802-1870), now best remembered for his photographic collaborations with Robert Adamson, compared the two processes in a letter of 1848:

The rough surface, and unequal texture throughout of the paper is the main cause of the Calotype failing in details, before the process of Daguerreotypy — and this is the very life of it. They look like the imperfect work of a man — and not the much diminished perfect work of God.⁶

Similarly, the French writer and future president of the *Société des gens de lettres*, Francis Wey (1812-1882), declared that in moving from the daguerreotype to paper, "le mécanisme se soit animé...."⁷ By 1860 the daguerreotype had been completely

superseded by paper processes, and so became a technological "cul-de-sac" in the history of photography.⁸

The first photographically illustrated book, Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* (1844-1846), contains one of the earliest instances of a photograph presented as a work of art. Talbot modestly proposed the sixth plate, a simple rustic scene entitled *The Open Door*, as an example of "the early beginnings of a new art," and like many photographers to come he based his claims on accepted artistic traditions:

We have sufficient authority in the Dutch school of art, for taking as subjects of representation scenes of daily and familiar occurrence. A painter's eye will often be arrested where ordinary people see nothing remarkable. A casual gleam of sunshine, or a shadow thrown across his path, a time-withered oak, or a moss-covered stone may awaken a train of thoughts and feelings, and picturesque imaginings.⁹

The quiet charm of this study, its simple and harmonious composition according to rules derived from painting, the chiaroscuro play of light across surfaces, and the broad effects achieved through the massing of tones, were wholly appropriate to the calotype, and announced its artistic aspirations.

Yet the possibility of photography being used to create art found few sympathizers during the 1840s and 50s. Charles Baudelaire's "Le public moderne et la photographie," the second of a nine-part series of reviews of the 1859 Salon, began with an attack on Naturalist painting:

Le gout exclusif du Vrai (si noble quand il est limité à ses véritables applications) opprime ici et étouffe le gout du Beau.... Notre public ne cherche que le Vrai.¹⁰

Taste had been degraded by the belief that art's sole duty was the "reproduction exacte de la nature," so that the "industrie qui nous donnerait un résultat identique à la nature

serait l'art absolu." Baudelaire disparaged the wholesale mimicry of painting, as photographers had begun to tackle genre scenes and *tableaux vivants*. Neither naturalist painting nor photography had any place in "le domaine de l'impalpable et de l'imaginaire," the true object of art.

It was not only critics from outside of the photographic community, but also some of photography's most sympathetic and enthusiastic supporters, who denied photography's claims to art. Lady Elizabeth Eastlake (1809-1893), wife of Sir Charles Eastlake (Director of the National Gallery and first President of the Photographic Society of London¹¹), wrote one of the first historical accounts of the development of photography. In response to the question of "how far photography is really a picturesque agent, what are the causes of its successes and its failures, and what in the sense of art are its successes and failures?," she noted photography's many "honourable" achievements such as the celebrated Hill and Adamson portraits of the mid-1840s, but she judged recent improvements in materials and equipment to be unmatched by artistic gains:

[T]he more perfect you render an imperfect machine the more must its imperfections come to light: it is superfluous therefore to ask whether Art has been benefited where Nature, its only source and model, has been but more accurately falsified. If the photograph in its early and imperfect state was more consonant to our feelings for art, it is because, as far as it went, it was more true to our experience of Nature. Mere broad light and shade, with the correctness of general forms and absence of all convention, which are the beautiful conditions of photography, will, when nothing further is attempted, give artistic pleasure of a very high kind; it is only when greater precision and detail are superadded that the eye misses the further truths which should accompany the further finish.¹²

While Baudelaire saw photography, which he equated with naturalism, as simply an unworthy pursuit for the true artist, Eastlake believed that photography was, for reasons of technical inadequacy, unable to create even naturalistic art, although it might "relieve the artist of a burden.... [T]he hand of the artist is but ignobly employed in closely imitating the texture of stone, or in servilely following the intricacies of the zigzag ornament."

Eastlake was not alone in judging the early calotype, with its soft massing of light and shade, as closer to art than later results characterised by greater sharpness and clarity. She expressed sympathy with the views of the painter Sir William Newton (1785-1869), miniature painter to Queen Victoria, who "created no little scandal" with a paper read before the first meeting of the Photographic Society of London in 1853. He offered the following advice to "artists" who wished to see their photographs placed in the same context as painting or any of the graphic arts:

[T]heir appearance ought not to be so *chemically*, as *artistically* beautiful.... I do not conceive it to be necessary or *desirable* for an *artist* to represent or aim at the attainment of every detail, but to endeavour at producing a broad and general effect, by which means the *suggestions* which nature offers, as represented by the Camera, will assist his studies materially: and indeed, for this purpose I do not consider it necessary that the whole of the subject should be what is called *in focus*; on the contrary I have found in many instances that the object is better obtained by the whole subject being a little *out of focus*, thereby giving a greater breadth of effect, and consequently more *suggestive* of the true character of nature.¹³

This was heresy to many; photography, still in its infancy, was very much concerned with technical improvements aimed at accurately transcribing more, not less, of nature.

Newton's second heresy was his contention that the photographer in pursuit of

"picturesque effect" should be "at full liberty to use his own discretion" in manipulating the negative.¹⁴ Similarly, the French photographer Gustave Le Gray (1820-1882), who had trained as a painter under Paul Delaroche, saw artistic beauty in the "sacrifice de certains détails, de manière à produire une mise à l'effet qui va quelquefois jusqu'au sublime de l'art."¹⁵ The "théorie des sacrifices,"¹⁶ originally articulated by painters, was eagerly adopted by a small but growing number of photographers. The willingness to sacrifice those formal — indeed some went further and argued that they were ontologically determined — qualities of photography, such as sharp focus, detail, and clarity, in favour of effect and the selective (hence subjective) rendering of subject matter, created a potential opening for the photographer as artist. This would be taken up in earnest by a later generation of art photographers, but in the interim a distinctly different approach to creating artistic photographs came to the fore.

In 1861 the English art critic C. Jabez Hughes rhetorically asked whether photography might be able to go beyond simply representing "Truth," and aspire to an eminently Victorian conception of "Beauty," by creating photographs whose goal was "not merely to amuse, but to instruct, purify and ennoble."¹⁷ Thus, artistry lay not so much in formal elements, but in the selection and successful evocation of acceptable subject matter. Picturesque pastorals, genre scenes, and Victorian narratives all began to find their corollaries in photography. The American daguerreotypist John Mayall (1810-1901), who moved to London in 1846, had already exhibited to popular acclaim an allegorical series illustrating the Lord's Prayer at the Great Exhibition of 1851, boldly stating that these were "the first efforts in developing the new branch of *photographic*

fine art."¹⁸ Whatever the validity of his claim, it is clear that his work constituted the beginnings of a new strategy in art photography.

This current found its leading spokesman and foremost practitioner in the person of Henry Peach Robinson (1830-1901).¹⁹ While his theorizing and pictures were later repudiated by some art photographers (and still later, but just as vehemently, by certain modernist photo-historians²⁰), Robinson must be considered one of the best-known and most widely influential photographers of the 19th century. Although he was sufficiently accomplished as a painter to exhibit at the Royal Academy's annual show in 1852, Robinson took up the calotype the following year. His career as an art photographer was spectacularly launched in 1858 when his combination print *Fading Away* was exhibited at the Crystal Palace. Created from five separate negatives, the picture elicited controversy as much for its subject matter (a young woman in the final stages of tuberculosis, surrounded by her family) as for its form. Some critics, particularly photographers, questioned the desirability of building up a picture in a "patchwork" fashion.²¹ Contemporaries favourably compared *Fading Away* to the work of the popular Victorian painter Sir Joseph Paton, and were astonished that such an artful picture could be produced by the camera. Numerous copies were sold, including one to Prince Albert.

Even more than his pictures, it was his writings that made Robinson such an influential figure. *Pictorial Effect in Photography* (1869) was the most comprehensive treatise on art photography to appear to that date, and its popularity was unsurpassed for the remainder of the century.²² The photographer's "business is to see," and for

Robinson that meant an appreciation of nature, filtered through a personal visual sensibility cultivated by an understanding of the tried and true axioms of art.²³ He therefore appealed to authoritative academic treatises on art, such as Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's *De arte graphica* (translated into English in 1695, and later annotated by Sir Joshua Reynolds), and Reynolds' own *Discourses on Art* (delivered during the 1770s and 80s). Robinson extracted what were even then well-worn principles on such elements as composition (including entire chapters devoted to "Unity," and "Balance") and chiaroscuro effects, and applied them to photography. Yet he cautioned the reader against an overly rigid or formulaic application of these guidelines, encouraging instead the cultivation of an aesthetic sensibility, and counselled the photographer to study great works of art, especially those painted by one of his favourite artists, J.M.W. Turner.

A degree of artifice had always been part of photography, whether it was the use of a separate negative for printing in skies, or a head brace to simulate instantaneity in a commercial portrait. But these measures were usually seen as merely corrective, as a simple and defensible amelioration of a medium whose many "distortions and deficiencies" (Eastlake) were the bane of the photographer. Robinson encouraged photographers to take the logical next step by sanctioning the "mixture of the real and artificial in a picture." A successful picture, as opposed to a vernacular photograph, was not a transcription of reality, but the "effect" had to be natural; there must be "truth of imitation."²⁴ Robinson's statements on nature, and on truth in photography, provide some insight into his aesthetic:

I am far from saying that a photograph must be an actual, literal, and absolute *fact*; that would deny all I have written; but it must represent

*truth.... Truth is conformity to fact or reality — absence of falsehood. So that truth in art may exist without an absolute observance of facts.... The photographer must not let his invention tempt him to represent, by any trick, any scene that does not occur in nature.... But any 'dodge, trick, or conjuration' of any kind is open to the photographer's use, so that it belongs to his art, and is not false to nature.*²⁵

Robinson devoted an entire section to combination printing, and described its value in creating pictures:

[It is a] method which enables the photographer to represent objects in different planes in proper focus, to keep the true atmospheric and linear relation of varying distance, and by which a picture can be divided into separate portions for execution, the parts to be afterwards printed together on one paper, thus enabling the operator to devote all his attention to a single figure or sub-group at a time, so that if any part be imperfect for any cause, it can substituted by another without loss of the whole picture....²⁶

Robinson realized that the great creative freedom of combination printing might invite a plague of misbegotten imagery, so he once again stressed that this technique must be judiciously applied, and guided by an advanced and sophisticated "knowledge of art" and "sufficient reverence for nature."²⁷

As Margaret Harker has suggested, one of Robinson's principal legacies was his refusal to choose between picture-making and picture-taking as an ideal of art photography, because for him the end justified the means. Robinson's undogmatic approach to photographic aesthetics, and his willingness to embrace various styles within pictorial photography, is a central facet of Pictorialism's roots. This would resurface in photographic debates of the late 1880s, as photographers wrestled with questions of aesthetics.

While many historians begin their narrative of art photography with Robinson, another 20 years passed after the publication of *Pictorial Effect* (1869) before the Pictorialist movement really began to build momentum. The greatest impetus was provided by the sheer numbers of amateur photographers who began to take up photography in the 1880s. The reasons for this sudden influx were many and varied, from technological advances to socio-economic and philosophical transformations of society.²⁸ In 1888, an American dry-plate manufacturer, George Eastman, introduced the Kodak camera, which used roll film. Eastman's savvy marketing slogan, "You Press the Button, We Do the Rest," attracted a new breed of photographer. Equipment manufacturers and retailers rushed to create and fill new needs, the "camera fiend" became commonplace, and camera clubs sprang up everywhere.²⁹ "How-to" manuals proliferated, treatises such as Robinson's *Pictorial Effect in Photography* were reprinted, and influential magazines like the significantly-titled *Amateur Photographer* were launched during this period.³⁰

Camera clubs, magazines, and periodicals all became the sites of a growing debate over photographic aesthetics. If one individual can be said to have polarized debate in the late 1880s, it would be Peter Henry Emerson (1856-1936), a Cuban-born American whose family moved to England in 1869. Emerson personified the Victorian amateur scientist. Trained as a medical doctor, but saved from ever having to practise by his inherited wealth, he turned his keen scientific curiosity to the gentlemanly pursuits of ornithology and botany, and became a member of the Royal Meteorological Society. Drawn to photography in the early 1880s, Emerson quickly established himself as a

major polemical voice in the great debate. His writings were intended as a necessary purgative to the decadence he saw in both art and photography.

"Photography, A Pictorial Art," read before London's Camera Club (11 March 1886), opened by blaming, on art writers, "misconceptions and confusion" about art, since their ideas were based on the vagaries of changing tastes rather than "any logical first principles."³¹ Ruskin, "one of these spasmodic elegants of Art literature," denied what Emerson considered to be the necessary connection between art and science, and beguiled the public with "beautiful writing in which his power lies, with dogmatic assertions and illogical statements." But now, Emerson declared, "the days of metaphysics are over," for the "naturalistic school" of painters³² had rightly returned Art to Nature. Taking as his authority perceptual theories developed by the German physiologist Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz (1821-1894), Emerson wrote that: "Art has at last found a scientific basis, and can be rationally discussed," and he declared himself to be the "first to base the claims of photography as a fine [sic] Art on these grounds." He concluded with a Darwinian metaphor in which he predicted that the "modern school of painting" and photography would "walk hand in hand, the two survivals of the fittest."³³

Emerson expanded these ideas in *Naturalistic Photography* (1889), calling on art photographers to follow the examples of history's greatest artists by rendering "a true impression" of nature: "abstract ideas" were the province neither of painting nor of photography. He denigrated Pre-Raphaelite painting as the epitome of falsehood, despite

its precision and detail, because the artists "neglected those subtleties of light and colour and atmosphere which pervade all nature."³⁴

Atmosphere contributed to "breadth by lessening contrast, as it helps to determine the distance of objects."³⁵ Just as the painter uses aerial perspective to imitate this effect, so Emerson believed that the photographer should use a photographic means. Since his goal was an "impression" of nature, the raw photographic process required some limited degree of mediation. Looking back to William Newton, Emerson proposed "differential focussing":

[A] picture should not be quite sharply focussed in any part, for then it become false; it should be made *just as sharp as the eye sees it and no sharper....* The chief point of interest should be slightly — very slightly — out of focus, while all things, out of the plane of the principal object ... should also be slightly out of focus, not to the extent of producing *destruction of structure*, or fuzziness, but sufficient to keep them back and in place.³⁶

Similarly, tonal values required adjustment so that they could be placed in "true relation" to nature:

[B]rilliance is *not* that 'sparkle' which so delights the craftsman... [and] the shadows shall not be too black, that in them shall be light as there always is in nature.... It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that 'strength' in a photograph is not to be judged by its so-called 'pluck' or 'sparkle,' but by its subtlety of tone, its truthful relative values in shadow and middle shadow, and its true textures.³⁷

Emerson reiterated his belief that art must be based in science, and quoted English portrait painter (and President of the Royal Academy) Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830): "Painting is a science, and should be pursued as an inquiry into the laws of nature."³⁸ Ultimately Emerson's positivist attempt to ground art in scientific principles collapsed in spectacular fashion — with his publication of *The Death of Naturalistic*

Photography (1891) — because his rigid theorizing could accommodate neither a shift in his ideas about art, nor a scientific paper that appeared to challenge one of his precepts.³⁹

Perhaps one of the fairest retrospective assessments of *Naturalistic Photography* came from Emerson's longtime adversary, H.P. Robinson, who in 1895 compared the book's effects to those of an earthquake or a revolution:

This remarkable book ... was strongly opposed, by no one, perhaps, more vehemently than by myself.... But the upheaval was of infinite value to the progress of the art, if not exactly in the way the author intended. During the controversy I wrote as follows, according to opinions I have always held: "Good fruit sometimes comes out of the rankest soil ... and out of 'naturalistic photography' may come a reaction against that excessive sharpness of focus, which is still dear to the amateur and professional alike; and against which photographers who practice art have always protested."

This has happened, and more.... The animated discussion is to a great extent answerable for the much greater attention that is now paid to photography as an art all over the world; the art is placed on a firmer, broader and more catholic basis; and the 'New Movement' in the art ... is perhaps a far-off effect of the artistic disruption of a few years ago. And I think I may truly add that out of the preaching of many dogmas has come universal freedom. The sharpest photograph, so that it shows artistic feeling, is as welcome as any other variety of the fruit of the camera.⁴⁰

By the mid-1890s, the first decade of Pictorialism's florescence, this "broader and more catholic" approach to art photography had achieved a level of acceptance amongst photographers and critics. The debate had only begun, but there was already less of the old-style prescriptive and authoritative rhetoric. Appealing to supposedly immutable laws of Art and Nature, or particular schools of painting, as a justification for one style of photography over another, was losing much of its credibility. The gradual maturation or evolution of photographic discourse occurred within the broader modernist transformations of western culture at the end of the 19th century. Stylistic pluralism, a

new privileging of aesthetic innovation and experimentation, and a heightened subjectivity (an enduring legacy of Romanticism), were all essential facets of Modernism and central to the growth of Pictorialism. The new cultural climate manifested itself in styles and movements as diverse as Impressionism and Symbolism, Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism — and Pictorialists mined all of these various lodes.

Turn-of-the-century Pictorialism thus embraced many aesthetics, an important point when one considers that some histories of photography maintain the overly simplistic notion that Pictorialism was a polar opposite of the "straight" or "pure" aesthetic, with the latter eventually succeeding the former.⁴¹ Pictorialism, like many "isms," resists definition because of its heterogeneity. An entry point can be found in the high value placed on personal expression: a retreat from objective, positivist certainties; and the advance of the subjectivity of the individual. Pictorialists frequently quoted the great French writer Emile Zola's pithy definition of art from *Mes haines* (1866): "Une oeuvre d'art est un coin de la création vu à travers un tempérament." In 1895, the founding editor of *Photograms of the Year* wrote:

The whole outlook of the art is full of promise; instead of hard-working scientists and merely business-like executants, we find a new generation of enthusiasts gifted with the artistic temperament, and anxious to raise the craft to an art.⁴²

A 1900 French text on landscape photography contrasted the simple "*vue*" with "*paysage*, c'est-à-dire une interprétation personnelle de la nature."⁴³ Zola's maxim even appeared in a *Photograms of the Year* editorial trumpeting the annual's commitment to pluralistic criticism in photography:

Each writer ... expresses his own opinion freely.... If art is 'nature seen through a temperament,' still more is criticism 'art seen through a temperament,' and the reader who would profit by criticism must regard it, not as a statement of facts to be accepted, but as a series of opinions to be considered.... [I]n art there is nothing so fatal as dogma, no state so healthy as that of robust free-thinking.⁴⁴

The emphasis on subjectivity led increasing numbers of photographers to engage in various forms of intervention in the photographic process, and a period of feverish experimentation began.

The acceptance of, in common parlance, picture *making* over picture *taking*, opened the door to the development of a whole complex of theories, techniques and processes which probed and pushed at the boundaries of photography. By the end of the 19th century the print had become the primary site of aesthetic interest. The French art critic Robert de la Sizeranne (1866-1932), in his eloquent *La photographie: est-elle un art?* (1899), likened the negative to a "simple ébauche" (rough sketch), which the artistic photographer might elevate to a "tableau" at the printing stage: "Le cliché est dû à la machine; mais l'épreuve, comme le style, c'est l'homme."⁴⁵ A. Horsley Hinton, an influential British photographer and editor of *The Amateur Photographer*, argued that individuality and distinctiveness were best realized in the print: "[I]n the printing we are in direct touch with the finished image, and it behoves us to grasp the opportunity to see how far we can guide the action of the light...."⁴⁶

New aesthetic ends demanded new technical means, and much debate centred on the limits of various print processes: how much manipulation or "control" could be exercised before the medium itself was breached. While many photographers insisted that control be restricted to the correction of technical defects, Hinton, in "Methods of

Control, and Their Influence on the Development of Artistic Photography" (1897), argued that there was a continuum of control, which made the determination of legitimacy exceedingly difficult.⁴⁷ However, much as H.P. Robinson had done nearly 30 years earlier, Hinton warned against excessive license.

The Pictorialists experimented with a great variety of processes, and sometimes combinations of one or more, in order to gain a greater or lesser degree of control over the photographic print. The platinum process and photogravure, the aesthetic possibilities of which Emerson had so eloquently demonstrated,⁴⁸ afforded a great range and subtlety of tones. The image literally resided *in* the fibres of the paper since there was no intermediary gelatin layer. The process was superbly tailored to the rendering of delicate luminous effects and atmosphere. The gum bichromate process, first exhibited at the *Photo-Club de Paris* in 1894 by A. Rouillé-Ladevèze, permitted the photographer an unprecedented degree of liberty, as an image could be progressively built up through successive printings on the same sheet of paper, and water-colour pigment was a key ingredient in the solution.⁴⁹ Monochrome prints of any hue were possible, and a few Pictorialists took advantage of the multiple gum printings to build up fairly naturalistic three-colour prints. Hinton, while supporting control processes in general, was concerned that the gum process' "great freedom" might exceed the limits of photography.⁵⁰ Yet no less a paragon of unmanipulated photography than Frederick Evans so appreciated Robert Demachy's work that he owned two gum prints:

I know both are due in their finest values to hand control, but this is not apparent, or distractingly evident; their every inch tells me they are photographic; does that give me any shame concerning them? Rather does it add to their triumph in my eye.⁵¹

Maskell and Demachy recognized that the final gum print might substantially depart from the original negative, but argued that the results could and should remain "in essence photographic." Subsequent legions of "gum splodgers" demonstrated the difficulty of using the technique, but a number of Pictorialists, such as Demachy (1859-1936), Constant Puyo (1857-1933), and Heinrich Kühn (1866-1944), used the process with great sensitivity.

Despite the emphasis on subjectivity, and on developing a new aesthetic, the notion of a "pictorialist" style is a major obstacle to the understanding of Pictorialism. If style can be defined as a particular, distinguishable manner of attending to form and treating materials, then Pictorialism lacks the necessary coherence. As an ism it comes closer to those that are more commonly understood as movements or systems of beliefs rather than as styles.⁵² Looking at Pictorialism as a movement, as an organized effort to promote and to work toward a shared goal or objective, takes into account the increasingly politicized nature of amateur photography.

Belgian photo-historian Pool Andries has noted that the "démocratisation" of photography that accompanied the explosive growth in amateur photography, together with the rising demand for cheap illustrations which was increasingly met by (often indifferently printed) photomechanical reproductions, contributed to "une baisse rapide et frappante des normes de qualité et, par conséquent, une perte de prestige de la photographie."⁵³ Those amateurs who concerned themselves with the "advance of the art" therefore needed to distinguish their practice from that of other amateurs (the "button-pushers") and, for many Pictorialists, even from the professional photographer.

Frictions caused by different visions of photography, and dissatisfaction with the hierarchical structure of the conventional society or camera club, soon resulted in numerous secessions. Secessionism in photography was concurrent with its homologue in the larger art world, notably in Germany and Austria, beginning in 1892 when painters left the *Künstlergenossenschaft* to establish the *Müncher Sezession*. *Sezession* groups were later founded in Vienna by Gustav Klimt in 1897, and in Berlin by Max Liebermann in 1899.

The first and perhaps the single-most important secession in photography began with the resignation of H.P. Robinson and George Davison, a follower of P.H. Emerson, from the Photographic Society of Great Britain, after a dispute in late 1891. The previous year Davison's pinhole⁵⁴ image *An Old Farmstead* (later known as *The Onion Field*) had become the object of much controversy at the Photographic Society of Great Britain's annual exhibition, and was hailed by some as the first "impressionist" photograph. In April 1892 Alfred Maskell wrote to a select group of photographers, proposing the formation of a new organization, which was to become the prototype for many others:

a small society, an inner circle, a kind of little Bohemian club... [including those] in sympathy with the best aspect of photography.... [A] circle of this kind would be able to use a considerable and very strong influence and authority, especially in the matters of exhibitions.... I think it would be good if there were a certain quaintness in the organisation and customs.... It will involve no subscription, no rules and regulations (but some customs): will be democratic to a degree, but exclusive in selection, liberal in the sense of liberty to all and only bound by mutual and loyal agreement....⁵⁵

The Linked Ring Brotherhood was officially founded on 27 May 1892 by 15 photographers, including Davison, Robinson, Hinton, and Maskell.⁵⁶ Despite its small size (membership reached a high of only 74 in 1902), the Linked Ring cultivated an influential international membership, which at one time or another included many of the leading Pictorialists of Europe and the United States.⁵⁷ As Harker points out, the Linked Ring was able to accommodate both "purists" and "impressionists" (or "flouistes" as they were sometimes known in France). A printed information sheet described the society to prospective members:

The Linked Ring has been constituted as a means of bringing together those who are interested in the development of the highest form of Art of which Photography is capable. The present is felt to be an opportune time for the formation of a sociable coterie of picture-loving, as separate from purely scientific or practical, craftsmen....

The organization has no Presidents or Officers, no subscriptions, and no rules or regulations, but some customs and observances, the knowledge of which is imparted to those who are admitted within its limits....

Its device is "Liberty and Loyalty."⁵⁸

The group purposely eschewed the usual organizational structures in order to distinguish itself from the rigidly hierarchical Photographic Society of Great Britain. The democratic character of the Ring extended to secret ballots on important issues, and the creation of the position of Centre Link (a position which was rotated amongst the members at monthly intervals), the incumbent of which acted as chairman. One contemporary critic noted the similarities between the New English Art Club (which was composed of artists, including John Singer Sargent and Walter Sickert, who were dissatisfied with the strictures of the Royal Academy), and the Linked Ring; each had its origin in:

the high mettled protest against convention; each holds its exhibitions in the same gallery; and each has its strong leaven of stylists, irreconcilables and zealots.... The Photographic Salon is the New English Art Club of photography.⁵⁹

Secessionists saw themselves as an avant-garde, as breaking away from tradition and convention and turning towards the new or the modern.⁶⁰ The fact that many of the leading Pictorialists were members of the professional class, and could scarcely be considered militant outside the field of photography, does not detract from their self-styled avant-gardism. In 1894, the *Photo-Club de Paris* was formed by secessionists (including Robert Demachy, who would be elected to the Linked Ring in 1895) from the *Société Française de Photographie*.

One of the most important activities of these societies was the organization of exhibitions, often on an international scale. The *Austellung Künstlerischer Photographien* (4 May to 1 June 1891) was a landmark exhibition organized by the Vienna-based *Club der Amateur-Photographien*.⁶¹ It represented a first, in limiting entry exclusively to those photographs judged to possess artistic merit, as selected by an 11-member jury made up of painters. The exhibition included work by leading international Pictorialists such as George Davison, whose work created a sensation. The British school was universally acknowledged to be preeminent during the 1890s, and was well-represented at exhibitions. Occasionally exhibitions were limited to British work, such as the *Exposition de l'Art photographique anglais* (Brussels 1892), sponsored by the *Association Belge de Photographie*. The most important international annual exhibition was the Linked Ring's *Salon of Pictorial Photography*, which began in the fall of 1893, and which was scheduled to run concurrently with the Royal Photographic Society's annual

exhibition. In the same year, the annual *Künsthalle* exhibitions of photography began in Hamburg, sponsored by the *Die Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Amateur-Photographie*, and actively encouraged and supported by Alfred Lichtwark, the Director of the *Künsthalle*. The *Première Exposition d'Art photographique* opened in Paris in January 1894. Ever higher standards of selection, increased attention to the manner in which photographs were mounted and framed, more sophisticated exhibition design, and increasingly prestigious venues, all contributed to the growing acceptance of photography as an art — not only by photographers, but by the general public.

The movement's sphere of influence was greatly enlarged by periodical publications such as the already-mentioned *Amateur Photographer* and, perhaps the single most important international impetus to Pictorialism, *Photograms of the Year*. Together the exhibitions, periodicals, and international societies like the Linked Ring acted as significant catalysts in the spread of Pictorialism to North America.

NOTES

1. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *La peinture à l'Exposition universelle de 1855* (Paris: Denon, 1855), 5.
2. John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 11.
3. François Arago, *Rapport de M. Arago sur le daguerréotype* (Paris, 1839), rpt. in Michel Frizot, and Françoise Ducros, eds., *Du bon usage de la photographie* (Paris: Centre National de la Photographie, 1987), 11, 13. The report was read before the *Chambre des Députés* 3 July, and the *Académie des Sciences*, 19 August 1839.
4. *The Literary Gazette* [London] (13 July 1839), rpt. in Beaumont Newhall, ed., *Photography: Essays & Images* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 18-19.
5. Sir John Herschel, letter to Talbot, 9 May 1839, quoted in Gail Buckland, *Fox Talbot and the Invention of Photography* (Boston: Godine, 1980), 53-54.

