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**Travel Photography after the Kodak:  
Two Amateur Albums from the Turn of the Century**

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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

### **Travel Photography after the Kodak Two Amateur Albums from the Turn of the Century**

**Andrea Korda**

The last decade of the nineteenth century marked a point of transition in the history of photography. The increasing popularity of hand-held cameras, instantaneous exposures and commercial film processing transformed the medium of photography from an esoteric practice into a popular pastime. The Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company's Kodak Camera, introduced in 1888 with the slogan "You press the button, we do the rest," embodied the new approach to photography. This thesis looks at two amateur photograph albums that document travel through Quebec during this period. *Our Quebec Trip*, from the collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, records a trip to Quebec City and the surrounding region during August of 1896. *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*, held in the collection of the McCord Museum of Canadian History, chronicles a nine-day trip from Montreal to Quebec City in the summer of 1898. The albums are examined alongside camera advertisements, instruction manuals and photographic journals that created the culture surrounding the camera at the turn of the century and which instructed growing numbers of camera-owners on how to use their cameras. The respective influences of the serious amateurs who promoted photography as a fine art and the photographic industry that sought to expand its market are considered in relation to the aesthetics of the two albums.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures ...	p. vi
Introduction ...	p. 1
Chapter 1. The Culture of Photography at the Turn of the Century ...	p. 16
Chapter 2. Picturesque Quebec ...	p. 35
Chapter 3. Souvenirs of Quebec ...	p. 54
Chapter 4. Portraits of Quebec's Tourists ...	p. 70
Conclusion ...	p. 85
Notes ...	p. 91
Bibliography ...	p. 104
Figures ...	p. 117
Appendix A. The Photographs of <i>Our Quebec Trip</i> ...	p. 136
Appendix B. The Photographs of <i>Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days</i> ...	p. 138

## LIST OF FIGURES

1. *On the Road to Cacouna (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
2. *Rue Sous le Fort (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
3. *Rue du Montagne (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
4. A. W. Robinson, *Old Street Quebec*. Published in *American Amateur Photographer* 2, no. 1 (January 1980).
5. John H. Tarbell, "*Sous le Cap*" Street. Published in *American Amateur Photographer* 4, no. 3 (March 1982).
6. *Rue Sous le Cape (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
7. *Rue Sous le Cape (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
8. *Sous le Cap (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
9. *Beauport Road (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
10. *View on Champlain St. (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
11. *Little Champlain St. (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
12. *Interior of the Basilica (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
13. *Little Champlain Street (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
14. *Little Champlain Street (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
15. *Cliff where General Montgomery fell (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
16. *Cab-stand opposite Chateau Frontenac (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*



17. *A Calèche (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
18. *A Calèche (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
19. *Notre Dame de la Victoire (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
20. *'Station' on Beauport Road (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
21. *Beauport Church (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
22. *The Basilica (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
23. *Parliament Buildings (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
24. *Parliament House (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
25. *Home and Hostess (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*
26. *Untitled – group portrait in front of Mansion House Hotel, Cacouna (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
27. *Untitled – group portrait, Cacouna (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
28. *The Vancouver (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
29. *The Keel and Screw of the Vancouver (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
30. *Untitled – group portrait in front of the Keel and Screw of the Vancouver (Our Quebec Trip, 1896, Canadian Centre for Architecture)*
31. *Fellow Passengers (Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, 1898, McCord Museum of Canadian History)*

## INTRODUCTION

Photographs taken by family or friends as souvenirs play an essential role in the construction of personal histories. Yet for the most part, they remain absent from our shared histories of the medium of photography, as Geoffrey Batchen has noted: “this is the popular face of photography, so popular that it has been largely ignored by the critical gaze of respectable history.”<sup>1</sup> Batchen’s concept of the popular encompasses images as diverse as early nineteenth-century daguerreotypes or contemporary wedding photographs; but the critical segregation that he describes between the historical and the popular arises most forcefully in discussions of photographs produced fifty years after the birth of photography in 1839. The 1880s saw the proliferation of hand cameras, those smaller apparatuses that allowed instantaneous exposures to replace time exposures as the most common form of photography. The new cameras attracted a wider range of practitioners to the medium, especially travellers. The decade culminated in the Eastman Kodak Company’s introduction of film to replace glass plates and the production of the first Kodak Camera in 1888 that was marketed on the precept that anyone could take a photograph. Such advancements helped transform photography from an esoteric practice demanding knowledge, skill and dedication into a popular pastime as well as an essential tool for every traveller. This thesis examines the period of transition through an analysis of two personal photograph albums that record travel in Quebec during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The desire to describe distant places was a strong motivating force in the discovery of photography, and travel is inextricably tied to its history. One of the earliest

applications of the daguerreotype was Nicolas Marie Paymal Lerebours' series of prints entitled *Excursions Daguerriennes, vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe*, published between 1840 and 1843. The publication brought together pictures taken by travellers in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, with a single image of Niagara Falls representing North America. Lerebours' introduction to the series gave thanks "to the unexpected precision of the Daguerreotype" for providing factual information about foreign places.<sup>2</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot described how the calotype resulted from his desire to record scenes that he encountered on his travels. In *The Pencil of Nature*, first published in 1844, he explained that the idea of fixing the image created by the Camera Obscura came to him in 1833 while "amusing myself on the lovely shores of the Lake of Como, in Italy, taking sketches...."<sup>3</sup>

Photographers who travelled and travellers who photographed during the nineteenth century are grouped together under the rubric of "travel photography" in written histories.<sup>4</sup> Francis Frith (1822-1898), a commercial photographer who travelled, established F. Frith and Company in England in 1859 and specialized in the mass-produced travel view. Maxime Du Camp (1822-1894), an example of a traveller who photographed, was a French writer who journeyed to Egypt in 1849 with a commission from the French government to document ancient monuments and inscriptions. While he is known to historians as a photographer, he did not use his camera again after returning from Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Yet both Frith and Du Camp are included in the canon of nineteenth-century photo-history, where so-called photographers and their photographs are considered individually according to the principles of the art historian.

Photography and travel continue to be intimately linked in the twentieth century, yet the photographer who travels and the traveller who photographs have come to be understood as distinct entities. Photographs taken by twentieth-century travellers, not “photographers,” are perhaps the most commonly circulated photographs of the last century, but they do not enter into photography’s textbooks as records of travel at all. Liz Wells explains that “because they offer little to the critic or art historian, private pictures are usually included in histories as examples of technological improvements.”<sup>6</sup> Once invoked to illustrate such advancements, personal photographs are cast aside from the aesthetic and cultural development of photography as a static phenomenon undeserving of critical attention.

Even recent histories that seek to disrupt conventional chronologies by organizing their accounts on thematic principles maintain the division between photographs produced by recognized photographers and the phenomenon of mass photography. Naomi Rosenblum and Robert Hirsch’s publications are presented as *A History of Photography* in order to avoid the definitiveness and completeness implied by the traditional title of *The History of Photography*.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, they continue to reference the new mass amateurs of the late nineteenth century in relation to developments in camera technology. In a brief section on “Instantaneous Photographs of Everyday Life,” found within a chapter entitled “New Technology, New Vision, New Users,” Rosenblum identifies popular photographs as “sentimental mementos” that would later provide “cultural historians with descriptive information about everyday buildings, artifacts, and clothing,” and she maintains that the outbreak of the hand camera and snapshot photography had “resulted in a deluge of largely unexceptional pictures.”<sup>8</sup> Such

photographs are therefore dissociated from the discussion of travel photography, placed within a chapter on “Landscape and Architecture,” or of portraiture, which merits a chapter all of its own.

*The New History of Photography*, edited by Michel Frizot, maintains the traditional division between travel photography and the development of Kodak cameras and popular photography, but a separate chapter on amateur photography is also included.<sup>9</sup> Written by Elvire Perego and entitled “Intimate Moments and Secret Gardens: The Artist as Amateur Photographer,” the chapter’s introductory remarks explain that amateur photography has been under-examined. Perego notes that “of this immeasurably large mass of images, there are, today, a very few which because of their historic interest or aesthetic value have been singled out for attention...”<sup>10</sup> He explains that what research has been done tends to concentrate on photographs taken by famous artists or writers. Though the introduction promises change, the remainder of the chapter continues in this tradition by concentrating on photographs by renowned artists such as Pierre Bonnard and Edgar Degas. Where he discusses travel photography specifically, describing how “travel photography turned into an authentic mode of autobiographical expression,” his analysis revolves around the photographs of the writer Pierre Loti and of Henri Matisse.<sup>11</sup> These are not examples of photographers who travel or travellers who photograph, but constitute a separate category of artists who travel. The “large mass of images” that Perego invokes in his introduction is ultimately left unexamined.

The decisive split between photographers who travel and travellers who photograph surfaces after the advent of the Kodak Camera in 1888. Prior to the supposedly simple button-pressing photography of the Kodak, all photographs had some

value worthy of the critical gaze that Batchen describes, and each man or woman with a camera was considered a photographer. In the twentieth century, once almost anyone could use a camera, new standards were erected in order to differentiate those photographs of aesthetic and cultural significance from those popular photographs of personal interest. Abigail Solomon-Godeau describes how:

The resulting quantum leap in the sheer ubiquity of photography, its vastly increased accessibility (even to children, as was now advertised) and the accompanying diminution in the amount of expertise and know-how required to both take and process photographs, compelled the art photographer to separate in every way possible his or her work from that of the common run of commercial portraitist, Sunday amateur, or family chronicler.<sup>12</sup>

This separation encouraged the development of Pictorialism, a style that applied the principles of the fine arts such as painting to the medium of photography. As a movement, Pictorialism was slower to develop in America than in Europe. Pictorialist ideas began to emerge in North America in the 1880s, but they were only formally established in the late 1890s, after the widespread popularity of the camera had already become apparent.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter, the historian followed the development of the art photographer, while only mentioning the work of those Sunday amateurs and family chroniclers, or the camera-toting tourists described by Sontag, as an un-evolving custom practiced by the masses. By grouping every form of popular photograph into one category with the universal maker of “anonymous,” such historical accounts present a single idea of what one must expect from personal photographs. The unique appearance and history of each photograph is thereby replaced with what Martha Langford has called an “oasis of typicality,” where one photograph or album can stand in for all others.<sup>14</sup>

This thesis examines two travel albums in Canadian collections from the 1890s, the decade of transition between nineteenth- and twentieth-century photography, in order to analyze the changes taking place in the culture of the camera and the consequences for the aesthetics of the personal travel photograph at that time. Rather than reducing the albums to archetypes of photographic custom, the photographs are analyzed as individual examples of travel photography. The objective is to both displace the hegemony of technological advancement in discussions of personal snapshot photography by recognizing the importance of the camera's culture in shaping these photographs, and also to demonstrate that Pictorialist principles competed to influence the popular photographs that emerged from the turn of the century.

The albums are therefore considered alongside contemporary texts that offered instruction on how to use the camera's technology and that influenced photographers' relationships with their cameras and photographs. Such publications correspond to the pre-texts that Joan Schwartz describes as affecting the way that traveller-photographers took pictures.<sup>15</sup> Through an analysis of camera advertisements, instruction manuals and photographic journals, the first chapter of this thesis outlines the culture that surrounded photography in the 1890s in North America and acted as a pre-text for the travel photographs discussed in the following chapters. The rivalry that existed between serious amateurs of the nineteenth century, who promoted Pictorialist principles by advancing photography as a fine art, and the photographic industry that ushered in twentieth-century popular photography, is of primary importance. Both sides of this conflict were instrumental in creating the environment in which late nineteenth-century camera-owners learned to photograph, took their photographs and perceived the purpose of photography.

One of the albums, entitled *Our Quebec Trip*, consists of forty photographs that record a visit to Quebec during August of 1896 (See Appendix A for a complete list of photographs in the album). The album came to the collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, Quebec sometime before 1980, but any information about its history or previous owners is lost. The captions in the album reveal that the compiler was certainly an Anglophone, and was most probably a resident of either the United States or English Canada. The photographs, printed on collodion chloride paper, have been trimmed slightly but seem to have originally measured 5 x 7 inches, a popular size for both landscape photographers and serious amateurs. The person responsible for printing the negatives, possibly the photographer, was inconsistent in the development and toning of the prints, as can be seen today in the variety of tones and the stages of deterioration of the images.<sup>16</sup> A range of tones – from brick-red to purple – are apparent in the album, which suggests that the printer may have been experimenting with different types of toners. Each photograph was pasted onto its own individual page, made up of double-thick mounting boards and expertly bound together into an album measuring 11 x 7 inches. The title and date of the album is embossed in gold on a leather cover.

In addition to visiting Quebec City, the unknown photographer journeyed to Montmorency Falls and then along the coast of the St. Lawrence River to the resort town of Cacouna, a popular destination for American tourists during the 1890s. The album opens with a number of general views of the city of Quebec, beginning with the fitting preface of a photograph of Quebec's *Parliament Buildings*. A picture of Kent Gate, misidentified in the caption as *St. Justine's Gate*, and two views of Quebec taken from the river also help to introduce the album's audience to the featured destination. Some of



the quaint sites that attracted many late-nineteenth-century visitors to Quebec follow: a picture of a small stone schoolhouse set behind a picket fence (*Schoolhouse on St. Louis Road*), a view of Quebec's inhabitants at the local market (*Market scene*) and a picture of the travellers being transported in *A Calèche*, also known as a horse-drawn carriage. The next group of photographs represents the photographer's excursion to Montmorency Falls via the Beauport Road, the main thoroughfare that brought visitors from Quebec City to the Falls. As recommended by Karl Baedeker in *The Handbook for Travellers to Canada*, the photographer and entourage hired a *calèche* and driver to lead them to the famous Falls.<sup>17</sup> Along the way, they stopped to photograph *View of Quebec and Point Levis taken from Beauport Road*, *'Station' on Beauport Road* (a picture of a small chapel which bears a remarkable resemblance to *Schoolhouse on St. Louis Road*), *Calèche on Beauport Road*, *Beauport Road*, and *Above the Montmorenci Falls [sic]*. Only one photograph of the Falls themselves was included in the album (*Partial view of Montmorenci Falls [sic]*).

The remainder of the album's Quebec City photographs were taken in the vicinity of the Lower Town, which stands between the St. Lawrence River and the Upper Town. Five of the photographs face out towards the river, showing Quebec's harbour and ships. The photograph of a shipwrecked royal mail steamship, *The Vancouver*, is accompanied by a newspaper clipping that describes the incident. Four more photographs document the shipwreck, three of which include the photographer's companions posing for the camera while exploring the site. Moving away from the river and closer to the edges of the cliff that carries the citadel and Upper Town, the photographer took five photographs that concentrate on Quebec's architectural settings and charming streets, praised by

guidebooks as recalling the ambience of medieval Europe (*View on Champlain St.*, *Little Champlain St.*, *Notre Dame de la Victoire*, and two photographs entitled *Sous le Cap*). One curious photograph of a single house appears, named *Mr. Robinson's house*, though there is no indication of who Mr. Robinson was, or whether he appears in the album.

The last eleven photographs of the album were taken after the photographer had departed from Quebec City and began to travel towards Cacouna. Six of the photographs, including *On the Road to Cacouna*, *River Ouelle*, *An Old Windmill on the Road to Cacouna*, *View above Notre Dame de Portage*, and *Rivière du Loup*, as well as one untitled photograph, were taken along the way to their destination. One unfocused photograph portraying a group of six local workers aboard an oxcart, as well as *Windmill at Cacouna* and the final photograph of pigs feeding at their trough were most probably shot while exploring the farmlands in the area around Cacouna. Two of the photographs document the resort life which likely attracted the photographer to Cacouna: one of the photographs portray a group of women posed in front of the fashionable Mansion House Hotel, while the other captures the same group of women posed informally on the ground in the countryside.

The album *Souvenir of a few Pleasant Summer Days* of 1898, in the collection of the McCord Museum of Canadian History of Montreal, Quebec, documents a nine-day trip from Montreal to Quebec City, including a cruise on the Saint Lawrence River that lasted four days (See Appendix B for a complete list of photographs in the album). The photographs in the album are of smaller format, at 4 x 5 inches, and are arranged two to a page, imparting the album with a less formal demeanor than that of *Our Quebec Trip*. The album measures approximately 8 x 11 inches and was commercially produced to

hold ninety-six photographs of the 4 x 5 inch standard size. The design of the album was copyrighted by Williams, Brown & Earle of Philadelphia in 1896. Each photograph was printed on platinum paper, a popular option among enthusiastic photographers during the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>18</sup>

One of the travellers was Wilhelmina Margaret Hare (1869-1928), whose shortened name, Mina M. Hare, is inscribed on the front page of the album, along with its title, the date and a poetic quote: "And backward rush sweet memories, like fragments of a dream." Tracing clues offered by the album leads to some information about the Hares: Wilhelmina Margaret and her husband, Charles Thomas Hare (1869-1931), lived at 4091 Tupper Street in Montreal during the summer of 1898, and later moved to 5 Summerhill Terrace, also in downtown Montreal.<sup>19</sup> Mr. Hare was an insurance agent, having founded the company Hare & Mackenzie with an office on St. James Street,<sup>20</sup> and was also actively involved as a volunteer at the Montreal General Hospital.<sup>21</sup> Mina Hare predeceased her husband by three years, on July 16, 1928, at the age of 59, determining that she was 29 years old during this summer trip in Quebec.<sup>22</sup> The last photograph in the album is entitled "Home and Hostess" [fig. 25] and portrays a woman, presumably Mina Hare, standing in front of a home that bears the address "4091," suggesting that the photographer was Hare's visitor in Montreal and her travelling partner in Quebec. The album was likely compiled and given to Hare by her guest as a gift of thanks for her gracious role as hostess and guide in Montreal.<sup>23</sup>

The travellers were certainly Anglophones, as can be seen by the album's captions, but the identity of the photographer remains unknown. An examination of some of the album's subjects, however, suggests that the photographer was an American.

One of the most mundane and pictorially uninteresting photographs in the album is *Cliff where General Montgomery fell*, taken from Champlain Street in Quebec City on August 1 [fig. 15]. The cliff itself is bland and uninspiring. The picture's only element of interest is the simple plaque that adorns the cliffside and proclaims: "Montgomery Fell, Dec. 31 1775." This statement is repeated in the photograph's caption, indicating that it was this piece of conceptual information, and not any visual component of the scene, that made the view a worthwhile picture. The photographer was undoubtedly motivated to take this photograph out of respect for the historical significance of the site and out of a desire to commemorate the death of General Montgomery, an American commander who led an attack against the British. This simple fact points to the photographer's possible identity as an American.<sup>24</sup> Americans celebrated General Montgomery as a martyr of their revolution, and viewed his death as parallel to the death of General Wolfe.<sup>25</sup> An American tourist would have certainly considered the site of this American hero's death as deserving of a souvenir photograph, regardless of its aesthetic appeal. The photographer's devotion to Montgomery also emerges in the section of the album recording her visit to Montreal, where she includes a photograph of *General Montgomery's Headquarters in 1775*.

Mina Hare's visitor likely arrived in Montreal on or the day before July 26, the day of the album's first photograph. The first two days and nine pages, or eighteen photographs, of the album, document many of the popular sites of Montreal, such as St. James Cathedral, Notre Dame Cathedral, Nelson's Monument, the Château de Ramezay, the Windsor Hotel, and Dominion Square. Mina Hare and her photographer departed from Montreal on a cruise down the Saint Lawrence River on July 28. The next 51

photographs record the four-day cruise and vary only slightly in subject. Although taken at different locations along the river, they are mostly shot from aboard the ship and portray either the view of the river itself or the passing ports. A number of lighthouses also appear. At Rivière du Loup, the photographer took a picture of an outdoor market situated at the town's port (*Wharf Merchants*) which resembles the photograph of *Market scene* of the album *Our Quebec Trip*. A photograph of the town of Tadoussac also appears, though the photogenic monuments and buildings that appear in the images of Montreal and Quebec City are absent. One photograph of July 29 shows two unidentified male passengers aboard the ship (*Fellow Passengers*).