6. David Octavius Hill, letter to Mr. Bicknell, 17 January 1848, quoted in Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* 5th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art), 48.
7. Francis Wey, "De l'influence de l'héliographie sur les Beaux-Arts," *La Lumière* (9 February 1851), rpt. in André Rouillé, ed., *La Photographie en France: Textes & Controverses: une Anthologie, 1816-1871* (Paris: Macula, 1989), 108.
8. Helmut Gernsheim, and Alison Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography*, 2d ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 31.
9. H. Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans [published in 6 parts, June 1844 - April 1846], intro. Beaumont Newhall (New York: Da Capo, 1969), n.p. The text appeared opposite the plate.
10. Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," *Revue Française*, rpt. in Frizot, *Du bon usage de la photographie*, 29.
11. In 1874 it was renamed the Photographic Society of Great Britain, and was honoured with the Royal prefix in 1894.
12. Elizabeth Eastlake, "Photography," *Quarterly Review* (London) 101 (April 1857), rpt. in Newhall, *Essays & Images*, 91. The "distortions and deficiencies" sprang from essentially technical difficulties such as the uneven sensitivity of the plates to various colours, and to different wavelengths of light. Photographic materials were also incapable of compressing the brightness range, especially of an outdoor scene, in an acceptable fashion. For Eastlake then, "the rendering of true chiaroscuro," for instance, was beyond the powers of photography, and weaknesses such as this precluded photography from attaining the status of art.
13. Sir William J. Newton, "Upon Photography in an Artistic View, and its Relation to the Arts," *Journal of the Photographic Society* 1 (1853), rpt. in Newhall, *Essays & Images*, 79.
14. Despite photography's potential to create picturesque effects, Newton stopped short of declaring that a photograph might be considered art, and concluded by emphasising that he was only stating his "views respecting the mode of applying Photography as an assistant to the Fine Arts." Newton, "Upon Photography in an Artistic View," 80.
15. Gustave Le Gray, *Photographie, traité nouveau, théorique et pratique* (1852), rpt. in Rouillé *La Photographie en France*, 99.
16. See Rouillé, *La Photographie en France*, 97.
17. Quoted in Newhall, *History of Photography*, 73.
18. J.E. Mayall, *Daguerreotype Institution* (London 1848), quoted in Gernsheim, *A Concise History*, 73.
19. See Margaret F. Harker, *Henry Peach Robinson: Master of Photographic Art, 1830-1901* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).
20. Gernsheim, for instance, was far from dispassionate in his assessment of Pictorialism in general, which he saw as "an unfortunate trend — photographic picture *making* instead of picture *taking*." Robinson's methods were "entirely contrary to the true technique of photography," and one of his influential publications was "like an infectious disease." Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography*, 162-64.

Gernsheim's distaste for Pictorialism is hardly surprising, as he was personally involved in the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) movement, which began in Germany in the 1920s.

21. Harker, *HPR*, 26-28. It should be noted that Oscar Rejlander (1813-1875) elicited much praise for his combination print, *The Two Ways of Life*, an allegorical picture displaying various vices on one side, and virtues on the other, in a pseudo-classical setting, which was exhibited at the Art Treasures Exhibition (Manchester, 1857). The partial nudity of some of the figures caused some consternation, but it was sufficiently within the bounds of good taste for the picture to be purchased by Queen Victoria. Robinson was introduced to the technique of combination printing at Rejlander's London studio in late 1856.

22. It went through four British, two American, and French and German editions. H.P. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* (London: Piper & Carter, 1869), intro. Robert A. Sobieszek (Pawlet, VT: Helios, 1971).

23. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect*, 18.

24. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect*, 109.

25. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect*, 78.

26. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect*, 192.

27. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect*, 198.

28. Before the 1880s, the preparation of the collodion negative was a messy and time-consuming first step which entailed the coating of a glass plate with a light-sensitive emulsion. The exposure of the plate in the camera had to be made before the plate had become dry (hence the name wet-collodion or wet plate), and the plate had to be developed immediately afterwards. This demanded ready access to a darkroom (although the latter could be made portable for field work), and a certain scientific aptitude. The introduction of the dry plate revolutionized photography: since the plates remained sensitive indefinitely, they could be mass-produced and easily marketed, and because they did not require immediate development after exposure in the camera the photographer was no longer tied to the darkroom. In fact a new service industry soon sprang up which freed the photographer from ever having to enter the darkroom — the photo-finishing industry.

29. At the end of the 1870s there were "less than 20 amateur photographic societies and camera clubs in Britain and the United States combined. By 1885, according to the British journal *Photographic Almanack*, there were 40 in Britain and 20 in the United States. By 1895, the *Photographic Almanack* lists 250 societies in Britain and 109 in the United States.... a 1896 report by W.S. Harwood in *The Cosmopolitan* states, 'there are over a hundred and fifty of these camera-club organizations in the United States alone'." Michael Griffin, *Amateur Photography and Pictorial Aesthetics: Influences of Organization and Industry on Cultural Production* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987; Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987. AAC8804932), 107.

30. The London-based *Amateur Photographer* was begun in October 1884, and as Weston Naef has noted, it was "called by a name that had never before been used for a journal. The title was chosen specifically to distinguish it from other photography journals aimed at professionals...." Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 16.

31. P.H. Emerson, "Photography, A Pictorial Art," *The Amateur Photographer* 3 (19 March 1886), rpt. in Newhall, *Essays & Images*, 159-62.

32. Emerson's brief sketch of the history of art placed "the cultivated and wonderful Greeks" at the summit, but he saw a contemporary return to nature beginning with Constable, followed by Théodore Rousseau, Corot, Millet, and Bastien-Lepage. Emerson, "A Pictorial Art," 160.

33. Emerson, "A Pictorial Art," 161-62.

34. They employed local colour, and "not the true colour as modified by light, adjacent colour, and atmosphere." P.H. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889), excerpted in Vicki Goldberg, ed., *Photography in Print* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 191-92. In this area, Emerson's ideas were consistent with the Impressionist painters' desire to represent fleeting visual impressions, although he never really distinguished between what he called Naturalism and Impressionism.

35. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography*, 193.

36. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography*, 194. Despite their many differences, Robinson would have sympathized with Emerson's rejection of sharp focus. In the 1860s Robinson collaborated with the lens-maker J.H. Dallmeyer in demonstrating a portrait lens designed to soften focus. See Harker, *HPR*, 41-42.

37. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography*, 192-93.

38. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography*, 195. The quote was perhaps poorly chosen, as Lawrence's "sparkling" portraits were hardly in the naturalistic style Emerson favoured. A painter for whom Emerson felt more sympathy, John Constable, wrote (1836): "[P]ainting is a science, and should be pursued as an inquiry into the laws of nature. Why, then, should not landscape painting be considered as a branch of natural philosophy, of which pictures are but the experiments." Quoted in Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981), 25.

39. The rationale behind the somewhat bizarre recantation, self-published in the form of a black-bordered pamphlet, Emerson summed up as follows:

[A]rt — as Whistler said — is *not* nature, it is not necessarily the reproduction or translation of it; much, so very much, some of the very best, is not nature at all, nor even based upon it.... If there can be no scientific basis for art, as some have asserted, Meissonier can claim to be as artistic as Monet.... The limitations of photography are so great that, though the results may, and sometimes do give a certain esthetic pleasure, the medium must rank the lowest of all arts, *lower than* any graphic art, for the individuality of the artist is cramped.... I thought once (Hurter and Driffield have taught me differently) that true values could be obtained and that values could be altered at will by development. They cannot...

P.H. Emerson, *The Death of Naturalistic Photography* (1891), quoted in Nancy Newhall, *P.H. Emerson: The Fight for Photography as a Fine Art* (New York: Aperture, 1975), 93. The scientific paper referred to is: Ferdinand Hurter, and Vero C. Driffield, "Photochemical Investigations and a New Method of Determination of the Sensitiveness of Photographic Plates," *The Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry* (31 May 1890).

40. H.P. Robinson, "Expression in Landscape," *The American Annual of Photography* (1895), excerpted in N. Newhall, *P.H. Emerson*, 103.

41. See Margaret Harker, "The Secession," *The British Journal of Photography* 119 (1972): 1074-77; 1100-03. She points, for instance, to the Photo-Secession: Alfred Stieglitz and Frank Eugene had very different aesthetics, with Stieglitz tending toward the purist approach, and Eugene being an extreme image manipulator.

42. Gleeson White, "Post Scriptum," *Photograms of the Year 1895*, 103. *Photograms of the Year* (1895-1960), an annual compendium of articles gathered from correspondents around the world, and generously illustrated, was crucial to the spread of Pictorialism.
43. F[erdinand] Coste, "Le paysage" in Paul Bourgeois, ed., *Esthétique de la photographie* (Paris: Photo-Club de Paris, 1900), 50.
44. "Explanation and Acknowledgement," *Photograms of the Year 1900*, 5.
45. Robert de la Sizeranne, *La photographie: est-elle un art?* (Paris: Hachette, 1899), rpt. in Peter Bunnell, *The Aesthetics of French Photography, The Sources of Modern Photography* (New York: Arno, 1979), 25.
46. A. Horsley Hinton, "Individuality — Some Suggestions for the Pictorial Worker," *The Photographic Times* 31:1 (January 1899), rpt. in Peter C. Bunnell, ed. *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography, 1889-1923* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1980), 74.
47. A. Horsley Hinton, "Methods of Control, and Their Influence on the Development of Artistic Photography," *The Photographic Times* 29:9 (September 1897), rpt. in Bunnell, *A Photographic Vision*, 54.
48. Besides exhibiting his platinum prints to great acclaim, Emerson produced several landmark monographs and portfolios, including *Life and Landscape on the Norfolk Broads* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1886), a collaboration with the painter T.F. Goodall; and *Pictures of East Anglian Life* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1888).
49. Gum was popularized by a famous treatise: Alfred Maskell, and Robert Demachy, *Photo-Aquatint or The Gum Bichromate Process: A Practical Treatise On A New Process of Printing in Pigment Especially Suitable for Pictorial Workers* 2d ed. (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney 1898), rpt. in Peter C. Bunnell, ed., *Nonsilver Printing Processes: Four Selections 1886-1927* (New York, 1973).
50. He suggested that those few photographers who might successfully use it "could as well paint on paper with pigment in time-honoured fashion, and save much messing and vexation." Hinton, "Methods of Control," 72.
51. Quoted in Brian Coe, and Mark Haworth-Booth, *A Guide to Early Photographic Processes* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), 94.
52. Contemporary commentators rarely spoke of a Pictorialist style, although they did discuss various "schools." Margaret Harker listed seven different aesthetic currents in Pictorialism: Realism, Naturalism, Impressionism, Symbolism, Japonisme, Art nouveau, and the Avant-garde. Harker, "Les thèmes de la photographie d'art," in Pool Andries, Margaret Harker, and Roger Coenen, *La photographie d'art vers 1900* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1983), 24f.

Initially, "pictorial" was taken from the general lexicon and applied to any photographic practice directed at creating a "picture." Only in the 1890s did the word begin to develop a more specialized meaning and, on top of its earlier use as an adjective for an object (that is, a photograph), was added social activity or movement.
53. Pool Andries, "Introduction," *La photographie d'art vers 1900*, 11.
54. Light enters the camera (a simple box will suffice), not through a lens, but via a tiny aperture or pinhole. The attraction of creating a photographic image in this manner lies in the technical simplicity and economy of means, and in the aesthetic qualities of the image produced — an unlimited depth-of-field

combined with an overall softness of effect. See Lauren Smith, *The Visionary Pinhole* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1985).

55. Quoted in Harker, "The Secession," 1076. In 1979 Harker suggested that a small informal group known as The Solar Club (1865-c.92), founded by H.P. Robinson and G. Wharton Simpson (editor, *Photographic News*), could be considered as the precursor of the Linked Ring, and noted its similarities to the latter. Membership was by invitation only, and they used pseudonyms, and rotated presidents. Margaret Harker, *The Linked Ring: The Secession Movement in Photography in Britain, 1892-1910* (London: Heinemann, 1979), 44-45.

56. Harker notes that Emerson's work would certainly have qualified him for membership in the Linked Ring, but "his pride and prejudices (particularly against his old arch enemy Henry Robinson, and his most recent one, George Davison) must have prevented any approach being made on either side." Harker, *The Linked Ring*, 93.

57. Over the years, Links included the British photographers James Craig Annan, Alvin Langdon Coburn, Frederick Evans, Francis Mortimer, and Muir Ward; the Americans F. Holland Day, Rudolf Eickemeyer, Anne Brigman, Gertrude Käsebier, Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, and Clarence White; René Le Bègue, Maurice Bucquet, Robert Demachy, and Constant Puyo, of France; A. Alexandre, from Belgium; Theodor and Oskar Hofmeister, from Germany; the Austrians Hugo Henneberg and Heinrich Kühn; and Shapoor Bhedwar from India. Harker has appended a complete list to her 1979 study of the Linked Ring, which includes pseudonyms, duration of active membership, and the dates of holding the office of "Centre Link." Harker, *The Linked Ring*, 179-88.

58. n.d., rpt. in Harker, *The Linked Ring*, ix.

59. A.C.R. Carter (1900), quoted in Harker, *The Linked Ring*, 43.

60. Some went so far as to speak of having "broken away from the tradition of artificial, reproductive photography: more specifically, they have freed themselves from 'photography' as it is usually understood...." F. Matthies-Masuren, "Secession," Foreword to *Secession*. Offizieller Katalog der Internationalen Elite-Ausstellung Künstlerischer Photographien (Munich, 1898), trans. Gregory Clark, rpt. in Bunnell, *A Photographic Vision*, 91.

61. See Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 22-24; and Harker, "The Secession," 1075.

III. Toronto Beginnings

Sidney Carter was born into a solidly middle-class family with some artistic leanings, in Toronto, on 18 February 1880. Very little information about his early life survives, and even less that helps in the understanding of his early success at photography, but a few fragments from various sources, and recollections by friends and family, permit some reconstruction of his biography. His father, William Carter (d. 1919), was an "importer," and apparently something of a collector, as he left "many beautiful *objets d'art*, furniture and paintings, etc." to Sidney.¹ His mother, Esther Chapman (d. 1917), was an American, a descendant of the frontiersman Davy Crockett, and a niece of the famous Civil War Confederate General Pierre Beauregard (1818-93).² His uncle, with whom he had some contact when he moved to Montreal, was the watercolourist Henry Thomas Carter (1850-1931) who exhibited work with the British Water-Colour Society, and the Royal Canadian Academy.³ Sidney Carter first appears as a "clerk" for the North British Canadian Investment Company in *The Toronto Business Directory* in 1897, and beginning in 1899 his employer is listed as the Ontario Bank. Typically, Pictorialists were well-educated or (as in Carter's case) they were at least autodidacts infused with the spirit of self-betterment, who read voraciously, attended lectures, and participated in various clubs with their peers.

In order to better understand Carter's attraction to Pictorialism, the movement needs to be situated within the broader context of the Canadian culture, and viewed against the backdrop of the constellation of forces which were then shaping the nation. Those Canadians who participated in this international movement did so because it struck

a sympathetic chord, one which went beyond simply a common aesthetic. They also shared affinities of class, race, and cultural background.

Canada at the end of the 19th century was a prosperous country still dominated by its colonial ties with Britain. Canada during the "Age of Laurier" (1896-1911) was:

undoubtedly a place of expansion, rapidly increasing wealth and optimism.... The dominant ethos of Canadians in the first decade of the century was a potent blend of evangelical Christianity and social Darwinism.... No Canadian in this era doubted that the British Empire represented the finest and most highly developed product of this evolutionary struggle.⁴

Thus, imperialism in Canada was not imposed from the outside, but was willingly embraced by many Canadians. Indeed Carl Berger equated Canadian imperialism with what had formerly been posited as its antithesis: Canadian nationalism.⁵ As Stephen Leacock declared, "I ... am an imperialist because I will not be a Colonial."⁶ Enthusiasm for imperialism reached its height during celebrations of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897:

Representatives from all the colonies, including Canada's new prime minister, Wilfrid Laurier, joined in the military parades and reviews, assemblies of school children, patriotic speeches, unveiling of monuments, and numerous banquets. Special commemorative stamps were issued, among them a Canadian stamp showing a map of the world splashed with red for all the British possessions. The inscription read: "We hold a greater empire than has been."⁷

The Laurier years witnessed a *rapprochement* between Great Britain and the United States, which meant that Canadians could both remain loyal to the former and receptive to the enticements of the latter. Visiting North America in 1887, Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), then British Colonial Secretary, was impressed by what he saw as the essential element uniting England, Canada and the United States:

As I passed through England and the United States, and again when I crossed the boundary of the Dominion [he told an appreciative Toronto audience] there was one idea impressing itself upon my mind at every step, indelibly written upon the face of the two vast countries, and that was the greatness and importance of the distinction reserved for the Anglo-Saxon race — (cheers) — that proud, persistent, self-asserting and resolute stock which no change of climate or condition can alter, and which is infallibly bound to be the predominant force in the future history and civilisation of the world.⁸

However, what increasingly set Canada apart from the rest of the Empire was its intimate relationship with the United States. Pictorialism's course in Canada coincided with the relative decline of British influence, and the rise of the United States as *the* new world power; Chamberlain's notion of Anglo-Saxon unity co-existed with another idea that reinforced the links between Canada and the U.S. The Carnegie-sponsored historian R.M. MacIver, looking back from his perspective in the 1930s, saw "not merely cultural similarity but also cultural congeniality," and went on to list popular activities and common elements of everyday life that tied Canadians closer to Americans than to Britons. Underlying all this was "the great and unifying influence of a common environment, the same tradition-free North American terrain calling forth the same qualities of the pioneer, the builder, the exploiter, the inventor, the free farmer, the opportunity seeker, the real-estate agent."⁹

Of course, "North Americanism" or continentalism's focus on the common "environment" effectively ignored charges of American influence and hegemony. The Borderlands Project, a more recent (1989) consideration of Canadian-American relations, acknowledges two fundamentally different experiences of the world's longest undefended border:

[T]he Canadian-American border has very limited penetration into American society and life; the border's impact on the country at large is

negligible, and its impact even on American communities physically proximate to the border is slight. For Canadians, however, the border looms very large indeed, and its effects are felt ... throughout the country. The border penetrates deeply into the Canadian consciousness, identity, economy, and polity to a degree unknown and unimaginable in the United States.¹⁰

This makes Canada, and not the United States, a "borderlands society." The study also notes the frequency and ease with which the border is crossed, and the many ties that bind. Art historian Christine Boyanoski has subsequently introduced the term "permeable border" in an attempt to nuance the discussion of influence:

Many factors come into play at once, since contact was made through a wide variety of means — the print media, travel, personal connections, exhibitions. The issue of cultural relations between nations is therefore a complex one.¹¹

The Age of Laurier, then, was clearly a time marked by a climate of receptivity to all things British and American. Ideas were easily introduced into Canada along with a steady stream of goods and services, not simply by outside forces, but often through direct Canadian invitation. There were as yet few calls for a specifically Canadian identity.

Photography in Canada in 1880, the year of Sidney Carter's birth, was still dominated by commercial photographers. The same, primarily technological, inhibitors to widespread amateur photography that existed in Europe applied equally in Canada. There were no periodicals, either here or abroad, devoted to the amateur photographer, and clubs and associations, even for professionals, had yet to appear in Canada. By the end of the decade, however, Canadians were engulfed by the same wave that swept over Western Europe and the United States, and soon much of the world.

Since very little is known about Carter's early history, and nothing about his first steps in photography, it is possible only to speculate on his early exposure to the medium. This likely occurred first through the popular press.¹² Amateur photographs were occasionally reproduced, and sometimes articles on photographers or very occasionally on photographic aesthetics appeared in such popular serials as *Dominion Illustrated*, *Toronto Saturday Night*,¹³ and *Massey's Magazine*. Toronto newspapers also reported on the Toronto Camera Club and its exhibitions.

The *Canadian Photographic Journal* (1892-97, hereafter *CPJ*), though short-lived, provides an important window on a wide spectrum of photographic activity in Canada, including the first manifestations of the Pictorialist movement. While British and, especially, American magazines were commonly available in Canada, *CPJ*'s first editorial declared that "there has long been a want felt in Canada for a home work of this description."¹⁴ The second issue printed several reader testimonials, including one which concluded with "Canada for Canadians."¹⁵ The journal welcomed all the jingoism it could inspire; the foreign competition for readers was fierce. Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), a central figure in late-19th-century Canadian publishing, wrote in 1894:

In the field of periodical literature, what chance can our Canadian publishers have against an American magazine with a circulation of a hundred and fifty thousand, and a splendour of illustration such as only a profuse expenditure can support? The idea that Canadian patriotism will give preference to the native product is not borne out by my experience.¹⁶

For a photographic magazine, necessarily costly illustrations were of prime importance: despite the few images in each issue of *CPJ*, some were simply reused in subsequent issues without explanation or apology, as this reduced the need for making new plates.

Attention to international news and reliance on reprinted articles from British and American publications saved the *CPJ* from parochialism. While the magazine's orientation, especially towards the end, was primarily technical and commercial, occasional articles on aesthetics were authored by such leading figures of the fledgling Pictorialist movement as P.H. Emerson, H.P. Robinson, and Alfred Stieglitz.¹⁷ This may partially account for a small but prominent list of American subscribers, including Stieglitz, who won first prize in the magazine's 1893 amateur competition.¹⁸

One of the magazine's most important reader services was its monthly coverage of the various associations and clubs. Collaborative action was essential for the organization of both professional and amateur photography; the president of an American association neatly summed up prevailing notions:

The great idea of the times is centralization. We find it in business, in the immense trusts and combines, which are nothing more or less than a perfected convention of the highest type; we find it in the social world, where the classes naturally adapt themselves along the lines of their personal likes and dislikes, and we find it in the politics of the world and in labour circles as well.

A convention, which in its primary meaning is a coming together, is a part of civilization, a part of progress, and an important part. Every being that has the power of conveying feeling by sound feels the need of associations.¹⁹

Those amateur photographers who began to organize camera clubs in the 1880s recognized the value of association; indeed, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries societies were formed at an unprecedented rate in the arts and culture generally. Individuals frequently belonged to more than one group, photographers no less than others.²⁰

No camera clubs or professional associations existed in Canada in 1880, but by the end of the decade the professional Photographers' Association of Canada had appeared, and clubs had been established in Quebec City and Toronto. By 1895, these groups had been joined by others in Montreal, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Halifax, and Saint John.²¹ The Toronto Camera Club (hereafter, TCC), organized as the Toronto Amateur Photographic Association in March 1888 and renamed in 1891, was preeminent by virtue of its size, longevity, international ties, and influence.²² The early members were solidly middle-class anglo-Canadians and included, as one Toronto daily noted in 1892, some "100 of the most prominent of Toronto's citizens."²³ William Hodgson Ellis (1845-1920) — Dean of Applied Science at the University of Toronto, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada — might be considered as the epitome, or at least a good example, of the first generation of TCC amateurs. One biographer described him as:

the fine flower of an ideal education which aimed at excellence not in one department of life only, but in many; a scientist, a man of culture with a trained appreciation of the beautiful in art and nature....²⁴

The early TCC was very British, and the "Imperial spirit" much embraced.²⁵ There was an essential conservatism and corporatism about the TCC which surpassed that of most others clubs, and contributed to its stability and, ultimately, its longevity, but made it slow to respond to demands for change from within, and from outside, the organization. For instance, the Club displayed great ambivalence over the question of "lady members," which came to a head at the annual general meeting in 1895. The subject elicited "lively discussion," and several members "spoke strongly against their admission," so the matter was referred to the Executive Committee which eventually decided on limited access and

lower fees for women.²⁶ Women in Toronto do not appear to have been much encouraged by the Club's lukewarm acceptance. Even a decade later, women accounted for only two of the Club's total membership limit of around 175. Elsewhere the situation was somewhat different, as women photographers played an important part in the new amateur photography.²⁷ In this, as in many other areas, the TCC tended to lag comfortably behind the times.

A fundamental tension existed between "advancing the cause" and the kind of conservative inertia that characterised many gentlemen's clubs of the period. Struggle and confrontation were anathema to the relaxed and comfortable social atmosphere of the club, where the outside world was not permitted to intrude:

Private cultural organizations also allowed their male members to "forget taxes, bills ... and ... be like grown up children, enquiring, joyous [and] irresponsible."²⁸

These were not professional associations, but fairly homogenous groups of like-minded individuals brought together for companionship, sharing a common interest. That interest, at least at the TCC until around 1900, seems to have been only a secondary motivation for affiliation.²⁹ Nonetheless, members coming from Toronto's establishment, such as the McMurrich brothers (one a mayor, the other an alderman), were particularly adept at cultivating a high profile for the Club, and ultimately for amateur photography in Toronto. The executive ensured that news and photographs from the Club appeared not only in photographic periodicals, but in the local press as well: the minutes of an Executive Committee meeting in 1891 report that "Mr. McMurrich offered to use his influence with the Manager of the 'Globe' to secure the insertion of prints."³⁰ Public

events were regularly scheduled, beginning with an "At Home" and lantern slide "entertainment" which attracted 200 guests in September 1889.³¹ The Club also engaged in philanthropy: in 1896 half the proceeds from a public entertainment at Massey Hall were donated to Sick Children's Hospital and, a few months later, an entertainment was given at the Home for Incurables. Annual TCC exhibitions were also popular with Toronto audiences, and in 1895 the Club expanded its influence by moving to control the exhibition of amateur photography at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition.³²

Since the TCC so dominated the Toronto amateur photography scene, it was quite typical that an ambitious young photographer like Sidney Carter soon gravitated toward this well-established centre. Exactly when he joined is unknown, but his presence as a member was first recorded at the annual general meeting in November 1901, when he would have been 21 years old. How and why Carter was first attracted to photography and the TCC is unknown, but the preceding paragraphs have attempted to give some sense of the Club's high visibility in Toronto. He might have taken a course for beginners that was offered from at least 1898. One didn't simply "join" the TCC: an official application form with two character references had to be submitted, and a Club member would propose the name, to be seconded by another. Finally, the application was voted on by the Executive Committee. The process frequently took months.

The Club was a rich resource for an aspiring photographer. Firstly, the facilities were large and impressive and centrally located in the Forum building at Yonge and Gerrard streets in downtown Toronto. The *Canadian Photographic Journal* reported in 1895 that the premises included:

a large entertainment hall; library and reading room; studio, with special dark room and dressing room attached; daylight and electric light enlarging apparatus; large dark room, with four stalls; work and locker room.³³

The second major attraction was the fellowship, the shared commitment to "progress," and the collective raising of the "standard." The Club served as a locus of exchange, not only within the Toronto cultural community, but as an entry into the larger organizations: the TCC was an important hub in a network of clubs, lantern slide exchanges, and travelling exhibitions. The library contained a good selection of the popular British and American photographic magazines of the day, and exhibition announcements and invitations from around the world were regularly received.

While books and magazines could inform far-flung readers about technical matters and keep them abreast of developments in the great debates in art photography, the typically poor reproductions conveyed little of an evolving aesthetic which increasingly valued the fine print. Here, lantern slide exchanges and exhibitions played a crucial role.³⁴ They provided members of the Club the opportunity to regularly view a selection of work from most of the major North American clubs and, just as importantly, ensured that TCC slides were seen in numerous clubs. There is evidence of some exchanges with Europe, as well.³⁵ TCC exhibitions attracted entries from prominent European and American photographers, including Alfred Stieglitz, who submitted prints beginning in 1894.³⁶ The degree of openness of these exhibitions varied, a function of the tension between attracting the best international photography, and the understandable desire by local Club members for recognition through having one's prints selected for the exhibition, and the possibility of a medal.³⁷ Raising standards was fast becoming an

overriding concern, which meant encouraging entries by eliminating outsider restrictions, while becoming more selective in terms of what passed the jury. The confident belief that photography as an artistic pursuit would evolve was wholly compatible with the social Darwinism that prevailed at the turn of the century.

Aside from encouraging participation in its exhibitions by foreign photographers, the TCC encouraged members to look beyond the confines of the Club, and "help the cause of photography by exhibiting abroad."³⁸ The "cause" was part of the progressive element in Pictorialist rhetoric, and was often tied to a spirit of international cooperation:

Progress in the right direction can only be accomplished by the united action of all serious workers in photography, irrespective of race or country; for if it is a true art it knows no country, but claims the best energies of the world.³⁹

This new internationalism in artistic photography was one small instance of the beginning of what the British historian Geoffrey Barraclough described as the shift "from the European balance of power to world politics."⁴⁰ And, as Maria Tippet writes, through international connections Canadian cultural workers could "allay their feelings of isolation and inferiority, test their ideas, receive outside approval for their work ... and get what many of them wanted most: recognition and respect in their own country by showing that they had won it from ... outside."⁴¹

Sidney Carter's first major exhibition success occurred outside of Canada, with the acceptance of two prints at the *Fourth Philadelphia Photographic Salon* (18 November to 14 December 1901).⁴² The jury had chosen only 286 prints from the 1140 submitted, an acceptance ratio of one for every four prints. Charles Fairman, who

reviewed the exhibition for New York's *Photographic Times*, was evidently impressed by Carter's work:

'Sunset on Black Creek' is a rare effect in the massing of light and shade, evidencing a keen appreciation of the sense of selection of the right time and the right place. The picture is happy in its pleasing tones and beautiful sky.