The first photograph to signify the return to dry land is *A Calèche*, taken on July 31, though it is unclear who the passengers are or where the photograph is taken. The two young girls in the carriage look intently at the photographer, but their guardian looks away, suggesting that it is perhaps juvenile curiosity rather than familiarity that holds their attention. The photograph appears to have been taken in the countryside, outside of the actual city limits of Quebec. A single house stands behind the *calèche*, but it is otherwise surrounded by farmland. The following day, on August 1, the photographer arrived in Quebec City and began photographing the city's renowned sites, beginning with *The Citadel* and *Château Frontenac*. During this first day spent in Quebec City, the photographer also took pictures of *The Basilica* and its interior, *Rue Sous le Fort* and *Rue de Montagne*, as well as two pictures of *Little Champlain Street*, and the picture of *Cliff where General Montgomery Fell*. *Rue Sous le Fort* and *Little Champlain Street* are both characteristic of the narrow alleys of the Lower Town promoted by Quebec's

guidebooks, while Rue de Montagne is a strongly curved street that was a popular view for Canadian painters.

Fifteen photographs in the album record the activities of the second day in Quebec City, August 2. The day began with an excursion to Montmorency Falls, where five pictures were taken of the famous waterfall, and one photograph was taken of the *Montmorency River*. Like the travellers of *Our Quebec Trip*, these visitors also reached the Falls by the Beauport Road and stopped to photograph *Beauport Church*, the small chapel previously identified as '*Station*' on *Beauport Road* in the other album. The following photographs show that the photographer returned to Quebec City on that same day and spent the afternoon engaged in sightseeing. Two pages of photographs present some of the sites of the Upper Town: *Kent Gate*, *St. Louis Gate* and *Parliament House*, as well as *Cab-stand opposite Château Frontenac*, which portrays a cluster of empty *calèches* awaiting passengers. The last four pictures taken in Quebec City are set in the Lower Town. Two photographs depict the view from the port (*Levis opposite Quebec* and *Quebec and Levis Ferry-boats*), while two were taken of the popular and romantic setting of Rue Sous le Cap. The final page of the album acts as an appropriate conclusion to the travelogue. The photographer visited Westmount Park, approximately a ten-minute walk from Mina Hare's residence, and photographed the park's fountain. The last photograph of the album, *Home and Hostess*, portrays Mina Hare in front of her home, as though she is bidding farewell to the photographer, her guest.

Both photographers were likely female. The two photographs taken at Cacouna by the photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* portray a group of six women and one young girl. The first photograph, posed in front of the Mansion House Hotel, could have been

photographed by a man or a woman [fig. 26]. The second photograph appears to have been taken further away from the hotel and portrays the women sitting informally on the ground in the countryside, revealing a relaxed relationship between the women and the photographer [fig. 27]. Considering the role that gender played in determining social situations during the nineteenth century, it is improbable that a man would have taken this informal photograph. Similarly, it is doubtful that Mina Hare would have travelled with a man other than her husband, and yet Charles Hare would not have captioned a picture of his wife in front of their shared residence with the phrase *Home and Hostess*. Nor is he included in any of the photographs. The photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* was therefore also likely to have been a woman. The idea of a female amateur was common within the culture surrounding the camera by this time. The first issue of the *Photographic Herald*, in November of 1889, reported that the number of female amateurs was increasing rapidly: “It is becoming the fashion to become an amateur photographer, which undoubtedly accounts for its growing popularity with the fair sex. A daily paper states that along shore and on mountain top, the girl photographer with a camera is now a part of the landscape.”<sup>26</sup> Alexander Black, in his handbook for amateurs of 1897, admitted that “I say here and elsewhere ‘his,’ but only because the grammar of our language makes the word necessary. The amateur photographer at home and abroad – yet, even in the wildest passes of the mountain region – is as likely to be ‘Miss’ or ‘Mrs.’ as ‘Mr.’”<sup>27</sup>

The act of taking photographs while travelling was well-established within photographic culture by the time of these trips, and the two travellers photographed many of the same types of views in compiling images of Quebec landscape and architecture, as

well as of their fellow travellers. The personal photograph's conformity to established genres and conventions, which both Batchen and Pierre Bourdieu describe as a principal characteristic of such images, is clearly evident in both albums.<sup>28</sup> The last three chapters of this thesis examine the significance and origins of such conventions and their aesthetic results in the photographs of the two albums. Chapter Two explores the artistic approach to photography that was promoted by serious amateurs of the decade by an analysis of the albums' photographs of Quebec's narrow and winding streets. The albums reflect the serious amateur's claim to the subject of the picturesque landscape and the insistence on the importance of the tripod, as well as the photography industry's subsequent appropriation of that genre. Chapter Three looks at the travellers' photographs of sites of interest in Quebec City, particularly architectural subjects, in order to examine the purpose of these albums as souvenirs of travel. The new aesthetic attributed to the hand camera is analyzed. Chapter Four looks at how each photographer represented their travelling companions in their respective albums and considers the travelling photographer's new purpose to record the traveller, not just the site. Two popular conventions of contemporary travel photography, the traveller at the doorstep and the traveller at the site, are discussed in relation to the photographs in these albums. An understanding of how the camera's culture developed with respect to these three themes in the first decade of the Kodak Camera provides a portrait of this transitional decade in photography's history, and will elucidate the culture's important role in shaping personal photographs since that time, up to and including our own twenty-first century digital images.



## CHAPTER 1

### The Culture of Photography at the Turn of the Century

An article published in the *American Amateur Photographer* in August of 1899 declared that: "Photography is becoming universal."<sup>1</sup> The number of photographers had steadily increased throughout the nineteenth century as breakthroughs in technology continued, and by the beginning of the 1890s camera manufacturers had overcome the last obstacles that previously prevented the general public from taking up photography. The Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company of Rochester, New York began offering a loading and printing service along with the first Kodak Camera of 1888, whereby the camera was bought loaded with film sufficient for one hundred pictures and could be sent back to the company after exposure for development, printing and reloading.<sup>2</sup> This procedure thereby separated the chemical and technical complexities of photography from the actual act of taking a picture. While this process was institutionalized and popularized by the Kodak Camera with its famous motto of "You press the button, we do the rest," it was also practiced by commercial photographers and other photographic firms, such as The Blair Camera Company of Boston and E. & H. T. Anthony & Company of New York City, and had the effect of opening the field to an increasingly greater number of people.

Allowing professionals to "do the rest" was only a last step in a long chain of developments that had transformed photography into a popular activity. Around 1871, amateur photographers began experimenting with gelatin as a replacement for the collodion wet plate, which had necessitated preparing and developing the negative on site

along with taking the exposure. By the end of the decade, the gelatin dry plate was perfected to the point where it could be manufactured commercially, and the photographer was thereby granted increasing freedom from the darkroom. The gelatin dry plate also had an advantage over collodion in its sensitivity, allowing photographs to be taken in 1/25 of a second. The shorter exposure time allowed for the possibility of making instantaneous exposures, also known as snapshots, and required that mechanical shutters replace manual lens caps. Consequently, the camera could be held in the hand during exposure since it was only necessary to keep steady for a fraction of a second; a tripod was not required.

Cameras became increasingly compact, but glass plates were still a detriment to their portability. In the mid-1880s, George Eastman began searching for a practical replacement and launched his "American Films," consisting of a gelatin-bromide emulsion coated onto paper that had to be stripped and transferred to a glass plate for printing. The next development came in the form of the roll-holder that held the film in a continuous roll, and allowed for more compact storage of the negatives. The difficulties of stripping Eastman's new film offset its advantages of weight and size; and it was only late in 1889 when nitro-cellulose replaced the paper backing and also acted as a suitable support in printing, that film could finally act as a replacement for glass plates. Two years later, celluloid film was improved to allow for easy daylight loading, thereby removing major complications from the process of loading the film and thus encouraging many new recruits to the ranks of photographers. One writer summed up the short history of this new medium in *The American Amateur Photographer* in 1890 when he wrote: "In less than twenty years we have witnessed the art science [*sic*] of photography

undergoing a radical revolution, deprived of its chemical complexity, robbed of its exclusiveness and counting its devotees by thousands in all the walks of life and in every land beneath the sun.”<sup>3</sup>

With steady developments in chemical processing and equipment, photography became increasingly widespread and was transformed from an esoteric activity, based in the practices of the amateur photographer and motivated by his love of the “art science,” to a commercially-driven industry. In 1887, a year before the introduction of the Kodak Camera, one photographer noted that “most of the improvements in modern photography have been discovered or instituted by amateurs. Working only for pleasure and attainment, the amateur thinks nothing of risk.”<sup>4</sup> By the beginning of the 1890s, it was the photographic industry that determined such “improvements” in order to increase the number of photographers and sales by simplifying materials and equipment. As one critic explained, such changes produced “a type of camera which shall leave as little as possible to the intelligence of him who uses it.”<sup>5</sup> By January of 1889, Frederick Beach, founder of the Society of Amateur Photographers of New York and the journal *American Amateur Photographer*, wrote:

It is estimated that there are seven large establishments, with perhaps thirty smaller concerns, in the United States, whose annual output is not far from seven million dozen plates, which has resulted in the introduction of a vast and growing industry, involving probably the consumption of thousands of tons of glass and hundreds of pounds of silver, imparting also a special impetus to the manufacture of all forms of photographic apparatus.<sup>6</sup>

Along with these rapid developments came the creation of a new class of photographers. The pre-Kodak amateur was obliged to have specialized knowledge or at least a special interest in photography, but the new photographer of the 1890s could easily buy a camera

and instantly acquire that status. By mid-decade M. Y. Beach stated that: "A dollar camera can now be purchased in a drug store, the same as a porous plaster or a box of liver pills, and, in an instant, an ordinary citizen becomes a full-fledged photographer."<sup>7</sup> The commercialization of photography was so prevalent that it became the subject of parody. In a summer issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of 1889, George Hepworth wrote: "inspired thereby to exercise my own creative faculty, I have produced a proposition which, it seems to me, is equally self-evident, viz.: A M a T E u R + o U T f I t = \$20."<sup>8</sup>

The photographic industry that spawned such growth and the amateur photographers who had previously dominated the field both competed for the attentions of the new class of camera-owners. Many of the readily-available instruction manuals were written by accomplished photographers who advised that: "The man or women who only pushes the button and lets some one else 'do the rest' might well let the business alone,"<sup>9</sup> and insisted that "those who propose to learn the art of photography must love it."<sup>10</sup> However, manuals were also written by camera manufacturers to accompany specific cameras or to describe their products, such as the Blair Camera Company's *Hawk-Eye Guide Book*, "for the use of those who care to learn only the practical part of making exposures with the Hawk-Eye,"<sup>11</sup> or *Seed's Manual* of 1896, which offered "all possible assistance to you in the use of our Dry Plates, Films and Developer, with a few remarks on lighting and posing."<sup>12</sup>

New photographic journals especially aimed at the growing public began publication near the turn of the century; and it was often within the pages of these journals that the debates over photography's future were aired. The *American Amateur*

*Photographer* and *Photo-American* were both published for the first time in 1889 but discontinued in 1907, suggesting that the demand for such discussions had disappeared by the early twentieth century, once the camera had been wholly integrated into popular leisure life.<sup>13</sup> However, the journals reveal diverse attitudes to the relationship between the photographic industry and the amateur photographer. In the first issue of the *American Amateur Photographer* of July 1889, the editors expressed their “fear that in some respects photography is being belittled by its friends,” citing as evidence the “popular belief that all the difficulties have been removed, and that anyone can take pictures.” They go on to explain that: “To seek by all worthy means to dignify and elevate our art, will be the constant aim and effort of the *American Amateur Photographer*, which is founded on a sincere love for photography and a firm belief in its high mission.”<sup>14</sup> The emphasis on photography’s noble purpose is to be expected from a publication founded by Frederick Beach of the Society of Amateur Photographers of New York and co-edited for some time by Alfred Stieglitz.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast, the *Photo-American* started its life as the *Photographic Herald and Amateur Sportsman* in November of 1899, with the goal of devoting itself to “Photography, Bicycling, Tennis, Croquet, Base Ball, Hunting, Fishing, Boating, and all Out-Door Sports For Amateurs and Professionals.”<sup>16</sup> In the “Salutatory” article of its first issue, the editor Laury MacHenry promised that “we do not propose to embellish our articles with strings of symbols and equivalents, nor to garnish our pages with two inch words which have every appearance of Welsh profanity. Just so far as in us lies, we will ‘call a spade a spade.’ We shall do our best to keep you posted, as to the improvements and innovations which are brought forward, the new processes, formulas &c.,....”<sup>17</sup> The

editors of the *American Amateur Photographer* and the *Photo-American* clearly promoted opposing approaches to photography: while the former insisted on the special status of the photographer and the act of taking pictures, the latter encouraged an informal approach to the camera that equated the activity of photographing with any other popular sport.

Each of these diverse sources of photographic information shaped the culture surrounding photography according to its own ideals and objectives. At one end of this spectrum was the Eastman Kodak Company, circulating a new notion of photography with the catchphrase “You press the button, we do the rest.” At the other extreme was the amateur journal aiming to hinder the threat of “button-pressing” photography; or the instruction manual that claimed that the amateur who “presses the button” cannot ever truly become a photographer. Such opposing attitudes to how photography should be practiced also included a variety of perspectives on learning to photograph, taking photographs, and on the purpose of photography; and all had an impact on the photographers and photographs that emerged during the 1890s.

### **Learning to Photograph**

One of the major debates in which the accomplished amateur clashed with commercial photographic firms concerned the question of how photography should be approached by the public. While camera manufacturers insisted on the ease and simplicity with which one could learn to photograph, accomplished amateurs maintained that the process of study was long and difficult. Camera manufacturers published advertisements in magazines such as *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and *Century*

*Magazine* to address the non-photographing public and attract them to the medium. Manufacturers' advertisements relieved fears about the complexity of photography by emphasizing the ease of their camera models with slogans such as "Easy to learn, easy to operate."<sup>18</sup> The term "simple," in some form or another, was always to be found. The Rochester Optical Company boasted of their "wonderfully simple, perfectly sure, and always satisfactory two-pound Premo Camera,"<sup>19</sup> and claimed that their Premier Camera combined "the utmost simplicity with perfect efficacies."<sup>20</sup> L. M. Prince & Brothers of Cincinnati, Ohio advertised: "Process simple and sure,"<sup>21</sup> while Eastman's Kodak Cameras were: "Photographic Simplicity,"<sup>22</sup> "Photography simple, easy,"<sup>23</sup> and "the embodiment of photographic simplicity and perfection."<sup>24</sup> The advertisements obviously succeeded, as the English photographer Walter Welford noted in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* of 1893: "Many hundreds of the outside public, to whom the very mention of a camera, tripod, lens, etc., would have frightened into fits, have bought a hand camera, to do 'button-pressing' for themselves."<sup>25</sup>

Each company maintained that their cameras were not only easy to use, but that they would also produce excellent results. Underlying these claims was the notion that a suitable camera could produce a good photograph in the absence of an experienced photographer. For example, the Rochester Optical Company promised that their Premo Camera was "Certain in Results."<sup>26</sup> The Eastman Kodak Company guaranteed that The Bullet Camera "hits the mark every time,"<sup>27</sup> and "produces a larger percentage of perfect pictures than any other camera, big or little, has every produced before."<sup>28</sup> Many manufacturers were more explicit in addressing novice photographers: the Boston Camera Manufacturing Company promoted their Bulls-Eye Camera with the claim that

it: "Gives a larger percentage of good pictures to the inexperienced than any other."<sup>29</sup> The Adams and Westlake Company maintained that their Adlake Camera "makes a successful amateur of every beginner"<sup>30</sup> and "does expert work in the hands of amateurs."<sup>31</sup> Once the responsibility to produce a successful picture was given over to the camera, potential photographers were assured that *anyone* could take pictures. L. M. Prince & Brothers announced that "anybody can make good photographs" using their equipment, with "no previous knowledge of the art necessary."<sup>32</sup> The Eastman Kodak Company advertised that: "Anybody who can wind a watch can use the Kodak Camera,"<sup>33</sup> and that the Kodak No. 1 was: "The Only camera that anybody can use without instructions."<sup>34</sup> The Rochester Optical Company promoted their Premier Camera as one that "any one may use without fear of disappointment."<sup>35</sup> It was also common to highlight the fact that even children could learn to use the camera; the Baby Hawk-Eye by the Blair Camera Company, for example, "was so constructed that a child can readily understand the method of making exposures."<sup>36</sup>

Manufacturers continued to emphasize the ease of taking pictures in their instruction manuals, and often provided encouragement to the novice in their introductory remarks. The author of the Rochester Optical Company's *Modern Photography*, W. F. Carlton, wrote that: "we wish it were more generally known how simple and easy it is to make good photographs,"<sup>37</sup> while The Scovill and Adams Company began their publication with the statement that: "It is not difficult to make photographs. Anyone of average intelligence, any boy or girl, can easily learn how to make them."<sup>38</sup> The Eastman Kodak Company was known particularly for its straightforward instruction manuals. Booklets accompanying every one of their cameras of the decade contained a section



entitled “How to make Exposures with the Kodak in the Open Air when the Sun is Very Bright,” describing the process of taking an instantaneous exposure in clear and simple steps.

Instruction manuals written by photographers independent of photographic companies offered an entirely different portrait of the learning process by insisting on the skill and complexity involved in the medium. Ellerslie Wallace, in *The Amateur Photographer*, explained that: “Photography cannot offer any exception to the rule that all beginnings are difficult.”<sup>39</sup> In his instruction manual, Henry Abbott warned that: “You cannot become a photographer in a day, or a month, or a year.”<sup>40</sup> According to these writers, learning to use a camera and taking pictures was complex and required frequent study and practice. Even close attention to their written instructions could not ease the efforts required: Abbott insisted that since obstacles would surely be encountered, his manual was only intended “to reduce these difficulties as much as possible,”<sup>41</sup> while J. C. Worthington and J. C. Millen, in their *Photographic Primer*, wrote that “the most extensive and elaborate description cannot tell you *how* to do the work; it can only help you to see how others have gotten their results.”<sup>42</sup> Many other publication insisted that good pictures were the result of a photographer devoted to rigorous study and training. Alexander Black addressed his *Book for Amateurs* specifically to those who “have sufficient respect for the study and a strong enough purpose toward good work to seek real knowledge of the elements of photography,”<sup>43</sup> later insisting that to “aim and fire” with the camera will only result in disappointment since “it calls attention to the fact that photography, even with a patented box, is something more than the agitation of certain machinery.”<sup>44</sup>

Several manuals stated that too much credit was given to the camera when it was truly the photographer who was responsible for success in picture-making; and the authors emphasized knowledge and diligence to achieve this success. Henry Abbott insisted on this when he wrote that: "Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, failures are the result of carelessness and are not the fault of the camera maker, or the plate or paper manufacturer. Mix common sense reasoning with your chemicals. Read carefully, not superficially, all the works and trade journals on photography that are within your reach."<sup>45</sup> Worthington and Millen explained that "it is only by study and close attention to results under different conditions that you can attain any skill in the work,"<sup>46</sup> and Wallace offered that "a modicum of attentive study so planned as to be carried on intelligently and to master *principles*, coupled with the desire of doing really good work, will soon surmount the initiatory troubles."<sup>47</sup> Despite the claims of camera manufacturers, these photographer-writers insisted that there was no easy route to obtaining a good picture.

George Hepworth attempted to clear up the supposed misunderstanding perpetuated by camera manufacturers in his article for the widely-read *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in August of 1889, exactly one year after the launch of the Kodak Camera. In addition to offering a parody of the day's emerging amateur, he complained that "it has been delusively suggested, possibly by a far-sighted commercial enterprise, that anyone can take a creditable picture."<sup>48</sup> Hepworth was addressing the same potential photographers who would encounter camera advertisements in the back of the same magazine. Comments of this type were often repeated in specialized journals where great effort was devoted to overthrowing the belief that photography could be practiced by

*anyone*. One writer explained that “we must not delude ourselves with the idea that we have simply to borrow Jones’ camera and go and do likewise, without preliminary instruction and much practice.... The man who supposes that the camera does the work will soon find that he is laboring under a delusion.”<sup>49</sup> Another reminded readers that the camera is merely a tool in the hands of a photographer: “Be the picture poor, under exposed, out of focus, faulty artistically, the workman is to be blamed, not the camera.”<sup>50</sup>

Even more space was given over to the denigration of the new class of naïve photographers, who had supposedly been taken in by the false claims of camera manufacturers. By these “additions to the ranks,” as one critic dubbed them, “thousands of plates are wasted, rolls on rolls of film are spoiled, until the cameras finally find a resting-place in the store-room or the cellar. It would seem that some individuals will never become photographers until a camera is invented that will guide itself to the proper position before a suitable subject, expose itself correctly, and, after carrying itself home, develop, fix and print, finally presenting its owner with a batch of finished pictures.”<sup>51</sup>

### **Taking Photographs**

A large variety of instruction manuals were published during the 1890s in order to instruct camera-owners on how to take photographs. The major difference in approach can be again found between accomplished photographers, who insisted on the complexity and esoteric character of photography, and the rhetoric of advertisements and Kodak manuals that emphasized the accessibility of the medium. Camera advertisements did not offer much direction when it came to actual picture-making beyond the suggestion to “press the button,” yet they could have determined the photographer’s attitude towards

the task by giving potential photographers the impression that making an exposure was practically effortless, with “no technical adjustments necessary.”<sup>52</sup> Promises such as the Eastman Kodak Company’s that their camera could even be used without instructions<sup>53</sup> undoubtedly encouraged photographers to ignore their manuals and proceed with snap-shooting without careful study of photography’s technical and chemical processes.

Manuals written by expert photographers, whether published independently or by photographic companies, gave no such encouragement. The key to picture-making, according to skilled photographers, was an earnest study of the process and careful attention to composition. They frequently recommended keeping a record book with references to each exposure so that the photographer could study these notations alongside the finished photograph and thereby profit from experience. Ellerslie Wallace’s lengthy list of recommendations is impressive, suggesting that: “the operator should always be provided with a note-book and pencil, so as to keep an account of the number of plates exposed, as well as full data as to lens, stop, strength of the light, character of subject, grade of plate, etc.”<sup>54</sup> Particularly important in one’s notes was a record of the length of exposure. Photographers insisted repeatedly that this must be learned by experience, and that it required “thought, care and observation.”<sup>55</sup> The complexity of photography and the necessity of patient study is stressed through these warnings. As was explained by W.I. Lincoln Adams, “No fixed rule can be given for this part of the photographic operation. No end of conditions serve to change the time required even in a day’s work out of doors.”<sup>56</sup> In addition to factors in one’s surroundings, such as the time of day and weather conditions or the type of scene to be photographed, the photographer also had to take control over all possible adjustments

within the camera. The length of exposure required could change dramatically with changes in the lens, in the size of stop employed (that is, the size of opening through which light was admitted during exposure), and with the type of film or plates. With all of these aspects to consider, most photographers advised using as long an exposure as possible. Since it was more likely that the negative could be spoiled by even a second or two of over- or under-exposure with a short exposure, slower plates and a smaller stop were recommended as the easier route to success. Needless to say, longer exposure times also necessitated the use of a tripod to keep the camera steady.

Photographers recommended this slow and studied approach not only in the process of making exposures, but also in the selection of subject and point of view. New recruits to the practice were encouraged to study the pictures of great painters, illustrators and photographers to learn the rules of composition and to apply those rules to their own photographs. Once arriving at a chosen subject, the new photographer was instructed to take time and care in selecting the best perspective and optimal conditions of light. Ellerslie Wallace insisted that: "Skill in the selection of the point of view must be acquired by long and critical training of the eye to the beauty of line, mass, and chiaroscuro, by the unremitting study of good paintings, and by the endeavor to really compose and make *pictures* when out in the field; not by a random photographing of any scene that may happen to please at the moment."<sup>57</sup> Lincoln Adams advised photographers to "select subjects and study them from various points of view, and under different lights of morning, noon, or later in the day." He promised that such deliberate care and consideration would be rewarded, since "you may afterward take pleasure in exhibiting the result to your friends."<sup>58</sup>

Instruction manuals written and published by camera manufacturers were obviously not overly concerned with the actual taking of the photograph; their primary interest being that the proper materials were purchased from their company. Many of their manuals were often less guides to photography, and more descriptive catalogues of the equipment and materials offered by the firm. Therefore, when the Scovill & Adams Company of New York instructed its readers to: “Buy a complete outfit, consisting of camera, tripod, plates, chemicals and all, and go at it in a business-like manner,”<sup>59</sup> it is difficult to determine whether they were attempting to preserve the seriousness of photography or trying to sell as many of their products as possible. However, the Eastman Kodak Company was the first camera manufacturer to offer a completely thorough set of instructions that could rival those written by photographers. The Kodak manuals published throughout the 1890s certainly insist on the ease and simplicity of their process, but they also recommend a careful and serious approach to photography – even if they claimed that this approach could be followed by *anybody*.

Instead of concentrating on the experience, observation and judgment required in photography, Kodak manuals provided rules to be followed meticulously and attentively so that the photographer could benefit from the experience and judgment of the manufacturer. While other camera manuals insisted on the impossibility of teaching the appropriate length of exposure, all Kodak manuals gave clear directions for time exposures, even specifying the different amounts of time needed under varying conditions. For example, an exposure taken in a room with white walls and more than one window, under a bright sun, required three seconds.<sup>60</sup> In manuals accompanying cameras that offered different stops, such as the Pocket Kodak of 1896, the times

provided were for the largest stop, but the manual indicated necessary adjustments: “When the second stop is used, give twice the time of the table; when the smallest stop is used give eight times the time of the table.”<sup>61</sup> Precise instructions were also given as to how and when time and instantaneous exposures should be taken. Each Kodak manual of the decade warned that in making time-exposures, the camera must always be placed on “some firm support,” often suggesting a tripod, a table or a chair. The *Pocket Kodak Primer* of 1896 warned that: “The smallest stop must never be used for snap shots or *absolute failure will result.*”<sup>62</sup> Kodak manuals also advised photographers on achieving proper perspective in their pictures and even provided directions for developing and printing photographs oneself. Throughout the first half of the 1890s, the manuals also strongly recommended keeping a memorandum book in order to record notes on each exposure.

The Kodak manuals therefore reveal a prejudice on the part of serious and established amateur photographers in their assessment of hand-held cameras, and Kodaks especially. Arthur Hope targeted the Kodak in comments about those “who call themselves amateur photographers because they understand how to ‘press a button,’ and some time later receive a collection of prints illustrative of their hits and misses.”<sup>63</sup> Yet the difference between Kodak manuals and those written by photographers was not a difference between a careless and a studied approach to taking photographs, as suggested by photographic journals, or even necessarily between simple and difficult, as may be implied by Kodak advertisements. Both types of manuals maintained that care must be taken in choosing the appropriate point of view and that one must be precise and methodical when it comes to taking pictures. Yet they differ in their methods of

communication and in their chosen audience. While manuals by skilled amateurs stressed the complexity of the process in order to insist on addressing only the most earnest students, the Eastman Kodak Company maintained that *anyone* was welcome to Kodak Cameras and wrote their manuals in an easy manner that encouraged new recruits and minimized difficulties.

### **The Purpose of Photography**

The issue of photography's purpose was principally debated through advertisements and specialized photography journals. Advertisements claimed that just as *anybody* could take a picture, a picture could also be of *anything*, while articles in journals refuted such claims and insisted on the artistic purpose of photography. The Rochester Optical Company was fond of claiming that its Adlake Camera: "Takes pictures everywhere,"<sup>64</sup> and "Takes everything in sight,"<sup>65</sup> "from baby's tiny face to the landscape broad and fair."<sup>66</sup> Following claims that their cameras could be used without disappointment, it was important for camera manufacturers to equally emphasize that the photographer was at liberty to capture any subject found appealing. *The Kodak Primer* of 1888 was sent free to all those interested in the first Kodak Camera, and acted more as promotional material than as a manual, explaining that: "With the Kodak you can picture nearly everything your fancy determines." All-inclusive suggestions were listed: "moving objects, still objects, objects indoors, objects outdoors, Buildings, Machinery, Scenery, People, Portraits, Groups, Animals, Anything, Everything."<sup>67</sup>

It was exactly this kind of *laissez-faire* attitude to photography's purpose and subjects that many accomplished amateurs found so appalling about the growing



photographic industry. Photographic journals were already publishing diatribes against such behaviour by 1889. *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* protested that: "Of any given number of amateur workers, how few there are who use the art with any definite object in view. Thousands of negatives are taken every week, and among them how few can be called pictures, how few have any story to tell or any important object to carry down into the future!"<sup>68</sup> The *American Amateur Photographer* echoed this sentiment in its complaint that: "Photography has been degraded to the level of a mere sport, and many take it up, as they do lawn tennis, merely for an amusement, without a thought of the grand and elevating possibilities it opens up to them."<sup>69</sup> Such comments reveal an effort on the part of certain skilled amateurs to restrict the field of photography to those that shared in one particular definition of the medium.

The purpose that does emerge in both camera advertisements and in photographic journals is that of securing souvenirs of travel. The Eastman Kodak Company emphasized the idea that one could relive the joys of travel through photographs, promising that the Kodak "will perpetuate the pleasure of your summer trip."<sup>70</sup> The Rochester Optical Company also exploited the idea of travel and memory to sell their cameras, instructing the potential photographer to: "Take a Camera with you on your vacation and be sure it is a Premo. This will insure you many hours of fascinating diversion during your outing and prolong the pleasure indefinitely afterwards."<sup>71</sup> The Manhattan Optical Company concentrated on photography's mnemonic qualities, even in the absence of distant travel; their sentimental advertisement of 1898 read: "Pictures are a Treasure of memories dear. As you journey thro' life take pictures by the wayside."<sup>72</sup>

While photographers writing in specialized journals often considered the hand camera as a threat to photography, it was also accepted that such cameras had a purpose for the travelling photographer. Amateur photographers often wrote of the ease with which they could record their trips with their cameras, and reported on the satisfaction that such pictures afforded them. One photographer maintained that: "The tourist who is wise enough to provide a hand camera for use *en voyage* will never regret the forethought or the cost of it."<sup>73</sup> Some journals even went so far as to publish articles suggesting that the preservation of such memories was the primary purpose of photography. Yet the camera's role as an accessory to travel and the photograph's purpose as a storehouse for memory still had its detractors, particularly among the writers and editors of the *American Amateur Photographer*.

Emphasizing the mnemonic qualities of the photograph meant that photography's value lay in the finished picture, whereas many skilled amateurs prioritized the activity of picture-taking itself with statements such as: "Photography for photography's sake."<sup>74</sup> One observer wrote that "the camera as a plaything is a mistake. Picture making requires more thought and care than the fagged out professional or business man who goes on a holiday for rest and recuperation can give."<sup>75</sup> Taking pictures to record vacation sites and memories compromised the dignified purpose suggested by the editors of the *American Amateur Photographer* in their first issue. They maintained that the photographer's most important objective was "to interpret to unseeing eyes some portion, at least, of the charm and beauty with which God has filled this home of his making." They went on to explain: "Such an earnest purpose as this lifts photography above the level of a mere pastime: it makes it an inspiration; an interpreter of the thoughts of God." Furthermore,

they lamented the use of the camera for any alternative purpose, complaining that: “The making of pictures is fast becoming merely an episode in a day’s pleasure, not the earnest and untiring search for the beautiful.”<sup>76</sup>

The camera had become an important tool for the traveller by the end of the nineteenth century – both camera manufacturers and serious photographers agreed upon this point. Yet it was the purpose of such travel photographs that was debated throughout the decade. Many serious amateurs, particularly those that identified with the aesthetic purpose of the *American Amateur Photographer*, sought to maintain the dignity of photography as a search for beauty and emphasized the actual process of selecting, composing and taking the picture. Others, targeting a new class of photographers, stressed the importance of retaining the memory of travel through photographs, while regarding the process of making the exposure as simply the means to an end.

## CHAPTER 2

### Picturesque Quebec

Quebec City and the surrounding landscape was a popular destination for travel during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Guidebooks consistently structured the visit to Quebec as a romantic voyage into “a little patch of medieval Europe, transplanted.”<sup>1</sup> E. T. D. Chambers’ *Guide to Quebec*, advertised as “the best local guidebook” wrote: “Time works few changes in Quebec.”<sup>2</sup> One guidebook of 1894 claimed that: “There is not a spot in all America richer in historic treasure,”<sup>3</sup> while another, published in 1897, stated: “Quaint, curious old Quebec, whose winding streets and frowning battlements are pervaded with the atmosphere of departed centuries.”<sup>4</sup> These characteristics attracted photographers as well as tourists to the area. The 1890s saw the construction of a new luxury hotel, The Château Frontenac,<sup>5</sup> and the publication of the renowned Baedeker’s *Handbook for Travellers*.<sup>6</sup> Within the first three years of the decade, the *American Amateur Photographer* published two separate articles recommending Quebec as the ideal destination for photographers. Written and illustrated with photographs by Anthony W. Robinson and John H. Tarbell, the articles concentrated on the old-fashioned streets of Quebec’s Lower Town that allowed visitors to imagine that they had travelled back in time,<sup>7</sup> and that had led Karl Baedeker to call Quebec “the most picturesque city in North America.”<sup>8</sup>

The albums of *Our Quebec Trip* of 1896 and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* of 1898 both capture Quebec’s romantic setting in their photographs of narrow and winding streets and the attractive landscape of the nearby countryside. This chapter

examines how the decade's advertisements, manuals and journals instructed camera-owners in taking these picturesque views of both the city and its environs. Serious amateurs insisted on the importance of selecting, framing and composing the view with careful attention to artistry, and emphasized the necessity of the tripod. When camera manufacturers adopted the subject of the picturesque view, these methods were modified to suit the approach of the industry.

### **Selecting the Picturesque View**

The term "Picturesque" derived from its meaning of "having the elements of a picture"<sup>9</sup> and developed as an aesthetic category in late eighteenth-century Britain to describe scenery situated in opposition to the beautiful and the sublime. William Gilpin had promoted the Picturesque in various essays and guidebooks that defined and sought out picturesque scenery.<sup>10</sup> By the late nineteenth century, the term "picturesque" was commonly and inexactly used to describe scenery that was merely quaint and old-fashioned. An article in *Century Magazine* of 1893 described a quest for "The Most Picturesque Place in the World," a common practice for the nineteenth-century traveller, as the search for "the perfect place which was to combine the charm of the middle ages with the comfort of the nineteenth century."<sup>11</sup> Quebec City's pre-industrial ambience provided a setting that conformed precisely to this description; the narrow streets and dilapidated buildings of the Lower Town gave travellers the sense that they had travelled outside of modern civilization, and yet the Château Frontenac was on hand in the city's Upper Town to provide visitors with modern luxury in a decidedly "old-world" architectural style.

Quebec City's unique ambience and architecture provided the photographer with an overabundance of picturesque subjects, but cities were not usually primary sites for picturesque photographic images. In their journals and manuals, accomplished photographers encouraged camera-owners to search out picturesque settings in the countryside. One writer, using the pseudonym "An Old Hand," recommended: "The beginner should make his first attempts along the country side, on the picturesque bits which abound in the most unpromising localities."<sup>12</sup> Like those travellers who sought "The Most Picturesque Place in the World," serious photographers suggested that one must venture outside of modernity in order to find appropriate subjects to photograph. One photographer recounted how: "Many city amateurs will frankly admit that they have not won any exhibition medals because they have not time to go to Potsdam or other distant rural places where Nature furnishes prize views." Since the modern city could not necessarily provide appropriate subject matter for prize-winning pictures, he suggested that photographers make an afternoon's excursion to a "drowsy country depot."<sup>13</sup>

Selecting picturesque subject matter helped ensure that the resulting photographs would appear artistic, and thereby supported the *American Amateur Photographer's* insistence on the photographer's purpose to search out and interpret the charms and beauty of nature. While camera manufacturers were less specific about selecting the view to photograph, they also targeted the photographer aspiring to produce picturesque landscapes. The Rochester Optical Company assured potential customers that their Premo Camera was: "Sure in Landscape Work,"<sup>14</sup> while the Eastman Kodak Company promoted their cameras for their ability to record picturesque scenery: "A Picturesque

Diary of your trip to Europe, to the mountains, or the sea-shore, may be obtained without trouble with a Kodak camera that will be worth a hundred times its cost in after-years.”<sup>15</sup>

The album *Our Quebec Trip* of 1896 reveals the work of an amateur photographer, most likely of the female sex, following these directions of accomplished colleagues. In addition to photographing the urban picturesque sites recommended in guidebooks and by the articles of Robinson and Tarbell, as exemplified by the photographs of *Sous le Cap* and *Little Champlain St.*, the photographer also took original picturesque landscape views found independently. On the way to Montmorency Falls, she stopped to photograph a view of *Beauport Road*, which led visitors from the city to the falls, and ‘*Station*’ on *Beauport Road*, a picture of a quaint country chapel set behind a white picket fence. She also took numerous pictures of the Quebec countryside on her way to Cacouna, many of which remained untitled, but include *On the Road to Cacouna*, *An Old Windmill on the Road to Cacouna* and *View above Notre Dame de Portage*, all of which would have been considered at the time as “picturesque” scenes. The photograph of *On the Road to Cacouna* [fig. 1] reflects the description given by “An Old Hand” of his or her own excursion in search of picturesque scenery:

an hour’s brisk walking brings us to the brookside just where it runs under a rustic fence. below which it widens out into a pool which mirrors the trees and shrubs growing on its banks. On either side maples and elms frame in a view which delights the eye. Beyond the fence is a stretch of green sward, bounded by a stone wall and trees. In the distance a mountain of some pretensions to size bounds the view. We have all the elements of a picture, if the lighting is good.<sup>16</sup>

All of these elements are evident in *On the Road to Cacouna*: the reflecting brook, the rustic fence and trees that frame the scene. Only the mountain is missing. The photographer in Quebec also placed one of her travelling companions in the picture in a

manner that corresponds to William Gilpin's "picturesque appendages."<sup>17</sup> Gilpin included such appendages in his landscape drawings as general shapes that added variety to the scene. Just a few slight touches were required in rendering such figures since exactness of form or detailed expression would contradict their purpose to frame the scene and direct the viewer's attention. The presence of the woman at the edge of the water in *On the Road to Cacouna* is appropriately subtle. She sits with her back to the photographer and guides our attention towards the surrounding landscape.

The picturesque approach to photography also influenced the traveller's selection of urban subjects for the album *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*. The photographer was intent on capturing the scenic alleyways of Quebec's Lower Town that were cited by guidebooks as "among the curious streets that every visitor is sure to see."<sup>18</sup> The most popular and frequently mentioned streets, Little Champlain Street and Sous le Cap, both appear twice in the album. The photographer also included pictures of streets promoted by guidebooks but neglected in the album *Our Quebec Trip*, such as Rue Sous le Fort and Côte de la Montagne. Sous le Fort Street was described by Baedeker as "recalling the narrow mediaeval streets that survive in Bristol and many Continental towns."<sup>19</sup> The composition of *Rue Sous le Fort* in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* is structured by the contrast between two sets of sharply receding façades that line the street [fig. 2], much like the photographs of *Little Champlain Street* and *Sous le Cape* [sic] of the same album [figs. 6, 7, 12 and 13]. The result is a narrow and dense space that both evokes Quebec's romantic atmosphere and directs attention towards the passenger elevator that transported tourists between the Upper and the Lower Town. The Château Frontenac that looms above the scene at the left was built in the Canadian



Château Style that drew inspiration from French châteaux of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was designed to complement Quebec's "medieval" setting. The architect, Bruce Price (American, 1845-1903), described his creation in an interview printed in *Architectural Record* in 1899: "The site... was practically at the apex of the picturesque old City, and if ever there was the natural place and a natural reason for a picturesque building it was here."<sup>20</sup>

Yet the appearance of this new luxury hotel, while decidedly picturesque, and the lettering on the elevator, indicating its function to serve English tourists, were both unmistakable signs of tourist infrastructure for the nineteenth-century traveller. Neither the hotel nor the elevator appear in any of the photographs of the other album, *Our Quebec Trip*, where such signs of tourism were excluded from pictures of Quebec City's romantic setting. The figures that appear in the street scene *Rue Sous le Fort*, and particularly the man walking towards the photographer at the right-hand side of the photograph, emphasize the narrow space of the street, yet their modern dress reinforces the idea of the contemporary city. The photograph of Côte de la Montagne, identified in the album as *Rue de Montagne*, combines features that attracted tourists to Quebec City with signs of modernity that were antithetical to the descriptions found in guidebooks [fig. 3]. The strong curvature and steep angle of the street reflects the irregularity of Quebec's picturesque byways, and act as distinguishing traits of the city. But it is also a major road lined with modern buildings and storefronts, as well as telegraph poles. Set within the romantic surroundings of Quebec, the modern elements of such views may have struck the photographer as a curious and appealing contrast. As both the guidebooks and the album of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* suggest, the visit to

Quebec City necessarily involved an appreciation of its picturesque setting, but these photographs show that the photographer deviates from purely romantic subject matter.