Mr. Carter's other picture, 'A Panel Portrait,' No. 66, a 2x6 framed as a *pas de deux*, slightly off center, impressed me at the time of the Salon as being the most attractive of his exhibited work.⁴³

These remarks, brief as they are, contain some of the codewords of the modern aesthetic in photography; massing, pleasing tones, asymmetry, and the tall vertical format mark these two works as "new."

The exhibition was an important debut for Carter but, if he was still innocent of the political aspects of the new movement in photography, he would very soon become aware of them as he became embroiled in the politics of Pictorialism. Fairman considered the *Salon* to be America's preeminent photographic exhibition, and an improvement over earlier Philadelphia *Salons*, but noted that "a disgruntled few" had withheld their support, a veiled reference to the *Salon's* boycott by Stieglitz and his circle. Many photographic associations experienced serious challenges to their authority (beginning with the secessions in Europe during the 1890s), and new alliances were formed. Essentially, the Pictorialists needed to distinguish themselves from the amateur masses, including the hobbyists who dominated the established camera clubs. But this was not simply the struggle between the conventional and the avant-garde; in fact the work produced by individuals in competing groups was often indistinguishable, as far as aesthetics were concerned. There were also instances of those who spent time in various

camps, or even switched allegiances. In the end, many of the disputes were more about power politics than aesthetics.

Thus, exhibitions frequently became the contentious focal points of arguments over the best strategy for promoting the "cause." Those photographers who were most aggressively pushing the fine-art status of photography sought out prestigious venues such as art museums and galleries, and some lobbied for artistic photography to be exhibited with the paintings. Many leading American photographers boycotted the *Exposition Universelle de 1900*, as a protest against photography's exclusion from the *Grand Palais des Beaux-Arts*.⁴⁴

While Stieglitz was part of a large and significant group of Americans who boycotted the Paris exhibition, he alone pitted himself against the eminent Boston Pictorialist F. Holland Day (1864-1933), and his organization of the landmark exhibition *The New School of American Photography* (London 1900; Paris 1901). This was a much more telling and personal act, as it demonstrated the lengths to which Stieglitz was prepared to go in exercising control over Pictorialism in the United States. He refused to lend any support or even his prints, and succeeded in convincing the Linked Ring to withdraw their space, because of the allegedly inferior quality of the exhibition. Day turned to the RPS, which promptly offered its own galleries:

It was an audacious move which simultaneously announced that there was, indeed, a New School and that Day was its leader. From that moment, almost everyone in the photographic world was required to take sides.⁴⁵

The exhibition, which opened in London in October 1900 and at the Photo-Club de Paris in February 1901, consisted of some 400 prints, by the leading photographers of the day

— many of whom Stieglitz would later gather around him as members of the Photo-Secession.

The *Philadelphia Photographic Salon*, which began with great fanfare in 1898, was a product of the joint efforts of the Philadelphia Photographic Society and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of American photography.⁴⁶ From 1899 the jury was made up exclusively of photographers, and by the the third Salon (1900) the jury, directed by Stieglitz and Käsebier, had ensured that the exhibition was becoming an exclusively Pictorialist event. The Philadelphia Photographic Society's traditionalists attacked the "long haired" New School for their élitist excesses and their "fuzzyography," and the ensuing backlash resulted in Stieglitz and his circle boycotting the 1901 Salon.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the Salon model had proven a success, and before long other organizations began to consider its adoption.

The more progressive elements of the TCC began lobbying for a Salon at the Club's first executive committee meeting following the 1901 *Philadelphia Salon*, but tradition held fast, and the motion to follow the Salon model was defeated.⁴⁸ Consequently Carter's first Toronto exposure, the TCC's 11th annual exhibition (April 1902), came in the old-fashioned photographic exhibition format of categories and prizes, where he again demonstrated his abilities:

S.R. Carter, Toronto, exhibited two full length portrait panels, one of which ... was seen at the Philadelphia Salon. The Member's Gold Medal was awarded to 'The White Scarf,' a portrait study in carbon, strong in its sincerity, correct in tone, and beautiful in its flowing lines. A print entitled 'Eventide' was especially attractive, both for its composition and its poetic treatment. His 'Nocturne' was a low, sweet, twilight song, of

floating lines of light at the horizon, even as one might dream. Mr. Carter's work shows careful, serious study, a liking for line, and a rare delicacy of treatment which leads one to expect much in the future.⁴⁹

It is difficult to discuss Carter's aesthetic at this point, as there are few prints which may be positively identified from such an early date.⁵⁰ Yet even his titles are indicative of his aesthetic leanings. "Nocturne" is principally a musical term. When used as the title of a visual work, it recalls the English aesthete Walter Pater's dictum, "All art constantly aspires to the condition of music." That is, the form of a work of art is all important, not the ostensible subject matter or content. Like *Eventide* (an already archaic usage), *Nocturne* trumpets its artistic pedigree (it harkens back to Whistler's series of paintings of the same name), and both titles evoke dreamy, poetic, romantic visions of the twilight hour.⁵¹ The "subjects" of *Panel Portrait* and *The White Scarf* are not identified, for these works were intended as portrait *studies*, and as such (and in spite of their status as photographs) are pointedly non-literal works of art. The "delicacy of treatment" Greene highlighted in Carter's work was partly due to his use of various pigment or bichromate processes, carbon being one of them.

When the Philadelphia reviewer, in his brief remarks regarding *Sunset on Black Creek*, had noted Carter's "keen appreciation of the sense of selection of the right time and the right place," and that the image was "happy in its pleasing tones and beautiful sky," he was also highlighting the vestiges of something else in Carter's early landscapes — the Picturesque.⁵² At the turn of the century, much pictorial photography still conformed to the Picturesque aesthetic. Indeed, the latter dominated the TCC well into

the 20th century. The appeal of the Picturesque for the amateur photographer might be summed up in this quote from the premier issue of *CPJ* (1892):

The pursuit of photography gives exercise to the body, while it diverts the mind, and delights with ever a higher joy the sense for all things beautiful. The amateur photographer is shown things by the camera which he never dreamed of before, and is led by it into the secret haunts of nature, of whose existence even he was previously ignorant.⁵³

Unfortunately for many camera artists, the "beautiful" in photography was being redefined: the Picturesque was increasingly seen as hackneyed, formulaic and, perhaps worst of all in an era obsessed with progress, old-fashioned. Even amongst the more conventional photographers, Canadians pursuing the Picturesque sometimes came up short, at least in European eyes.⁵⁴ Something more than pleasing subject matter was expected.

Carter's *Sunset on Black Creek* (fig. 1) does not linger over Picturesque detail: Fairman appreciated the "massing of light and shade" and "pleasing tones," and Greene had also seen "a liking for line" in Carter's work. The pre-eminence of formal concerns, even in Carter's early work, showed that the search for the Picturesque in nature was quickly giving way to a more modern sensibility. Later, Carter further distanced this image from the particular by retitling it (or a very similar print of the same image) simply as *Evening*.

Carter's early portraits or, more accurately, portrait studies, most clearly display his modernist sympathies. The reviewer of the *Philadelphia Salon* mentioned the dimensions of *A Panel Portrait*, not for their small scale, but because of their exaggerated vertical format (a ratio of 3:1). This print was not reproduced, nor does it

seem to have survived, but *Photograms of the Year 1901* published a Carter print, captioned simply as *Portrait* (fig. 2) with very similar dimensions — unfortunately also lost. The lack of props, the shallow space, parallel vertical lines, and strong vertical format mark the print as thoroughly modern and, more precisely, show the influence of Japonisme.⁵⁵ By this time Japonisme had already begun to, in Edmond de Goncourt's words, "révolutionner l'optique de l'Occident." Painting and, especially, the graphic arts had undergone profound transformations as a result of several decades of exposure to Japanese art. Sadakichi Hartmann, writing on composition for *Camera Notes* in 1901, asked:

And who can deny that the elements of Japanese art, the parallelism, the continual repetition with slight variation, the wayward caprice of losing detail here and scorning it there, the rhythm of line and the harmony of space proportion have influenced modern western art to such an extent that nearly every artistic production of the last thirty years shows a trace of one or more of its peculiarities.⁵⁶

Pictorialism, particularly in America, felt the sway of Japonisme, although by the turn of the century it was often transmitted through secondary sources such as Whistler, and poster design.⁵⁷

The new generation of amateur photographers who joined the TCC during the first years of the 20th century included individuals who tended to be more familiar with contemporary currents in the visual arts; indeed some were involved in, and wrote about, the arts.⁵⁸ Despite the TCC's initial rejection of the Salon model in early 1902, Club activities began to include more artistic concerns. For instance, Toronto artist John Home Cameron lectured on Pre-Raphaelite painting (3 February 1902) and, the following week, J. Percy Hodgins demonstrated one of Pictorialism's signature processes, gum

bichromate.⁵⁹ The new amateurs did not see themselves as hobbyists for whom photography was simply a pleasant diversion from everyday cares, but as artists earnestly pursuing their passion, even a vocation. A cleavage in TCC politics began to develop, which pitted conservatives against an emerging avant-garde. The ensuing seesaw struggle can be seen in the election results at the annual general meeting of November 1902. Rising Toronto Pictorialists William Henry Moss, Hodgins, and Roger D. Stovel (d. 1907), were elected to various offices, and H.B. Lefroy became President. Carter, however, failed in his bid to be elected to the executive committee. Nonetheless, the more progressive individuals quickly got to work, pushing through a motion that the upcoming 1903 exhibition be held for the first time as a Salon.⁶⁰

The blue-ribbon jury of the TCC's "First Salon," which included the painters Charles MacDonald Manley (1855-1924, RCA, OSA) and George Agnew Reid (1860-1947, RCA, OSA), admitted six works by Carter, all but one of which were landscapes. The only print known to have survived, *Eventide* (NAC 1981-074-012, identified with a TCC 1903 Salon sticker), is typical of his early landscapes in its sombre palette and twilight softness. In this simple, harmonious composition, Carter deftly balanced the large empty space of the featureless, still waters of a creek which gently curve toward the right, from foreground to background, with a poplar tree reflected in those same waters.⁶¹ Perhaps the most exciting element of the Salon for Carter and the other Toronto Pictorialists was the fact that the replacement of the old-fashioned prize-giving exhibition with a Salon cleared the way for a loan exhibition of prints from Stieglitz's recently-formed Photo-Secession. The small but impressive selection (made by Stieglitz,

and not the jury) represented the work of the leading American Pictorialists and members of the Photo-Secession: Stieglitz, Steichen, White, Käsebier, Frank Eugene, and Coburn. The prints must have been something of a revelation for Carter who, at this early date, had probably only seen these photographers' works indifferently reproduced in magazines, except for a few that had just appeared in the first two issues of *Camera Work* (January and April, 1903).⁶² It is unknown when, or from whom, the "urgent invitation"⁶³ to the Photo-Secession came, but it is likely that Carter was actively involved in securing the loan. His divided loyalties became evident during 1903, when he was elected to the Photo-Secession — becoming, at the age of 23, one of the youngest photographers, and the first of only two Canadians to ever be accorded this honour.⁶⁴ The timing suggests the possibility of Carter's election being prompted by his efforts to encourage the loan exhibition. (Correspondence between Stieglitz and Carter must have begun by this time, but letters only survive from 1906 onwards.⁶⁵)

Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession were crucial to Carter's early development as a Pictorialist. Stieglitz, through his photographs, writings and those two great institutions of the Pictorialist movement — the Photo-Secession and *Camera Work* — and driven by his messianic sense of mission, galvanized a generation of Pictorialists. He was, as another Photo-Secessionist had written, "a sort of Father Confessor," especially to his younger followers.⁶⁶ Carter's personal contact with Stieglitz, spanning at least a quarter-century, provided him with an ideal, and assisted his entry into a much larger photographic universe which included many of the leading photographers of the day. *Camera Work*, which Stieglitz founded in 1902 and edited throughout its 15-year run, set

standards for fine reproduction (principally through the photogravure process) which have never been equalled. This, together with some of the best writing on photography, must have been inspirational for Carter, an unabashed bibliophile and subscriber to the entire 50 issues.⁶⁷

The outcome of the TCC's annual general meeting in November 1903 saw Hodgins elected President, and Stovel elected 2nd Vice-President. While this demonstrated that the Pictorialist agenda at the TCC had many supporters, it was not a total victory, as events in 1904 would demonstrate. Carter was once again nominated, but failed to be elected to the Executive Committee.⁶⁸

Carter did not enter the Club's *Second Salon* (1904),⁶⁹ but chose to direct his energies towards two much more important exhibitions. The first of these was clearly another salvo in the acrimonious war for control of Pictorialism in the United States.⁷⁰ Not yet having an exhibition space of its own, and spurning rival photographic groups, the Photo-Secession organized an exhibition made up exclusively of work by its own members, held at the Corcoran Art Galleries in Washington in January 1904, which then travelled in February (in a greatly expanded version) to the Carnegie Institute Art Galleries in Pittsburgh. Carter's prints were added for the Pittsburgh venue.⁷¹ Not surprisingly, *Camera Work* characterized the exhibitions as "the two most important exhibitions of pictorial photographs held in recent years," and emphasized the Secession's complete control of all details.⁷² Stieglitz, Steichen, Keiley, and Coburn travelled to Washington and Pittsburgh to supervise the installation of the prints, and to personally promote the Photo-Secessionist cause, or at least their version of it. Hartmann's highly

partisan review defended the Secession against unnamed enemies, asserting that the Secession's sole aim was "artistic work":

Why, then, all this mockery, noise, and opposition. Because it is a fight... of modern ideas against tradition... a fight about conception, theory, and temperament. And the Secessionists ... will remain victors, because they are more sincere and are willing to sacrifice everything to reach their end.⁷³

This theme of principled struggle for the cause was taken to the level of high burlesque in a mock-heroic speech, again by Hartmann, delivered at the Secession's February dinner (soon after the opening of the Pittsburgh exhibition):

I had seen them depart on their great mission, those valiant knights of Daguerre, Amfortas-Stieglitz, suffering from acute pictorialitis; Gurnemanz-Keiley, his faithful friend and adviser; Titurel-Steichen ... and young Parsifal-Coburn, who but recently started from Ipswich in quest of the Grail — I had seen them depart, fully armed with kodaks and cameras, on their perilous journey over the Alleghany Mountains to open the Secession Shrine at Pittsburgh.⁷⁴

These rather bizarre and esoteric references came from Wagner's last opera, the sensationally decadent *Parsifal*, which had premiered in 1882.⁷⁵ The exhibition was characterized (and caricatured) as the triumph of a small but courageous band, led by Stieglitz, passing through the crucible of struggle. Hartmann continued:

And how was this miracle accomplished? Ah, you would not ask, knew you Amfortas as I know him! To the Photochrome he went and set up this epistle: "Steichenites, Keileyites, Käsebierians, and Whiteites! You Eugene, you Coburn, you Strauss, you Stirling, and you Dyer ... all you throughout the country, washed by the Atlantic and Pacific, and you who dwell in the wastes of Canada — you shall follow and obey me! I am your King! The Monarchy of Pictorial Photography is mine!" And they did follow and obey him.⁷⁶

The Canadian reference was to Carter, as he was the sole Canadian Photo-Secessionist at the time. Hartmann seemed to be broadly suggesting that Carter and the others were not so much "Valiant Knights of Daguerre," as "Valiant Knights" of Stieglitz. The

latter's autocratic rule, imperious ways, and occasional histrionics tested many partnerships and friendships and were the source of Hartmann's occasional ambivalence towards the Photo-Secession. Stieglitz's indulgence of Hartmann and his acerbic wit was indicative of the high esteem in which Stieglitz held him.

It was about this time that schisms in American amateur photography began to spill over into Canada. An anti-Stieglitz backlash had been growing for some time, against the exclusiveness of Photo-Secession exhibitions. Curtis Bell, President of the Metropolitan Camera Club of New York, began making overtures to the TCC in early 1904, regarding the creation of the American Federation of Photographic Societies. Bell's proposal doesn't mention the Photo-Secession, but the Federation was clearly meant to distinguish itself from Stieglitz's group, because it was to be:

[O]ne great Federation for the Advancement of Photography (not individual photographers) [Bell's emphasis], development of new talent, and encouragement of rising workers.... For mutual aid and loyal support.... And for holding an Annual American Salon.⁷⁷

The TCC became a charter member of the new Federation, organized on 28 June 1904. The Federation may have had different methods than the Photo-Secession, but it was also very political: a letter from Bell in July urged the TCC's President to "become a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, as I feel that Canadian cooperation would carry weight with British Masters."⁷⁸ The Federation found prestigious venues for its *First American Salon*, including the Corcoran Galleries in Washington, the Chicago Art Institute, and the Boston Art Institute. Hartmann displayed some of his ambivalence about the Photo-Secession by writing a surprisingly evenhanded article about the new federation for *Photograms of the Year 1904*. He characterized Bell as "a born organiser,

sincere, impartial, and straightforward," and repeatedly emphasised the fact that no single "school" or "fad" would be favoured in this organization or its Salon.⁷⁹ As a committed Photo-Secessionist, Carter boycotted the call for submissions but Hodgins, not yet a Photo-Secessionist, submitted work and sat on various committees.

Besides missing the TCC's *Second Salon* in 1904, in favour of participating in the Photo-Secession's landmark exhibitions, Carter took another important step away from the camera club by participating in the inaugural exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society of Canada (Toronto, April 1904). A short essay at the front of the catalogue introduced the recently formed (1903) Society, and reviewed the roots and general aims of the Arts and Crafts movement:

[T]he marked decline [of the arts] which occurred early in the last century is said to have been caused in part by the application of steam power to machinery; the great ease of production causing the excessive use of ornamentation. A movement set in [sic] characterized by a return to simplicity of design, appropriate ornament and the substitution of hand work for machine work wherever it was possible. A small band of workers, headed by William Morris, led the revival....

In forming a Society of Arts and Crafts in Canada, the aim has been the encouragement of original design and its individual expression.⁸⁰

Many photographers found the social ideas and aesthetics of the Arts and Crafts a comfortable corollary to their own beliefs. They, too, were struggling to overcome the imperatives of the machine, and reintroduce the craft of printmaking to the medium. What Stieglitz had called photography's "fatal facility" had unleashed hoards of "button-pushers," who had contributed to a general decline of the craft of photography. The Pictorialists' spirit of reform dovetailed nicely with the Arts and Crafts, which was by then well-known in Canada:

Through the 1880s and 1890s, references to William Morris and his followers appeared in Canadian journals, which closely followed cultural developments in England and were certainly aware of Morris and his influence on the Arts and Crafts movement in Europe and North America.... Contemporary accounts emphasized above all his achievements as a designer and reformer of the arts. It is in this role that his impact was most strongly felt in Canada.⁸¹

Part of that reform involved ignoring art's traditional hierarchy and the notion of a necessary superiority of the Fine Arts over the Applied Arts, and encouraging craftsmanship in a wide range of areas. There was a tension within the ranks of artistic photography between its populist camera club roots, and the more exclusive, Fine Art élitism of the Linked Ring and the Photo-Secession which looked to established Fine Art institutions for validation. The Arts and Crafts movement offered a third option.⁸² George Reid, an established painter and fellow of the Royal Canadian Academy, was Vice-President of the Arts and Crafts Society. He participated in the exhibition, displaying various items of interior decoration, along with furniture and textiles that he had designed. J.P. Hodgins also displayed some of the range of his creative abilities by exhibiting a carved oak settle — a high-backed seat which he constructed from an original design. Carter likely became acquainted with Reid's good friend James Mavor (1854-1925) — "a pivotal figure in the group of Morris followers in Toronto ... a Scottish immigrant who brought with him a knowledge of and direct link with recent British developments in art and design" — about this time, and was introduced to older, more established, cultural figures of the day.⁸³

Carter distinguished himself from the other photographers at the Arts and Crafts exhibition by exhibiting the most prints (seven), and by being the only one to offer them

for sale. Once again, most of his prints were landscapes, one of which is intriguingly titled *Winter Mists, Decorative Panel*. Another print appeared as *Study in Sanguine*, named after the reddish-brown chalk often used by Renaissance and Baroque artists, a likely reference to one of his gum bichromate prints which utilized a pigment approximating this tone. (Once again, no extant print has been positively identified with this title, although several prints in the Carter collection appear in this tone.) Both of these titles are further instances of Carter distancing his prints from the vernacular photograph. Carter was joined by several prominent TCC Pictorialists including Arthur Goss, Hodgins, and the brothers Rex and Roger Stovel, as well as an important new figure on the photographic scene who was to figure prominently in Carter's future: Harold Mortimer-Lamb from Victoria.

Gustav Stickley (1858-1942), leader of the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States and proprietor of the Craftsman Workshops, published the work of many Pictorialists in his journal *The Craftsman* (1901-1916) — "the greatest disseminator of Arts and Crafts beliefs in America, and the arts of the Orient."⁸⁴ Many photographers were directly involved in the Arts and Crafts movement: one of the founders of the first Arts and Crafts society in the United States (Rochester 1897) was the photographer John E. Dumont,⁸⁵ and the Boston Pictorialist F. Holland Day knew William Morris and fashioned his literary publishing venture (Copeland and Day) after the Kelmscott Press. Japonisme is inextricably tied with the Arts and Crafts movement, each by turns influencing and reinforcing the other.⁸⁶ The interrelationship or unity of the arts, and the notion that art should be an integral part of one's daily life and environment, were

central tenets of both Japonisme and the Arts and Crafts movement. Interior design was revolutionized, and the Pictorialists adapted many of these changes to the mounting and framing of their prints, and to their installation in exhibitions, "in order to make a cohesive and artistic statement."⁸⁷

The period 1905-06 witnessed the height of Pictorialist momentum in Toronto. It was a busy, successful time for Carter: indeed Mortimer-Lamb declared in 1906 that the "pre-eminence of Toronto, photographically considered, is ... largely attributable ... to the influence and enthusiasm of Sidney Carter."⁸⁸ He was greatly assisted by Arthur Goss (1881-1940), who joined the Club in 1904, and soon distinguished himself as a Pictorialist. In January 1905, Hodgins' suggestion to inaugurate one- and two-person exhibitions at the Club was approved and he, along with Goss, became the first beneficiary of that new policy when their exhibition opened three weeks later (13 February).⁸⁹ In March, Carter and Goss jointly presented new ideas about mounting prints, in a demonstration before members of the TCC.

The TCC's *Third Salon* (11-15 April 1905) featured a jury made up of the artists Laura Muntz (1860-1930, OSA, ARCA) and Charles W. Jefferys (1869-1952, OSA), and Arthur Goss — the first Pictorialist to serve on the Club's jury. Goss and Hodgins' February exhibition was apparently so successful that the Executive Committee also chose Goss to oversee the decoration of the Salon, which included selecting the frames and hanging the works.⁹⁰ Goss's assistants almost certainly included Carter, as they were fellow-Pictorialists, and it appears that a friendship had grown up between them by this time.

Carter exhibited six prints at the Salon, an equal number of portraits and landscapes. Again, none of these titles have been traced to extant works. One of the works, *Portrait — P.H.*, likely took as its subject Percy Hodgins. *Little Square Landscape* evidently applied a rather unconventional format to a landscape subject, but one that had become more acceptable, or at least familiar, through contact with Japanese art.⁹¹

In the summer of 1905 the TCC leased space at the new Bank of Hamilton building (2 Gould Street, at Yonge), and selected Hodgins, Goss, and Carter to oversee the interior decoration.⁹² At September's meeting the Executive replaced Hodgins with Roger Stovel, and scheduled Goss, Carter, and Stovel to give another mounting demonstration in October.⁹³ With their high profile and numerous contributions to the Club, this threesome went on to important electoral victories at the November 1905 annual general meeting: Roger Stovel was elected President; Goss, 1st Vice-President; Lefroy (who had unsuccessfully nominated Carter for Executive Committee the previous year), 2nd Vice-President; and Carter was finally elected "after several ballots" to a two-year term on the Executive Committee.⁹⁴ Despite the Pictorialists' strong showing, a substantial opposition seems to have remained, especially in relation to Carter.

Carter likely alienated the more conservative elements of the TCC through two separate initiatives taken during the fall of 1905. A letter to Stieglitz (January 1906) sheds light on the first contentious issue, the decoration of the Club's new premises, which was:

entrusted to Mr. Goss and myself and is at least unobjectionable. From about 200 prize winners of bygone days we selected about twenty, all but

four of which will be reframed. Of this twenty nearly half consists of early work of yours. We propose to supplement this with about an equal number from the Club's copies of *Camera Work* which we will have framed. I think that when this is done the Club will be on a fair way for higher things.

As you can imagine there was an awful howl when we refused to hang all the old atrocities most of which had disfigured the walls for ten years and more.⁹⁵

In this action alone, Carter had clearly overstepped the bounds that circumscribed polite camera-club behaviour. Like Stieglitz, Carter seems to have relished doing battle for the cause against those whom both men would have considered the philistines who still overwhelmingly made up the ranks of amateur photographers. Carter, at least during his early years, was a zealous spokesman for the cause in Canada, and he was rewarded in late November 1905 when one of his prints, *Melancholy Landscape*, was hung in the Photo-Secession's inaugural exhibition at the Little Galleries, at 291 Fifth Avenue.⁹⁶

Carter's second (and perhaps even bolder) action was the formation of the Studio Club in the fall of 1905; Mortimer-Lamb credited him with spearheading the formation of this group "somewhat modelled on the lines of the British 'Linked Ring.'"⁹⁷ Carter would certainly have countered that the Photo-Secession was his immediate inspiration. Although the TCC's leading Pictorialists accounted for all but one (Mortimer-Lamb) of the Studio Club members, the group's goal was to unite all Canadian photographers committed to the cause, and to organize exhibitions across the country, consisting of the most advanced Canadian and foreign work. The Studio Club's name was significant in that it did not identify its members with an activity or a medium, so much as an aesthetic; they no longer wished the fact that they used the camera to be their *sine qua*

non. The name was also a nod towards that most important of early-20th-century art magazines, *The Studio*:

[I]t had become such a disseminator of information about the 'new art' that the style was sometimes referred to as 'studio art.' *The Studio* discarded distinctions between applied and fine arts and soon became the leading periodical for the 'new' or 'modern' art on the continent.⁹⁸

The magazine's "international" edition extended this influence beyond the European continent to North America. In relation to the Arts and Crafts for instance, Rosalind Pepall notes that "Canadians acquired much of their knowledge of British decorative arts from *The Studio*, which occasionally had references to Canadian work."⁹⁹ The magazine was also an important vehicle for the spread of Pictorialism, and particularly for educating the general public's taste and helping to create an audience (and the beginnings of a market) for "modern" photography. The magazine's founder, Charles Holme, edited two major works on artistic photography in 1905 and 1908, and Charles Caffin, editor of the American section of *Studio International*, wrote numerous articles on photography, including a key Pictorialist text, *Photography as a Fine Art* (1901).¹⁰⁰ Thus, the Studio Club had a name well-chosen for this small group of photographers attempting to distinguish themselves from the "button-pushers," and no longer content to confine their exhibiting to the aegis of camera clubs.

The Studio Club first exhibited as a body at the second exhibition of the Canadian Society of Applied Art (renamed from the previous year's Arts and Crafts Society of Canada), in December 1905. The exhibitors were: Carter, Goss, Hodgins, Rex and Roger Stovel, and Mortimer-Lamb (the only non-TCCer), who between themselves contributed 28 prints. Carter again surpassed his colleagues by exhibiting the most

photographs (11), and asking the highest price (\$20). This time the titles reveal that less than half of Carter's works were landscapes, but none can be positively tied to extant prints. One of the landscapes, *Locust Stems*, may be an image for which a print exists in the National Archives' collection. The title refers to the locust tree, or more specifically (and if the print is indeed the National Archives' 1979-111-07, fig. 3), it would appear to be the slender stems (too thin to call trunks) of the Honey Locust (*Gleditsia*). The outdoor scene is abstracted through the proximity of the camera to the trees, so that the frame, and the low-key monochromatic tonalities, serve to isolate the dark sinuous lines of the trees' lower stems, thereby creating a decorative, Art-Nouveau, screen effect which foregrounds the dark forms of the stems and flattens the resulting image. In the span of only a few years, Carter had moved from landscapes which evidenced a lingering attraction for the Picturesque, to a more modern sensibility which combined a strong decorative or formal concern with a dark brooding quality beloved by the Symbolists.¹⁰¹ *Locust Stems* also bears some resemblance to Edward Steichen's early landscapes, especially *Wood Lot — Fallen Leaves* (1898, fig. 4). Mortimer-Lamb wrote that Carter's aesthetic was inspired by work of the "leaders of the American school — in particular Steichen, for whose productions he has a profound appreciation."¹⁰² Mortimer-Lamb did not elaborate, because the characteristics of the so-called "American school" were well-known, and Steichen's work was equally acclaimed in Europe and North America.¹⁰³

Carter's identification with Steichen and the American school warrants a brief exploration of some contemporary remarks on the subject. The exhibition that

consolidated a new aesthetic, and introduced it to Europe, Day's landmark *The New School of American Photography* (London 1900; Paris 1901), was dominated by Steichen's 35 prints. Steichen's essay on the American school (January 1901) also provides us with a window on his thoughts about his own work at this early stage. Steichen the painter preceded Steichen the photographer, and as such his remarks upon the two media are revealing:

One need not point to the sources of influence to be found in the American work, for Whistler and Alexander are as much in evidence as the old masters and the Japanese. Yet is not the movement in modern art similarly kin to this influence? If we in America have felt this more keenly than others it is because we have been more ready to be receptive.