### **Composing and Framing the View**

Although the specific meaning of the word “picturesque” had been diluted of its original significance by the time that it was taken up by photographers in the late nineteenth century, the methods promoted by these serious amateurs for composing photographs of the picturesque view echoed the methods of the eighteenth-century traveller. Such travellers did not aim to represent the world as it appeared, but to capture the various elements of the scene and recombine them into a pleasing picture. William Gilpin contended that: “Nature gives us the material of landscape; woods, rivers, lakes, trees, ground, and mountains: but leaves us to work them up into pictures, as our fancy leads.”<sup>21</sup> In the century before the invention of photography, Gilpin explained that in picturesque travel: “The imagination becomes a camera obscura, only with this difference, that the camera represents objects as they really are: while the imagination, impressed with the most beautiful scenes, and chastened by rules of art, forms its pictures, not only from the most admirable parts of nature; but in the best taste.”<sup>22</sup>

In the 1890s accomplished amateurs contested this idea, still prevalent in their own time, that the camera could not produce artistic pictures and responded by insisting that the photographic image could also be infused with imagination, subjugated to the rules of art and formed by artistic taste, thus forwarding the Pictorialist cause of photography as art, as well as distancing themselves from the photographic industry’s emerging amateurs. They encouraged photographers to actively compose their pictures

just as Gilpin's followers had deliberately composed their sketches of the landscape. One photographer wrote in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*: "If the photographer cannot shift his trees and houses about to suit himself, he can always change his point of view, and usually he will find it eminently worth his while to do so."<sup>23</sup> Arthur Hope taught that: "The point of view must therefore be carefully selected, setting up the camera in different places to try to get the best effect."<sup>24</sup> W. F. Carlton instructed the photographer similarly: "When a particular scene has first struck the fancy, and if, upon closer investigation it is found that the chosen position does not give harmony, then, by some slight change of the point of view, other combinations may come into operation which may satisfy the taste."<sup>25</sup>

A comparison of four photographers' representations of *Sous le Cap* demonstrates the effect and significance of carefully composing and framing the view. Photographs of *Sous le Cap* appear in both Arthur Robinson and John Tarbell's articles for the *American Amateur Photographer* [figs. 4 and 5], as well as in the album *Our Quebec Trip* [fig. 8] and twice in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* [figs. 6 and 7].<sup>26</sup> The three pictures in the albums all portray the same segment of the city street with similar compositions. The unusual wooden passageway running above the street and the hanging laundry criss-crossing over the alley, with its romantic associations of pre-industrial times, were clearly attractions for both photographers, and appear in all three photographs. These similarities suggest that both photographers sought to capture the charming and quaint flavour of Quebec City.

Yet the differences between these photographers' approaches emerge in a comparison to the photographs published in the *American Amateur Photographer*.

Robinson and Tarbell's photographs of *Sous le Cap* [fig. 4 and 5] both portray the same section of the street and include the slight bend in the road that allows the lines of the street to converge and disappear towards the left-hand side of their images. Beams of wood extend from one side of the street to the other, joining the buildings together and contributing to the dilapidated look of the site. Both Robinson and Tarbell composed their pictures carefully so that the horizontal beams of wood and the vertical buildings provide a strong frame to the picture, yet do not obstruct or distract from the view of the middle ground and its charming stone house with striking shutters and mansard roof. The photographers were able to compress the space of their photographs through these framing techniques and thereby heighten the expressive qualities of their pictures by emphasizing the various planes of the architecture.

The photographs of *Our Quebec Trip* and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* lose the intensity of these published photographs in their arrangement and framing. Robinson and Tarbell's images both display well-defined foregrounds composed of strong vertical and horizontal lines that act as an effective frame around the middle distance of the pictures. In contrast, the three album views give greater attention to the recession of the street and a deeper perspective. The architecture is more compressed and is less the subject of attention in terms of decorative detail and rusticated surface. In the first picture of *Sous le Cap* in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* [fig. 6], the façades of the buildings occupy much of the space of the picture and function as the frame around a space that is too distant to see clearly. The second photograph has a vertical format [fig. 7], and the lines of the street converge towards the right side of the picture. The laundry in the distant background, which is overexposed, is an important

element of the picture's quaint subject matter, but the large amount of foreground that surrounds the view takes up a disproportional area of the photograph and diverts attention away from the hanging laundry.

While the *Sous le Cap* picture of *Our Quebec Trip* [fig. 8] shares the same general composition as the horizontal view of the street found in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*, more space is given over to the view between the buildings and less space is devoted to the foreground. The camera was angled upwards, and the photographer probably took advantage of a swing-back camera, which allowed the photographer to adjust the angle of the negative independently from the angle of the camera, to re-align the view and avoid distortion. This photographer also found a better position from which to photograph the hanging laundry so that it appears prominently in the middle-ground and enhances the picturesque qualities of the photograph. The large wheel that obtrudes into the bottom left-hand corner adds some variety to what would otherwise be an uninteresting area. The effect of the photographer's careful deliberation is apparent in the poses of the children lining the side of the alley; they sit patiently and watch the photographer arrange the camera to take the exposure. These differences between the photographs of *Sous le Cap* reveal that while both travellers intended to secure a souvenir of this renowned alleyway, only one of the resulting photographs is a more appropriate example of the directives of accomplished amateurs who sought out picturesque views.

Once the photograph was taken and printed, the composition could still be improved by trimming the finished print. Ellerslie Wallace stated that: "It not unfrequently happens that a view will be much improved by cutting off a good deal of the foreground."<sup>27</sup> Henry Abbott recommended: "Don't be afraid to sacrifice a half or even

two-thirds of a print in order to secure that which is of interest and the least that you show of the uninteresting the more you accentuate that which is picturesque or artistic.”<sup>28</sup> The effect of trimming can be seen in Robinson and Tarbell’s pictures of *Sous le Cap*: both photographers achieved tightly compressed compositions by removing the excess foreground space that appears in the albums’ photographs. The photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* used 5 x 7 inch negatives but cut each down to a slightly smaller size. It is clear that she considered each photograph separately since their dimensions vary, yet only one inch was removed from the length and the width of the photograph of *Sous le Cap*, leaving the excess foreground space intact.

In two photographs of *Our Quebec Trip*, the photographer also put greater effort into the final presentation of the pictures by using masks to block out sections of the negative during printing, providing a new frame and renewed composition to the picture. Arthur Hope suggested trying opaque masks of different sizes and shapes: “Try this and see what beautiful pictures it will make.”<sup>29</sup> The photograph of *Beauport Road* [fig. 9] portrays a sloping and winding road enclosed by an oval and typifies the picturesque views to be found in Quebec. The oval was also the traditional shape of eighteenth-century Picturesque drawings sketched through a Claude Glass, and the overall effect contributes to the picture’s romantic quality. In contrast, the photographs of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* were all printed on the standard and popular size of 4 x 5 inches, which, according to Henry Abbott in 1898, was “kept in stock by dealers in all parts of the world, while the other sizes are not always to be had so readily.”<sup>30</sup> No trimming or special framing was attempted by the photographer.

## The Tripod versus the Hand Camera

Photographers who aimed for well-composed photographs of picturesque subject matter were continually advised to use a tripod. J. C. Worthington and J. C. Millen, in *The Photographic Primer*, explained that anyone “with an ambition to make good pictures, to really take delight in the work, ought to make a better start with the regular, simple tripod camera.”<sup>31</sup> Serious photographers insisted that artistic photographs could only be attained by carefully examining the prospective view on the ground-glass of the camera, and this necessarily involved the use of a tripod. As explained in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* in 1896: “A close examination of the ground-glass, possible only when the camera is supported on a stand, will facilitate the obtaining of truly artistic results.... Held in the hand, approximation only is possible; placed on a tripod, accuracy is obtained.”<sup>32</sup> This point was further elaborated in an article published by *Photo-American* of 1891 that cautioned beginners that photographs taken in the absence of a tripod will be “unquestionably inferior” since: “Pictorial composition and all kindred considerations are, of course, cast aside in the rush to secure the moving object: the exposure can only be a very rude approximation, a point which very largely determines, if it does not absolutely govern, the development of the result.”<sup>33</sup> One year later, the *Photo-American* cautioned the novice that: “If... you wish photographs that are full of detail, and with the best values of light and shade, a tripod is really necessary.”<sup>34</sup> The tripod became a symbol for the serious amateur's careful and studied approach to photography and differentiated the skilled from new camera-owners.

In 1898, the Eastman Kodak Company produced *Picture Taking and Picture Making*, a guide to photography in the style of the amateur photographer's instruction

manual that guided the novice in every aspect of photography, and even included a section on landscape photography. *Picture Taking and Picture Making* encouraged its readers to photograph picturesque views and supported the serious amateur's artistic approach to the composition. Yet the guide contradicted the serious amateur's approach by declaring that the tripod was wholly obsolete. The "view camera," which required a tripod, was described as "a bulky instrument" that has now been "placed in the attic alongside the muzzle loading shot-gun and the 'ordinary' bicycle."<sup>35</sup> The Eastman Kodak Company conceded that it was sometimes desirable to use time exposures and that the camera would still need a solid support, but like other Kodak manuals of the decade, *Picture Taking and Picture Making* suggested that an improvised tripod could always be found: "A table, a chair, a fence post or a stump are frequently pressed into service on these occasions, though a tripod may be used when desired."<sup>36</sup>

Accomplished amateurs of the decade fought ardently against the industry's permissive approach to the tripod. They insisted on the tripod's importance for artistic pictures, and also relied on it to dissociate their own approach from that of emerging snap-shooting amateurs. Accordingly, the hand-held camera was vilified as the cause of photography's artistic decline. The *American Amateur Photographer's* statement that "our art has a higher side than is apparent to him who uses only a detective or other small box, which... are far from representing all that is best and highest in photography"<sup>37</sup> is exemplary of attacks on the hand camera during this time. In a later issue, one of its editors, W. H. Burbank, wrote an article on "The Dangers of Hand Camera Work" and stated that: "Certainly the indiscriminate use of the hand camera is fraught with danger to art, and in the interests of good and true photography the hand camera man should be



warned of it.”<sup>38</sup> By contrast, the tripod was credited with representing all that was valued in photography, namely “artistic selection, judicious exposure, careful development.”<sup>39</sup>

This debate was particularly relevant to the discussion of how amateurs should photograph the picturesque view, which was prized as photography’s most important subject. Even when photographers allowed that a hand camera could be useful in certain situations, they still promoted the tripod as the only legitimate method for capturing the subject of the picturesque landscape. One writer insisted that: “It is always better to carry two cameras where a photographic expedition is planned because the landscape, effect of distance, softness of foreground, etc., are matters of effects and timing and will require a machine wherein deliberation is necessary.”<sup>40</sup> An article providing “Hints to Beginners in Photography” maintained that: “The hand camera should supplement rather than supplant the ordinary landscape instrument” and that in a choice between the two, the latter should always be selected.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout the pages of their specialized journals, photographers campaigned heavily against the hand camera’s reputation as a simple device that could easily produce successful photographs. As Burbank wrote in his treatise on the dangers of the hand camera: “To him who uses the hand camera with sober thought and serious purpose, there can only come good, but to him whose only care is to beat the record on ‘snap shots,’ there will surely come harm.” Included in this impending harm was the “serious danger of creating total carelessness to artistic effect in photography.”<sup>42</sup> In an effort to distance themselves from this new class of “snap-shooting” photographers, serious amateurs emphasized the impossibility of attaining the status of a photographer solely through the use of the hand camera. *Wilson’s Photographic Magazine* explained that: “It is a

common, and a very amateurish mistake to think that hand-camera photography is 'the easiest sort of thing.' No one who seriously desires to obtain good views will attempt work with the hand camera until a pretty good schooling with the tripod is first had."<sup>43</sup> Exponents of the *American Amateur Photographer* insisted that knowledge of photography could only be obtained by patient study with the stand camera. One writer described those "button-pressing" photographers that neglected such training as "no more entitled to be called photographers than is he who knows not the multiplication table to be called a mathematician."<sup>44</sup>

*View on Champlain St.* in the album *Our Quebec Trip* [fig. 10] conveys the photographer's selection of picturesque subject matter and her attentive treatment of composition. Old-fashioned and charming, the scene is crowded with houses lining a curving road that disappears behind the bend, with a sloping mountainside in the background. The acute angle from which the houses are photographed contributes to their slanted and dilapidated appearance, and also incorporates a contrast between the front and side façades of the buildings. A similar composition is encountered in the photograph of *Beauport Road* [fig. 9]. Undoubtedly, the photographer had set up the camera in various different positions in order to determine the point of best advantage: the outline of the mountain and the house on the right converge to form a continuous line so as not to break up the harmony of the upper-right-hand corner, and the point at which the electrical pole meets the slope of the mountain in the centre was meticulously selected to coincide with the point of convergence between the horizontal and vertical shafts of the pole. In arranging the picture's central point of interest, where the lines of the road meet and disappear behind the horizon line, the photographer followed the directives of

skilled amateurs by ensuring that it would not occupy the exact centre of the composition. She avoided symmetry by placing and aiming the camera so that the electrical poles would appear uneven and the buildings on the right side of the road would not balance with those on the left, in either size or placement, thus ensuring an enhanced picturesque image.

Evidence of the use of a tripod appears in the upper-left-hand side of *View on Champlain St.*, where local inhabitants lean out their windows to look at the photographer. A photograph taken quickly with a hand-held camera would not have attracted so much attention, and furthermore, could not have given the residents enough time to become aware of the activity in the street and place themselves in proper positions for their own viewing. Photographers of the decade complained that the tripod usually attracted the curiosity of passer-bys, and resulted in direct stares into the lens, thus distracting from their own aims of securing picturesque photographs. As W. F. Carlton remarked in *The Amateur Photographer*: “naturally, as the camera being the central point of interest, all persons in sight, unless cautioned by the photographer, just previous to the exposure will invariably gaze at the instrument.”<sup>45</sup> The faces of the locals in this picture attest to both the photographer’s use of a tripod and to the deliberate and lengthy process of taking this photograph. These watchful eyes appear elsewhere in the album, particularly in the picturesque views of *Little Champlain St.* [fig. 11] and *Sous le Cap* [fig. 8], again suggesting the regular use of a tripod.

In contrast to the photographs of *Our Quebec Trip*, the figures captured in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* do not seem to take an interest in the photographer. In photographs such as *Rue Sous le Fort*, *Rue de Montagne*, the people in

the view appear oblivious to the presence of the camera. This suggests that Mina Hare and her companion were travelling without a tripod. The picture of *Interior of the Basilica* [fig. 12] and her second photograph of *Little Champlain Street* [fig. 13] provide further evidence that a tripod was absent. Since the interior of the Basilica was undoubtedly dark, the photographer opted for a longer time exposure in order to let more light into the lens and avoid underexposure. This strategy proved successful as we can see details of the sanctuary, but there is a blur in the image due to the lack of a tripod as holding the camera in her hands caused it to shake slightly during the exposure. For her time exposure of *Little Champlain Street* [fig. 13], the photographer avoided the hand tremors apparent in the Basilica picture by placing the camera on the ground, resulting in a large area of unfocused foreground. There was certainly enough natural light to take a photograph by instantaneous exposure with one's hands, as shown by the first picture of *Little Champlain Street* photographed on the same day [fig. 14], but the photographer chose to experiment with another diaphragm size and exposure time, as well as with this different placement of the camera.

A comparison of the two pictures of Little Champlain Street reveals the outcome of this experiment: in addition to differences in composition, the first picture is darker with sharper contrasts, while the second is of a softer hue with gentler gradations of light and shade. These changes correspond to Arthur Hope's description of the required length of exposure for landscapes: "A view combining sharp shadows, dark foliage, as well as much light in other portions, or in other words, strong contrasts, should be given ample exposure. Long exposure tends to soften contrasts, to give harmony, and if carried too far, weakness."<sup>46</sup> At first it appears as though a child is running through the softly-lit

photograph of *Little Champlain Street*, but closer examination reveals that the blurring in the image is the consequence of the longer exposure. The smudged figure represents the amount of movement that took place while the picture was taken. Further into the distance, two ghost-images appear in front of the stairs, towards the left side of the image. Dressed in black bottoms and white tops, the two figures are actually one person who has been captured twice in different positions, a common outcome of long exposures.

These photographs of Little Champlain Street reveal the selection of a picturesque subject, but the process by which the photographer achieved the compositions violated the principles of the decade's accomplished amateurs. Instead of using the amateur's much lauded-tripod, she took one of the pictures by instantaneous exposure with a hand camera and took the other by embracing the approach of the Eastman Kodak Company's *Picture Making and Picture Taking* and improvising a support for her camera.<sup>47</sup> Although the second attempt employed the method of time exposure recommended by serious amateurs, the camera's dependence on the ground as a tripod limited the photographer's ability to carefully study and compose the scene. Even if she could crouch down and hover over the camera to get a glimpse of the composition in the viewfinder, her range of adjustment was limited by her chosen support.<sup>48</sup> The final print, with unfocused rubble occupying at least one third of the composition and a drain pipe displayed prominently in the foreground, would have certainly been viewed unfavourably by the decade's accomplished photographers.

In entering the picturesque view without a tripod, the photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* took part in the new class of amateur photographers

emerging in the 1890s. In contrast, the photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* approached Quebec's romantic setting according to the instructions of serious and accomplished photographers, carrying along a tripod and carefully considering the composition. Quebec's picturesque streets are a dominant theme in both albums, demonstrating the pervasiveness of the subject of the picturesque view among the decade's amateur photographers. The albums also provide evidence of the photographic industry's success in appropriating both the camera and the picturesque discourse from the nineteenth-century amateur. Furthermore, the unorthodox approach to the picturesque view displayed in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* reveals how the objectives of this prized subject were subverted by the photographic industry. Once the pursuit of picturesque views became commonplace and expected, photographers adapted it to their own purposes and thereby diluted its artistic significance.

## CHAPTER 3

### Souvenirs of Quebec

John Tarbell's "Photographing in Quebec" published in the *American Amateur Photographer* in 1892 was soon followed by his second article on Quebec in the *Photo-American*.<sup>1</sup> While the first text concentrated on photographing the picturesque views of Quebec's Lower Town, his *Photo-American* essay, "A Camerist in Quebec, Canada," promoted the city as a sightseeing destination. He barely mentions his camera while describing his visit to the Wolfe Monument and the Plains of Abraham, replacing considerations of composition with musing on the battle that occurred on the site: "Why did the foolish Frenchman leave their stronghold, the Citadel, and expose themselves to the English troops on the open Plains of Abraham?" Then, without any further deliberation: "A photograph of the monument having been secured, the return to the city was made and other places of interest were sought."<sup>2</sup>

This chapter addresses the task of gathering photographic souvenirs of important sites and examines how the publications of accomplished photographers and camera manufacturers influenced this task within the albums of *Our Quebec Trip* and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*. The photographic industry emphasized photography's role in recording the site, to the detriment of the photograph's aesthetic value, while the decade's serious amateurs continued to espouse photography's artistic purpose. The aesthetic that emerges in photographs of these sites, particularly in the views of architectural subjects, raises the debate about the respective influences of the camera's technology and culture in shaping such photographs.