We cannot realize that it should seem strange that, if the photographer is desirous also of being an artist, his work shall communicate the spirit of the painter. Observe how intimate is the relation between the German painters and their school of photography.... These photographers are more concerned with art than with dark room textbooks....¹⁰⁴

Hartmann remarked on the importance of line in Steichen's paintings, and the way that "color is always subordinate to one tonal value." The work was compared to the poetry of the Belgian symbolist writer Maurice Maeterlinck:

Steichen is a poet of rare depth and significance, who expresses his dreams, as does Maeterlinck, by surface decoration, and with the simplest of images ... can add something to our consciousness of life. His lines, blurred and indistinct as they generally are, are surprisingly eloquent and rhythmical....¹⁰⁵

Hartmann saw similar characteristics in Steichen's photographs, which held their own against the paintings. And like Carter, Steichen (in his early work) was drawn towards the evocative, dreamlike qualities of sombre tones and twilight effects:

What a beautiful hour of the day is that of the twilight when things disappear and seem to melt into each other, and a great beautiful feeling

of peace overshadows all. Why not, if we feel this, have this feeling reflect itself in our work? Many of the negatives have been made at this hour, many early in the morning or on dark days.¹⁰⁶

As Carter's aesthetic sensibilities increasingly found sympathy in the work of Photo-Secessionists such as Steichen, his allegiances to the TCC continued to fade. The deep divisions and rancour that were festering within the TCC — evidenced, and then exacerbated, by the decoration fiasco and the formation of the Studio Club — now broke into highly public forums. The gentlemanly conduct of the early TCC was fading away, replaced by more openly, and visibly, fractious disputes. A catalogue to the Club's 15th annual exhibition, held during the spring of 1906, does not appear to have survived, but two decidedly negative reviews make it clear that, at least for the Pictorialists, this exhibition marked a low point for the cause in Toronto. The first review, which appeared in the New York-based *American Amateur Photographer*, was written by Rex Stovel,¹⁰⁷ while his brother Roger was President of the Club:

At least 50 per cent of the prints on the walls [were] positively sinful.... To say that the exhibition is representative of the art to-day, considering the size of Toronto, etc., etc., is rubbish. In these days of excellent and prolific reproduction we are immediately in touch with the best work of all countries, so that we cannot plead ignorance of what is being done with the same materials under no more favorable circumstances than we have at hand, and to invite the public to walk up two flights of stairs to look at this exhibition is criminal. There are some I would gladly climb twice as high to see, but how much more one would enjoy them with nice clean wallspace about instead of their being crowded by prints which might possibly be interesting to geologists, botanists or other scientists ... but to those in search of camera art — never.¹⁰⁸

This scathing attack must have been all the more galling to the Club's rank and file because it came from the pen of their own President's brother, and appeared in a major

American periodical for all to see. Only a few prints were praised, including those by Mortimer-Lamb, Goss, Hodgins, and Carter.

Stovel singled out Carter's *The Sisters* (fig. 5) as "excellent of its kind, exquisite tones, beautiful modelling, somewhat unusual and daring in composition, but broadly and convincingly conceived and carried out."¹⁰⁹ Those "exquisite tones" of the platinum print (which still defy modern reproduction techniques) push this already ethereal image to a rarely achieved level of Pictorialist evocation of the human spirit. The light is restrained in such a way as to efface the superfluous details of the scene, yet softly models the faces, and the somewhat disheveled hair of the foreground figure. In choice of clothing, in the spatial handling and lighting of the two figures — Carter's sisters Maud and Alice — and in their respective positioning and gazes, Carter accentuates their individuality while simultaneously uniting them in the same amorphous space. The work of the Pictorialists, Carter included, occasionally lapses into a self-conscious Aestheticism, but Carter never surpassed the natural, seemingly unforced quality of this image. He had been interested in portraiture from the start, but had evidently felt that his landscapes were more successful, as these appeared in exhibitions far more frequently. But beginning with his participation in the Canadian Society of Applied Art's exhibition, he increasingly turned to portrait studies.

Carter's own thoughts on the TCC exhibition, which appeared in *Photograms of the Year 1906*, were not quite so harsh as Stovel's.¹¹⁰ (He was, after all, still a Club member, and a member of the Executive Committee.) Carter judged the exhibition to be "in some ways the most remarkable in its [the TCC's] history," but his subsequent

remarks indicate that here he was referring to the overall design and decoration of the exhibition space, for which he was largely responsible:

The exhibition room was designed as far as possible with a view to its being used at least once a year for this purpose, the walls being hung with uncolored burlap to a height of about eight feet, panelled off with pine, stained a light olive-brown. The walls above the burlap and the ceiling are of grey stucco, the whole somewhat sombre effect brightened by colored pottery-ware placed at intervals around the room. During the exhibition willow catkins and flowering azalea trees were used most effectively for decorative purposes.¹¹¹

Carter no doubt played a hand in changing the Club's policy on submissions, to require mounts, but not frames, as this permitted a more aesthetically pleasing installation of the exhibition. However, these aesthetic surroundings were not matched by the prints, which were "as a whole a decided retrogression." For reasons unknown the Club had decided to dispense with the jury and, in true democratic spirit, had opted to hang the work of all entrants (although each of the latter was limited to a maximum of four prints, which must have irked Carter, who was used to exhibiting more). To make matters worse, the Club also returned to the practice of awarding medals, all of which:

attracted a flood of photograms ranging from mediocre to very bad and necessitated the crowding of the exhibits in such a manner as to completely spoil the whole scheme of arrangement. It is interesting to note that medals have now but a very small power of attraction to the higher class of pictorial worker ... [and] there was but little from outside that would compare favorably with the best the club members had to show.¹¹²

Carter applauded the TCC for discarding the "high-sounding title of 'Salon'," which was already rather hackneyed when photographers had first borrowed it from the world of painting and, probably in Carter's estimation, it was now tainted by its use by the Photo-Secession's rivals in the United States. (Later, the TCC returned to "Salon.") It seems,

then, that the Pictorialists' power and influence at the TCC had plateaued, and that the more traditional values had once again undercut much that had been already achieved.

In contrast to the TCC's exhibition, the Linked Ring's London Salon in late 1906 was much more exclusive than in previous years, with only 184 prints, a total of which the reviewer for *Photograms of the Year 1906* greatly approved, even if the resulting number of rejections was high:

[T]he Selecting Committee were determined to hold an exhibition which should in the first place fulfil their ideal of compactness, completeness and interest. How much could the lay visitor endure without gasping to get his second wind? How long could the student or critic examine examples without becoming eye-tired? Nice delicate questions these — requiring ruthless answers. So the Selecting Committee and Alvin Langdon Coburn, the Lord High Executioner, got to work.... The present reduced Salon is more preferable to me than any I remember.¹¹³

It was a credit to Toronto's Pictorialist core — Goss, Carter, and Hodgins — that each had work accepted for this exhibition. Carter exhibited *The Sisters*¹¹⁴ along with *Portrait Head*.

Carter's and Rex Stovel's criticism of the TCC'S 15th annual exhibition provide some sense of the divergent forces now at play at the TCC; the Club could not be expected to contain such polarities for long. By the end of 1906 much of the Pictorialist momentum had been lost at the TCC. Hodgins had recently become a member of the Photo-Secession, Roger Stovel's term as President ended in November, and in January 1907 he died in an earthquake in Jamaica. Carter, in a letter to Stieglitz, wrote:

Stovel was a most ardent friend and supporter of the cause and it was under his presidency of the Camera Club last year that it was possible for us to carry out certain reforms, which, however, are not being kept up under the present regime.¹¹⁵

The Studio Club's attempts at forming a pan-Canadian group along the lines of the Photo-Secession failed, a victim of the familiar Canadian complaint of too few committed photographers, separated by too much geography.¹¹⁶ Talented individuals did not lack exhibition opportunities; Canadian Pictorialists living outside of Toronto could as easily send their work to London or New York as to Toronto. When the bank in which Carter was employed failed in November 1906 he no longer had anything tying him to Toronto, and promptly decided to try his luck in Montreal.

Of course several loyal Pictorialists, including Goss, remained at the TCC, but the heady progress of the previous two or three years had dramatically slowed, as the Club returned to its populist roots.

NOTES

1. William Carter appears in *The Toronto Business Directory* in 1897 as a "Commission Merchant and Manufacturer's Agent" on Bay Street. Sidney Carter's son, Duncan Carter, described his grandfather as an "importer." Duncan Carter, interview with Lilly Koltun, 30 March 1979. Audio tape 1979-70 C2405, National Archives.

The "objets d'art" quote is from the written recollections of Sidney Carter's daughter, Betty McTavish, in April 1979; a typescript copy is in the "Sidney Carter" research file, National Archives. Mrs. McTavish recalled that the items were of sufficient quality to be displayed at the Art Association of Montreal (although she could not recall whether they were loaned or donated to the institution). Indeed, from 1919 the Association's *Annual Reports* list Carter as a lender (although details of loans never appear). Carter's relations with the AAM will be discussed in the next chapter.

2. Sidney Carter's cousin Esther Toutant de Beauregard married Percy James Robinson at the Carter family residence in 1905. Robinson (1873-1953) was a historian, a member of the Arts and Letters Club, and a friend and sketching partner of A.Y. Jackson. See: Gilbert de B. Robinson, *Percy James Robinson (1873-1953): Classicist, Artist, Teacher, Historian* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

3. Evelyn de R. McMann, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: Exhibitions and Members, 1880-1979* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 65.

4. Roderick C. Macleod, "Laurier's Canada," *The Arts in Canada During the Age of Laurier* (Papers from a Conference Held in Edmonton, 9 April 1988) Ed. Robert J. Lamb (Edmonton: University of Alberta; Edmonton Art Gallery, 1988), 1-3. Wilfrid Laurier was Prime Minister from 11 July 1896 to 6 October 1911.

5. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 9.
6. Stephen Leacock, "Greater Canada: An Appeal," *University Magazine* 6 (April 1907). Quoted in Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 259.
7. R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones, and Donald B. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation* 2d ed. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1992), 111.
8. Quoted in Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 172-73.
9. R.M. MacIver, "Canadian Culture and North Americanism," in Reginald G. Trotter, et al, eds., *Conference on Canadian-American Affairs* Queen's University, Kingston (Ontario), 14-18 June 1937 (Boston: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1937), 143. MacIver points to such disparate things as the "lay-out of the cities," newspapers, "modes of living and standards of living," and "habits and customs" as being essentially similar. "Outsiders" such as Europeans see little difference; "only in passing into French Quebec does one get the sense of entering a different country, and even there the slower permeation of North Americanism is at work." 144.
10. Roger Gibbins, *Canada as a Borderlands Society* Borderlands Monograph 2 ([Orono, ME]: Borderlands, 1989), 2. Also see Robert Lecker, ed., *Borderlands: Essays in Canadian-American Relations* (Toronto: E.C.W., 1991).
11. Christine Boyanoski, *Permeable Border: Art of Canada and the United States, 1920-1940* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1989), 3.
12. The world's first published halftone reproduction of a photograph appeared on the front cover of the premier issue of *The Canadian Illustrated News* on 30 October 1869. It was a portrait of Prince Arthur by William Notman, taken while the Prince was in Montreal in 1869. It was only in the late 1880s, however, that halftone technology had sufficiently evolved to be useful, but the transition from older forms of reproduction to halftone was very slow. Nonetheless, halftone reproduction in Canadian newspapers and magazines became increasingly common throughout the 1890s. See W.H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* Carleton Library 36 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 52-54.
13. For instance, in 1898, *Saturday Night* reprinted part of an article by the American artist Kenyon Cox on art and photography, from *Scribner's*, and added the responses from Toronto's most distinguished professional photographers. "Painting vs. Photography," *Toronto Saturday Night* 11.25 (7 May 1898): 7.
14. *The Canadian Photographic Journal* 1.1 (February 1892): n.p.
15. "What they Say of Us," *CPJ* 1.2 (March 1892): 42.
16. *The Week* (August 1894). Quoted in Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989), 32. The patriotic appeal seems to have been quite common.
For a discussion of American hegemony, and the *CPJ*'s struggle to survive, see Geoff Miles, "An Absent Historical Condition: The Canadian Photographic Journal," *Vanguard* 14.10 (December 1985/January 1986): 10-13.
17. *CPJ* delivered international news (on topics such as upcoming international exhibitions in Europe and information on print and lantern slide exchanges), as well as articles dealing with some of the issues then being hotly debated in Britain. For instance, the ongoing question of focus was discussed in a reprint of

a paper initially presented to the London and Provincial Photographic Association (W.E. Debenham, "Is Blurring Desirable in a Photograph?," *CPJ* 1.2 (March 1892): 32-36. The journal also reprinted (without acknowledgement, from *British Journal of Photography*) an important article by H.P. Robinson on the necessity of individual expression in photography: H.P. Robinson, "Individuality in Photography," *CPJ* 1.7 (August 1892): 148-51.

18. "Amateur Competition," *CPJ* 2.11-12 (December 1893): 423. Other prominent American subscribers included Clarence B. Moore, of Philadelphia; W.B. Post (New York) and Rudolf Eickemeyer (Yonkers).

19. C.M. Hayes, "Value of Associations," *CPJ* 5.3 (March 1896): 80.

20. As Dennis Reid notes in his study of Canadian landscape art between 1860 and 1890, painters and photographers "found themselves constantly in association." Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979), 66. For instance, the photographer William Notman was a founding member of the Art Association of Montreal in 1860. Other Canadian art societies founded during the late 19th and early 20th centuries include: the Society of Canadian Artists (1867); the Ontario Society of Artists (1872, organized at the home of Notman's Toronto partner, the painter John Fraser); the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (1880); the Arts and Crafts Society of Canada (1903); the Canadian Art Club (1907); the Arts and Letters Club (1908); and the Arts Club of Montreal (1912). Photographers were involved with most of these groups.

21. For a good overview of the amateur scene before 1900, see Peter Robertson, "The New Amateur: 1885-1900," in Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*, 16-31.

22. There appears to be some disagreement as to whether the Photographic Section of the Canadian Institute should be considered as part of the TCC's lineage. The TCC's printed bylaws for 1937 include a "Historical Note" which gives 1884 as the year the "[Toronto Camera] Club came into existence as the Photographic Section of The Canadian Institute." *By-Laws* (Toronto: Toronto Camera Club, 1937), 3. Yet, the Club celebrated its centenary in 1988, making no mention of the Photographic Section. Peter Robertson notes that the first meeting of the Photographic Section took place in February of 1887. Robertson, "The New Amateur," 20.

Unless otherwise noted, information is taken from the Toronto Camera Club collection deposited in the Manuscript Division of the National Archives (MG28 I 181 includes minutes, correspondence, clippings, catalogues, and memoranda). Subsequent references to this collection will appear as "TCC," followed by the volume and file number in which a particular item was found.

23. "Toronto Camera Club: Those Who Were Successful at the Yearly Exhibition," *World* (19 May 1892), n.p. *Scrapbook*. TCC Vol. 10, file 2.

24. Jesse Edgar Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto: A History* (Toronto: Dominion, 1923) Vol. 3, 317.

25. A newspaper reported on the Club's first annual dinner in 1900:

After the toast to the Queen had been responded to enthusiastically the proceedings developed in a positive and brilliant manner. N.S. Dunlop and N.A. Powell, M.D., responded to the toast of Canada and the imperial spirit in short and intensely patriotic speeches....

"Camera Club Dines: Lovers of Photography Meet and Enjoy an Evening's Social Intercourse," *Globe* (24 April 1900). *Scrapbook*, TCC Vol. 10, file 2.

Of course, their enthusiasm was hardly dampened during a time (certainly throughout the 1890s) when it was commonly accepted, even by the Americans, that British artistic photography was in the forefront.

26. This decision was made despite the fact that the responses to enquiries sent to several American clubs regarding the admission of women all indicated that women were admitted on the same basis as men, both in terms of access and fees. "Executive Committee Meeting," 18 Nov 1895, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

27. From its beginning women played prominent roles in the Ottawa Camera Club, being elected to the executive, sitting on committees and drafting regulations. The TCC's own exhibitions featured accomplished women photographers: Mathilde Weil (Philadelphia) won the gold medal in 1898.

Women figured amongst the leading international Pictorialists as well. The Philadelphia photographer Eva Watson-Schütze was certainly involved in the origin of (indeed it has been claimed that it was she who proposed to Stieglitz the idea of) the Photo-Secession. William Innes Homer, *Alfred Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1983), 51.

The premier issue of *Camera Work* (January 1903) was devoted to the work of Gertrude Käsebier (1852-1934), a successful New York portrait photographer.

28. Maria Tippet, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 7. The quote comes from "Vancouver Vagabond Club" [typescript] (4 July 1917).

29. Indeed, some of the less committed hobbyists were sometimes drawn away by the latest fashionable leisure activity. During the mid-1890s several TCC members resigned in order to devote more time to the cycling clubs that had sprung up. In 1896 the members of the TCC went so far as to consider counteracting this trend by forming their own bicycle subgroup. Defections were not restricted to North American camera clubs; a report from Paris mentions the "general craze that drags the French like other nations towards cycling." C. Puyo, "Artistic Photography in France During 1897," *Photograms of the Year 1897* (London), 26. In 1900 a short-lived magazine appeared in Chicago, that hoped to appeal to both interests, *Cycle and Camera*.

30. Executive Committee Meeting (23 November 1891), *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 20. It is not clear whether this referred to William (a founding member of the TCC and a former mayor of Toronto) or George McMurrich (alderman for much of the period 1891-1913). Members not infrequently exercised influence in the popular press. The anonymous reviewer of the Club's 1897 exhibition declared himself a "rank outsider," but his well-informed views on the artistic issues then being debated in photography belies that self-appraisal or indicates a heavy debt to a TCC member. "The Toronto Camera Club's Exhibition," *Toronto Saturday Night* 11.5 (18 December 1897): 9.

31. Aside from publicizing the Club, these lantern slide entertainments (which sometimes included music and readings) were soon recognized as a means of generating revenue, as was the case when the TCC gave a show on the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, which was so successful that "hundreds were turned away," necessitating a second show. The Club also rented the set of slides to the Hamilton Camera Club for a percentage of the proceeds.

32. "The question of the exhibit of Amateur Photography at the Industrial Exhibition was then discussed by Mr H. Neilson who declared that the same was in an unsatisfactory condition and suggested that arrangements should be made if possible to have the same placed under the supervision of the Toronto Camera Club in the same manner that the Art exhibit was under the supervision of The Ontario Society of Artists and it was ... carried." "Seventh Annual General Meeting" (4 November 1895) *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21. This bid was apparently successful. The minutes to a meeting several years later mention a letter from Robert Gagen, Secretary of the Ontario Society of Artists, "asking the Camera Club to name a representative to act with the Society of Artists on the Exhibition Board." "Executive Committee Meeting" (18 August 1902) *Minute Book*. TCC vol 2, file 21.

In subsequent years, its annual international Salon took place at the renamed Canadian National

Exhibition, and the TCC henceforth claimed to have the highest attendance figures for any photographic salon in the world. The Club also formed links with arts organizations; later it had a seat on the Art Gallery of Toronto's council of "representatives of Art Societies."

33. "The Toronto Camera Club," *CPI* 4.10 (October 1895): 278.

34. In 1894 the TCC began corresponding with Canadian clubs in Montreal, Hamilton, and Saint John on the subject of setting up a slide exchange and, in the same year, joined the New York-based American Lantern Slide Interchange. TCC Vol. 1, files 8 and 9.

35. A set of slides was received from the Photographic Society of Northern France, via the American Lanterns Slide Interchange, in January 1895. *Toronto Camera Club: Notes from the Secretary's Desk* 2.4 (1 January 1895): n.p. TCC Vol. 10, file 21. At the TCC's 1899 annual general meeting, it was announced that a "Canadian set of slides would shortly be collected and shipped to England, where they would be taken in charge by the Royal Photographic Society. This matter had been arranged through the kindness of Mr. H. Snowden Ward [editor, *The Photogram*]." "11th Annual Meeting," 6 November 1899, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21. Minutes of an executive meeting in 1903 indicate that a TCC set of slides was circulating various British clubs. "Executive Committee Meeting," 15 January 1903, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

36. Stieglitz won two prizes at the Club's *Third Annual Exhibition* (February 1894). The TCC collection contains correspondence from Stieglitz requesting information and entry forms (TCC Vol. 1, file 8), and his success is recorded in newspaper clippings (TCC Vol. 10, file 2); and in "The Toronto Camera Club," *CPI* 3.3 (March 1894): 111-12.

37. When the Ottawa Camera Club held its first exhibition in February 1896, "some of the members demurred about making it 'open to all,' on the grounds that some 'American' would enter and 'absorb' everything in the way of prizes, [so] we were compelled to restrict the entries to *members only*, but next year if all is well it will be open to Canada at least." G.E. Valteau [Secretary-Treasurer, Ottawa Camera Club], letter to Ernest Lake [Secretary, TCC], 9 March 1896. TCC Vol. 1, file 12.

A Montreal photographer commented about American dominance of the TCC's recent exhibition: "Sorry to find such a large proportion of medals carried off by the 'Yanks,' but then they are hardly amateurs in the same sense that we all are. Delighted to find your own club did so well: it is no small honor to win against such competitors." A.J. [?] Ferguson, letter to Ernest Lake, 28 March 1896. TCC Vol. 1, file 12.

38. "President's Address, 12th Annual General Meeting," [?] November 1900, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

39. Joseph T. Keiley, "The Philadelphia Salon," *Camera Notes* 2.3 (January 1899), rpt. in Peter C. Bunnell, ed., *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography, 1889-1923* (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith, 1980), 119.

40. Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 93-123.

41. Tippet, *Making Culture*, 133.

42. Carter's absence from the TCC's 1901 exhibition has not been positively established as the TCC collection does not include a catalogue. Weston Naef includes Carter in the Royal Photographic Society's 1901 exhibition, an assertion that Koltun later repeated without further substantiation. Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 297; Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*, 307. Carter's name, however, is absent from the

Royal Photographic Society's own exhibition lists (for the years 1900-1930), and is unmentioned in their journal. Gill Thompson (Librarian, Royal Photographic Society), letter to the author, 23 September 1992.

Naef did not see the RPS's 1901 catalogue, but got his information from an unnamed secondary source, possibly a misreading of *Photograms of the Year 1901* which reviewed the RPS exhibition (amongst others), and reproduced *Portrait* by Carter (p. 65), but in the context of a review of the year's work.

Carter's exhibitions are listed in Appendix B of this thesis.

43. Charles E. Fairman, "The Fourth Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *The Photographic Times* [New York] 34.2 (February 1902): 68, 71. This was the second instalment of the article, the first part of which had been published the previous month.

44. Robert Demachy, France's most renowned and internationally respected Pictorialist, questioned the wisdom of the American action, as it deprived the public of a broad cross-section of art photography. Demachy also wondered about the ability of the public to properly digest a large photographic exhibit alongside an overwhelming show of paintings: "Qu'aurions-nous à espérer d'un public ébloui de couleur et saturé de chefs-d'oeuvre — production choisie de dix ans de travail des premiers artistes de l'univers. Regarderait-on seulement nos photographies? Et si on les regardait?" He noted that the prints and drawings received scant attention, hung together with paintings. Robert Demachy, "La Photographie Pictoriale dans les Sections Etrangères," in C. Klary, ed., *La Photographie d'art à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1900), rpt. in Peter Bunnell, ed., *The Universal Exposition of 1900* (New York: Arno, 1979), 79-80.

45. Estelle Jussim, *Slave to Beauty: The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day, Photographer, Publisher, Aesthete* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1981), 142. Stieglitz's criticism of the exhibition was contradicted by Edward Steichen, Stieglitz's future Photo-Secessionist comrade:

I never saw better prints from their hands than those exhibited by Day. As far as adequate representation is concerned, I do not think that, except for Stieglitz, any photographer whose work was even moderately known at that time was excluded from Day's exhibition, as his catalogue proves.

Steichen, *A Life in Photography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), n.p., quoted in Jussim, 151.

46. Adopting the Salon model meant that the jury selected works solely for their artistic merit, and that prizes were no longer awarded. Perhaps most significantly, it marked the first time that a major fine arts museum collaborated in an exhibition of art photography in the United States. The 1898 jury included Stieglitz and the highly-esteemed painter William Chase (1849-1916), and the exhibition attracted leading photographers (and future Photo-Secessionists) such as Clarence White, Gertrude Käsebier, and Eva Watson-Schutze, resulting in "the most remarkable photographic display ever shown to an American public." Joseph T. Keiley, "The Philadelphia Salon," *Camera Notes* 2.3 (January 1899), rpt. in Bunnell, *A Photographic Vision*, 96.

47. Homer, *Alfred Stieglitz*, 47.

It was also suggested that the jury members took an inordinate amount of exhibition space for themselves, and monopolized the catalogue illustrations. Fairman, "The Fourth Philadelphia Photographic Salon," 17-18. This allegation was contained in remarks comparing the 1900 and 1901 Salons.

48. "Executive Committee Meeting," 20 January 1902, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

49. J.E. Greene, "The Toronto Camera Club's Eleventh Annual Exhibition," *The Professional & Amateur Photographer* [Buffalo] 7.5 (May 1902): 180.

50. Only some of the extant prints bear titles in his hand, and only a handful have exhibition stickers. Descriptions in reviews, of the work of individual photographers in the large group shows, tend to be short,

and often cryptic. Having one's work mentioned at all could be considered a distinction. Only in those rare instances when a print is reproduced in a newspaper or periodical is the *image* (but not necessarily the print) identifiable. Works rarely appeared with dates in early catalogues, and titles are often generic (*Portrait*, and *Landscape* are not uncommon) or, worse still, the same image can appear at different times under different titles. *Sunset on Black Creek* is a case in point: that title appears in the caption underneath a reproduction, in a review of the 1901 Philadelphia exhibition, but Carter wrote the title on another print of the same image as *Evening*. Often more than one print from a particular negative was produced, and significant variations such as different croppings may be introduced. One of Carter's images underwent a progressive alteration of its format — exaggerating its horizontality — over the course of several different printings.

51. Years later, Charles Caffin, on the occasion of an exhibition of Steichen's paintings and photographs, discussed the relation of his nocturne paintings to his photography:

[T]he tonality of a nocturne is the nearest thing that painting presents to the tonality of a photograph, at least in technical principles. Then Whistler, whose influence few if any moderns have escaped ... affected this young man profoundly. He found in the great artist not only technical example but a kinship of spirit ... he was keenly sensitive to the master's abstraction of spirit, to his preference for the expression of the idea. So Steichen sought it where for a while, in the seventies, Whistler sought it ... in the twilight and the night. It is in the penumbra, between the clear visibility of things and their total extinction in darkness, when the concreteness of appearances becomes merged in half-realized, half-baffled vision, that spirit seems to disengage itself from matter and to envelope it with a mystery of soul-suggestion.

Charles Caffin, "The Art of Eduard J. Steichen," *Camera Work* 30 (April 1910): 33-34.

52. Fairman, "The Fourth Philadelphia Photographic Salon," 68.

53. W.I. Lincoln Adams, "Some Modern Achievements of the Camera," *CPJ* 1.1 (February 1892): 17.

54. An English critic complained in 1898:

[I]n pictures sent from the Colonies, one often finds that a certain rustic picturesqueness has appealed too temptingly to the wielder of the camera. It may be that the scene in question is picturesque compared with the greater portion of his own country; but, with the whole of Europe waiting — the lanes of England, the villages of France, the lakes of Switzerland, the forest-towns of Germany, the hill-cities of Italy, and the market-places of Spain — a picture of a lumber-shanty, must be super-excellently done to enter into open competition. At both great exhibitions [of the Linked Ring, and the Royal Photographic Society] subject is deemed of less importance than its treatment, and rightly; but, eliminate as you will, the subject will make itself felt, and if it be only remotely picturesque, and not pictorial, the chances are that it is not worth the doing, unless some abnormal skill can be brought to bear on the treatment.

"The Two Great Exhibitions," *Photograms of the Year 1898*, 95. The distinction was already being made between the Picturesque and pictorial. When the more "advanced" photographers began to defect from the established camera clubs, those that remained continued to adhere to the Picturesque which, in photographic circles, became known simply as the "camera club aesthetic."

55. See: Klaus Berger, *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse* (1980), trans. David Britt (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992); Julia Meech, and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876-1925* (New York: Abrams; Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, 1990); and Geneviève Lacambre, et al., *Le Japonisme* (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication; Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988).

A more general interest in all things Japanese can be seen in TCC activities, such as their

sponsorship of a public lecture on Japan, at Massey Hall, 10 January 1895. *Toronto Camera Club: Notes from the Secretary's Desk* 2.4 (1 January 1895). TCC Vol. 10, file 2. Another lecture, on the Tokaido, was delivered at Massey Hall the following year. The TCC also viewed slides from the Royal Photographic Society of Japan in 1895.

56. Sadakichi Hartmann, "On Composition," *Camera Notes* 4 (April 1901), rpt. in *The Valiant Knights of Daguerre* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 73. Also see a later article focussing on Japanese composition, written for the premier issue of *Camera Work*, under one of his pseudonyms: Sidney Allan, "Repetition, With Slight Variation," *Camera Work* 1 (January 1903): 30-34.

Sadakichi Hartmann (1867-1944) was born in Japan to a Japanese mother and German father, and came to the United States in his teens. Time spent in Europe put him in contact with many leading artists and writers, especially the Symbolists. Back in the United States he championed the leading artists of the day in numerous books and articles. He was one of the most frequent contributors to *Camera Work*, as well as a host of other photographic magazines, often appearing under the pseudonym Sidney Allan. His influence on Stieglitz had been largely unexamined until Jane Weaver's 1986 dissertation, in which she stated:

In many ways, Hartmann was Alfred Stieglitz's tutor in his learning about art. Until Stieglitz's later friendship with Max Weber, which began about 1909, it was Hartmann who influenced Stieglitz's ideas about aesthetics and art.

Jane Ann Calhoun Weaver, *Sadakichi Hartmann: Herald of Modernism in American Art* (PhD diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986; Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987), 166.

57. See: Françoise Heilbrun's selection of Pictorial photographs, in Lacambre, et al, *Le Japonisme*, 240-53; and Meech, *Japonisme Comes to America*, 222-32 (which acknowledges a debt to the former).

58. M.O. Hammond and Newton MacTavish both made substantial contributions to art-writing in Canada, particularly MacTavish, whose *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1925) can be considered the first monographic survey of Canadian art. Carter's friend and fellow Pictorialist Arthur Goss first worked as an architectural draughtsman, and later painted with A.J. Casson. Mortimer-Lamb, who was not a resident of Toronto but exhibited with the TCC; also wrote on the arts.

59. From Club records, it appears that this was the first time that the creation of gum prints was formally presented at the TCC. *Toronto Camera Club: Notes from the Secretary's Desk* 9.5 (1 February 1902), n.p. TCC Vol. 10, file 2.

60. "Executive Committee Meeting," 19 January 1903, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

61. This may not have been a recent image, as a print by the same name was shown the previous year. See above for reviewer Greene's remarks. The National Archives' holdings contain several variations of this print, which demonstrate that Carter was experimenting with the composition by laterally reversing the print.

62. There is no evidence of his having attended exhibitions in New York at this early date.

63. *The Photo-Secession* 2 (April 1903): n.p. The Photo-Secession promoted itself, and demonstrated its successes, through carefully chosen and selectively lent loan exhibitions.

64. Hodgins was the other Canadian, but he did not become a member until late 1906. The precise timing of Carter's election and the circumstances precipitating it are unknown, but he first appears as an associate member in *The Photo-Secession* newsletter dated October 1903. Since the previous issue was dated April 1903, his election presumably occurred sometime during that six-month period.

The closest the Photo-Secession came to publicly setting forth its conditions for membership came

in a supplement to *Camera Work*:

To Associateship are attached no requirements except sincere sympathy with the aims and motives of the Secession. Yet, it must not be supposed that these qualifications will be assumed as a matter of course, as it has been found necessary to deny the application of many whose lukewarm interest in the cause with which we are so thoroughly identified gave no promise of aiding the Secession. It may be of general interest to know that quite a few, perhaps entitled by their photographic work to Fellowship, have applied in vain. Their rejection being based solely upon their avowed or notoriously active opposition or equally harmful apathy.... Those desiring further information must address the Director of the Photo-Secession, Mr. Alfred Stieglitz....

"The Photo-Secession," [supplement] *Camera Work* 3 (July 1903): n.p.

65. Unfortunately none of Stieglitz's letters to Carter have survived, and an undetermined number of Carter's letters to Stieglitz have also been lost.

66. Myra Wiggins, letter to Alfred Stieglitz [no date], quoted in Robert Doty, *Photo-Secession: Stieglitz and the Fine-Art Movement in Photography* (New York: Dover, 1960, 1978), 45. Stieglitz was Carter's senior by 16 years.

67. An incomplete set of *Camera Work* has been located at McGill University Library, which included bookplates indicating they had come from Carter. Further research through library records confirmed that Carter had donated the complete run to McGill in 1928.

68. "15th Annual General Meeting," 2 November 1903, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

69. The *Second Salon* (29 March - 2 April 1904) was a more conservative affair than the previous year's Salon. It included a small loan exhibition of prints from the little-known "Photographic Section of the Hartford Scientific Society." One can only speculate as to whether this move was a backlash against the makeup of the *First Salon* (and particularly the inclusion of the Photo-Secession section, and the fact that it did not have to go through the jury), or simply a demand for equal time from the more traditional, and perhaps more representative, voices of the TCC.

70. Stieglitz's vociferous campaign against the photography exhibition at the upcoming 1904 St. Louis World's Fair began two years earlier when those in charge failed to fulfil his numerous conditions for participation. In late 1903, *Camera Work* announced that the Photo-Secession had refused the St. Louis invitation, as sending an exhibit to St. Louis would be "a sacrifice of principles." "Photo-Secession Notes," *Camera Work* 4 (October 1903): 56.

The Photo-Secession also boycotted the *First American Photographic Salon*, held in New York in late 1904, principally because it was sponsored by a newly emerged, rival Pictorialist network. See: Gillian Greenhill Hannum, "Photographic Politics: The First American Photographic Salon and the Stieglitz Response," *History of Photography* 15.1 (Spring 1991): 61-71.

71. *The Photo-Secession* 4 (February 1904): n.p.

72. "Photo-Secession Notes," *Camera Work* 6 (April 1904): 39. The group's more candid newsletter stated that the "management [of the exhibition] was practically entirely in the hands of our Director [Stieglitz]," and that the "standards were unusually high, even for the Secession." *The Photo-Secession* 4 (February 1904): n.p.

73. Sadakichi Hartmann, "The Photo-Secession Exhibition at the Carnegie Art Galleries, Pittsburgh, Pa.," *Camera Work* 6 (April 1904): 47.

74. Klingsor the Magician, "A Pilgrimage to the Secession Shrine at Pittsburgh," *Camera Work* 6 (April 1904): 54.
75. *Parsifal* had just been produced outside of Bayreuth for the first time, in New York the previous December.
76. Klingsor, "A Pilgrimage," 55.
77. Curtis Bell, letter to Hugh Neilson [Secretary-Treasurer, TCC], 28 May 1904. TCC Vol. 1, file 19.
78. Curtis Bell, letter to F.E. Earl [Secretary-Treasurer, TCC], 18 July 1904. TCC Vol. 1, file 19.
79. Sadakichi Hartmann, "A New Departure in American Pictorialism," *Photograms of the Year 1904*, 40.
80. "Of The Arts and Crafts," in Arts and Crafts Society of Canada, *Catalogue of the First Exhibition, Held at the Galleries of the Ontario Society of Artists, 165 King St. West, April 7th to April 23rd, 1904* (Toronto, 1904), n.p.
81. Rosalind Pepall, "Under the Spell of Morris: A Canadian Perspective," in Katharine A. Lochnan, Douglas E. Schoenherr, and Carol Silver, eds., *The Earthly Paradise: Arts and Crafts By William Morris and His Circle from Canadian Collections* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario 1993), 19.
82. While Pictorialism is most often seen as artistic photography's struggle for acceptance as a fine art, more recent commentators have also situated Pictorialism within this renewed interest in the applied arts. For example, Pool Andries ties the general public's interest in photography Salons to "un renouveau de l'intérêt porté à l'artisanat et aux arts appliqués ainsi qu'à l'intégration des différentes disciplines artistiques également prônée par l'Art Nouveau." Pool Andries, "Introduction," in Pool Andries, Margaret Harker, and Roger Coenen, *La Photographie d'art vers 1900* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1983), 14.
In the fullest treatment to date, Christian Peterson considered the many "philosophical and interpersonal links" between the creators of the "photograph beautiful" and the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States. Christian A. Peterson, "American Arts and Crafts: The Photograph Beautiful 1895-1915," *History of Photography* 16.3 (Autumn 1992): 189-234.
83. Pepall, "Under the Spell of Morris," 27. Also see: James Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World* 2 Vols. (London; Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1923); and Dolores A. Signori, *Guide to the Papers of James Mavor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989). Mavor held the Chair of Political Economy and Constitutional History at the University of Toronto for over 30 years. He was one of the principal lobbyists for an art gallery in Toronto, was a close friend of several artists including Edmund Morris, Horatio Walker, and Homer Watson, and was acquainted with European cultural figures such as Oscar Wilde, W.B. Yeats, and Max Beerbohm. He wrote an article on the sculptor Walter Allward (whom Carter photographed) for *The Year Book of Canadian Art* (1913), and his autobiography contains chapters on William Van Horne, John Ruskin, and William Morris.
84. Elizabeth Cumming, and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 122.
85. Janet E. Buerger, *The Last Decade: The Emergence of Art Photography in the 1890s* (Rochester, NY: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1984), 42.
86. See: Berger, *Japonisme*, 66f; Lacambre, *Le Japonisme*, 54f; and Meech, *Japonisme Comes to America*, 55f.

87. Peterson, "The Photograph Beautiful," 209.

88. Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1906*, 10.

89. "Executive Committee Meeting," 23 January 1905, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

90. "Executive Committee Meeting," 3 April 1905, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

91. Square format landscapes had begun to appear in photography as well: see, for instance, Steichen's *Winter Landscape, Lake George* (1904-05), reproduced in Dennis Longwell, *Steichen, the Master Prints 1895-1914: The Symbolist Period* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1978), pl. 84; and *Landscape in Two Colours*, Steichen Supplement, *Camera Work* (April 1906): 29.

92. "Executive Committee Meeting," 18 August 1905, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21. The Club did not actually move into the redecorated quarters until the beginning of 1906.

93. "Executive Committee Meeting," 23 September 1905, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

94. "Annual General Meeting," 6 November 1905, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

95. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 22 January 1906, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (hereafter YCAL).

Another indication of trouble over the decoration of the Club comes in one innocuous line from the minutes to a meeting (which Carter did not attend) many months later: "A discussion took place as to prints formerly on the walls and it was finally decided that the House Com[mittee] bring in a report relative to same." "Executive Committee Meeting," 9 November 1906, *Minute Book*. TCC Vol. 2, file 21.

Carter referred to the matter still later, in a letter to Stieglitz, in the context of discussing "a row" he was having with the TCC (it also seems that Carter had interceded on Stieglitz's behalf in some conflict with the Club): "They have never forgiven me for siding with you in your trouble with them and later for trying to civilize the new club-quarters. I antagonized every member whose work I purged from the club's walls." Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 26 November 1907, YCAL.

96. Stieglitz declared the opening of the Little Galleries "the most important step in the history of the Photo-Secession." "Editorial," *Camera Work* 14 (April 1906): 17. Indeed, the gallery became a beacon for Pictorialists, and it went on to introduce modern European and American art to the United States. Artists such as Matisse, Toulouse-Lautrec, Severini, and Brancussi all had their American debuts at 291 (as it was later known), which Marsden Hartley called "the largest small room of its kind in the world." See: Barbara Rose, *American Art Since 1900* 2d. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 28-48.

97. Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," 10. This move should be seen in the context of the secessionism in art and photography during the 1890s and first decade of the 20th century. In Canada, the Photographic Art Club of Ottawa informally began in 1904 (formally organized 1908) when members broke away from the Ottawa Camera Club (the National Archives' Manuscript Collection contains both the Ottawa Camera Club collection MG28 I295, and the Photographic Art Club of Ottawa collection MG28 I382). Outside of photography, the Canadian Art Club was the product of a secession from the Ontario Society of Artists in 1907.

Studio Club members did not sever their ties with the TCC. Perhaps the TCC's excellent facilities, which could only be sustained by its approximately 200 dues-paying members, were too great an attraction. They probably considered themselves a parallel organization with national aspirations, but for all intents and purposes this was essentially a Toronto club.

98. Elizabeth Holt, ed., *The Expanding World of Art, 1874-1902* Vol. 1 *Universal Expositions and State-Sponsored Fine Art Exhibitions* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988), 5.

99. Pepall, "Under the Spell of Morris," 20.

100. Charles Holme, ed., *Art in Photography* (London: The Studio, 1905; New York: Arno, 1979); Charles Holme, ed., *Colour Photography and Other Recent Developments of the Art of the Camera* (London: The Studio, 1908); and Charles H. Caffin, *Photography as a Fine Art: The Achievement and Possibilities of Photographic Art in America* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901. Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: Morgan & Morgan, 1971).

101. The Symbolism apparent in so much of Pictorialism, in particular the American school, is discussed in: Estelle Jussim, and Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, *Landscape as Photograph* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1985), 59-76; and Longwell's monograph on Steichen, which characterizes his work up to the beginning of World War I as his "symbolist period."

102. Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," 10.

103. Interestingly, an English commentator later grouped both Carter and Mortimer-Lamb together as examples of the American school, "characterised by freshness of outlook and breadth of treatment that stamps it with a quality that compels attention." [A.J. Anderson], "The Exhibition of Pictorial Photographs by Colonial Workers at the 'A.P.' Little Gallery," *Amateur Photographer and Photographic News* (6 July 1909): 36.

Clearly other photographers, for whose work Carter had a certain affinity, can be added to Steichen's name: Clarence White; Coburn; and George Seeley.

104. Eduard J. Steichen, "The American School," *The Photogram* (London) 8 (January 1901), quoted in Longwell, 72.

105. Sidney Allan, "A Visit to Steichen's Studio" *Camera Work* 2 (April 1903): 26.

106. Steichen, "The American School," 28.

107. Very little is known about Rex Stovel. He appears sporadically in the *Toronto City Directory*, as an artist; in 1906 he is listed as working for the Commercial Art Company. He exhibited photographs with the Studio Club, but it is not known whether he was ever a member of the TCC.

108. Rex Stovel, "The Toronto Camera Club Exhibition," *The American Amateur Photographer* 18.6 (June 1906): 296.

109. Stovel, "The Toronto Camera Club Exhibition," 297.

110. In his review of photography in Canada, Mortimer-Lamb gave Carter five paragraphs to comment on the Toronto scene. Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1906*, 10-12.

111. Carter, in Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," 11.

112. Carter, in Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," 12.

113. A.C.R. Carter, "The Two Great Exhibitions," *Photograms of the Year 1906*, 86.

114. The anonymous reviewer of the year's work in *Photograms of the Year 1906* had some reservations about *The Sisters*, but the print attracted enough attention to be reproduced and discussed:

Carter ... was apparently animated by a desire to present two portraits in varying planes.

Judged separately each result is clever, but pictorially they do not unite, and the figure on the left becomes ghostlike.

But this was precisely the quality that attracted many Pictorialists to the print. "The Work of the Year: A Fragmentary Retrospect, With Some Candid Comment," *Photograms of the Year 1906*, 56.

115. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 6 February 1907, YCAL.

116. The Studio Club's last known appearance seems to have been at an exhibition in Hove, England in July 1906. Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," 10.

IV. Montreal Years

Despite the initially tentative nature of Sidney Carter's move from Toronto to Montreal in November 1906, he was to spend the remaining 50 years of his life in that city. His subsequent activities augment and reinforce the picture of Carter that has already emerged from that brief period, scarcely a half-dozen years, of photographic activity in Toronto. Pictorialism as a movement was fast approaching its nadir, and would soon begin to fragment or, perhaps in a more positive light, cease to be the preserve of certain groups or "schools," and artistic photography would become a more varied, truly personal means of expression. As artistic, even experimental, photography started to appear in ever-wider spheres (the popular press, advertising, portraiture), the almost messianic fervour with which many of the Pictorialists had fought their battles began to fade — the once-formidable obstacles to the acceptance of photography as a legitimate means of personal, artistic expression had begun to crumble. Carter's contributions to the cause as an organizer and as a leader culminated only a year after his arrival in Montreal, with the success of an international exhibition of Pictorialism at the Art Association in late 1907. After that, Carter's photographic activity was on a more private scale. He no longer operated out of the camera clubs (a break that began with his Arts and Crafts exhibitions, and with the formation of Studio Club), and instead submitted his prints to various exhibitions, fulfilled portrait commissions and, at various periods, took some commercial work (portraits, and some advertising).

The Montreal which attracted Carter was Canada's economic and cultural metropolis: a cosmopolitan centre which benefited from both its position within the

British Empire and its proximity to American capital and markets. The first decade of the 20th century, which saw the city's population nearly double, has been called Montreal's *age d'or*:

Ses grandes institutions rayonnent d'un océan à l'autre et drainent ou contrôlent les richesses humaines et matérielles du pays. Sa croissance est impressionnante, elle attire comme un aimant tous ceux qui rêvent de réussite et son avenir paraît brillant.¹

However, this economic expansion did not necessarily translate into great cultural dividends. After just six months in Montreal (having moved from the West Coast in 1905), Mortimer-Lamb complained that the "life of Eastern Canada is so imbued with the spirit of commercialism that there is no room for anything else." Even though Montreal had some excellent private art collections, they appeared to exist primarily as a sign of the owners' wealth and prestige, prompting Mortimer-Lamb to ask:

If it were not too obviously vulgar, would not a bank-note to the value of (say) a hundred thousand dollars framed and hung on the wall in some instances afford as much pleasure and answer the same purpose?²

Yet, he and most contemporary commentators agreed that at least Montreal surpassed Toronto as a cultural centre, and that opportunities existed for enterprising individuals.

Carter's imperative was primarily economic: to make a living as a professional portrait photographer, with Mortimer-Lamb's assistance. He hoped, of course, that Montreal's cultured élite would provide a steady stream of clients. In many ways the two men were quite different. Carter was only 26 when he moved to Montreal, single, and unemployed; Mortimer-Lamb was 34, married with children, and a respected mining engineer, whose move to Montreal in the spring of 1905 had been prompted by his appointment as Secretary of the Canadian Mining Institute.³ Shortly after the business

began, Mortimer-Lamb added the editorship of a mining journal to his other responsibilities, leaving him little time for a joint business venture with Carter. What both men shared was an enthusiastic and active involvement in the arts, and artistic photography was their passion. It is difficult to know the particular dynamic of this partnership, but it would seem that Mortimer-Lamb was the venture's likely bankroller, with Carter responsible for the day-to-day operations. Mortimer-Lamb's position (and he had recently become a member of the Art Association of Montreal) and British pedigree would have gained him access to many of Montreal's prominent individuals. Carter, on the other hand, was unknown, having just arrived and with no particular stature outside of the photographic community, so he relied heavily on the friendship and influence of his mentor, James Mavor. Correspondence from Carter reveals that Mavor assisted the new venture by writing letters to McGill University academics such as Physics professor and Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, John Cox, and such members of prominent families as Dr. W.H. Drummond, and Charles Porteous, securing their support in promoting the new venture. Carter thanked Mavor, adding: "Your letters have done more for us than anything we could possibly have done for ourselves."⁴

Professional portraiture was a relatively new activity for leading Pictorialists. In fact, commercial photographers had been the object of considerable scorn over the years. The Pictorialists had privileged, above all, the notion of the sensitive, individual genius, liberated from all constraints, even the supposed limitations of the photographic process, creating art. That a creative photographer's work should be exposed to the base imperatives of the marketplace was anathema to early Pictorialist ideals. Stieglitz had

frequently slighted professional photographers: "The American professional has done absolutely nothing to advance pictorial photography; he is generally a person who has failed in some other means of livelihood."⁵ For their part, professionals resented the large influx of amateurs during the 1890s, some of whom did work, especially portraiture, for little or no financial gain. But these categories were never really mutually exclusive: significant prices had already been paid for prints at various exhibitions. One writer went so far as to propose a third class, the "Professional Amateur, they being those who, while practising the profession of photography as a means of livelihood, are closely identified with all the institutions of the amateur...."⁶

By the time of Carter's arrival in Montreal, however, the editor of *Photograms* could write:

The cheap sneers at the work of the professional photographer, which still form a part of the stock-in-trade of the writer upon art and photography, are becoming quite out of date, in view of the immense improvement in professional work. Largely as a result of the 'amateurs' who have invaded the profession in America, and of the pure professionals who have worked out their own salvation in Germany, together with the efforts of such men as Crooke, Annan ... and others in our own country, the old ideas of 'a pillar, a vase, and a curtain' as the ultimate possibility in pictorial portraiture, have been driven from the minds of all reasonably progressive professionals.⁷

Unlike Stieglitz with his private income, many Pictorialists found it necessary to gain their livelihood from photography. The old division of art from everyday life seemed rooted in an elitist, undemocratic past. The Arts and Crafts movement, for instance, embraced art, craft and commerce. Thus, by the time Carter decided to try his hand at professional portraiture, much of the stigma had faded. Still, Carter was an unknown newcomer in the relatively small high-end market that was already well-served by long-

established, prestigious photographic studios, most notably Notman Studios. Despite sending out some 500 announcements to members of the Art Association, and other prominent Montrealers, few portrait sittings materialized, and Carter kept busy through early 1907 making prints primarily from portraits taken in Toronto over Christmas.

Carter and Mortimer-Lamb needed another means of attracting potential clients, and a sideline. From the beginning they envisioned an enterprise that would combine their photographic skills with their love of the visual arts, in the form of a gallery. Thus was born The Little Gallery at 16 McGill College Avenue (at St. Catherine Street), in the heart of Montreal. No doubt the name was a nod to Stieglitz's Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, which had opened the previous year at 291 Fifth Avenue. As Christian Peterson has noted, the name was "suggestive of its intimacy and domestic personality," and very much in keeping with Arts and Crafts ideals.⁸ Carter and Mortimer-Lamb acted as agents for E.J. Van Wisselingh & Company, "dealers in paintings and etchings by modern masters," based in Amsterdam and London. Its not known how contact with Van Wisselingh was established, but it seems likely that Mavor was involved. Just a week after opening, Carter wrote to Mavor: "The Van Wisselinghs have been very decent to us. They have left with us about twenty important paintings including a Corot, W[illem] Maris, three Monticellis...."⁹ The Litte Gallery did not limit itself to European masters; two weeks later Carter wrote excitedly about being approached by Charles Porteous, who had suggested they do an exhibition of paintings by Homer Watson (1855-1936).¹⁰ Carter recognized that exhibitions would greatly raise their business profile.

In the spring of 1907 Carter approached the Art Association of Montreal with an exhibition proposal, setting into motion his most ambitious promotion of the cause of Pictorialism and, not incidentally, raising the profile of his own photographic activity in Montreal.¹¹ Carter had probably been inspired by an Easter trip to New York, during which he had spent time with Alvin Langdon Coburn and Clarence White. He had studied Coburn's "remarkable work" in a solo exhibition at the Photo-Secession's Little Galleries, and remarked to Mavor on "the especially fine portraits of well-known people" such as Rodin, Bernard Shaw, John Singer Sargent, and G.K. Chesterton. He was also much taken with Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (c. 1874), an icon for the Pictorialists, newly installed at the Metropolitan Museum.¹² So, he returned from New York with visions of an exhibition on a much larger and more impressive scale than anything that could be accommodated at the Little Gallery. But it was only in October that the Art Association granted approval and confirmed a date for late November. Carter expressed his aspirations for the exhibition in a letter to Stieglitz:

This will be the opening exhibition of the season ... and will be largely attended and I am particularly anxious not to fall down on it, especially as some of the prominent people here are beginning to take an interest and I should like to overwhelmingly convince them.¹³

Carter wished to demonstrate beyond any shadow of a doubt that pictorial photography had arrived. The importance of this exhibition as a milestone in the progress of the Pictorialist cause in Canada, and one of Carter's most ambitious undertakings, cannot be overstated.

On the afternoon of 23 November 1907, to the sweet strains of orchestral music, five hundred of Montreal's cultural élite turned out for the opening of Canada's first

international exhibition of pictorial photographs, in the galleries of the Art Association of Montreal, the oldest and most prestigious art museum in the Dominion.¹⁴ Carter had singlehandedly solicited the support of the Art Association, gathered the prints, written the catalogue, and hung the show.

The exhibition is not widely known,¹⁵ and frequently escapes the exhibition histories of many photographers. Yet it was an international "Who's Who" of Pictorialism, and included the Americans Stieglitz, Steichen, White, Käsebier and Coburn; A. Horsley Hinton and Frederick Evans, from England; Austria's Heinrich Kühn and the Hofmeister brothers; and Robert Demachy and Constant Puyo, of France. As a Photo-Secessionist and devoted Stieglitz acolyte, Carter looked to Stieglitz's demanding aesthetic standards for the Photo-Secession exhibitions. Stieglitz believed that too much energy had been "directed towards organizations, rather than towards broad and universal ideals."¹⁶ He wanted to move beyond what he perceived as the mediocrity and provincialism of the camera clubs. Carter produced this exhibition himself, independent of any camera club, and made it strictly invitational: no jury and no hanging committees. He directed the exhibition not so much at photographers, as at a wider "art-loving" public, and noted that there was "no other suitable gallery in Canada in which such an Exhibition could be creditably shown."¹⁷ The Photo-Secession had described its own audience in similar terms:

While the cultured public naturally includes some photographers, it is rather to the connoisseur than to the mere camerist that the Photo-Secession endeavors to appeal.¹⁸

It was to this broader audience that the Montreal catalogue also appealed. The Introduction begins with a brief outline of "the Art movement in photography," which Carter dated from about 1890, with the notable exception of David Octavius Hill (1802-70) whom he credited as being "the father of pictorial photography."¹⁹ Carter was not alone in viewing Hill as a precursor of the Pictorialists; in fact, he was very likely influenced by Stieglitz's evident enthusiasm for Hill's work, as revealed in the pages of *Camera Work*.²⁰ In any case, the short Introduction is infused with the strategy of validation through association. Carter noted that Hill's work had been praised by "painter-artists" (inferring that "photographer-artists" were simply another, equally valid, subset of artists), a group consisting of the English neo-classical painter and sculptor Frederic Leighton, John Singer Sargent (whom Carter would later photograph),²¹ and "the great Whistler himself."

The Linked Ring and the Photo-Secession were the two organizations cited as crucial factors in "the advance of the movement." Carter directed attention to a significant element of his own exhibition when he stressed the importance of the Linked Ring's Photographic Salon, which had "always been conducted in a dignified manner," without prizes; Salon acceptance was sufficient reward. The Photo-Secession was "broader in its aims and international in its scope.... [Its] exhibitions, not necessarily photographic, but generally so," were "invariably of interest to the art-lover." The Photo-Secession exhibitions' consistently high standards had "*compelled* recognition of the photographic medium, and ... fully substantiated its claims." Stieglitz's importance

as Director of the Photo-Secession and as editor and publisher of *Camera Work* was duly noted.

Next Carter enlisted the support of one of the great cultural luminaries of the day, quoting from Bernard Shaw's essay "The Unmechanicalness of Photography," first published in *The Amateur Photographer* in 1902. The essay was also excerpted in the catalogue to an exhibition of photographs at the New English Art Club in 1907,²² but it is most likely that Carter read it in his copy of *Camera Work* 14 (April 1906). In the wake of critical debate surrounding the Photo-Secession's inaugural exhibition at the Little Galleries, Stieglitz had reprinted the essay in order to address once again the "ancient conundrum, whether the medium of photography can serve to give expression to a temperament." Carter chose to include Shaw's pronouncement:

The truth is that neither a photograph nor a painting is necessarily "artistic"; nor does anybody who knows the A B C of criticism suppose that Fine Art refers to the processes by which works of Fine Art are produced, instead of to certain qualities of the product.²³

Carter exercised caution in selecting this uncharacteristically reasonable and restrained sentence from an otherwise incendiary article. He was prudent enough not to repeat the article's primary conceit which proceeded, via the brilliant Shavian tactic of subversion through inversion, to demonstrate that it was not the camera but "the hand of the painter that is incurably mechanical."