## **The Souvenir of Travel**

The Eastman Kodak Company distanced the camera from the notion of ‘photography for photography’s sake’ by concentrating on the camera’s ability to record sites and events. The management understood that people would soon abandon photography if it was perceived as a serious hobby requiring time and dedication, and thus worked to associate the camera with the purpose of documenting all of life’s activities and preserving memories. James E. Paster and Nancy Martha West have both argued that photography’s mnemonic function only became prevalent in Eastman Kodak Company advertising after the turn of the century,<sup>3</sup> but many nineteenth-century advertisements explicitly promote photography as a tool for memory. As early as 1888, when the Kodak Camera was introduced, the Eastman Kodak Company suggested that the camera’s purpose was to “secure for future pleasure and reference the scenes that impress and interest you.”<sup>4</sup> In 1891, the company boldly commanded travellers to: “Take A Kodak With You,” insisting that: “It will perpetuate the pleasure of your summer trip.”<sup>5</sup>

Twentieth-century theorists have debated the photograph’s actual role in memory; Walter Benjamin, Siegfried Kracauer, Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag have argued that the photograph eclipses actual memory, and may act more as a tool for forgetting than as an aid in remembering.<sup>6</sup> Catherine Keenan, Marianne Hirsch and Martha Langford have suggested that photographs preserve and perpetuate memory and can help in determining how the past is remembered.<sup>7</sup> While such considerations remain outside the scope of this thesis, it is certainly true that Eastman Kodak Company advertising was instrumental in



associating photography with memory, and thus laid the foundation for these modern debates.

The Eastman Kodak Company and other manufacturers promoted their cameras as especially useful for travel. The *Kodak Primer* promised that: “With the Kodak you can relive; Your wedding trip; Your summer in the Catskills, White Mountains, Adirondacks, at the Seashore; Your trip abroad; scenes on ship board, in Great Britain or on the Continent; Your visit to California; Your bicycle journey, Your winter in the South.”<sup>8</sup> The Blair Camera Company claimed that: “The Kamaret is unequalled for tourists’ use, being one-third smaller than any similar camera of equal capacity,”<sup>9</sup> and even named one of their cameras “The Tourist Hawk-Eye.”<sup>10</sup> The Rochester Optical Company’s guide to *Modern Photography*, written by W. F. Carlton, promoted the camera’s ability to chronicle nature’s beauties, but then went on to explain that: “To the tourist and pleasure seeker, photography affords a most convenient and accurate method of recording wayside views of hill and dale, mountain, river and sea; as every tourist knows there is no more charming *souvenir* of a summer’s vacation rambles than photographs taken by yourself.” While anyone could buy a souvenir, Carlton insisted on the value of one’s own photographs for future reminiscence, since “your own picture... calls up at once not only the scene in all its details, but not infrequently a little pleasant history too, that you remember well as you gaze at your photographs: in a word, your own photograph is indeed a pleasant memento of a pleasant holiday.”<sup>11</sup>

Those who identified photography with recording travel and memories did so to the detriment of the aesthetic side of the medium. Even J. C. Worthington and J. C. Millen compromised their standpoint in their *Photographic Primer*. While they insisted

on the importance of the tripod and clearly favoured artistic work, they also disclosed that “it is to be admitted that some of the negatives, if poor, are very priceless as personal possessions. The blurred picture of some face and form too swiftly removed from us forever, the record of some passing moment which can never again frame itself into being.”<sup>12</sup> An article in *Photo-American* published in June of 1892 “For the Beginner” also comforted the novice with a similar remark: “Don’t let my lengthy description deter you..., for even if the pictures do not turn out to be prize winners, you are sure to get pleasant mementos which it will be pleasant to turn over in after years, while memory carries you back to scenes long lost sight of. Is not this after all the real charm of photography?”<sup>13</sup> In 1888, the Eastman Kodak Company encouraged travellers to pursue the picturesque view and compile “A Picturesque Diary of your trip,” yet the central message of their advertisement concentrated on its value for recollection, not for art, since it “will be worth a hundred times its cost in after-years.”<sup>14</sup>

An Eastman Kodak Company advertisement of 1891 invited customers to send away for a copy of *Through Europe with a Kodak*, a free publication that informed the aspiring photographer of the possibilities of travelling with a camera.<sup>15</sup> The guide was written in the voice of a traveller who had just returned from a trip through Britain, and declared in the introduction that: “If I had to go again without a Kodak I would stay home.”<sup>16</sup> He (as the booklet suggests that the traveller-photographer would be a man) continued on to state his reasons, none of which discuss the trip itself but refer to the value of the photograph for recollection once the trip had concluded:

The tourist who provides himself with a lasting record of the many beauties he has seen and of the many enjoyable incidents which have been his experience has added tenfold to his recollections, and has received impressions that remain with him to the end. With a treacherous memory,

added to the cares of a busy life, much that was instructive and amusing on that trip must long since have perished but for my Kodak.

The remainder of this modest guide describes the photographs taken on the trip, providing a lesson to readers as to what should be portrayed of a vacation abroad. The subject of “beauty” is mentioned in the introduction, but the guide concentrates on the historical significance of the sites encountered. The anonymous traveller emphasized his objective to capture the sites of British history on film by remarking that: “I never knew history was so interesting till I wrote it myself and illustrated it with my Kodak.” In the text that accompanies the photographs, he narrated the history behind his chosen subjects. For example, he described the romance between the Scottish poet Robbie Burns and “his Highland Mary” in order to supplement his photograph of the site of their parting “among the glens of Scotland,” and even included the poem by Burns that describes the incident. The stories that accompany each photograph validate their worth for historical interest, and suggest that the real purpose of taking pictures on one’s travels was to document these resonant sites.

The photograph of the place of General Montgomery’s death in the album *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* can be considered within this context [fig. 15]. *The Guide to Quebec* urged travellers to see this site, where “in the narrow pass, immediately below the Citadel, the brave Montgomery fell, mortally wounded, in the snow, at the head of his men, in his rash and daring attack upon Quebec on the night of the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1775.”<sup>17</sup> On August 1<sup>st</sup> of 1898, Hare and her companion paused in front of the plaque mounted on the side of the cliff commemorating Montgomery’s fall and took a photograph. The resulting picture, *Cliff where General Montgomery fell*, is a banal view of the side of the cliff, bereft of any interesting details. A few shrubs break up

the cliff's craggy surface, while electrical wiring passes directly across the picture and right over the sign itself. A photographer concerned with aesthetic results would have adjusted the composition to avoid intersecting the sign with the wiring, yet artistic consideration is entirely absent. The photographer stood directly below the cliff and angled the camera sharply and unnaturally upwards. While a more appropriate angle would have required distance from the cliff and would have demanded that she photograph the site from the river, the distortion of the plaque could have been amended by the use of the serious amateur's tripod and swing-back camera. Like the photographs of *Through Europe with a Kodak*, this photograph was clearly taken with the intention of documenting a notable site and calling up a piece of Quebec's history without any accompanying concern for creating a visually interesting image.

The intent to document rather than to create an artistic image is also apparent in the photographs of Quebec's *calèches* found in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*. Along with the narrow alleys and decrepit buildings of the Lower Town, the *calèche* was another distinguishing feature of Quebec's pre-industrial and Old World character. Symbolizing what John Urry would designate as a "particular sign" of Quebec, it was an ideal subject for the accomplished amateur's picturesque views.<sup>18</sup> Yet as a sign of Quebec, the *calèche* became an important site of interest and a site to remember, and was referenced by Baedeker as one of the curious sites to see in Quebec.<sup>19</sup> The photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* photographed the vehicle accordingly. One of the photographic souvenirs that appears in the album is entitled *Cab-stand opposite Château Frontenac* [fig. 16] and portrays six empty *calèches* lined up at a station and awaiting passengers. The *calèches* are far enough in the distance that details are

obscured, but the view is not distant enough to include any interesting diversions. The photographer allowed the trees behind the 'cab-stand' to overshadow the *calèches* and included a carelessly cropped section of the Château Frontenac. The foreground is empty and a pole clumsily cuts the right side of the photograph. While the photographer clearly understood the significance of the *calèche* as a typical instance of Quebec's culture, the resulting souvenir is entirely devoid of any picturesque significance beyond documentation. The album's other photograph of *A Calèche* includes with three unidentified passengers, but the background is devoid of any interesting details [fig. 17].

The banal elements of these *calèche* photographs are reminiscent of the photograph of *Cliff where General Montgomery fell* and those of *Through Europe with a Kodak*. In contrast, the photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* took a different approach in her photograph of *A Calèche* in order to secure a charming and picturesque image of her travelling companions seated in the vehicle [fig. 18]. The dappled light that illuminates the view recalls the style of Impressionist painters and contributes to the artistic appearance of the image. Instead of photographing the *calèche* according to how it would usually stand, parallel to the façades of the buildings that line the street, it is placed on an angle in order to create a background of receding buildings and a triangular composition with the foliage framing the right side of the image. The differences in the photographers' compositions are certainly the result of the photographers' different intentions. The photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* saw the *calèche* as a feature of Quebec's romantic setting and therefore as a desirable subject for an artistic photograph, while the photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* included pictures of the *calèche* as one among others of Quebec's sites to be documented for her album, and

therefore photographed the *calèches* as a souvenir and an aid to memory rather than as the content of an aesthetic photograph.

### Architectural Subjects

While the photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* maintained an aesthetic approach to her photographs, the second purpose of recording sites of historical interest also entered into the album. The photographer inscribed an extensive caption with the photograph of Notre Dame des Victoires, a church in the Lower Town of Quebec, that offered a summation of the church's history transcribed from tablets on either side of its doors [fig. 19].<sup>20</sup> The chronology in the caption is reminiscent of the presentation of photographs in *Through Europe with a Kodak*, where Burns' poem accompanied the photograph of the glens of Scotland to disclose the picture's true meaning. These informative supplements undermine the artistry of the picture by calling attention to its historical content and allowing the photograph to take on the guise of a souvenir. Nevertheless, even as the photographer alluded to this documentary function, the composition reveals that she was unyielding in her consideration of the directives of serious photographers. The church is taken from an angle and placed to the side of the picture in order to ensure an aesthetic arrangement, and follows Ellerslie Wallace's preference for a photograph where "the building was made in perspective and the lines of the trees and fences made to run diagonally toward a vanishing point, thus breaking up the offensive square masses and transforming them into something approximating a triangle."<sup>21</sup> The image is filled with interesting details that add to the photograph's scenic appearance. The commercial signs

that enter the view at the right of the picture, reading “Hardes” and “I. Gosselin & Cie.,” have been carefully arranged to add variety to the scene and frame the view.

This view of *Notre Dame de la Victoire* [sic] demonstrates that the photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* considered photography’s aesthetic purpose and integrated it with her documentation of Quebec’s sites of interest. Another photograph of a church that appears in the album, ‘*Station*’ on *Beauport Road* [fig. 20], also suggests this aesthetic purpose while representing a specific site. The chapel itself is clearly the intended subject of the picture, but it is taken from a sharp angle and concealed behind a tree and the fence that lines the road. The result is an attractive picture, but the photograph that appears in the album *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days, Beauport Church* [fig. 21], is far more descriptive of the building itself. The chapel is again taken from an angle, though from a shorter distance, but the front façade and entrance to the church is displayed prominently, unlike its treatment in *Our Quebec Trip*.

As with the photograph of *Beauport Church*, other photographs found in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* reveal that Mina Hare’s travelling companion was principally concerned with securing descriptive records of the stops along her trip. The fact that she included photographs of both *Kent Gate* and *St. Louis Gate*, two very similar architectural structures, as well as four almost identical photographs of Montmorency Falls, in addition to one more picture of *Head of Montmorency Falls*, also attests to this. Such photographs were undoubtedly included in order to show the itinerary of the trip by describing and emphasizing Quebec’s places of interest, rather than with the intention of compiling a diverse and attractive collection of photographs. The photograph of Quebec’s Basilica from 1898 [fig. 22] confirms this different approach. The photograph

was taken almost directly in front of the subject without artistic consideration of the composition, resulting in an arrangement that reflects Wallace's description of "offensive square masses." The manner in which the electrical pole overlaps with the outline of the Basilica demonstrates aesthetic carelessness. As in the banal photograph of *Cliff where General Montgomery fell*, electrical wires run across the view and cut through one of the picture's most interesting elements, intersecting the steeple that carries the cross. While the subject of the photograph is clearly presented, the picture is devoid of the inventive arrangement and careful detail that enhance the artistic photograph of *Notre Dame de la Victoire*. Furthermore, the photographer did not hold the camera entirely level when taking the photograph, causing the lines of the architecture to converge inward and produce a distortion in the appearance of the building, giving the impression that the church is tilting backwards.

Similar differences are again evident in each traveller's portrayal of the city's *Hôtel du Parlement*. The building was erected between the years 1877 and 1887 in the Second Empire Style derived from French architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the design is therefore inspired by the Renaissance and its classical roots.<sup>22</sup> Set in the Upper Town at the back of a large landscaped forecourt, the building deviates from Quebec's "medieval" setting and conflicts with the artistic amateur's favoured subject matter of the picturesque view. This may account for the picture's placement in *Our Quebec Trip*. *Parliament Buildings, Quebec City* [fig. 23] is mounted on the first page of the album, suggesting that the building was photographed as its preface and as a symbol of the city. Such positioning reinforces the informative rather than aesthetic character of the picture. The picture of *Parliament House, Quebec* in *Souvenir of a few*



*pleasant summer days* [fig. 24] appears later in its album and is embedded in the content of the trip, revealing its place as one among many of Quebec's sites that were intended for later recollection.

Even though the subject of these photographs suggests a favouring of the documentation of a site and the aims of the souvenir, the two photographers still retained disparate aesthetic approaches. In order to capture the immense building in its entirety and without distortion, it had to be photographed from a distance and with careful consideration of the point of view. The photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* certainly invested the effort to do so; she stationed herself across the road from the building and took the view from a choice position at the top of the city's ramparts. The straight lines of the horizon and the architecture indicate the careful positioning of the camera, following Arthur Hope's insistence that "the camera must be level so that the line of the horizon as shown upon the ground-glass may be level."<sup>23</sup> The resulting print carefully and neatly presents the receding planes of the lawn and the roadways that surround the building in order to tie the planes of the architecture and the foreground lawn into a harmonious composition. The settings at either side of the building are carefully balanced, and the background of the surrounding sky provides equilibrium to the foreground space of the lawn, while also enhancing the silhouette of the building. Mina Hare's photographer planned her photograph of *Parliament House* less meticulously, and cropped the building randomly at the right-hand side. Taken from across the road, but at street level, the camera had to be positioned upwards to capture the building. The whole view appears on an angle, with a broken horizon line and distortions in the appearance of

the building. The harmony and balance that characterize *Parliament Buildings of Our Quebec Trip* is absent from the composition.

### **The Hand Camera's Aesthetic**

The precise compositions of the photographs of *Notre Dame de la Victoire* and *Parliament Buildings of Our Quebec Trip* suggest that the photographer used a tripod to carefully select and compose her views. In contrast, the photographs of *Basilica* and *Parliament House* of the album *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* display distorted architecture, haphazard cropping, unbalanced scale, and a general dismissal or unawareness of the serious amateur's directions to carefully arrange the composition. Such imperfections are typical of what nineteenth-century accomplished amateurs expected of the hand camera since, as explained by Worthington and Millen's *Photographic Primer*, it "encourages carelessness and a disposition to shun study."<sup>24</sup> Yet the turn of the century's leading camera manufacturer promoted a different estimation of the hand camera's capabilities. Kodak Manuals of the decade warned that: "*The Principal Thing* [t]o learn in using the Kodak is to Hold it steady while pressing the button." Next the camera owner was instructed to: "Hold it Level. – The Kodak must be held level." The importance of achieving proper perspective in one's photographs was also stressed in the manuals, echoing the accomplished amateur's search for the correct point of view. Each Kodak Manual gave explicit directions for photographing tall buildings, or alternatively, for photographing objects low to the ground. An illustration of a distorted building was provided, each with a caption that read: "This was pointed too high. This building should have been taken from the middle-story window of the

building opposite. The operator should hold it *level*, after withdrawing to a proper distance.”<sup>25</sup> In early versions of the manual, even more extensive directions were given as to where one should stand in relation to the subject. In *The Kodak Manual* of 1889, two different examples were provided with captions that read: “These pictures show a false perspective, because the Kodak was held in the wrong position... the operator should have stood further to the left.”<sup>26</sup> This information was intended to help the photographer avoid those short-comings that serious amateurs associated with the hand camera and taking instantaneous exposures, or snapshots.

The photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* deviated from such precise directions, particularly in the photographs of *Cliff where General Montgomery fell* [fig. 15], *Interior of the Basilica* [fig. 12], *The Basilica* [fig. 22] and *Parliament House* [fig. 24], where distorted scale, tilted horizon lines, blurred images and random framing enter the compositions. Twentieth-century critics and historians have often interpreted such attributes, common in the personal photographs that emerged after the introduction of the Kodak Camera, as dependent on characteristics that are innate to the camera.<sup>27</sup> Early amateurs are described as working almost sub-consciously in the absence of a pictorial model to produce pictures that are the result of the photography’s unbridled technology. Nathan Lyons has written that in the past: “The accidents of millions of amateurs devoid of a picture vocabulary... produced an outpouring of multiple exposures, distortions, unusual perspectives, foreshortening of planes, imbalance...;” while Steven Halpern states that “the recalcitrant hand camera spontaneously and accidentally generated its own informal style.”<sup>28</sup> Such explanations suggest that camera-owners did not necessarily wish to stray from the aesthetic

conventions promoted by serious photographers, but were for the most part merely untrained and uninformed of pictorial tradition.

However, this assessment of the turn-of-the-century snapshot aesthetic neglects to consider the important role played by the photographic industry in shaping the appearance of popular photography. While images of sites found in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* may appear to have been produced without any ideological or pictorial model, they clearly reflect those texts that describe the photograph as a travel souvenir and aid to memory, while neglecting its artistic purpose. Although the Eastman Kodak Company did provide instruction on proper perspective in their manuals, the information came only after new-camera owners had been indoctrinated by advertisements. Those who did not buy Kodak cameras would not necessarily have had the advantage of such instruction and many new photographers of the 1890s approached their cameras believing the slogans that “no previous knowledge of the art [is] necessary”<sup>29</sup> or that “anybody can use [the camera] without instructions.”<sup>30</sup> While serious photographers of the nineteenth century had encouraged camera-owners to compose pictures that followed the pictorial traditions of the past, camera manufacturers gave the public the tools, both in terms of the technology and the very idea, to produce a different kind of picture.

In 1898, the photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* was able to follow certain pictorial traditions when an archetype was provided for her particular subject and intention. Her photographs of *Sous le Cap* [figs. 6 and 7], for example, do not convey a considerable difference from the *Sous le Cap* picture of *Our Quebec Trip* [fig. 8] in terms of distorted scale, tilted horizons, blurred images or random framing.

Yet she found a more suitable model for her photographs of Quebec's sites of interest in the texts circulated by the photographic industry. In *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, Pierre Bourdieu demonstrates that the French public of the 1960s approached their photographs in much the same way. Bourdieu explains that people were less likely to apply aesthetic consideration to a photograph when the subject was perceived as "ritualistic," such as pictures of babies, pets or famous monuments, while aesthetic concerns were likely to appear in photographs perceived as outside of social rituals, such as images of the landscape.<sup>31</sup> The subjects that Bourdieu designates as ritualistic correspond to the themes promoted by camera manufacturers in the 1890s; those that lie outside of photographic rituals were advanced by the serious amateurs of pre-Kodak days. Like the amateurs of Bourdieu's study, the photographer of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* felt free to apply a "popular aesthetic" that corresponds to the characteristics expected of the hand camera when she photographed subjects that fulfilled functions suggested by the Eastman Kodak Company and other proponents of the photographic industry.