The Introduction's most puzzling sentence was a simple acknowledgement thanking Stieglitz for permission to reprint an essay from *Camera Work* 2 by the eminent Belgian symbolist writer Maurice Maeterlinck. No extant copy of the catalogue contained the essay, nor was it apparent that any pages had been removed. There was

no explanation in the catalogue, no insert, and no mention of the missing Maeterlinck in any of the exhibition reviews, or in Carter's own published account of the exhibition. This was not the Introduction's only peculiar omission: there was no reference whatsoever to the phantom "Photo-Club of Canada," which the title page claimed as the exhibition's organizer. This seems a curious oversight for an exhibition that was at least partly conceived as a promotional vehicle for the "movement." Carter himself solved these two mysteries in a letter to Stieglitz, written just three days after the opening of the exhibition:

A word of explanation as to the "Photo-Club of Canada." This is a myth and inserted as a scapegoat on the suggestion of the chicken-livered Secretary of the Art Association. This individual is also responsible for the gumming down of the Maeterlinck essay in the catalogue. He did this without consulting me as there was a general howl from the painter-members of the Association and he had nothing to lose in antagonizing me.²⁴

This bit of subterfuge was so skilfully performed that the missing essay can only be revealed by backlighting the pages, and discovering that the catalogue's second sheet is actually made up of two sheets. The essay was printed on the recto of what was originally the third sheet.

Carter had thus prominently positioned Maeterlinck's essay at the very beginning of the catalogue. It was a pivotal text, considered so precious that *Camera Work* had gone to the trouble of publishing Maeterlinck's handwritten letter in facsimile, in its original French, followed by Sadakichi Hartmann's translation. Despite Stieglitz's haughty claims that photographers alone should judge photography, he and other photographers were only too eager to enlist the authority and validation that might come

from the cultural élite outside of photography. Like Shaw's essay, Maeterlinck's soon became a key text which struck a chord amongst Pictorialists, and was frequently reprinted over the years.²⁵ What heartened the Pictorialists and scandalised the Art Association's "painter-members" was Maeterlinck's belief that he was witnessing in Pictorialism the beginnings of an "important evolution" in Art. New technologies were revolutionizing all spheres of human activity, but artists, in their "superannuated pride," had chosen to ignore "the modern voice." Until very recently photographers had not yet learned to work with the medium to produce anything more than mere transcriptions of the world:

But to-day it seems that thought has found a fissure through which to penetrate the mystery of this anonymous force, invade it, subjugate it, animate it, and compel it to say such things as have not yet been said in all the realm of chiaroscuro, of grace, of beauty and of truth.

No wonder certain members of the Art Association felt defensive. Unlike Toronto audiences, very few Montrealers had been exposed to the "new" photography, and these lofty claims for Pictorialism went too far for some.

The catalogue listed 279 works, by 56 exhibitors.²⁶ The catalogue tallies showed equal numbers of Canadian and American photographs (107 each), but Carter felt compelled to pull several works:

I largely reduced the exhibition — about thirty of those in the catalogue going unhung — they were mostly Canadians (my own amongst others) so that the *standard* was quite high and the walls well covered.²⁷

The ever-rising "standard" was one of Pictorialism's constant refrains, and one that the average "worker" felt particularly galling since it often translated into exclusion. A high proportion of the photographers were affiliated with secessionist societies: there were 16

Photo-Secessionists (13 of the 17 Americans), and 26 members of the Linked Ring. Several of the leading American photographers — including Coburn, Käsebier, Joseph Keiley, Steichen, Stieglitz, and White — belonged to both groups. Carter and J.P. Hodgins were Canada's only two Photo-Secessionists, and both had been founding members of the now-defunct *Studio Club*, as were Mortimer-Lamb and Arthur Goss.

Carter, along with Mortimer-Lamb, was the best-represented Pictorialist, with 33 prints. Landscapes accounted for only six works, and half of those were gum bichromate prints, which suggests that they were early Carter images. He exhibited two versions of *Melancholy Landscape* (which once again highlights the difficulty of positively identifying exhibited prints); he had exhibited a print with the same title at the TCC Third Salon (April 1905). However, unlike his earliest submissions to exhibitions, by far the majority of the prints were either portraits or portrait studies, mixed with a few figure studies. The medium remarks show Carter's clear preference, in his more mature work, for the platinum process — which he had declared "the choice among the Pictorialists."²⁸ Like many Pictorialists, Carter's early experimentation in which prints were heavily manipulated (most evident in the gum bichromates), was replaced by a less interventionist approach. The radical, even "painterly," hand work evident in the use of many "control" processes in turn-of-the-century Pictorialism, was giving way, particularly among members of the American school, to a more uniquely photographic aesthetic. However, this did not mean that Pictorialists were deserting the poetic for the prosaic, the mysteries of *effet* for the crisp delineation of the topographic.

The titles alone of Carter's figure studies — *Despair*, *Weary*, and *The Dreamer* — demonstrate his desire to evoke emotional or psychological states in his work. No extant prints are identified with these titles, but perhaps a model for this type of subject matter can be found in Steichen's *Dolor* (reproduced in *Camera Work* 2, April 1903), which appeared in the exhibition, or Demachy's *Severity* or *Struggle* (both reproduced in *Camera Work* 5, January 1904). These images typically sought to personify various emotional states through the nude female form. The only other nudes in the exhibition were Anne Brigman's allegorical figures-in-landscape, such as *The Soul of the Blasted Pine*, later reproduced in *Camera Work* 25 (January 1909), and several works by Steichen, including *The Little Round Mirror*, reproduced in *Camera Work* 14 (April 1906). If the National Archives' collection is representative of Carter's output, then nudes represented for Carter a relatively minor and short-lived experiment. Yet few Canadian Pictorialists are known to have even attempted, let alone exhibited the nude. The Art Association catalogue shows that Carter exhibited a work entitled simply *Nude Figure*. No print in the Carter collection can be positively identified as this image, but there is a print, *Nude Study* (NAC 1979-087-087, fig. 6), which bears comparison with Steichen's *Little Round Mirror*. In both images, a very subtly rendered, standing nude figure emerges from a mysterious, inky black background. A very different treatment of the nude can be seen in *[Nude Bending]* (NAC 1979-087-011, fig. 7), in which a figure tends an arrangement of cut flowers placed in an oriental vase on the floor. This image is more striking in its modernity, and recalls Edgar Degas' studies of bathers, in terms of the subject's posture and the spectator's point-of-view. Degas explained how

his bathers departed from other artists' approaches: "Hitherto the nude has always been represented in poses which presuppose an audience."²⁹ Similarly, Carter's image distinguishes itself from many of the more self-consciously posed nudes (by for instance, Demachy), which can be found in the Pictorialist *œuvre*.

Carter's portraits of distinguished sitters received much attention. The portraits included the eminent Torontonians James Mavor; George A. Reid, then President of the Royal Canadian Academy; Byron Edmund Walker (1848-1924, knighted 1910), President of the Bank of Commerce; and the Montrealers Dr. W.H. and Lady Julia Drummond, and Dr. Francis J. Shepherd, Dean of Medicine at McGill University and President of the Art Association. Only one of these subjects, Edmund Walker, is found in the National Archives' Carter collection, represented by two very different images (although there is no indication that either one is the actual exhibited print). Carter likely exhibited the more public, more symbolically impressive, image — after all, this cavalcade of the Canadian establishment was designed to impress. A variation (now lost) of this elegant image was used many years later as the frontispiece for G.P. Glazebrook's biography of Walker, in a beautifully realized photogravure (fig. 8), from the original platinum print.³⁰ Walker's direct and serenely confident gaze, and the persuasively rendered evocation of the gravity of wealth and power, makes this a classic portrait, reminiscent of Steichen's famous image of financier J.P. Morgan (1904, which was also exhibited at the Art Association). Carter's masterful use of light suppresses all extraneous detail, and concentrates our attention on the noble, leonine head. Once again, detailed physiognomy was not Carter's goal.

There were two portraits of Rudyard Kipling, which had been made on his recent pass through Montreal, one of which was a profile which exists in several prints including that seen in fig. 9 (NAC 1981-074-077). Another well-known subject, certainly to members of the Art Association, was the popular American painter Alexis Fournier (1865-1948).³¹ Last, but not least, Carter exhibited a self-portrait, which presented to the Montreal audience a vision of the young, romantic "long-hair" — an image beautifully rendered in platinum (fig. 10). The editor of *Photograms of the Year 1907* had used Carter's "dreamy sensitive *Self-Portrait*" to introduce a section which contrasted two different schools of portraiture: the more "popular" traditional type exemplified by an Australian image "praised as 'so clear,'" and the approach typified by a print by the Canadian Pictorialist A.A. Gleason which was "at least as good a portrait of all that interests one in the sitter, and is much more pleasing to the picture-lover."³² In short, a good portrait went beyond the anecdotal and a more or less faithful rendering of the particularities of physiognomy, and aspired to a higher pictorial purpose.

Contemporary accounts of the Art Association exhibition indicate that it was exceptionally well received. Advance notices, which began to appear two weeks before the opening, proclaimed the exhibition's international scope and the "new" and "unconventional" nature of the pictures.³³ Montrealers were struck by the novelty of the "new movement." While many Torontonians had witnessed amateur photography's progress through the Toronto Camera Club's well-attended annual exhibitions, photography in Montreal was at a "very low ebb." The "splendid results," rather than the process, distinguished this work and positioned it within the Fine Arts. The high

artistic value of the work of one exhibitor, Robert Demachy had recently been recognised by New York's Metropolitan Museum, which had acquired a print "at a price a painter might be glad to receive for his work."³⁴

Reviews continued the appreciative tone: one headline declared the exhibition "A Revelation of What Can Be Done With the Camera," and Japanese and Symbolist influences on the "new movement" were discussed. Reviewers tended to highlight the work of Steichen, and lesser-known photographers such as George Seeley, who demonstrated "what the artist gifted with imagination can accomplish with a camera." Apparently, a number of pictures were sold. Carter's portraits of Rudyard Kipling also received much attention. Remarks were made on the quality of the installation, including the fact that the gallery walls had been recovered with "a neutral toned burlap." Carter's ideas on presentation had no doubt been informed by his regular trips to the Photo-Secession galleries in New York.³⁵

The press also noted the "large attendance at the Art Gallery" (1,373 visitors), a fact borne out by statistics later published in the Art Association's *Annual Report*. In this regard Carter's exhibition of pictorial photographs surpassed most others at the Art Association, despite its short two-week run. Attendance figures even exceeded those for the Association's 30th Loan Exhibition, *Pictures by Rembrandt and the Great Dutch Painters of the XVII Century*, which had had a three-week run the previous year.³⁶ Art Association exhibitions did not pull in a very broad cross-section of people, but as Carter remarked, they did attract "the right kind of people": an important consideration both for Carter's prospects as a portrait photographer and the "cause" of Pictorialism.

Unfortunately the exhibition did not translate into a business bonanza for the Little Gallery. There were simply not sufficient numbers of the Montreal establishment willing to patronize a young upstart; even the President of the Art Association, Dr. Shepherd, whom Carter managed to photograph for the exhibition, continued to favour the competent, if by now quite traditional, portraits of the Notman Studio (as the reproductions in his biography attest).³⁷ Perhaps Montrealers were not yet ready to place themselves in the hands of the flamboyant young man in *Self-Portrait*. Carter still had not committed himself to staying in the city, and appears to have kept his options in Toronto open. In February 1907 he had told Stieglitz of his intention to stay in Montreal just "long enough to work up a clientele and then to make Toronto my headquarters."³⁸ But, in May 1907 Carter wrote Mavor that he and Mortimer-Lamb had only recently decided to stay in Montreal, and that prospects were "brighter":

Within the last few weeks we have done some quite interesting work for people who can appreciate it and who can and probably will be of the greatest assistance to us in making our work known among the right people."³⁹

However, difficulties in Mortimer-Lamb's personal life, and mining association responsibilities, soon combined to make the partnership untenable, and in January 1908 a dejected Carter wrote:

I commenced the new year discontinuing my partnership with Lamb. This was unsatisfactory almost from the first. I feel at times that I must give up the struggle. I have met with so little encouragement.⁴⁰

Without Mortimer-Lamb and, perhaps more critically, without his financial backing, the Little Gallery's days were numbered. Carter was forced to take an office job with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and he pleaded with Stieglitz to find him a job with a New

York art dealer: "I don't think I can stand the C.P.R. much longer."⁴¹ Nothing materialized in New York, but Carter was soon happily in his element when he was taken on by Montreal's foremost art dealer, William Scott & Sons, in early January 1909.⁴²

Carter's photographic activities slowed after he was taken on by Scott & Sons, and his few submissions to exhibitions tended to be recycled images. In a letter to the Photo-Secessionist Elizabeth Buehrmann, a successful portraitist who worked in Chicago and New York during the first two decades of the century, Carter wrote:

There is little incentive to work in Montreal, and beyond some portraits of somewhat uninteresting people I have accomplished nothing. The notice announcing the [London] Salon came the other day — I haven't decided whether I will send anything — if I do it will probably be some old stuff I have over there.⁴³

Nonetheless, even the "old stuff" continued to attract enthusiastic comment, as was demonstrated by a review of an exhibition of work by "colonial workers" sponsored by the London-based *Amateur Photographer & Photographic News* in July and August 1909. Carter was mentioned along with a handful of other photographers including Mortimer-Lamb, as demonstrating "to the stay-at-home Britisher that photographers in the colonies are as alive to the possibilities of the camera as a means of artistic expression as they are in this country." Interestingly, though the reviewer spoke of "colonial characteristics" of work from various countries (India, South Africa, Hong Kong, etc.), Carter's and Mortimer-Lamb's work was seen as part of the American School and, the writer added, "It is characterised by freshness of outlook and breadth of treatment that stamps it with a quality that compels attention."⁴⁴

Carter was not alone in experiencing a certain *ennui*. A general dissatisfaction began to make itself felt, which soon erupted within the very centres of the Pictorialist movement. The attempt to hold together increasingly heterogeneous styles, and a shifting sea of attitudes and philosophical differences, began to fail. Pictorialists had breached the walls of the museum, and the sputtering denunciations of the established painters had become a thing of the past. The effectiveness of the Secessionist groups' inherently adversarial approach diminished as the old obstacles to the movement started to crumble, and established Pictorialist groups began to lose their "cause."

The Linked Ring was the first to experience a serious cleavage, one which soon embroiled Carter. In January 1910 Mortimer-Lamb received an urgent letter from a leading Link and Editor of *Amateur Photographer & Photographic News*, F.J. Mortimer:

[M]atters connected with the Linked Ring in England have recently reached a crisis, and the Ring has decided to hold no Photographic Salon this year. This has been brought about primarily by a few members who are desirous of holding a small and particularly exclusive exhibition of their own work in a private gallery in London. The remainder, who include [prominent British and European Pictorialists such as Alexander Keighley, Ward Muir, Robert Demachy, Constant Puyo, and the Hofmeister brothers] ... are distinctly of the opinion that the Photographic Salon fills an important place in the photographic calendar, and therefore a 'London Salon' will be held. I shall be glad to know that we have your sympathy in this movement, as a desire has been expressed that you and Mr. Sidney Carter be invited to join as corresponding members. Your own work has been greatly appreciated over here, and we hope to see more of it at our autumn exhibition. I am writing therefore to learn your opinions on the matter, and hope that you will assist as much as it is in your power to do.⁴⁵

A less partisan view of the "rupture of the Linked Ring" was provided by H. Snowdon Ward, editor of *Photograms of the Year*, who described the two factions:

The Perfectionists (if one may coin a non-contentious party name) hold that the Salon has ceased to be sufficiently distinctive and useful, partly because the standard of the Royal [Photographic Society] has been steadily raised, and partly because the Salon's own selection has become less vigorous. This section insists that only the most advanced type of work should be shown at the Salon, and its ideal was most nearly approached in the Salon of 1908, when eight exhibitors took practically the whole of the space and provided a very fine show. The other party, which we may call Latitudinarian, was in the ascendant at the Salon of 1909. Without any special effort they made a show that was fairly catholic and very interesting, but that did not please the stricter sect.

After last year's Salon, the Perfectionists, led by George Davison, contended that the work of the Salon was completed, that the useful exhibitions for the immediate future would be those arranged by a few men, by mutual agreement, without any general invitation to outsiders, and showing only the most advanced work. A resolution that the Linked Ring would not hold an exhibition this year was carried by one vote. This left members at liberty to arrange or take part in exhibitions individually or collectively. The Latitudinarians formed themselves into a London Salon Club, as a temporary expedient, for the holding of exhibitions annually until the Linked Ring shall see fit to resume the Salon....⁴⁶

The Linked Ring never recovered, and the "temporary expedient" in fact endured for many decades, but the days of the large open Salons as magnets of the very best international photography were drawing to a close. Invitational (the beginning of what may be called "curated") exhibitions, such as Carter's Art Association show in 1907, were becoming more frequent.

One of the greatest invitational exhibitions of the period, and perhaps the final landmark of Pictorialism as a movement, was the *International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography* at Buffalo's Albright Art Gallery in November of 1910. The Albright's director, Dr. Charles Kurtz, had begun planning the exhibition as early as 1908, at which time he had requested the assistance of both the Photo-Pictorialists of Buffalo, and Alfred Stieglitz. After Kurtz's sudden death in 1909, Stieglitz assumed full control and, as

Weston Naef notes, the resulting show "fundamentally represented the taste and membership of the Photo-Secession Galleries."⁴⁷ Fully three-quarters of the 479 prints in the Invitation Section were contributed by Photo-Secessionists. The Photo-Pictorialists of Buffalo were placated with a room of their own, and an "open section" of some 112 prints (by 28 photographers) was added for those photographers who had not been specially invited. This section was made up of an international group of photographers, including a number of less prominent Photo-Secessionists such as Carter (a Kipling print) and Buehrmann. Their work was first submitted to a blue-ribbon jury consisting of Stieglitz, Steichen, White, the art critic Charles Caffin, and the painter Max Weber. As William Homer writes, the high calibre of work in this section "added strength to an already outstanding show."⁴⁸

While the usual political machinations dogged this exhibition, there was widespread agreement that the show marked a watershed in Pictorialism. H. Snowdon Ward proclaimed it the year's "most important exhibition," and the gallery redecoration and design by Max Weber and the subsequent "on-the-line" installation led him to write that "no exhibition in the world's history has been so perfectly arranged."⁴⁹ His comment that the show "is almost incapable of being repeated" was prescient, and is an example of a commonly-expressed sentiment that this was in some way a final summation of the movement. Sadakichi Hartmann, in the aptly titled article "What Remains," described the exhibition as:

a conquest, the realization of an ideal.... Pictorial photography has never been presented to the public in so effective, comprehensive and beautiful a manner.... That some pictorialists have fashioned for themselves a personal mode of expression is an established fact. The victory over the

photographic bureaucracy has been won long ago. It needs no further argument. We have learnt that a photographic print can be a thing of beauty aside from reference to any subject it portrays.⁵⁰

Stieglitz, too, seemed to view the exhibition as a pinnacle, and as a deeply personal triumph. In a letter to an early German champion of the "cause," Ernst Juhl (1850-1913), Stieglitz wrote:

The exhibition was without doubt the most important that has been held up to now. Only the most select, the best things that exist.... The Albright Art Gallery is the most beautiful gallery in America. The exhibition made such a deep artistic impression that the institute bought 12 pictures at a good price and has put aside a gallery for them. This gallery will be maintained permanently. So at last the dream that I had in Berlin in 1885 has become a reality — the complete acknowledgement of photography by an important institution.⁵¹

Naef rightly highlights the "historicism" of the exhibition: Stieglitz began with a substantial selection of work from the 19th-century portraitists Hill & Adamson, and traced the careers of the leading Pictorialists (whose work was also historically contextualized in the catalogue text). Thus, Stieglitz imposed "a decidedly curatorial and historical framework that gave the Buffalo exhibition a point of view that had never before been present in an exhibition of modern photographers."⁵²

While Stieglitz steadfastly maintained that neither he nor the Photo-Secession was interested in "the politics of photography," the record clearly shows otherwise. While the Photo-Secession eshewed having a constitution, regular meetings, and a formalized executive structure — a purposeful distancing from all such camera club trappings — it was nonetheless a well-organized body with clearly articulated ideals, a strategic programme, a highly-influential publication for the dissemination of its views, and a commanding (if not to say autocratic) leader. In Stieglitz's view, camera clubs and

similar institutions were inherently antithetical to art's advance: "[O]rganizations like labor unions and political parties may be essential for mutual welfare and progress, but in art matters I can assure you, organization means gradual and certain stagnation."⁵³ But the Photo-Secession had become an organization, and as Stieglitz increasingly turned his attentions towards modern art in both the gallery and in the pages of *Camera Work*, photographers began to desert him.⁵⁴ Carter was not among them, as he subscribed right up to the periodical's final, 50th, number, issued in June 1917. Carter's involvement in the arts, and regular contact with artists, helped stimulate his own interest in contemporary art, although *Camera Work's* portfolios gave even some of Carter's circle pause:

I am afraid Cubism is beyond us up here. I showed the last *Camera Work* [#36 (October 1911)] to [the painter] J[ames] W[ilson] Morrice who is or was president of the Paris Autumn Salon. He considered Picasso and his works "quite unnecessary" but was highly delighted with your New York series and forthwith purchased a camera which I feel sure will prove a disappointment to him.⁵⁵

Carter never left the Photo-Secession, but he did associate with, and appears to have become friends with, Clarence White (1871-1925), who effectively became leader of disaffected Photo-Secessionists after the Buffalo exhibition. Carter no longer needed a mentor, and his relationship with White was one of equals. White was a founding member of the Photo-Secession, whose work became known for what Charles Caffin described as a "peculiar refinement of feeling.... A reverence of feeling, due to a consciousness of the mystery of beauty," and a deft handling of light.⁵⁶ As the Clarence White scholar Peter Bunnell has written, photographers were most influenced by the "expressional value of luminosity" in White's work, and it was this concern for light

effects that most characterized the American School.⁵⁷ As noted above, correspondence shows that Carter had spent some time with White in New York over Easter 1907. Their similar sensibilities and temperaments would have made them very sympathetic to one another. Unlike Stieglitz, White and Carter shared fairly humble beginnings (they both spent their early years working as clerks), but through talent and ambition both had managed to follow their true avocations: White as a teacher of photography as artistic practice (at Columbia University, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and his own school), and Carter as an art dealer and portraitist. Their work was also moving in a different trajectory from the "straight" approach which Stieglitz increasingly favoured.⁵⁸ White's personal relationship with Stieglitz openly deteriorated in the aftermath of the Buffalo exhibition, due ostensibly to the latter's failure to return some prints borrowed from him for the exhibition (including White's copy of one of Carter's Kipling prints). But the correspondence indicates that their relationship had already been strained for some time.⁵⁹ Stieglitz had waged a long and frequently bitter campaign on many fronts, and casualties eventually included relationships with some of his closest Photo-Secessionist allies.

Weston Naef's 1978 supposition of a friendship between Carter and White can now be more convincingly corroborated.⁶⁰ Aside from the already-mentioned meeting in New York in early 1907, within a few months of White's move from Ohio, each photographer collected prints from the other. While the Kipling print was never returned, the Clarence H. White collection at the Art Museum of Princeton University contains two portraits of Carter made by White in c. 1907, as well as several prints by

Carter, including *The Sisters*. Carter acquired a print of Coburn's famous 1912 portrait of White (later reproduced in Coburn's book *Men of Mark*, published in 1913), and a print of a White image of a young woman standing in a sunlight-dappled interior.⁶¹

Carter's contact with the White group can be seen in several significant exhibitions. The first of these, rather grandly titled *An Exhibition Illustrating the Progress of the Art of Photography in America*, took place at the Montross Art Galleries, New York, 10-31 October 1912. Carter was the only Canadian out of 34 exhibitors, who included many leading Photo-Secessionists such as White, Coburn, and Käsebier.⁶² Key players in the organization and production of the Buffalo exhibition such as Max Weber were also involved in the Montross exhibition, but Stieglitz was conspicuous by his absence.⁶³ In October 1913, the White group launched a new periodical, *Platinum Print, A Journal of Personal Expression*, which in many ways rivalled *Camera Work* in terms of its attention to production and design, and in its embrace of other arts (such as dance) as well as photography:

Its mission is to place before the readers examples of photography as a medium of expression, and to publish as well, the written, personal word on subjects possessing contemporary interest in varied fields.⁶⁴

White's next major role was as sole curator of *An International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography*, which opened on 19 January 1914 at the Ehrich Art Galleries in New York, and featured the work of 38 leading photographers from Europe and North America. Again, Carter was the only Canadian.⁶⁵ A reviewer for *Photograms of the Year* described it as the year's "most important exhibition," and noted the inclusion of photographers "who formerly adhered to the Photo-Secession."⁶⁶ The danger of

oversimplifying photographic aesthetics of the period by polarizing "straight" and "pictorial" is underscored by the White group's own assessment of its exhibition, which appeared in *Platinum Print*:

[The exhibition] represents the very hum of progress; because it is pure and clean, and because it is unquestionably the most interesting, and satisfying collection of contemporary work ever shown in New York.... It indicates a high attainment of what is known as "straight" photography, founded on the retention of true photographic quality, fidelity to the basic principles of proper selection....⁶⁷

The White group is conventionally viewed as "pictorial," thus contrasting with Stieglitz and those photographers he increasingly supported, most notably Paul Strand (1890-1976). The photo-historian Helmut Gernsheim introduces "the modern period" with Strand, who "observed significant forms full of aesthetic appeal in ordinary subjects.... These photographs are in essence abstract design."⁶⁸ Yet a print in the National Archives' Carter collection, by a central figure in the White group and the editor and publisher of *Platinum Print*, Edward R. Dickson, could just as easily have been the object of Gernsheim's description.⁶⁹

The Ehrich Art Galleries' exhibition and many subsequent activities cemented White's role as the new guiding light in American photography. The inaugural issue of *Platinum Print* announced a series of solo exhibitions to be held at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, where White taught photography, including an exhibition of the work of Carter that was scheduled to open 12 January 1914.⁷⁰ But despite the obvious mutual admiration between Carter and White, Carter does not appear to have joined the Pictorial Photographers of America, which was formed in 1917, with White as President and Käsebier as Vice-President. Why Carter did not join this group is unknown, but

may partly have been a result of his personal circumstances. He had fairly recently left Scott & Sons to start his own gallery, and 1917 was filled with personal tragedy. His wife Gladys (née Bacon), a sensitive soul mate, died of tuberculosis in March, and their two young daughters were sent to Toronto to live with family; and later in the year his mother and brother, Herbert, died as well. And perhaps, like Stieglitz, Carter had lost his enthusiasm for large, idealistic organizations pledged to the advancement of photography.⁷¹ There is no indication that he ever joined another photographic association of any kind, after the Photo-Secession.

Carter appears to have exhibited little in Montreal, except for a three-man exhibition, at the Art Association's new galleries on Sherbrooke Street, from 15 October to 4 November 1913. The fact that Carter collaborated on this exhibition with the partners of a professional portrait studio — Walter Mackenzie and Fenwick Cutten — indicates how far he had moved from the purely artistic use of photography, the untainted-by-commerce ideal, that Stieglitz upheld.⁷² It also shows that the Art Association had quite recovered from the 1907 exhibition. No information survives on the genesis of this exhibition, although the same *Annual Report* that mentions it also lists Cutten as a member of the Art Association.⁷³ Mackenzie & Cutten were listed jointly as exhibiting 40 prints, and the titles indicate that they had managed to attract some fashionable subjects: H.R.H. The Princess Patricia of Connaught, and the English actor Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson (1853-1937). Carter's 25 prints covered a wide range of genre: a few landscapes, portraits, a nude, and two new areas of interest: still lifes, and cityscapes. The latter included *Winter Night — Dominion Square*, and *St. James Dome*.⁷⁴

Lady Drummond and Elizabeth Buehrmann were among the portrait subjects, as was a Mr. Joliffe Walker (fig. 11), in a rather striking image — the only one of the three that has been identified in the Carter collection. While the platinum print gives the image a soft, sensuous quality, the composition is decisively and emphatically modern. The angularity of the goateed chin is accentuated by an unusually high camera position, and the tight cropping (most radically, at the top of the print) concentrates the sitter's already barely contained energy. What is surprising about this image is that it was already at least five years old; it was reproduced in *Photograms of the Year 1908*.⁷⁵

It is difficult to assess Carter's professional portrait work, as most of it likely resides in private hands. The known portraits in the Carter collection are very probably special commissions, or in the case of subjects such as James Wilson Morrice they were friends, or individuals who Carter pursued because of his admiration for them, such as John Singer Sargent (Carter's photograph of whom was exhibited at the London Salon in 1921, and reproduced in *Vanity Fair* in 1924).

Another aspect of Carter's work was his ongoing interest in figure studies and allegorical works which feature women, sometimes in quite self-conscious Pre-Raphaelite style. There is even a print which Carter titled *After D.G.R.* (fig. 12) — the initials of Dante Gabriel Rossetti — which is quite typical in its portrayal of a long-haired, melancholy, Pre-Raphaelite "stunner." This glorification of women as the possessors of more sensitive souls, and as the guardians of Truth and Beauty, was central to the work of several important Pictorialists, notably Steichen and White.⁷⁶ A sense of mystery

pervades *Fantasy* (fig. 13), in which a young woman stares intently at a frightening mask. Of this image, Estelle Jussim has written:

She seems too tender, almost amorous, this Beauty holding her Beast with her left hand clasped to a frontage of peacock feathers. Yet whether she was a professional model or a close personal friend we will probably never know. Her true soul remains an enigma. All that is clear is that Sidney Carter found her a suitable subject for a fantasy of his own.⁷⁷

The model was a friend *and* model, Olive Yokum, who appeared in several other images, including *The Rose* (reproduced in *Private Realms of Light*, page 234).