*Our Quebec Trip* and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* were both assembled as souvenirs of travel. The photographs of *Our Quebec Trip* were mounted into an album embossed with a title that indicates its purpose to describe and preserve the journey to a particular place at a particular time. Mina Hare's album announces its function as a souvenir in its title and its final photograph. The opening inscription reinforces the album's objective to invoke memory: "And backward rush sweet memories, like fragments of a dream." While the mnemonic and documentary function

of travel photography came to motivate and dominate the practice of the decade's mass of amateur photographers, the discourse of the accomplished amateur still held an important place in amateur travel photography. The traveller of 1896 filled the album *Our Quebec Trip* with artistic and thoughtfully-composed souvenirs of her travels; the traveller of 1898 included elements of Quebec's romantic setting, the prized subject of the serious amateur. An analysis of these albums therefore reveals the strength of the decade's accomplished amateurs to shape these travellers' souvenirs, even as they simultaneously sought to dissociate photography from this purpose. By demonstrating that the aesthetics of these photographs were influenced by the texts of both the photographic industry and accomplished amateurs, and by showing that this aesthetic varied according to the purpose of the photograph, this chapter also refutes the idea that post-Kodak snapshots were determined solely by their technology. While the technology of the camera certainly affected the approach of the two photographers, the ways in which they employed their cameras and produced their representations were also formed through their comprehension of the purposes and corresponding approaches to photography that were circulated in the decade's advertisements, instruction manuals and specialized journals.

## CHAPTER 4

### Portraits of Quebec's Tourists

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, there was a strong division between the professionals who photographed for commercial purposes and the amateurs who pursued photography for their love of the discipline. The public relied upon professional photographers to provide portraits, while amateurs devoted their energies to photographing the artistic subjects of landscape and genre scenes. Towards the later years of the century, the photographic industry and its throng of amateur photographers infringed on both territories. In promoting the notion that *anyone* was able to take a picture of *anything, everywhere*, camera manufacturers eventually obliterated the division between photography's traditional subjects. Such changes had important repercussions for the travel photograph as amateurs began to record not only the sites and landscapes of their trips, but also their own presence in the view. This chapter looks at the representations of travellers that appear in these albums and examines late nineteenth-century manifestations of two popular and contemporary conventions of amateur travel photography: the portrait at the doorstep and the portrait at the site.

#### Portraiture at the Turn of the Century

The photographic industry's promotion of portraiture as a subject for photography was an important part of their claim to preserve memory. The Eastman Kodak Company considered events that included family and friends to be worth remembering, and advertisements were sure to inform the public that these occasions could be made even

more memorable with the help of a Kodak Camera: "Winter Kodaking is made doubly delightful by the pictures of the family groups at the Thanksgiving table and at the Christmas tree; by flash lights of one's friends taken in the long evenings of the holiday season; pictures which have an ever increasing value to their owner as the years go by."<sup>1</sup> Camera manufacturers emphasized the importance of taking pictures of babies and children since the photograph was the surest way of securing a memento of fleeting stages of life. The Kodak Company's first Kodak Manual of 1888 included examples that encouraged their customers to photograph children: the picture demonstrating false perspective was of a small child, while the illustration showing the photographer taking a picture low to the ground featured a young girl.<sup>2</sup> This latter example was used repeatedly in Kodak Manuals throughout the decade.

Later Eastman Kodak Company publications that emulated the handbooks of serious amateurs held portraiture as photography's most esteemed subject. *Picture Taking and Picture Making* maintained that: "There is no more interesting branch of picture making than portraiture, and the required accessories can be found in every home." The guide went on to describe appropriate practices for taking portraits both indoors and outside.<sup>3</sup> The early twentieth century brought the publication of an entire booklet devoted to *Kodak Home Portraiture*, which claimed that "there is no branch of picture making that is so full of interest, that so universally appeals to human kind as the picturing of the human face and figure."<sup>4</sup> The booklet attests to the new threat not only to serious amateurs, but also to commercial photographers, by stating that the Kodak camera "made it possible for everyone to take pictures, and in infinite variety" and citing as examples the ease of "snapping the children at play," or "taking a formal portrait by the



light of the library window.”<sup>5</sup> The public had previously depended on the professional photographer for their portraits, but the camera’s new accessibility was challenging the very need for professionals.

As was the pattern throughout the decade, the serious amateurs who had established their practice prior to the introduction of the Kodak Camera struggled against this development. In a discussion on “Amateurs and Professionals,” an amateur photographer by the name of W. Adcock questioned how amateurism affected the trade of photography: “It is alleged that the amateur supplies a want which limits the demand upon the trader; that he photograph places, people and things so extensively, that the action of one multiplied by the many (the immense army now enrolled) makes the demand upon the professional trader a fraction of what it used to be or otherwise would be.”<sup>6</sup> Adcock encouraged amateurs to preserve the profession of the commercial photographer by maintaining the traditional division between portraiture and photographs of these other places and things, recommending that the amateur should “have as many portraits of themselves and their families from professionals as if they were not amateurs.”<sup>7</sup> W. F. Carlton took a similar approach by warning the beginner about the difficulty of producing successful portraits and insisting on the professional photographer’s superior ability: “The greatest ingenuity has been applied to produce the requisite effects, the accessories of a first-class studio being far beyond the reach of the ordinary amateur.”<sup>8</sup>

Other serious photographers sought to maintain this division out of a desire to preserve the artistic and earnest character of photography. One article published in the *Photo-American* in 1899 complained bitterly about the phenomenon of group portraiture.

The article quoted the British photographer Ward Muir at great length. As a member of the Brotherhood of the Linked Ring, a British association of Pictorial photographers, Muir's harsh criticism of group portraits could be expected:

Why – to go to the root of the matter – *why* should we take groups? They are neither *genre* nor landscapes; neither interesting to the scientist, nor good specimens of topographical work; neither pleasing artistically, nor (except in the case of celebrities, to which class I plead guilty to supposing that the relatives of only a minority of my readers belong) suitable as magazine illustrations; satisfactory neither to the impressionist nor the “truth-to-nature” man....<sup>9</sup>

Accomplished amateurs also worried that portraits taken by less-dedicated colleagues armed with hand cameras would threaten the serious nature of their medium. In enumerating the dangers of the hand camera, W.H. Burbank warned that photography would be “degraded into a means of caricaturing one's friends by securing them in various ludicrous or uncomely positions, than which nothing can be more contrary to the spirit of our gentle art.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Portrait at the Doorstep**

The group portrait taken on *Our Quebec Trip* in front of the Mansion House Hotel in Cacouna [fig. 26] and the photograph of *Home and Hostess* that concludes the album of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* [fig. 25] both partake in the popular genre of the traveller in front of the entrance to a house, either at the traveller's destination or the doorstep that signifies the return home. Established photographers frequently recommended taking portraits in front of a house. W. F. Carlton maintained that: “The best light for home portraiture is usually derived on a porch or on a lawn,”<sup>11</sup> and the *Photo-American* advised taking portraits on the north side of a house or under a well-

lighted porch,<sup>12</sup> while Alexander Black suggested that “the natural background of the house or of some shrubbery may be acceptable.”<sup>13</sup> The portrait at Cacouna also corresponds to the observation of June 1892 in *Photo-American* that “the season is at hand when the ‘resorter’ with a camera will be importuned to take unending groups of ‘the house’,”<sup>14</sup> suggesting that this formula was already a conventional habit. By 1899, the custom of photographing the group on the doorstep had already become commonplace and hackneyed, inciting Ward Muir to sneer at their uniformity: “Groups, groups, groups, and (it would be sheer weakness not to add) ninety per cent of them posed upon the doorstep. Oh, that doorstep!”<sup>15</sup> Muir complained that such photographs are entirely unnatural, “for what family out of Bedlam ever huddles itself on the front doorstep as an ordinary course of procedure in real life? Even looked at as a species of portrait, the thing is a fraud. The faces are too small, and surrounded by too great a multiplicity of detail, to be genuinely characteristic.”<sup>16</sup>

This description is relevant to the photograph of *Home and Hostess* [fig. 25], where Mina Hare poses in front of her house upon the return to Montreal. The “multiplicity of detail” of the architecture distracts from the portrait of the hostess. Mrs. Hare appears as a diminutive figure in front of the large home that occupies almost the entire composition, giving the impression that the hostess was only included as an ornament to the scene. Furthermore, the hostess is clearly too small to be “genuinely characteristic.” In advising the beginner in taking portraits, the *Photo-American* cautioned that: “you will notice the heavy shadow thrown by the wide hat and if it cannot be gracefully tilted or turned to remove the shadow, it must come off, or your picture will lack detail in the upper part of the face.”<sup>17</sup> Yet the photographer allowed Mina Hare’s hat

to completely obscure her face, thus excluding the possibility of communicating her particular facial features. For Ward Muir and his fellow accomplished amateurs, this picture would have surely been viewed as a fraud: not only did the photographer neglect to portray the hostess to advantage, the home that acts as the principal subject of the picture was rendered inexactly with somewhat indiscriminate cropping. Nevertheless, for the photographer and for Mina Hare herself, *Home and Hostess* was undoubtedly a success, as it was proudly presented as the final picture of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*. The hostess for whom the album was intended certainly did not require a portrait that would describe her own physical appearance. Rather, the photograph is rich in personal meaning, acting as a requiem for the trip by announcing its end and documenting the safe arrival back at home. The photograph, like the album itself, therefore functions as a diary invested with personal value for Mina Hare's own future recollection, and effectively reproduces an important purpose for photography as expressed by the photographic industry.

The counterpart in *Our Quebec Trip* [fig. 26] reflects the aim and method of taking pictures suggested by the decade's serious amateurs, and the result reveals the photographer's aesthetic consideration. The photograph shows seven figures that are not quite on the doorstep, but grouped in front of Cacouna's Mansion House Hotel. All of the women wear hats, yet none of their faces are obscured in shadow, and each conveys its own particular features. The photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* was mindful of the light in order to avoid the direct sunshine that, as described by the *Photo-American*, would produce "harsh, sharp contrasts absolutely incompatible with pleasing pictures."<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the photograph's depth of field, noticeable in the difference in sharpness

between the women in the foreground and the house behind, and the absence of any blurred movement in the posed subjects, reveal that the photographer used an instantaneous exposure and large diaphragm size, or large stop, thereby ensuring more flattering likenesses. The *Photo-American* reported that portraits made with a small stop show “so many unsuspected wrinkles and other little blemishes that the best retoucher could hardly make the negative tolerable by the photographer, much less by the victim.”<sup>19</sup>

The setting for this portrait also reveals the photographer’s attention to the arrangement of the composition. Lincoln Adams, in his *Photographic Instructor for the Professional and Amateur*, complained that: “Out-door groups frequently represent a mass of figures without any attempt at artistic arrangement.” He therefore recommended that the photographer “look out for, and take advantage of, any spot that would afford him aid to break up monotony, and to give variety to the general form.”<sup>20</sup> The photographer of the group at Cacouna found such a spot across the street from the Mansion House Hotel, on the grounds of the Benjamin Dionne House.<sup>21</sup> A white picket fence with arched passageways lined the road in front of the Dionne House and provided an organizing frame through which to view the hotel, as well as a steady support on which the women could lean during the preparation and taking of the photograph. The archways are reminiscent of a stage set and give the photograph a theatrical quality, thus avoiding the mundane arrangement of group portraits criticized by serious amateurs. Ellerslie Wallace had recommended that photographers actually construct a background for outdoor portraits, “with two movable wings, and a top which can be raised or lowered according to the amount of top light desired.”<sup>22</sup>

While the photographer of *Our Quebec Trip* did not go to this extent, she did keep an eye out for such naturally occurring settings within her environment. The lines of the fence provide a contrast with the circles of the bicycle wheels, and the verticals of the archways also reference the windows of the hotel. As a result, all of the elements of the picture are pulled together into a tight grid-like composition that is softened by the figures and the foliage. The fence also had the advantage of providing the photographer with an inventive way of posing her subjects. Serious amateurs complained that subjects were too often placed in rigid and unnatural lines. Here the subjects are arranged around the fence, with four women standing behind it and two women with their bicycles and a young girl standing in front and to the sides. Such composing ensured a result that is full of incident and variety instead of a picture where, in the words of one photographer, the subjects are planted “in stiff rows like a pickle exhibit.”<sup>23</sup>

Like the staring eyes of observers in photographs such as *View on Champlain St.* [fig. 10], *Little Champlain St.* [fig. 11] and *Sous le Cap* [fig. 8], here the women’s expressions and some of their postures reveal the time and care that was taken in arranging the scene. Yet instead of becoming enraptured by the scene of a foreign visitor with a camera, these women are familiar with the photographer and her activities. Their faces either remain expressionless or are adorned with rigid and stiff smiles. The two women standing in front of the fence look down at the ground as though already bored by the activity. The woman at the right rests her head in her hands and leans against the fence, suggesting that she is weary of the task of posing for the camera. The effect resembles Walter Welford’s comparison of portrait work done by a Mr. Smith, a devotee of the tripod, and a Mr. Brown, who embraced the hand camera:

Smith finds that in all his pictures there is too much staring at the camera if he introduces figures in the scene. He finds in Brown's shots, poor though they may be, either artistically or technically, that, at all events, every one is not rooted to the spot, looking at the camera, and having the appearance of plaster-of-paris images plumped down into the landscape, wishing they hadn't come, and wondering how they are going to get out.<sup>24</sup>

Other texts of the decade also suggested that the use of instantaneous exposures and hand cameras would bring an end to the conventional rigidity found in portraiture. In *Picture Taking and Picture Making* of 1898, the Eastman Kodak Company advocated using the largest stop for portraiture in order to let more light into the lens and allow for a shorter exposure time, since "the shorter the exposure the more natural will be the expression of the sitter."<sup>25</sup>

While both *Home and Hostess* and the group portrait at Cacouna were undoubtedly taken by instantaneous exposure, the portrait in Montreal was most certainly taken with a hand camera, and the picture moves away from the model of representation that was associated with the tripod and with the serious amateur's insistence on careful deliberation over the composition. It therefore follows from Welford's estimation that the portrait of *Home and Hostess* would appear more natural and lively than this group at Cacouna. Yet in spite of these expectations for the hand camera's aesthetic, as expressed by both Welford and by the Eastman Kodak Company, the hostess of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* also imparts this same impression of a "plaster-of-paris image" plotting her escape. While Mina Hare's likeness is too small to reveal whether her expression is rigid or relaxed, her pose is certainly unnatural. Hands on hips, she is rooted to her spot on the doorstep and faces the camera in anticipation of the photograph. The portrait at the doorstep was Mina Hare's opportunity to present herself to later viewers of the photographic travelogue. As Pierre Bourdieu theorized, such an

opportunity compelled her to provide a honourable and dignified impression of herself that resulted in a rigid and stiff portrayal.<sup>26</sup> Early photographic practices that required long exposures and tripods certainly contributed to the conventional rigidity of portraiture by requiring subjects to hold their poses for some time; but this cultural convention was not abandoned with the arrival of the snapshot. Even when camera-owners produced portraits of the traveller with new types of equipment and with a different paradigm in mind, the customs associated with the genre itself still infiltrated the composition and continued to shape the portrait photograph.

### **Portrait at the Site**

The picturesque views of *Our Quebec Trip* that depict fellow travellers in the view do not present them as the dominant subject of the picture. Figures in the photographs of *A Calèche*, *Calèche on Beauport Road*, *Schoolhouse on St. Louis Road* and *On the Road to Cacouna* were included to add diversity to the scene rather than functioning as portraits. The presence of the woman the edge of the water in *On the Road to Cacouna* [fig. 1] is subtle and hardly noticeable, and clearly not intended as a portrait. Not only is the figure too small to attract much attention, she is also facing away from the photographer. She was doubtlessly posed in this specific position to fulfill the function of embellishing the view as a picturesque element. This relegation of the figure to the position of an ornament is exemplary of the serious amateur's approach to having people in the view. Arthur Hope was only one of many photographers that warned against sacrificing the landscape to portraiture: "Many landscape views are failures, through the introduction of people in the immediate foreground, staring at the camera as



if they had rushed in where they did not belong and were not wanted, ‘to get their pictures taken’.” He explained that while introducing human figures or animals into the landscape is usually desirable, “they should never be made too prominent” and “they should look as if they belonged in the picture.”<sup>27</sup> While the two people that appear in the buggy of the photograph of *A Calèche* [fig. 22] take on far more prominence than the figure in *On the Road to Cacouna*, their purpose in the view is similar. The travellers of *Our Quebec Trip* heighten the romantic character of the picture by presenting the *calèche* in use, thus avoiding the prosaic quality of the picture of the ‘cab-stand’ of empty *calèches* in *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*. Like the picture of *On the Road to Cacouna*, the figures in *A Calèche* contribute more to creating the overall effect of the picture than to producing a portrait of the travellers.

There are also a number of photographs in the album that diverge from this formula and allow the travellers “to get their pictures taken,” as described by Arthur Hope. Three pictures taken in Quebec City aboard the shipwrecked Vancouver steamship [figs. 28, 29 and 30] and two pictures taken at Cacouna [figs. 26 and 27] prominently display the photographer’s unidentified companions as the central subjects of the photographs. In introducing travellers into the view, these five pictures stray from the conventions of serious photographers who aimed to produce artistic photographs. Such conventions depended on selecting subjects that correspond to John Urry’s description of the objects of the romantic gaze that inspired visitors and serious amateur photographers to search out scenery untouched by other tourists or by industry. Urry contrasts it to the collective gaze that requires large numbers of tourists to provide atmosphere, and where the presence of crowds of people actually establishes the location

as a tourist site by the presence of crowds of people.<sup>28</sup> While the “romantic gaze” dominated the trip described in the album of *Our Quebec Trip*, the sites of the Vancouver and of Cacouna were structured by a collective gaze that demanded a different approach to the travel photograph.

Both the Vancouver and the town of Cacouna were popular sites, recognized for their ability to draw tourists. The compiler of *Our Quebec Trip* included a newspaper clipping entitled “The Vancouver Hit” dated to August 10<sup>th</sup> next to a picture of the smashed bow of the ship, suggesting that the traveller and her companions were drawn to the site by its report in the media. The subject of the steamship is entirely contrary to views of the romantic gaze favoured by serious amateurs, as an article on “The ‘Vancouver’ in Port” in *The Quebec Gazette* published on August 12<sup>th</sup> reveals that the shipwreck was also the site of heavy tourism. Under the heading “Sightseers,” the newspaper reported that “All day yesterday thousands of people flocked to see the injured vessel, and great surprise was expressed by many at her being able to reach port. During the afternoon some excellent photographic views were taken of the ship.”<sup>29</sup> Evidence of these crowds can be seen in the photograph of *The Keel and Screw of the Vancouver* [fig. 29], where figures other than the photographer’s companions drift into the composition in the top right-hand area of the picture.

The village of Cacouna was described by Baedeker’s *Handbook for Travellers* as commanding “a fine view of the broad St. Lawrence, backed by the dark Laurentian Mts. (especially beautiful at sunset),”<sup>30</sup> but more importantly, it was an important destination for tourists at the end of the nineteenth century. Known as the ‘Saratoga of Canada’, it was one of the most fashionable summer resorts in Canada, and certainly *the* most

fashionable on the St. Lawrence. It is here, where tourists were expected and even constituted the attraction, that the photographer included her companions at the forefront of the picture. The group portrait taken in front of Cacouna's well-known and stylish Mansion House Hotel [fig. 26] discloses that the photographer visited Cacouna in order to enjoy the resort town in the company of other well-to-do tourists, and not with the purpose of 'photography for photography's sake'. Interestingly, photographs of Cacouna's fine views described by Baedeker are entirely absent from the album.

Although evidence of the tourist infrastructure makes an appearance within the pages of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*, particularly in the photograph of *Sous le Fort*, actual travellers are entirely absent from photographs of the stay in Quebec City. In fact, *Home and Hostess* [fig. 25] and a photograph entitled *Fellow Passengers* [fig. 31] are the only two images in the album that clearly portray travellers, yet neither photograph includes any indication of the specific sites of tourism. *Home and Hostess* was taken only after the trip to Quebec City had concluded. *Fellow Passengers* was taken on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July while aboard a cruise down the St. Lawrence River, although the exact location along the route is not disclosed. The two passengers in the photograph wear dark jackets, hats and mustaches, and neither one pays any attention to the photographer or to each other. The camera was pointed upwards, resulting in an awkward angle and the foreshortening of the closer figure so that his hands appear disproportionally large for his face. The expression of the figures and the composition of the picture suggest that the photographer was sitting next to these men with the camera on her lap, and that she took the picture without their knowledge. This furtive practice was common in the days when the hand camera was known as the 'Detective Camera',

although it was frowned upon in photographic journals.<sup>31</sup> The two passengers look into the distance, but the scene is too tightly cropped to include any hint as to the objects of their attentions.