By 1916, Carter was once again operating his own art gallery, which included studio space allowing him to return to professional portraiture.⁷⁸ In 1918, Mortimer-Lamb reported on an "important development" in professional photography in Canada: several Pictorialists had "crossed the Rubicon," and were now engaged in commercial work. Among them was Carter. At the same time, Mortimer-Lamb welcomed a significant change in Carter's aesthetic:

Those of us who have admired and appreciated Mr. Carter's earlier efforts were nevertheless often regretful that he sought his effects by emphasising darkness rather than light; and by the low key of so many of his pictures the impression was produced that he and his sitters lived in a world of twilight and gloom. Nevertheless, his work has always been eminently artistic and individual. He has now, however, imparted to it a far greater vitality, by a more knowledgeable handling of light and shade and by the directness and precision of his technical methods. As a portraitist he possesses a keen psychological sense, and it is not too much to assert that some of his portraits would hold their own for quality and character in such distinguished company as the productions of [Adolf] de Meyer [1868-1946] or of Clarence White.⁷⁹

Outside of photography, Carter was a well-known figure in the cultural life of Montreal. In 1912 he was a founding member of the Arts Club, for which he designed prize-winning costumes for the annual balls. He cultivated strong ties with the Art Association of Montreal over the years, first appearing in the *Annual Report* as a lender to an unspecified exhibition in 1919; the following year he donated a "Mezzo-tint of Mrs. Hartley by Marchi, after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds." Over the next three-and-a-half decades until his death in 1956, Carter appears frequently as a donor or lender, and on his death a special fund was set up in his memory. During his lifetime he was particularly known as a specialist in oriental antiquities, and was frequently consulted by the Art Association's first curator of decorative arts, F. Cleveland Morgan.⁸⁰

As a dealer, Carter handled an eclectic range of art, although he was especially known for his fine oriental items. When he moved his studio to the Arts Club building on Victoria Street in 1937, Robert Ayre wrote of the "treasures of paintings, prints and Chinese ceramics," mentioning a Homer Watson, Barbizon paintings (by Dupré, Troyon, and Monticelli), "exquisite Japanese prints of the 18th century," as well as Chinese figures from the Ming and T'ang Dynasties. Carter's Arts and Crafts ideals were still at work; he was designing lamp shades for some Chinese bowls, "in keeping with their essential Chinese character."⁸¹ The question arises as to why Carter's activities as an art dealer are not better known, even though he evidently sold many works to a wide range of private individuals, and to prominent public institutions such as the National Gallery of Canada and the Art Association of Montreal. Here, Carter's uncompromising idealism in matters of art, and apparent disinterest in commerce, seem to have played a

significant role. Anecdotal evidence gathered from a wide range of sources including his children and artists such as Campbell Tinning, André Biéler, and Edwin Holgate seems to agree on one point: while they respected Carter, they observed on countless occasions that he was "more interested in surrounding himself with beautiful things than in making a profit selling them."⁸² In fact, he was known to have gone out of his way in at least one instance to deny the opportunity to buy to potential clients whom he felt, for whatever reasons, were unsuitable to be the custodians of particular works of art. Despite his modest means, he was also known for his generosity toward artists. For example, when Aleksandre Bercovitch was evicted from his apartment for his inability to pay his rent, Carter quickly gave him a solo exhibition to help him pay his outstanding bills.⁸³

Carter died at the Montreal General Hospital on 27 March 1956. Obituaries described his Victoria Street studio, where he remained until 1954, as "a meeting place for artists, poets, collectors and connoisseurs."⁸⁴ His "judgement in the fields of painting and decorative arts ... [was] widely recognized," but by this time, few people even knew of his earlier prominence as one of Canada's preeminent Pictorialists.

NOTES

1. Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montréal: Boréal, 1992), 141.
2. Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1905*, 82.
3. I am indebted to Ariane Isler-de Jongh for much of my information on Mortimer-Lamb. Her article, "[?]" is to be published in *History of Photography* in 1995.

4. Sidney Carter, letter to James Mavor, 3 December 1906, James Mavor Papers, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto (hereafter JMP).
5. Alfred Stieglitz, "Pictorial Photography in the United States, 1895," *Photograms of the Year 1895*, 84.
6. Osborne I. Yelliot, "Pictorial Photography in the United States: I. Eastern and Middle States," *Photograms of the Year 1903*, 38. Examples included the respected photographers Käsebier, Alice Boughton, and Frances B. Johnston.
7. H. Snowden Ward, "Photograms of the Year 1907," *Photograms of the Year 1907*, 27.
8. Christian A. Peterson, "American Arts and Crafts: The Photograph Beautiful 1895-1915," *History of Photography* 16.3 (Autumn 1992): 211.
9. Carter to Mavor, 3 December 1906.
10. Sidney Carter, letter to James Mavor, 16 December 1906, JMP.
11. By this time Mortimer-Lamb was pretty much out of the picture; besides his many professional obligations, he had recently spent time in hospital suffering from nervous exhaustion, and shortly thereafter his young daughter died. Carter was on his own.
12. Sidney Carter, letter to James Mavor, 8 May 1907, JMP. This was the painting that elicited Ruskin's infamous accusation that Whistler had flung "a pot of paint in the public's face." This in turn caused Whistler to sue for libel in 1877. Undoubtedly, many Pictorialists were much impressed by Whistler's reputation as a spirited and often controversial champion of art for art's sake. They also appreciated Whistler's modernist sensibility, particularly his explorations of colour harmony, and his rejection of Victorian narrative painting.
13. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 22 October 1907, YCAL.
14. *Exhibition of Pictorial Photographs Arranged by the Photo-Club of Canada and Held in the Galleries of the Art Association of Montreal, 23rd November to 7th December, 1907*. Much of the text on this exhibition is adapted from an article recently written by the author, to be published under the title "'My Dear Mr. Stieglitz': How a Canadian Photo-Secessionist Organized Canada's First International Exhibition of Pictorial Photographs," in *History of Photography* in 1995.
15. The exhibition was rediscovered and reported by Andrew Birrell, in Greenhill and Birrell, *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920*, 129; and subsequently discussed in Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*, 44.
16. Alfred Stieglitz, "Some of the Reasons," in Bayley, ed., *The Complete Photographer* (1906), rptd. in *History of Photography* 15.2 (Summer 1991): 87-88.
17. Sidney Carter, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1908*, 80.
18. "Photo-Secession Notes," *Camera Work* 14 (April 1906), 47.
19. As was common at the time, no mention is made of Hill's collaborator, Robert Adamson, who was considered little more than a technical assistant. Christian Peterson notes that the photographer who discovered Hill's paper negatives, Craig Annan, only "briefly mentioned" Adamson in his article on Hill in *Camera Work* 11, and that Hill alone was credited for the many images that appeared in *Camera Work* over the years. Christian Peterson, *Camera Work: Process & Image* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute

of the Arts, 1985), 58.

20. Years later, Carter offered Stieglitz an important collection of Hill & Adamson prints. They included "four originals printed by Hill ... [and four] carbon prints" which Stieglitz promptly purchased for \$100. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 22 August 1928, and 8 September 1928, YCAL. It is doubtful, given his financial situation and the early date, that the Hill & Adamson images in the exhibition came from Carter's personal collection.

21. One of Carter's portraits of Sargent was reproduced in *Vanity Fair* 21:5 (January 1924), 26.

22. Bill Jay and Margaret Moore, eds., *Bernard Shaw on Photography* (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith 1989), 76.

23. Bernard Shaw, "The Unmechanicalness of Photography," *Camera Work* 14 (April 1906), 18-25; rptd from *The Amateur Photographer* (9 October 1902). Carter slightly misquoted the text in the catalogue.

24. Sidney Carter to Alfred Stieglitz, 26 November 1907, YCAL. This charge does not appear to have been made public — certainly not in exhibition reviews, nor in Carter's own subsequent discussion of the exhibition in *Photograms of the Year 1908*. The "chicken-livered secretary" was lawyer-turned-watercolourist John Bethune Abbott, the first curator of the Art Gallery, and the son of a former Canadian prime minister. (I am indebted to Ruth Jackson, the former Curator of Decorative Arts at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, for bringing this family tie to my attention.) This was not the first time an art institution had balked at exhibiting photography as Fine Art. An infamous early example was Steichen's experience with a group of "prints" accepted by the jury of the 1902 *Salon des Beaux-Arts* (Paris), then rejected when the jury found out that the "prints" were in fact photographs.

25. Hartmann ruminated on the essay in *Camera Work* 4 (October 1903), and *Camera Work* reprinted Maeterlinck's essay for the special Steichen Supplement in April 1906, and again in *Camera Work* 37 (January 1912). The essay was republished in the Paris-based *Cahiers d'aujourd'hui* (December 1912), as "Sur la photographie," and in Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Photography as a Means of Artistic Expression," *The Canadian Magazine* 39.1 (May 1912): 35-46. The catalogue of the Toronto Camera Club's 15th Salon (May 1918) also reprinted the essay.

26. Even though the numbering only goes up to 277, there are actually 279 works listed, as two works were assigned half-numbers. It should be noted that perhaps as many as 75 works were photogravures printed on Japanese tissue, from *Camera Work*. Neither Carter nor Stieglitz considered these exquisite prints "reproductions," and Carter was well aware (as a letter to Stieglitz indicates) that this could be perceived by an unsophisticated viewer as a potentially weak link in the exhibition. For an excellent introduction to the aesthetics of photogravure, and a consideration of the question of the medium's simultaneous status as "print," "reproduction," and "original," see Estelle Jussim, "Technology or Aesthetics: Alfred Stieglitz and Photogravure," *History of Photography* 3.1 (January 1979): 81-92.

27. Carter to Stieglitz, 26 November 1907. Elsewhere Carter is unclear on the exact number actually exhibited. In *Photograms of the Year 1908*, he states that 277 were shown. It is possible that the exhibition overflow might have been placed in print racks, a practice occasionally followed at that time.

28. Sidney Carter, in Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1906*, 12.

29. George Moore, "Degas: The Painter of Modern Life," *Magazine of Art* (September 1890), quoted in Ian Dunlop, *Degas* (London; New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 188.

30. G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *Sir Edmund Walker* (London: Oxford UP, 1933). In addition to his successful career as a financier, Walker was an important art collector, particularly of Japanese prints, and was instrumental in the founding of the Art Gallery of Toronto. He was also a member of the Advisory Arts Council, which lobbied for the establishment of the National Gallery of Canada and the Royal Ontario Museum. Carter was likely introduced to Walker by James Mavor.
31. Rena Neumann Coen, *Alexis Jean Fournier, the Last American Barbizon* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985). No print in the National Archives collection has been identified as Fournier, although there are several that bear a resemblance to contemporary photographs of him, and warrant further study.
32. Ward, "Photograms of the Year 1907," 27. Carter's *Self-Portrait* seems to have struck a chord, as it was shown at the London Salon in October 1907, was reproduced in *Photograms of the Year 1907*, and a print (now at the J. Paul Getty Museum) was acquired by at least one leading American Pictorialist and Photo-Secessionist, George H. Seeley.
33. Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1906*, 12. The Montreal Camera Club had disappeared, and it was not until 1909 that the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association Camera Club would begin to open its exhibitions to non-members.
34. Advance notices and reviews were found in a scrapbook in the archives of the renamed Art Association of Montreal: *A.A.M.: 1903-1929*, Archives, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
35. Carter's attention to exhibition design is evident in comments which appeared in a letter written to Stieglitz several days after the opening. He reported on details such as covering the walls with "raw burlap which looks extremely well," and the manner in which he presented photogravures from *Camera Work*, most of which were he "mounted uniformly on 14 x 18 Japanese cream paper." Evidently the installation was far from leisurely, as the walls were not redecorated until the Tuesday preceding the Saturday afternoon opening. Carter wrote "I had no one to help me either in this or any other detail." Carter to Stieglitz, 26 November 1907.
36. Seventeenth-century Dutch painting (and its revival, the Hague School) enjoyed a particular vogue amongst collectors in turn-of-the-century Montreal, yet the Rembrandt exhibition attracted just 1,102 visitors. *Art Association of Montreal: Forty-Sixth Report* [1908, for 19 months (fiscal year changed) ending 31 December 1907], 6, 32.
37. William Boyman Howell, *F.J. Shepherd, Surgeon: His Life and Times* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1934).
38. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 6 February 1907, YCAL. Indeed the *Toronto City Directory* for 1908 (for which information was gathered in 1907) lists Carter as an "artist" and gives his parents' address as his residence.
39. Carter to Mavor, 8 May 1907.
40. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 21 January 1908, YCAL.
41. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 15 January 1909, YCAL.
42. Elizabeth Collard describes the firm as a purveyor of new ideas about art: "Scott's was to Montreal what Liberty's was to London." Elizabeth Collard, "The Decorative Arts," McCord Museum, *The End of an Era: Montreal 1880-1914*, essays by François-Marc Gagnon, John Bland, and Elizabeth Collard (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1977), 16. Scott & Sons were the Canadian agents for Morris & Company.

43. Sidney Carter, letter to Elizabeth Buehrmann, 2 July 1909, Elizabeth Buehrmann Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library. For a brief introduction to the NYPL's correspondence, see Julie Miller, "Elizabeth Buehrmann Letters," *History of Photography* 13.2 (April-June 1989): 187. The National Archives' Carter collection contains two portraits of Carter by Buehrmann, misidentified as "Burkemann" (1979-111-02, and 1981-074-269).
44. [A.J. Anderson], "The Exhibition of Pictorial Photographs by Colonial Workers at the 'A.P.' Little Gallery." *Amateur Photographer & Photographic News* (13 July 1909): 36. Arthur Goss and J.P. Hodgins also contributed work to the exhibition. Carter and Mortimer-Lamb also exhibited at the "Second Exhibition of Colonial Photographs" in July 1910.
45. F.J. Mortimer, letter to Harold Mortimer-Lamb, 15 January 1910, box 1, file 20, Harold Mortimer Lamb Collection (MS 2834), British Columbia Archives and Record Service (Victoria).
46. H. Snowdon Ward, "The Work of the Year" *Photograms of the Year* 1910, 20-21.
47. Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 191.
48. William Innes Homer, *Alfred Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1983), 145.
49. H. Snowdon Ward, "The Work of the Year," *Photograms of the Year* 1911-12, 15. For an explication of the Arts and Crafts influence on the installation, see Peterson, "The Photograph Beautiful," 211-12.
50. Sadakichi Hartmann, "What Remains," *Camera Work* 33 (January 1911); rptd in Bunnell, *A Photographic Vision*, 185.
51. Alfred Stieglitz, letter to Ernst Juhl, 6 January 1911, trans. Beaumont Newhall, rptd. in Beaumont Newhall, ed., *Photography: Essays & Images* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 189.
52. Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 191.
53. Alfred Stieglitz, letter to Zimmerman, 1 August 1910, rptd. in *Photo-Secessionism and Its Opponents: Five Recent Letters* (25 August 1910): 13. Zimmerman was the Chairman of the Print Committee of the Philadelphia Photographic Society, with whom Stieglitz exchanged vitriolic correspondence over the subject of the Buffalo exhibition.
54. One commentator dismissed 291 for showing "the more aggressive forms of modern art. Such exhibitions appeal very strongly to the jaded palate of the New York public and cause more of a sensation than exhibitions of photographs." Frank Roy Fraprie, "Pictorial Photography in the United States," *Photograms of the Year* 1912, 34. He also noted that several Photo-Secessionists had turned to commercial work. *Camera Work* subscribers deserted the periodical *en masse*, after he published a special Rodin issue in 1911. For examples of Stieglitz's letters to disgruntled subscribers, see Greenough and Hamilton, *Alfred Stieglitz*, 197-99. In 1912, subscriptions were less than a third of the nearly 1,000 that *Camera Work* had enjoyed in 1903. Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 208.
55. Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 26 January 1912 [misdated 1911], YCAL.
56. Charles Caffin, "Clarence H. White," *Camera Work* 23 (July 1908): 6.
57. Peter C. Bunnell, *Clarence H. White: The Reverence for Beauty* (Athens: Ohio University Gallery of Fine Art, 1986), 13.

58. For an important essay on this subject, see Bonnie Yochelson, "Clarence H. White Reconsidered: An Alternative to the Modernist Aesthetic of Straight Photography," *Studies in Visual Communication* 9.4 (Fall 1983): 24-44.

59. A full year-and-a-half after the close of the Buffalo exhibition, Stieglitz had failed to return prints from White's own collection, which included work by Carter, Day, Käsebier, and De Meyer. But once again, Stieglitz's autocratic ways seem to have been the primary irritant. White wrote:

In taking charge of the Albright exhibition you certainly took it upon yourself to be responsible for the return of prints to various artists, including myself, who cooperated with you to make that exhibition the success it was. The management of the exhibition was in your hands and in your hands alone, for you made this a first condition before undertaking its direction. You were the head of affairs and permitted no interference either from members of the Secession or from the directors of the Albright Art Gallery. (Clarence White, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 15 May 1912, YCAL.)

Stieglitz responded:

What you say about the Albright exhibition is certainly intensely interesting when analyzed. According to you the whole responsibility were [sic] on my shoulders. And so they were. In spirit I thought all the Secessionists were ready to share them, but you it seems now were not.... As for the strained relationship you speak of, I fear it dates further back than the Albright show. The Albright show simply hastened a sickly condition on your part. (Alfred Stieglitz, letter to Clarence White, 23 May 1912, YCAL.)

He went on to say that Carter's print would be returned in "due course," but that it was now at the Manhattan Photogravure Company where it was being used as a reference print for a gravure to be made from the original negative that Carter had originally sent him. The Kipling print seems to have remained in Stieglitz's possession, and can now be found in the Metropolitan Museum's Stieglitz collection.

60. Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz*, 188. Naef recently verified that describing White as "a friend of Carter's" was based solely on the White-Stieglitz correspondence. Julian Cox [Curatorial Assistant to Weston Naef, J. Paul Getty Museum], letter to the author, 22 February 1993. What makes this relationship difficult to document is the unhappy fact that neither White nor Carter kept their correspondence, or any other record (such as a journal) of meetings. Peter Bunnell has been most helpful in constructing a picture of White, and in opening the collection of the Art Museum, Princeton University to the author.

61. The Coburn print (1981-074-053) was misattributed to Carter and the sitter unidentified. The descriptive title for White's image of a young woman (1981-074-257) is *Woman With a Plant Vase*; it was made in White's studio at 5 West 31st Street (New York) around 1909. Peter Bunnell, letter to the author, 1 December 1992. While visiting Princeton on 28 October 1992, the author discovered that a detail of this image (although laterally reversed) was used in an advertisement for the Clarence H. White School of Photography, reproduced on the inside front cover of *Platinum Print* 2.2 (1915).

62. Information on this exhibition was found in the George Eastman House/Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center Union Catalog database (University of Texas). Another photographer in the exhibition, Charles H. Barnard, is listed as a Canadian in the database, but this has not been verified. Information on Barnard is very sketchy, but it would seem he was a New York-based photographer who (temporarily?) moved to Montreal in early 1914 (see Sidney Carter, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, 13 March 1914, YCAL.). What is known is that he was a member of the White circle, and beginning in 1913 he is listed as the Associate Editor of that group's periodical, *Platinum Print*.

63. Yochelson, "Clarence H. White Reconsidered," 25.

64. "The Introduction," *Platinum Print* 1 (October 1913): 1. It was later renamed *Photo=Graphic Art*.

65. With the possible exception of Barnard, for reasons given in note 62. If catalogues were produced for this exhibition (and for the Montross exhibition), they have not yet been located; and efforts to discover which images Carter exhibited have so far been unsuccessful.
66. The reviewer added, with a marked lack of sympathy: "Of the Photo-Secession one may say that its activities, while continuing, now lie mainly in the field of ultra-modern art." Frank Roy Fraprie, "Pictorial Photography in the United States," *Photograms of the Year 1914*, 28.
67. Edward R. Dickson, "Notes on Pictorial Photography," *Platinum Print* 1.3 (March 1914): 6.
68. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965, 1971), 191.
69. This print (1981-074-256), a study of the abstract pattern of light cast by a steel superstructure, is misattributed to Carter, despite Dickson's "ERD" monogram. The image appears as *Under the Elevated Railroad*, in *The American Annual of Photography* (1918), 247.
70. "Exhibition Notes: Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences," *Platinum Print* 1 (October 1913): 14. No further information is known about this exhibition, as no catalogue (if one was produced) has been located.
71. That idealism is seen in the new group's emphasis on "the development of the Art of Photography from a standpoint of educational value." Edward R. Dickson, "Pictorial Photographers of America: Its Work and Its Aim," *Photo=Graphic Art* 3.2 (October 1917): 18.
72. It should be noted that a central aim of White's programme was raising the standards of professional photography, through a sound artistic training. His ideas were much influenced by his Columbia University colleague Arthur Wesley Dow, "who shared the symbolist tastes for Whistler, the Nabis, and Japanese art." See Yochelson, "Clarence H. White Reconsidered," 28f.
73. The *52nd Annual Report* (1913). It should be noted that this document gives the exhibition's closing date as 10 November, rather than the date of 4 November which appears on the single-sheet exhibition list in the Carter collection.
74. The former image is unknown, but there is a print of St. James Cathedral (1979-087-014; the church is now known as Marie-Reine-du-Monde) in the Carter collection, misidentified as Notre-Dame.
75. It is interesting to note that the image reproduced in *Photograms of the Year 1908* (p. 144) was even more tightly cropped along the bottom.
76. For an interesting recent treatment of this theme in conjunction with "German-American Socialism" in Steichen's work, see Melinda Boyd Parsons, "Edward Steichen's Socialism: 'Millennial Girls' and the Construction of Genius," *History of Photography* 17.4 (Winter 1993): 317-33.
77. Estelle Jussim, "The Psychological Portrait," in James Borcoman, *Karsh: The Art of the Portrait* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1989), 98.
78. This date comes from correspondence between Carter and Eric Brown, Director of the National Gallery, which begins in 1916 and gives Carter's studio address at 344 Dorchester Street West. Correspondence File 211-C, Archives, National Gallery of Canada.
79. Harold Mortimer-Lamb, "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1918*, 26. Several years earlier Charles Caffin had remarked on a similar move to a lighter palette in Steichen's work.

Charles Caffin, "The Art of Eduard J. Steichen," *Camera Work* 30 (April 1910): 33-36.

80. The author is indebted to Ruth Jackson for her memories in this regard.

Carter also delivered a lecture entitled "The Art of the Orient" at the St. James Literary Society, of which he was a member, 15 January 1914. "List of Papers and Debates Presented Before The St. James Literary Society 1898-99 to 1954-55" (MG 3009), McGill Archives.

81. Robert Ayre, "Sidney Carter Moves," *Gazette* [Montreal] (22 May 1937): 20.

82. The quote is taken from typescript notes from Carter's daughter Betty McTavish, written in April 1979. "Sidney Carter, Photographer File," National Archives of Canada. I am indebted to Susan Avon for alerting me to remarks by Biéler and Holgate. The artist Campbell Tinning's reminiscences are contained in an interview conducted by Lilly Koltun, on 5 March 1979 (Acc. 1979-70, C2405, National Archives of Canada).

83. Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1974), 14.

84. "Sidney Carter Dies at 76," *The Montreal Star* (29 March 1956): 22; and "Sydney Carter," *Gazette* (29 March 1956): 29.

Conclusion

Pictorialism, by virtue of its definition as a movement, operated substantially and significantly in the social and political sphere. The struggles and the cleavages that afflicted photographic organizations at the turn of the century went beyond aesthetic differences. Pictorialists achieved their goal — the acceptance of photography as a legitimate medium of artistic expression — when they broke out of the narrowly-circumscribed arena of the camera clubs. This required the concerted efforts of a new generation of individuals who worked hard to position themselves fully within what they perceived as the best arts and culture of their time, so that pictorial or creative photography was brought in from the periphery of hobbyists, and commercial and technical workers. Like other Pictorialists such as Harold Mortimer-Lamb, M.O. Hammond, Arthur Goss, and John Vanderpant, Sidney Carter actively participated in, and contributed to, the wider cultural community — as seen in his involvement with the Arts and Crafts movement, the Arts Club, and the Art Association of Montreal, and through his personal contacts with many of the leading artists and writers of his time.

The fact that Carter could both be represented in an exhibition of colonial photography in London, while being considered a member of the American School (by both Europeans and North Americans) is emblematic of the peculiar position of photography in Canada at this time. The "permeable" border between Canada and the United States meant that, from a quite early stage of his development as a photographer, Carter's activities and allegiances as a Pictorialist were directed along a North-South axis. That fledgling pan-Canadian effort, the Studio Club, lasted barely a year.

Pictorialism (and the myriad responses to it) sparked fundamental shifts in the institutions, ideologies, and practices of photography. Certain stylistic practices were separated out and elevated. Others simply disappeared. At the turn of the century "advanced" photographers, at least, had their start in camera clubs; soon, the camera club was disparaged as the haunt of the gadget-happy hobbyist. The amateur had lost his/her once central role. For better or for worse (and no different from other cultural practices) the ongoing professionalization of photography and its incorporation into academia and the museum continues apace. The fundamental tensions that existed at the turn of the century between competing visions of what photography was and ought to be; of Art versus leisure and craft; and of a small avant-garde élite versus more populist groups, continue to resonate in our own time.

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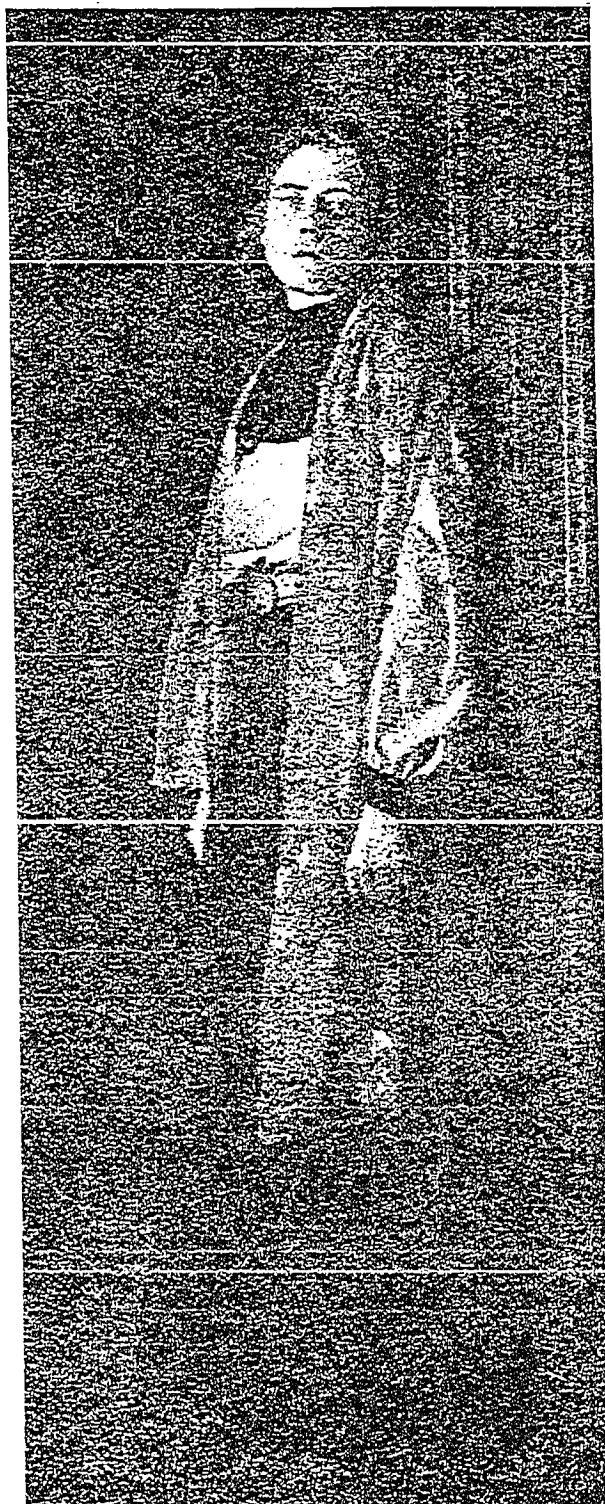
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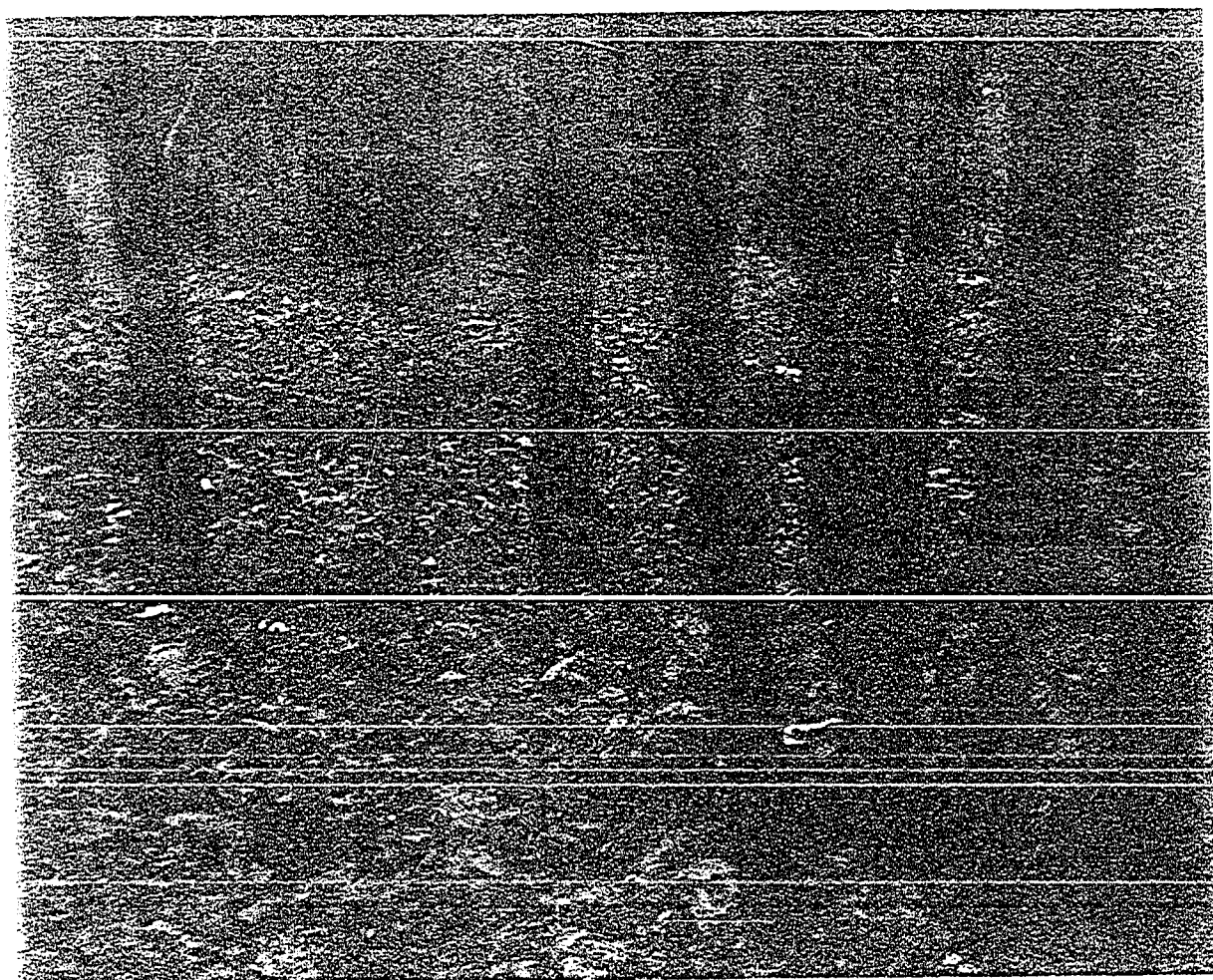
1. *Evening [or] Sunset on Black Creek c. 1901*



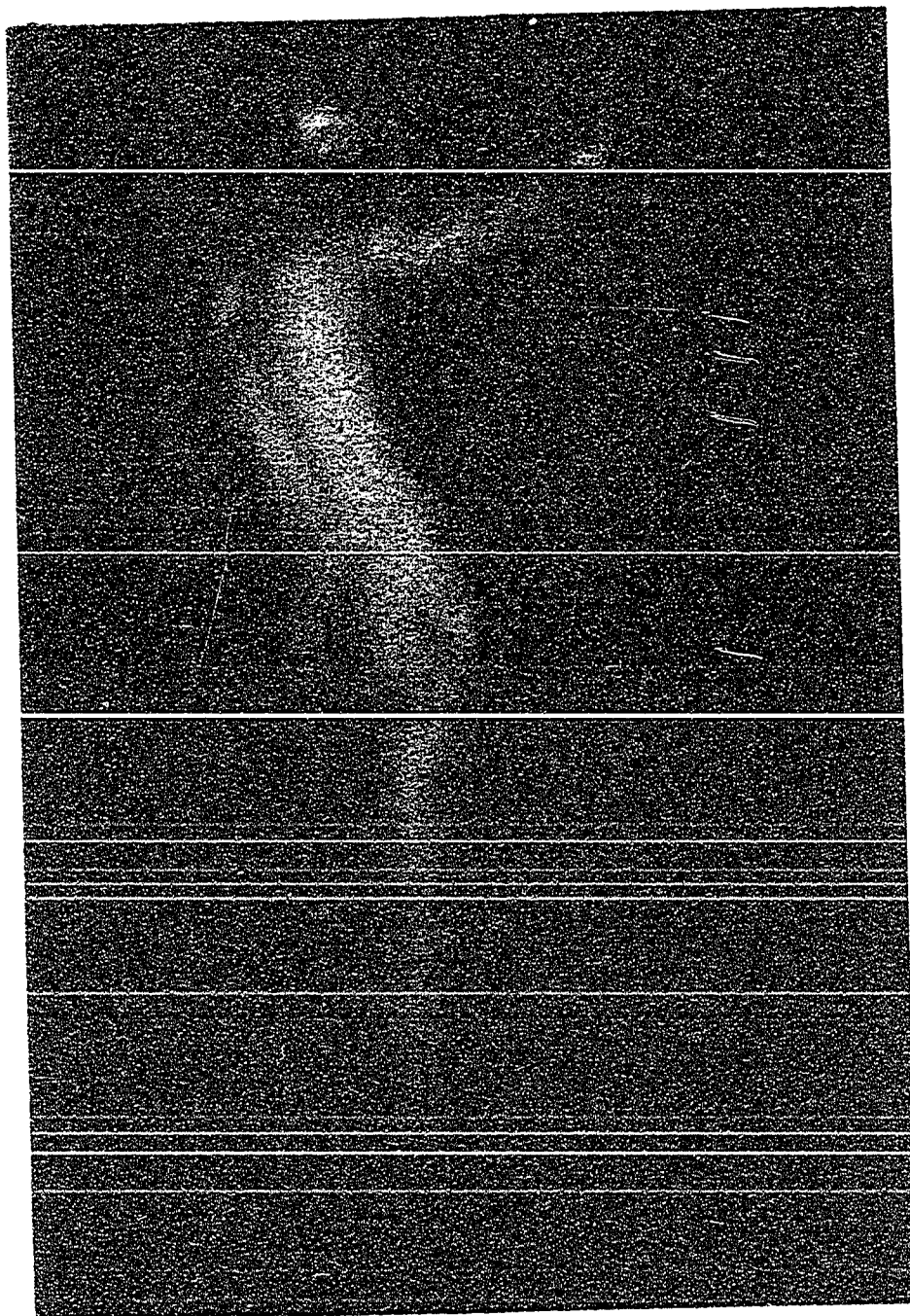
2. *Portrait c. 1901*

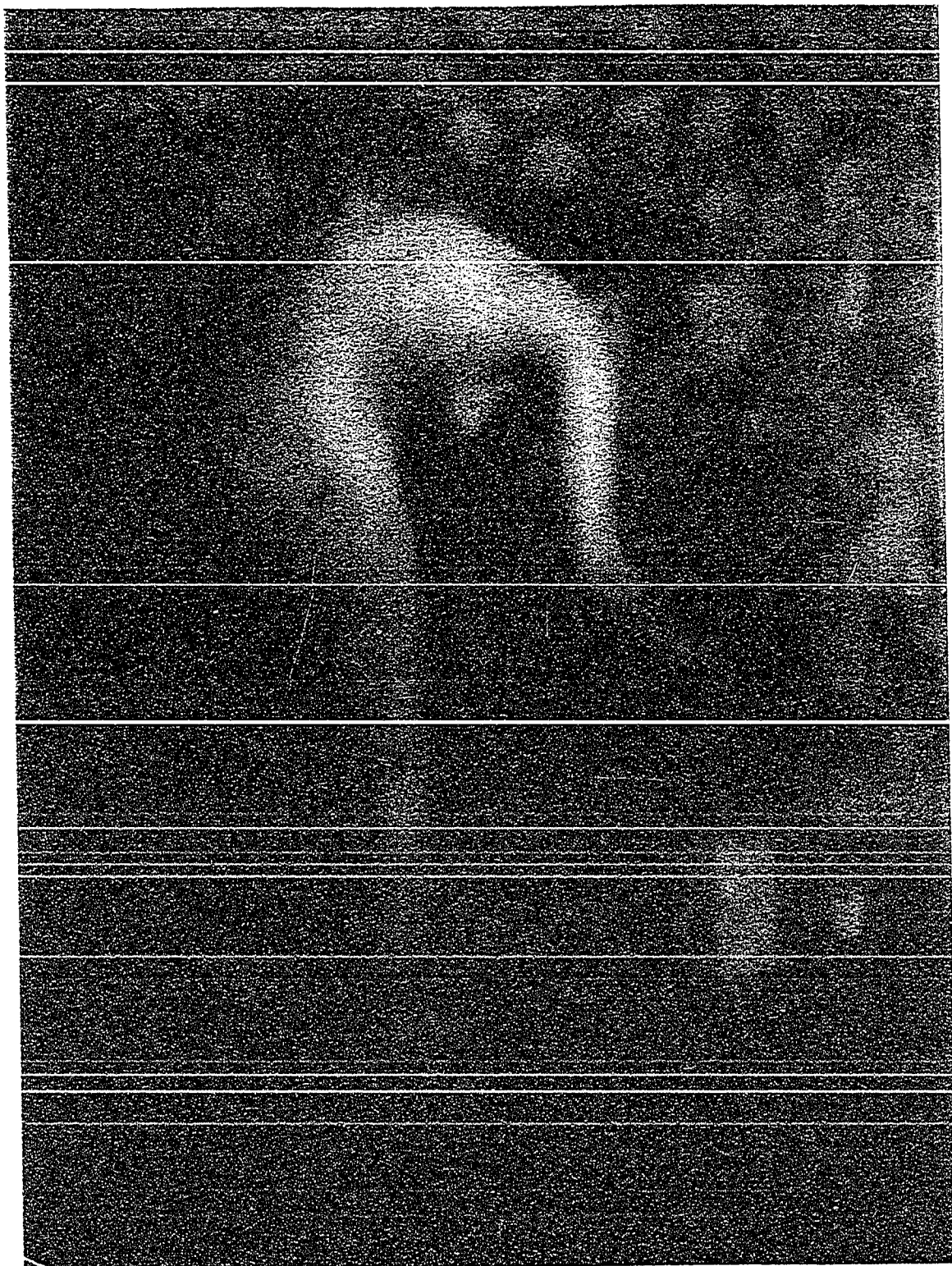


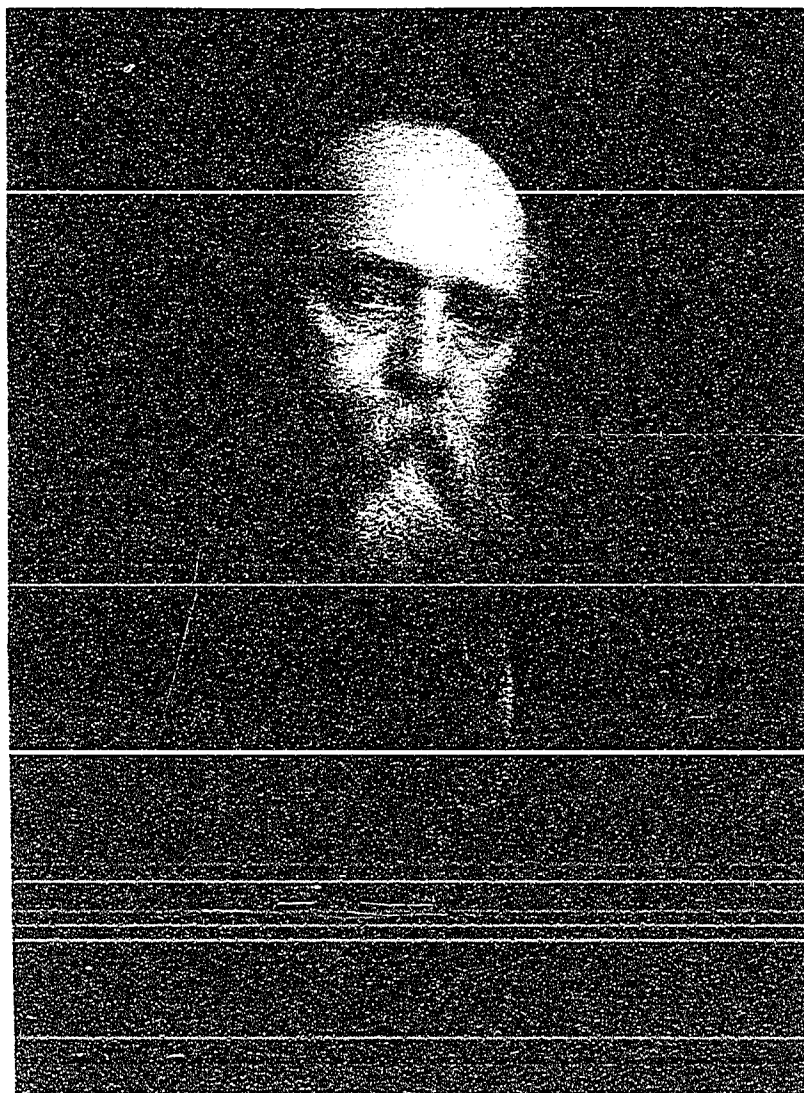
3. [*Locust Stems ?*] n.d.



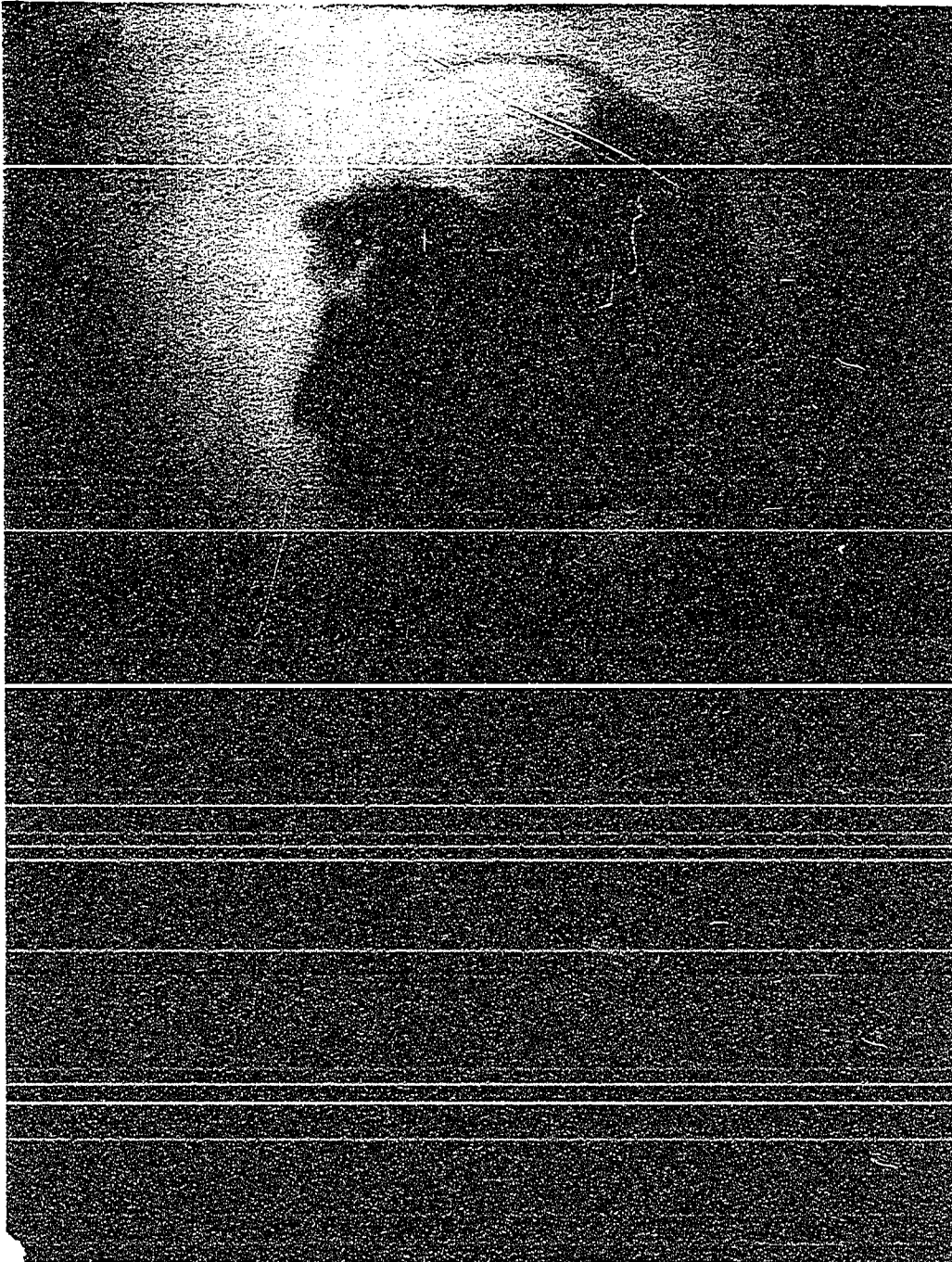








B. E. Walker







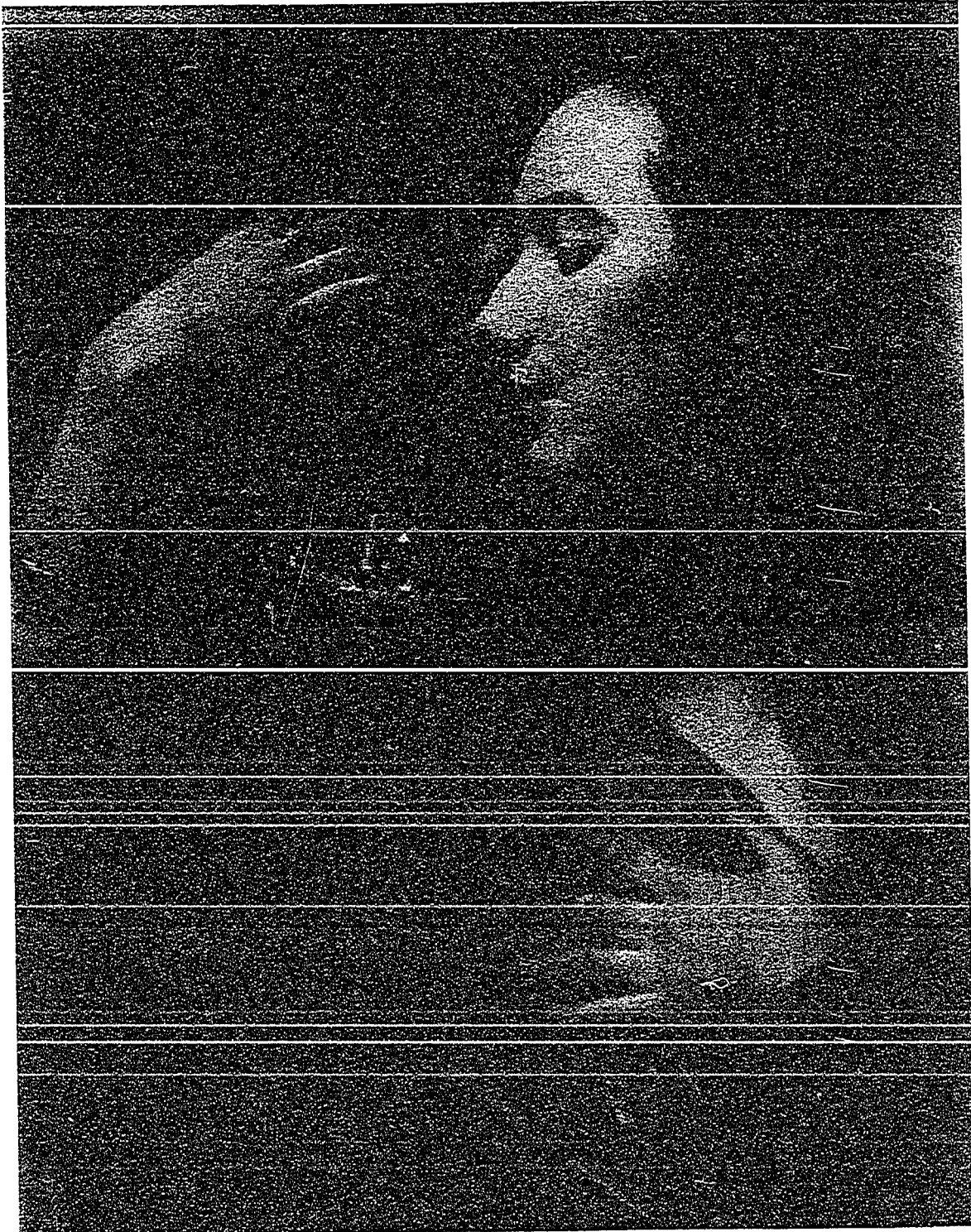
11. *Joliffe Walker* c. 1908

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Appendix A: Collections

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

The *Sidney Carter Collection* (1979-056, 1979-057, 1979-087, 1979-111, 1979-128, 1981-074, and 1985-182) represents the largest (some 400 items) and most important deposit of Carter's prints. It includes a wide range of material, both in terms of quality and condition: finished and exhibition prints, work prints (occasionally several variations of the same image), and a few informal snapshots.

Caution should be exercised until the collection undergoes a more thorough cataloguing. Not all of the prints can be positively identified by Carter's autograph or some other mark such as his blind stamp. Titles and dates in his own hand are relatively rare. The collection also includes an undetermined number of prints made by other photographers, some of which have been misattributed to Carter.

The *Hazen Sise Collection* (1975-397) includes several commercial portraits by Carter.

Modest holdings of Carter prints are deposited in the following institutions:

The Art Museum, Princeton University

The Carter prints are in the *Clarence H. White Collection*, along with several portraits of Carter by White.

British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria

Harold Mortimer-Lamb Collection

J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu CA

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Alfred Stieglitz Collection

Royal Photographic Society, Bath

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

James Mavor Papers

In addition, it should be noted that a still undetermined (but likely substantial) number of Carter's portraits remain in private hands.

Appendix B: Chronology

This chronology contains most of Carter's documented exhibitions, although it makes no pretence to being an exhaustive list. Where more than one exhibition is listed in a given year, they appear in the order in which they opened.

Abbreviations

SC Sidney Carter
TCC Toronto Camera Club

- 1880 Sidney Robert Carter born in Toronto, to Esther Chapman and William Carter, 18 February.
- 1884 *The Amateur Photographer* (London) begins publication.
- 1888 Toronto Amateur Photographic Association organized, renamed Toronto Camera Club 1891.
- 1889 P.H. Emerson's *Naturalistic Photography* published.
- 1891 *Austellung Künstlerischer Photographien* (Vienna).
- 1892 *Canadian Photographic Journal* begins publication.
Linked Ring Brotherhood founded.
- 1893 *Künsthalle* exhibitions begin in Hamburg.
Linked Ring's first *Photographic Salon* (London).
- 1894 First *Exposition internationale d'art photographique*, organized by *Photo-Club de Paris*.

- 1895 *Photograms of the Year* (London) begins publication.
- 1897 *Die Kunst in der Photographie* begins publication of photogravure portfolios.

Robert Demachy and Alfred Maskell publish *Photo-Aquatint or The Gum Bichromate Process*.
- 1898 First *Philadelphia Photographic Salon*, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.
- 1900 *New School of American Photography* exhibition at Royal Photographic Society; then travels to Paris in early 1901.
- 1901 SC first appears as TCC member, at Annual General Meeting in November.

SC exhibits at *Fourth Philadelphia Photographic Salon*.

SC's *Portrait* (one of his sisters) is reproduced in *Photograms of the Year 1901*.
- 1902 Photo-Secession founded in New York.

SC awarded Member's Gold Medal, TCC *Eleventh Annual Exhibition*; and exhibits at *Third Chicago Photographic Salon*, Art Institute of Chicago.
- 1903 *Camera Work* inaugural issue appears in January.

SC demonstrates development of plates and papers at TCC.

SC elected Associate of the Photo-Secession.

SC exhibits at TCC *First Salon*; *Fourth Chicago Photographic Salon*, Art Institute of Chicago; and *First Minneapolis Photographic Salon*.
- 1904 TCC a founding member of American Federation of Photographic Societies.

SC exhibits at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh (organized by Photo-Secession); and at first exhibition of the Arts & Crafts Society of Canada, Toronto.

1905 SC and Arthur Goss demonstrate mounting at TCC.

SC appointed to Decoration Committee for new TCC premises, with J.P. Hodgins (Roger Stovel replaces) and Goss.

SC organizes Studio Club.

SC elected to two-year term, TCC Executive Committee.

SC exhibits at TCC *Third Salon* (likely assisted Goss with the installation); at Photo-Secession's inaugural *Members' Exhibition*, Little Galleries, 291 Fifth Avenue, New York; at *Siebenten Ausstellung*, Vienna; and under the banner of the Studio Club at second exhibition of (renamed) Canadian Society of Applied Art, Toronto.

1906 First known letter to Alfred Stieglitz from SC. Extant correspondence continues through 1928.

SC exhibits at TCC *Fifteenth Annual Exhibition*; at Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; at fourteenth *Photographic Salon*, London; and Photo-Secession *Members' Exhibition*, New York.

SC contributes five paragraphs to Harold Mortimer-Lamb's article on Canadian photography, *Photograms of the Year 1906*.

SC's employer, the Ontario Bank, fails. SC moves to Montreal in November, and begins portrait studio/art gallery venture with Mortimer-Lamb at 16 McGill College Avenue (partnership dissolved by end of 1907).

1907 SC sees A.L. Coburn and Clarence White in New York, over Easter.

SC exhibits at *The Photographic Salon*, London; and at Photo-Secession *Members' Exhibition*.

SC organizes an international exhibition of pictorial photography, Art Association of Montreal. He is listed as exhibiting 33 prints.

SC publishes "Pictorial Work in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1908*.

- 1908 SC publishes "Pictorial Photography in Canada," *Photograms of the Year 1908*.
SC exhibits at *The Photographic Salon*, London.
- 1909 SC begins working for art dealers W. Scott & Sons.
SC exhibits at *Exhibition of Colonial Photography*, A.P. Little Gallery, London.
- 1910 SC exhibits at *Second Exhibition of Colonial Photography*, A.P. Little Gallery, London; and at *International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography*, Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo.
- 1911 SC marries Gladys Bacon in Toronto. Daughters Betty born 1912, and Nora 1915.
- 1912 SC a founding member of Arts Club, Montreal.
SC exhibits at *An Exhibition Illustrating the Progress of the Art of Photography in America*, Montross Art Galleries, New York.
- 1913 SC exhibits with professional photographers Mackenzie & Cutten, Art Association of Montreal.
- 1914 SC has solo exhibition, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; and exhibits at *International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography*, Ehrich Art Galleries, New York.
SC delivers "The Art of the Orient" lecture at St. James Literary Society, Montreal.
- 1917 Gladys dies from tuberculosis.
SC listed in *Lovell's Montreal Directory* as artist, 344 Dorchester Street West. He had returned to professional portraiture by this time.

- 1918 SC listed in *Lovell's Montreal Directory* as art dealer, 340 Dorchester West. Numbering changes to 620 in c. 1928. He becomes known especially for oriental art, but also deals in European Old Master, as well as some contemporary Canadian. paintings. prints and drawings.
- 1920 On or before this date SC becomes a member of the Art Association of Montreal (later the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts). He sells a number of works of art to the museum over the next several decades, and frequently appears as a donor.
- 1921 SC exhibits at *London Salon*.
- 1922 SC exhibits at *London Salon*.
- 1924 SC's *John Singer Sargent* reproduced in *Vanity Fair*.
Weds Mary Colhoun. A son, Duncan, is born 1925.
- 1928 SC sells his D.O. Hill photographs to Stieglitz for \$100.
- 1930 SC exhibits at *Toronto Salon of Canadian Photography*, organized by TCC, Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto.
- 1931 SC listed in *Lovell's Montreal Directory* as fine art dealer, 1408 Drummond.
- 1932 Exhibition of Daumier lithographs, lent by SC, at Arts Club.
- 1933 Fire damages Sir William Van Horne's art collection. SC heads restoration of paintings.
- 1935 SC, together with the architect Ernest Cormier, juries Montreal Camera Club's *Third Annual Salon*.

- 1937 SC's gallery moves from Drummond to Arts Club Building (2025 Victoria).
- 1953 SC's gallery ceases to appear in *Lovell's Montreal Directory*.
- 1956 Sidney Carter dies on 27 March, in Montreal, at the age of 76.