Despite their differences, both albums maintained a strict division between those photographs that included the traveller and those far more numerous photographs from which travellers were excluded. *Our Quebec Trip*'s photographer abided by a firm organizing principle that determined and separated those places to be photographed from those settings that would serve as appropriate backdrops for portraits. Mina Hare's photographer maintained an even stricter division in her album. The site of travel and the traveller are not brought together in any of her pictures; one picture is taken on a mode of transport and excludes everything from the scene but the travellers themselves, while the other is taken only once safely back at home. This commonality between the two albums is revealing of the state of travel photography during the 1890s. A history of travel photography published by Time-Life Books describes how, towards the end of the nineteenth century, a new "breed of photographer... began to record their own presence and made pictures 'to show and tell about' when they got home."<sup>32</sup> This change was credited to both the Eastman Kodak Company's new mass-produced roll film cameras and to advances in transportation, and thereby invoked yet another explanation that relied on technology. Yet the pictures included in *Our Quebec Trip* of 1896 and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* of 1898 reveal that travellers did not intend to include their own presence in their personal souvenirs of tourist sites.

In the late nineteenth century, the photographic subjects of the traveller and the site had not yet been associated in the public imagination, and as a result, the activity of

posing at the site was not an essential part of the role of the traveller. The rhetoric of the decade's serious amateurs helped to maintain this division and ensure that travellers were not compelled to record their presence at the site, even though camera technology could have accommodated the two separate subjects within one exposure. While Kodak advertisements suggested that anyone that could press a button could also take a picture, photography as described by the accomplished photographer had not entered the phase where anyone could actually take a picture, or even be comfortable with a camera. As a result, the camera owner could not rely on companions or other travellers to take over the role of photographer and include his or her own presence in the view. Furthermore, since not everyone was a photographer, not everyone considered it common practice to pause at the site and take a picture. One adherent of the *American Amateur Photographer* described how many photographers "in our trips around the world are generally with relatives or friends who cannot be kept waiting while the tripod is set up."<sup>33</sup> Consequently, the idea of posing at the site was not yet a part of common cultural practice. Although it was rapidly encroaching, due to both the speed of the hand camera and its increasing popularity, this change would only be reflected in amateur travel photographs when it was first accommodated within the photographic texts that educated and informed the public. As a result, photographs of the traveller at the site were kept out of the turn-of-the-century traveller's photograph album.

## CONCLUSION

This study of amateur travel photography at the turn of the century has concentrated on elucidating the cultural context that informed the photographs of *Our Quebec Trip* and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*. Restoring this context places these anonymous and seemingly trivial photographs in a new light, revealing that photographs intended for personal use were not just the result of simple responses to developments in photographic technology. The ways in which the photographers used their cameras was mediated by the texts that surrounded photography during the last decade of the century. These writings suggested diverging purposes for photography and offered corresponding approaches that are reflected appropriately in the Quebec albums.

The photographers and their photographs were influenced both by the directives of the photographic industry and by the rhetoric of those serious amateurs that would be identified as Pictorialists by later art and photographic historians. An understanding of this historical foundation invites a reassessment of the ways in which personal snapshot photography has been described in current histories of photography. Recognizing the role played by accomplished amateurs and Pictorialist principles in shaping the development of personal photographs destabilizes the separation between the functional and the aesthetic within the canon of photographic history. Considering the models provided by popular and even consumer culture, specifically those of the Eastman Kodak Company, offers an alternative to the art historian's dismissal of the personal snapshot as an example of technology coupled with a lack of artistic knowledge. This thesis, with its

emphasis on both of these important influences, may thereby help provide new tools with which to consider vernacular photography.

Since the turn of the century, further developments in camera technology have brought photography into the lives of even more people and have made photography a truly universal medium. In 1900, the Eastman Kodak Company announced the introduction of the Brownie Camera. Sold for one dollar, the Brownie extended photography's reach beyond the upper and upper-middle classes. Furthermore, the camera's name and the illustrations on its packaging targeted children by association with the Brownie characters of Palmer Cox's popular children's stories, published in New York and London from 1887 until the early twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> The Anthony and Scovill Company of New York, the Grundlach-Manhattan Optical Company, and the Conley Camera Company of Minnesota followed with cameras named Buster Brown, Pixie and Kewpie, respectively, that also referred to children's culture.<sup>2</sup> The first Brownie camera measured 4.9 x 3.2 x 3.1 inches and produced pictures measuring 2.25 x 2.25 inches. With the start of the twentieth century and the proliferation of such affordable and compact cameras, the hand-held camera as a popular tool became a staple of North American social life.

In the early twentieth century, the German Company Leica developed a 35mm camera and introduced it to the public in 1925, allowing for smaller and more compact cameras since they employed negatives of the reduced 35mm size that could be enlarged in photographs after exposure.<sup>3</sup> A decade later, the Eastman Kodak Company sold the first commercially successful amateur colour film, Kodachrome Film,<sup>4</sup> and eventually the majority of camera-owners would take pictures in colour. Flash and film for indoor use

had also been improved to the point where taking pictures indoors was commonplace. By mid-century, some cameras were produced with automatic exposure, further removing the onus of picture-making from the photographer to the camera. The 1950s also saw the development of the Polaroid Land Camera, the instant camera produced by the American Polaroid Company that printed finished pictures within sixty seconds of exposure. Colour film was offered for Polaroid cameras in 1963.<sup>5</sup> In the late 1980s, ‘disposable’ cameras for one-time-use helped to ensure that everyone could always have access to a camera wherever they were. Even if the family camera had been forgotten at home, a new, commitment-free version was now offered at the local convenience store and at the nearest pharmacy. Eastman Kodak one-time-use cameras introduced in 1989 were appropriately called “Funsavers.”<sup>6</sup>

Through all of these advancements, the archetype of the serious amateur never surrendered to the ideas and attitudes promoted by the photographic industry at the end of the nineteenth century. The accomplished amateurs’ struggle to distinguish their practice from the activities of the growing masses of “button-pressing” photographers had flourished in response to the introduction of the Kodak Camera in 1888 and the mounting popularity of hand-held cameras and commercial film processing, as documented in this thesis. The discourse that resulted was particular to their own time and place, but it has reverberated throughout the century and through all subsequent photographic inventions. While photography became increasingly popular with each technological advancement of the previous century, there are still those who continue to insist on using a tripod, black and white film and timed exposures to produce aesthetic photographs. The photographer who insists that “button-pressers” – or those that use colour film, automatic cameras or



the disposable variety – are not *really* photographers continues to exist. Today, it is these photographers who are known as ‘amateurs’, while the rest of the public are simply thought of as people who own cameras, and the twentieth-century market for photography developed with full awareness of this division. While serious nineteenth-century amateurs and their photographs were embraced by photo-historians, the work of twentieth-century amateurs are relegated to the sphere of the “traveller who photographs,” along with the personal snapshots of less dedicated colleagues. Once the camera became a common and accessible instrument, it became increasingly difficult for a photographer to be invited into the medium’s critical culture, and thereafter into the realm of photo-history.

In the meantime, the rules of the photographer and photo-history were turned upside down as elements characteristics of post-Kodak popular photography, as defined in Chapter Three, began to appear in the work of modern photographers. Coined the “Snapshot Aesthetic” in the 1960s, the work of artist-photographers such as Diane Arbus, William Eggleston, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand intentionally included elements and techniques that opposed the directives of earlier artistic photographers and threatened pictorial tradition. The photographer and curator Nathan Lyons and John Szarkowski of New York’s Museum of Modern Art were both instrumental in defining the concept of the new aesthetic through exhibitions such as *Toward a Social Landscape*, held at the George Eastman House in 1966 as well as *The Photographer’s Eye* and *New Documents*, exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in 1966 and 1967, respectively.<sup>7</sup> Critics and historians often invoke the early history of snapshot and hand-camera photography as the historical background and aesthetic forerunner to these modern

photographs.<sup>8</sup> Yet they do so on the basis of formal similarities, without considering the cultural development of popular photography and the influence of the nineteenth-century photographic industry. Therefore, when Nathan Lyons explained that artist-photographers of the 1960s “talked about how they did not want to make a picture but a photograph,”<sup>9</sup> he does not seem to have considered that George Eastman and his company were among the first to express such a sentiment.

In the 1990s, camera manufacturers modified their products with the newest technology, producing digital cameras that have changed the way camera-owners take, print and share their photographs.<sup>10</sup> In effect, this ‘digital revolution’ mirrors the turn of the nineteenth century’s ‘film revolution’. The historical framework provided by this study of the first decade of celluloid film photography may prove useful for a future examination of the digital revolution. Today, new digital technologies are understood to allow the public to take photographs in entirely novel ways. One can view and edit photographs immediately after taking a picture, deciding just moments after “pressing the button” whether one wants to keep or ‘trash’ the picture. An unlimited number of pictures can be taken without the necessity of buying more film, and pictures can be re-touched and printed by the photographer on a home computer. Furthermore, the way in which pictures are shared has been entirely altered. The photographs taken over the course of an evening can be ready for presentation in the form of a slide show just moments later, allowing people to review an event instantly. However these changes are not just the result of new digital technology, just as turn-of-the-century photographs were not purely the result of developments in roll film and hand cameras. While the Eastman

Kodak Company once promoted their cameras as: “Photography simple, easy”<sup>11</sup> and promised that if: “You press the button, we do the rest,” today’s advertisements promote the Kodak Easyshare system for digital pictures with similar slogans: “Capture a moment effortlessly” and “Share your memories at the touch of a button.”<sup>12</sup> The technology has changed entirely, but the manufacturers’ texts emphasizing the ease of taking photographs are still responsible for constructing the culture surrounding the camera and shaping the popular photographs that adorn our lives today.

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## NOTES

### Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 262.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Janet E. Buerger, *French Daguerreotypes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 28.

<sup>3</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), unpaginated.

<sup>4</sup> Joan Schwartz makes this distinction between two different kinds of nineteenth-century travelling photographers in "The Geography Lesson: photographs and the construction of imaginative geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (1996): 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Liz Wells, ed., *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 108.

<sup>7</sup> Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1997) and Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light: A History of Photography* (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 2000), in contrast to Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982) and Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography: From the Camera Obscura to the Beginnings of the Modern Era* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).

<sup>8</sup> Rosenblum, 259-60.

<sup>9</sup> Michel Frizot, ed., *The New History of Photography* (Koln: Konemann, 1998).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.

<sup>12</sup> Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Photography After Art Photography," in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 110.

<sup>13</sup> See Peter C. Bunnell, ed., *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography 1889-1923* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980), 4; Robert Doty, *Photo-Secession: Photography as a Fine Art* (Rochester: George Eastman House, 1960), 14; Joel Eisinger, *Trace and Transformation: American Criticism of Photography in the Modernist Period* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 24-25; Patricia Hills, *Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs 1890-1910* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977); Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light*, 194.

<sup>14</sup> Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 23.

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<sup>15</sup> Schwartz identifies two pre-texts to travel photography: “those that coloured the way in which places were seen, and those that coloured the way in which their photographs were taken.” “The Geography Lesson,” 29.

<sup>16</sup> Such inconsistency is common in nineteenth-century photography since developers and toners were prepared in small quantities, often in the home, and slight changes in the mixture could affect the appearance of the finished print. Printing by daylight also produced irregularity depending on the time of day or the season.

<sup>17</sup> Karl Baedeker, *The Dominion of Canada with Newfoundland and an Excursion to Alaska: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1894), 49.

<sup>18</sup> Platinum prints came into use in the 1880s and were highly favoured. Widespread use was curtailed by inflation in the price of platinum during the 1880s and 1890s. The rarity and the industrial importance of platinum drove prices too high to make platinum prints viable for commercial use. They soon came to be associated with artistic photography. James M. Reilly, *Care and Identification of Nineteenth-Century Photographic Prints* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1986), 8.

<sup>19</sup> *Lovell's Montreal Directory* (Montreal: Lovell, 1898-1931).

<sup>20</sup> This company has survived into the present-day, though without any of Hare's descendents, and is now known as Morris & Mackenzie Inc.

<sup>21</sup> “Charles T. Hare Dead at 64 Years,” *Gazette* (Montreal), October 14, 1931.

<sup>22</sup> Obituary of Wilhelmina Margaret Hare, *Gazette* (Montreal), July 17, 1928.

<sup>23</sup> Martha Langford suggests that this album was compiled as a gift for the hostess who appears in the last photograph. *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 81.

<sup>24</sup> I am grateful to Professor Sandra Paikowsky for this observation.

<sup>25</sup> Alan McNairn, *Behold the Hero: Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 211-12.

<sup>26</sup> “Lady Amateurs,” *Photographic Herald and Amateur Sportsman* 1, no. 1 (November 1889): 3.

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Black, *Photography Indoors and Out: A Book for Amateurs*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1897), 124.

<sup>28</sup> Batchen, 268; Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art* (1965), trans. Shaun Whiteside (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 89.

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## Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> George C. Blakslee, "Recent Triumphs of the Camera," *American Amateur Photographer* 11, no. 8 (August 1899): 343.

<sup>2</sup> The name was subsequently changed to the Eastman Kodak Company in 1892; the company will hereafter be referred to as the Eastman Kodak Company.

<sup>3</sup> George E. Mott, "The Advantages of Photography to the Amateur," *American Amateur Photographer* 1, no. 1 (January 1890): 17.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Black, "The Amateur Photographer," *Century Magazine* 34, no. 5 (September 1887): 723.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Burbank, "The Dangers of Hand Camera Work," *American Amateur Photographer* 2, no. 9 (September 1890): 327.

<sup>6</sup> F. C. Beach, "Modern Amateur Photography," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 78, no. 464 (January 1889): 289-90.

<sup>7</sup> M. Y. Beach, "Evolution of the Camera," *American Amateur Photographer* 8, no. 10 (October 1896): 431.

<sup>8</sup> George H. Hepworth, "Experiences of an Amateur Photographer," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 79, no. 471 (August 1889): 455.

<sup>9</sup> J. C. Worthington and J. C. Millen, *Photographic Primer: A Manual of Practice* (Riverton: The Riverton Press, 1896), 159.

<sup>10</sup> W. I. Lincoln Adams, *Photographic Instructor for the Professional and Amateur*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Scovill and Adams Co., 1895), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Blair Camera Co., *Instruction Book for the Hawk-Eye Camera* (Boston: Blair Camera Company, 1891).

<sup>12</sup> M. A. Seed Dry Plate Co, *Seed's Manual* (St. Louis: M. A. Seed Dry Plate Company, 1896), 1.

<sup>13</sup> William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years 1839-1900* (NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1978), 335.

<sup>14</sup> "The Present Aspect of Amateur Photography," *American Amateur Photographer* 1, no. 1 (July 1889): 5.

<sup>15</sup> The journal was co-edited by Beach and Stieglitz between 1892 and 1896.

<sup>16</sup> The journal changed its name to *Photo-American* in November 1891, with Vol. 3 no. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Photo. Herald, "Salutatory," *Photographic Herald and Amateur Sportsman* 1, no. 1 (November 1889): 2.

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- <sup>18</sup> Adams & Westlake Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 55, no. 2 (December 1897): 55.
- <sup>19</sup> Rochester Optical Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 49 (1895): 42.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 86 (1893): 66.
- <sup>21</sup> L. M. Prince & Bro., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 77 (1888): 321.
- <sup>22</sup> George Gilbert, *Photographic Advertising from A-to-Z* (Riverdale, New York: Yesterday's Cameras, 1970), 27.
- <sup>23</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 56 (1898): 49.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 96 (1898): 79.
- <sup>25</sup> Walter D. Welford, "The Influence of the Hand Camera," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 24, no.11 (June 10, 1893): 344.
- <sup>26</sup> Rochester Optical Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 48, no. 6 (October 1894): 57.
- <sup>27</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 49 (1895): 43.
- <sup>28</sup> Gilbert, 27.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.
- <sup>30</sup> Adams & Westlake Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 55, no. 2 (December 1897): 55.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 96 (1898): 78.
- <sup>32</sup> L. M. Prince & Bro., advertisement, 321.
- <sup>33</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 77 (1888): 317.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, *Century Magazine* 38, no. 4 (August 1889): 43.
- <sup>35</sup> Rochester Optical Co., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 86 (1893): 66.
- <sup>36</sup> Gilbert, 71.
- <sup>37</sup> W. F. Carlton, *Modern Photography: An Essay on the Photographic Art* (Rochester: Rochester Optical Co., 1891), 17.
- <sup>38</sup> Scovill and Adams Co., *How to Make Photographs and a Descriptive Catalogue of Photographic Materials* (New York: Scovill and Adams Company, 1896), 3.
- <sup>39</sup> Ellerslie Wallace, *The Amateur Photographer: A Manual of Photographic Manipulation intended especially for Beginners and Amateurs with suggestions as to the choice of apparatus and of process*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1897), 9.

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<sup>40</sup> Henry G. Abbott, *Modern Photography in Theory and Practice: A Hand Book for the Amateur* (Chicago: Geo. K. Hazlitt & Company, 1898), 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Worthington and Millen, 61.

<sup>43</sup> Black, *Photography Indoors*, iv.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>45</sup> Abbott, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Worthington and Millen, 61.

<sup>47</sup> Wallace, 9.

<sup>48</sup> Hepworth, 454-55.

<sup>49</sup> "The Hand Camera," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 25, no. 5 (May 1, 1894): 143.

<sup>50</sup> "Amateur Photography," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 27, no. 9 (September 1896): 291.

<sup>51</sup> "The Hand Camera," 142.

<sup>52</sup> Adams and Westlake Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 55, no. 2 (December 1897): 55.

<sup>53</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 38, no.4 (August 1889): 43.

<sup>54</sup> Wallace, 47-48.

<sup>55</sup> Worthington and Millen, 59.

<sup>56</sup> Adams, 31.

<sup>57</sup> Wallace, 171-72.

<sup>58</sup> Adams, 143.

<sup>59</sup> Scovill and Adams Co., 3.

<sup>60</sup> This same table was included in every Kodak Manual of the decade. This particular quote was transcribed from Eastman Kodak Co., *Pocket Kodak Primer* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1896), 23.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*



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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>63</sup> Arthur Hope, *The Amateur Photographer's Hand Book: A Manual of Instruction for the Amateur*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Chicago: John Wilkinson Company, 1891), 7.

<sup>64</sup> Gilbert, 5.

<sup>65</sup> Rochester Camera Co., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 94 (1897): 85.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, *Century Magazine* 49 (1895): 42.

<sup>67</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., *The Kodak Primer* (Rochester: Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company, 1888).

<sup>68</sup> "The Drift of Amateur Photography," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 20, no. 10 (May 25, 1889): 289.

<sup>69</sup> "The Present Aspect of Amateur Photography," 5.

<sup>70</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 42 (1891): 60.

<sup>71</sup> Gilbert, 149.

<sup>72</sup> Manhattan Optical Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 56 (1898): 49.

<sup>73</sup> Walter Sprange, "Amateur Photography – En Voyage," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 24, no. 5 (May 1896): 150.

<sup>74</sup> An Old Hand, "Chapters for Beginners: Field Work," *American Amateur Photographer* 1, no. 5 (November 1889): 177.

<sup>75</sup> An Observer, "The Waning Popularity of the Camera," *American Amateur Photographer* 13, no. 9 (September 1901): 396.

<sup>76</sup> "The Present Aspect of Amateur Photography," 5.

## Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> E. T. D. Chambers, *The Guide to Quebec* (Quebec: Quebec Morning Chronicle, 1895), 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 6; *The Guide to Quebec* was advertised in Baedeker, 38 and regularly in the newspaper *Quebec Morning Chronicle* during the summer of 1896.

<sup>3</sup> *Historic Quebec* (Quebec: The Chateau Frontenac Co., 1894).

<sup>4</sup> *From Niagara to the Sea, Official Guide 1897* (Montreal: Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Co., 1897), 62.

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<sup>5</sup> Construction of the Château Frontenac began in May of 1892, and its doors opened to the public on December 18, 1893. For more information about the building, see Harold Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada* (Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria Maltwood Museum, 1968); and Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2:495-97.

<sup>6</sup> Quebec was included in Karl Baedeker's *The Dominion of Canada with Newfoundland and an Excursion to Alaska: Handbook for Travellers* of 1894.

<sup>7</sup> A. W. Robinson, "A Vacation Trip Through Canada," *American Amateur Photographer* 2, no. 1 (January 1890): 8-10; John H. Tarbell, "Photographing in Quebec and Vicinity," *American Amateur Photographer* 4, no. 3 (March 1892): 87-94.

<sup>8</sup> Baedeker, 38.

<sup>9</sup> "Picturesque," *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://0-dictionary.oed.com/mercury.concordia.ca> (accessed August 2004).

<sup>10</sup> Some of William Gilpin's publications include: *Observations on the River Wye* (London, 1782); *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England* (London, 1786); *Three Essays: on picturesque beauty; on picturesque travel; and on sketching landscape: to which is added a poem on landscape painting*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1794).

<sup>11</sup> J. and E. R. Pennell, "The Most Picturesque Place in the World," *Century Magazine* 46, no. 4 (August 1893): 345.

<sup>12</sup> An Old Hand, 177.

<sup>13</sup> James Reuel Smith, "Scenes in the City," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 25, no. 9 (September 1, 1894): 288.

<sup>14</sup> Rochester Optical Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 48, no. 6 (October 1894): 57.

<sup>15</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 77 (1888): 317.

<sup>16</sup> An Old Hand, 178.

<sup>17</sup> William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England* (Richmond, Surrey: The Richmond Publishing Co. Ltd., 1973), xxx.

<sup>18</sup> *From Niagara to the Sea, Official Guide 1897*, 73.

<sup>19</sup> Baedeker, 47.

<sup>20</sup> Kalman, *A History*, 2:496. For a complete discussion of the Canadian Château Style, see Kalman, *The Railway Hotels*.

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- <sup>21</sup> William Gilpin, *Five Essays on Picturesque Subjects; with a Poem on Landscape Painting* (London, 1808), 159.
- <sup>22</sup> Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 52.
- <sup>23</sup> C. Rotherham, "On Composition in Landscape," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 26, no. 6 (June 1, 1895): 195.
- <sup>24</sup> Hope, 97.
- <sup>25</sup> W. F. Carlton, *The Amateur Photographer: A Complete Guide for Beginners in the Art-Science of Photography*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed. (Rochester, New York: Rochester Optical Co., 1896), 33-34.
- <sup>26</sup> *Our Quebec Trip* contains two photographs named *Sous le Cap*, but only one is taken on the street, while the other is taken from just beyond the street and does not portray the view implied by its title.
- <sup>27</sup> Wallace, 173.
- <sup>28</sup> Abbott, 227.
- <sup>29</sup> Hope, 89-90.
- <sup>30</sup> Abbott, 12.
- <sup>31</sup> Worthington and Millen, 159.
- <sup>32</sup> "Hand-Camera Work," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 27, no. 6 (June 1896): 174.
- <sup>33</sup> R. E. Chesterman, "Hints to Beginners in Photography," *Photo-American* 3, no. 1 (November 1891): 11.
- <sup>34</sup> "For the Beginner," *Photo-American* 3, no. 3 (January 1892): 80.
- <sup>35</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., *Picture Taking and Picture Making* (Rochester, New York: Eastman Kodak Company, 1898), 9.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> "The Present Aspect," 5.
- <sup>38</sup> Burbank, "The Dangers of Hand Camera Work," 329.
- <sup>39</sup> Chesterman, 11.
- <sup>40</sup> Louis Allen Osborne, "Use and Abuse of the Hand Camera," *American Amateur Photographer* 13, no. 4 (April 1901): 155.
- <sup>41</sup> Chesterman, 10.

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<sup>42</sup> Burbank, "The Dangers of Hand Camera Work," 329.

<sup>43</sup> "Hand Camera Practice," *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* 30, no. 437 (May 1893): 195.

<sup>44</sup> George L. Taylor, "The Hand Camera," *American Amateur Photographer* 11, no. 2 (February 1899): 56.

<sup>45</sup> Carlton, *The Amateur Photographer*, 36.

<sup>46</sup> Hope, 99.

<sup>47</sup> While all Kodak manuals of the decade encouraged camera-owners to use any firm support instead of a tripod while taking photographs indoors, this publication suggested that such a support could be used in outdoor landscape photography as well.

<sup>48</sup> The viewfinder, if a camera was equipped with one, was most often situated on the top of the camera. Hand cameras were usually held at waist-level, allowing the photographer to look down onto the ground-glass and study the composition.

### Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> John H. Tarbell, "A Camerist in Quebec, Canada," *Photo-American* 3, no. 8 (June 1892): 209-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>3</sup> See James E. Paster, "Advertising Immortality by Kodak," *History of Photography* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 135-39 and Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> Eastman, *The Kodak Primer*.

<sup>5</sup> The Eastman Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 42 (1891): 60.

<sup>6</sup> Walter Benjamin, "A small history of photography," *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (London: Verso, 1979), 240-57; Benjamin, "On some motifs in Baudelaire," *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn and ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 155-200; Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography" (1927), trans. Thomas Y. Levin, *Critical Inquiry* 19 (Spring, 1993): 421-36; Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981); Sontag, *On Photography*; and Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador USA, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> Catherine Keenan, "On the Relationship between Personal Photographs and Individual Memory," *History of Photography* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 60-64; Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Langford.

<sup>8</sup> Eastman, *The Kodak Primer*.

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- <sup>9</sup> Blair Camera Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 44 (1892): 56.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Tourist Hawk-Eye Guide Book* (Boston: Blair Camera Co., 1898).
- <sup>11</sup> Carlton, *Modern Photography*, 3-5.
- <sup>12</sup> Worthington and Millen, 163.
- <sup>13</sup> "For the Beginner," *Photo-American* 3, no. 8 (June 1892): 223.
- <sup>14</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 77 (1888): 317.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, *Century Magazine* 42 (1891): 60.
- <sup>16</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., *Through Europe with a Kodak* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Co., 1891).
- <sup>17</sup> Chambers, 25.
- <sup>18</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2002), 12.
- <sup>19</sup> Baedeker, 37.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.
- <sup>21</sup> Wallace, 168.
- <sup>22</sup> Kalman, *A History*, 2:550.
- <sup>23</sup> Hope, 23.
- <sup>24</sup> Worthington and Millen, 160.
- <sup>25</sup> These directions appear in all manuals, sometimes with slight variation. This quote was transcribed from Eastman Kodak Co., *The Kodak Manual for No. 4 Kodak* (Rochester, New York: Eastman Kodak Co., 1893), 9-10.
- <sup>26</sup> Eastman, *The Kodak Manual for No. 4 Kodak*, 23.
- <sup>27</sup> See, for examples, Robert Hirsch, "Nathan Lyons on the Snapshot," *CEPA Journal* (Winter 1992): 6-9; Hirsch, *Seizing the Light*; Nathan Lyons, ed., *Toward a Social Landscape* (New York: Horizon Press, 1966); Gene Thornton, "The New Photography: Turning Traditional Standards Upside Down," *Artnews* 72 (January 1973): 74-76.
- <sup>28</sup> Lyons; Steven Halpern, "Souvenirs of Experience: The Victorian Studio Portrait and the Twentieth-Century Snapshot," in "The Snap-Shot," ed. Jonathan Green, special issue, *Aperture* 19, no. 1 (1974).
- <sup>29</sup> L. M. Prince & Bro., advertisement, 321.

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<sup>30</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 38, no. 4 (August 1889): 43.

<sup>31</sup> Bourdieu, 90-91.

## Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., advertisement, *Harper's Magazine Advertiser* 97 (1898): 77.

<sup>2</sup> Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., *The Kodak Manual* (Rochester, New York: Eastman Dry Plate and Film Co., 1889), 23, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., *Picture Taking*, 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Kodak Home Portraiture: A Booklet of Suggestion* (Rochester, New York: Eastman Kodak Co., 190-?), 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> W. Adcock, "Amateurs and Professionals," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 21, no. 14 (July 26, 1890): 441.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

<sup>8</sup> Carlton, *The Amateur Photographer*, 40.

<sup>9</sup> "Why Photograph Groups?" *Photo-American* 10, no. 13 (November 1899): 411.

<sup>10</sup> Burbank, "The Dangers of Hand Camera Work," 328.

<sup>11</sup> Carlton, *The Amateur Photographer*, 40.

<sup>12</sup> "For the Beginner," 222.

<sup>13</sup> Black, *Photography Indoors*, 120.

<sup>14</sup> "For the Beginner," 222.

<sup>15</sup> "Why Photograph Groups?" 412.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>17</sup> "For the Beginner," 222.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

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<sup>20</sup> Adams, 104-05.

<sup>21</sup> The proprietors of the Benjamin Dionne House also owned the Mansion House Hotel. For more information about Cacouna's tourism and hotels at the end of the nineteenth century, see Lorraine Boivin, "Cacouna, paradis du tourisme au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire du Bas-Saint-Laurent* 10 no. 1 (janvier – avril 1984): 14-27; Lynda Dionne and Georges Pelletier, *Cacouna: Les Randonnés du Passé* (Québec: Éditions Continuité, 1995); Real Lebel, *Au Pays du Porc-Epic: Kakouna 1673, 1825, 1975* (Cacouna: Le Comité des Fêtes de Cacouna, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> Wallace, 158.

<sup>23</sup> F. W. Bock, "Out-Door Groups," *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* 30, no. 434 (February 1893): 58.

<sup>24</sup> Welford, 344.

<sup>25</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., *Picture Taking*, 33.

<sup>26</sup> Bourdieu, 82.

<sup>27</sup> Hope, 96-97.

<sup>28</sup> Urry, 43-44.

<sup>29</sup> "The 'Vancouver' in Port," *Quebec Gazette*, August 12, 1896.

<sup>30</sup> Baedeker, 59.

<sup>31</sup> By 1890, W.H. Burbank was already campaigning against this mischievous purpose for the camera: "The name 'Detective' should be dropped from the photographic vocabulary at once and forever. The word savors too much of devious ways and shady practices to be retained by any true lover of the camera," in "Hand Cameras," *The American Amateur Photographer* 2, no. 4 (April 1890): 136.

<sup>32</sup> Time-Life Books, *Travel Photography*, revised ed. (Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1982), 41.

<sup>33</sup> M. R. Case, "A Word for Snap-Shots," *American Amateur Photographer* 11, no. 11 (November 1899): 462.

## Conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Eaton S. Lothrop Jr., "The Brownie Camera," *History of Photography* 2, no. 1 (January 1978): 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Leica Camera Co., "Leica Mythology," Leica Homepage, <http://www.leica-camera.com> (accessed December 2004).

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<sup>4</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., "History of Kodak," Eastman Kodak: The Premier Brand in Digital and Traditional Photography, <http://www.kodak.com> (accessed December 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Polaroid, "Brand History," Polaroid.com, <http://www.polaroid.com> (accessed December 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., "History of Kodak."

<sup>7</sup> Lyons; John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

<sup>8</sup> See, for examples, Lyons; Hirsch, "Nathan Lyons"; Hirsch, *Seizing the Light*; and Thornton.

<sup>9</sup> Hirsch, "Nathan Lyons," 7.

<sup>10</sup> Whether these digital images are actually 'photographs' is up for debate, but is widely accepted within popular culture.

<sup>11</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., advertisement, *Century Magazine* 56 (1898): 49.

<sup>12</sup> Eastman Kodak Co., "Kodak Easyshare System," Eastman Kodak: The Premier Brand in Digital and Traditional Photography, <http://www.kodak.com> (accessed December 2004).



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## FIGURES

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations that follow have been reproduced from the album *Our Quebec Trip* (OQT), from the collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, or from the album *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* (Souvenir), from the collection of the McCord Museum of Canadian History.

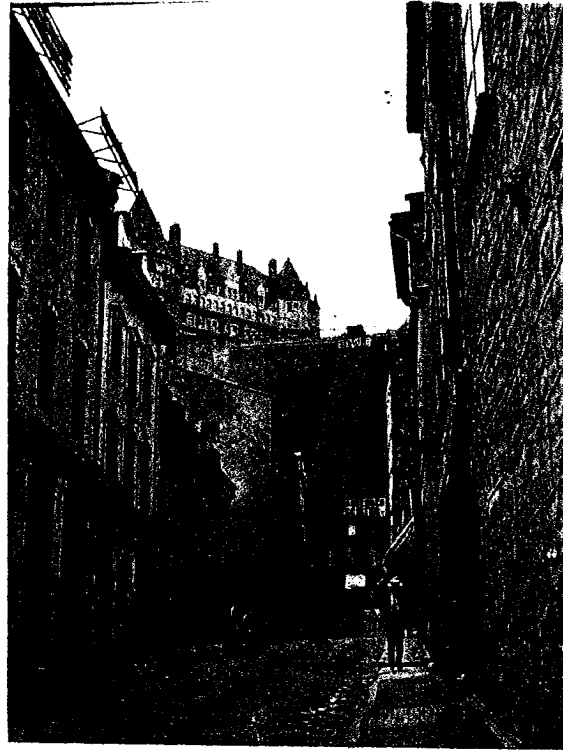
The photographs of *Our Quebec Trip* were taken in August of 1896, and printed on 5 x 7-inch collodion chloride paper. Each photograph was trimmed down slightly from its original size.

The photographs of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days* were taken in the summer of 1898. Printed on platinum paper, each photograph measures 4 x 5 inches.

For a complete and sequential list of the photographs of *Our Quebec Trip* and *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days*, see appendices A and B.



Figure 1. *On the Road to Cacouna (OQT)*



*Rue Sans le Fort, Québec*

Figure 2. Rue Sous le Fort (Souvenir)



*Rue du Montagne, Québec*

*Aug 1.*

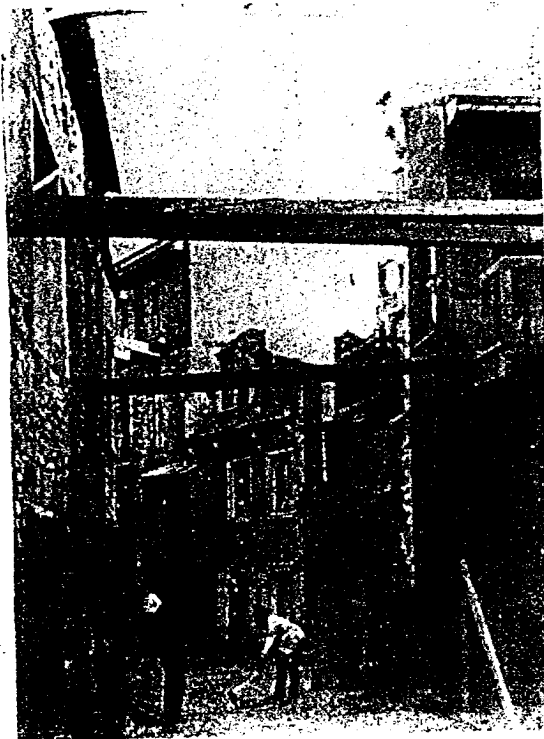
Figure 3. Rue du Montagne (Souvenir)





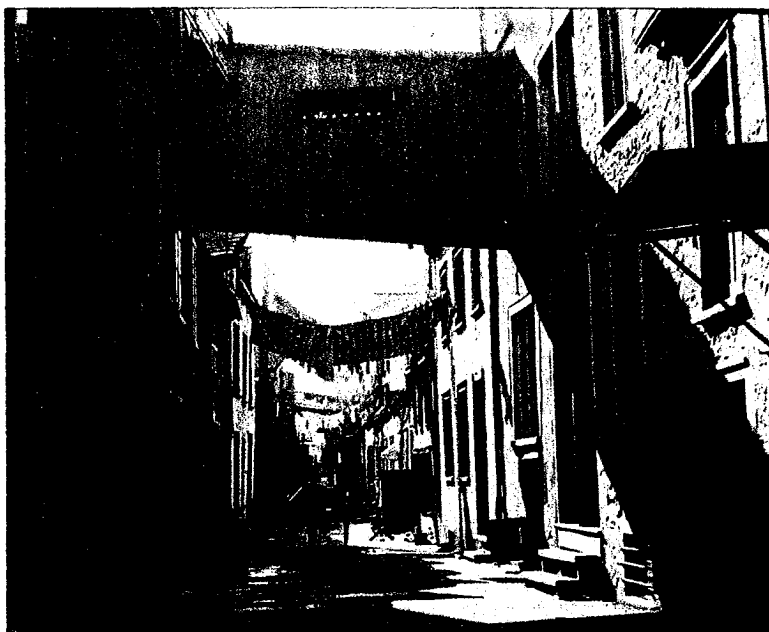
BY A. W. ROBINSON OLD STREET QUEBEC.

Figure 4. A. W. Robinson, *Old Street Quebec*. Published in *American Amateur Photographer* 2, no. 1 (January 1880).



"SOUS LE CAP" STREET.

Figure 5. John H. Tarbell, *"Sous le Cap" Street*. Published in *American Amateur Photographer* 4, no. 3 (March 1892).



*Rue Sous le Cape. Quebec.*

*Aug 2.*

Figure 6. *Rue Sous le Cape* (Souvenir)



Figure 7. *Rue Sous le Cape* (Souvenir)

*Rue Sous le Cape. Quebec.*

*Aug 2.*

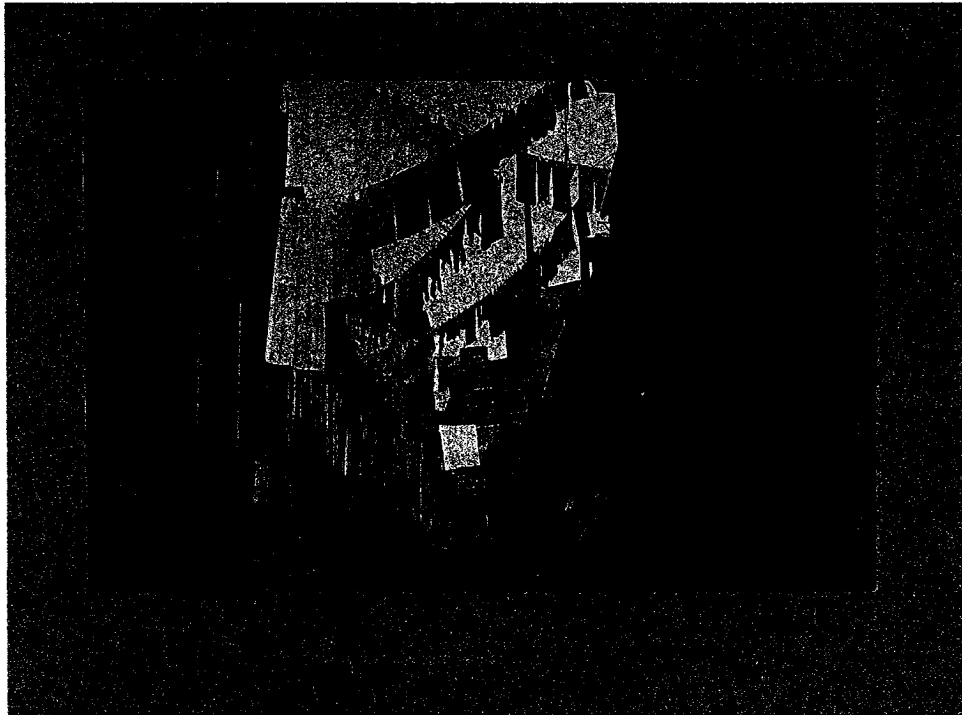


Figure 8. *Sous le Cap* (OQT)



Figure 9. *Beauport Road* (OQT)

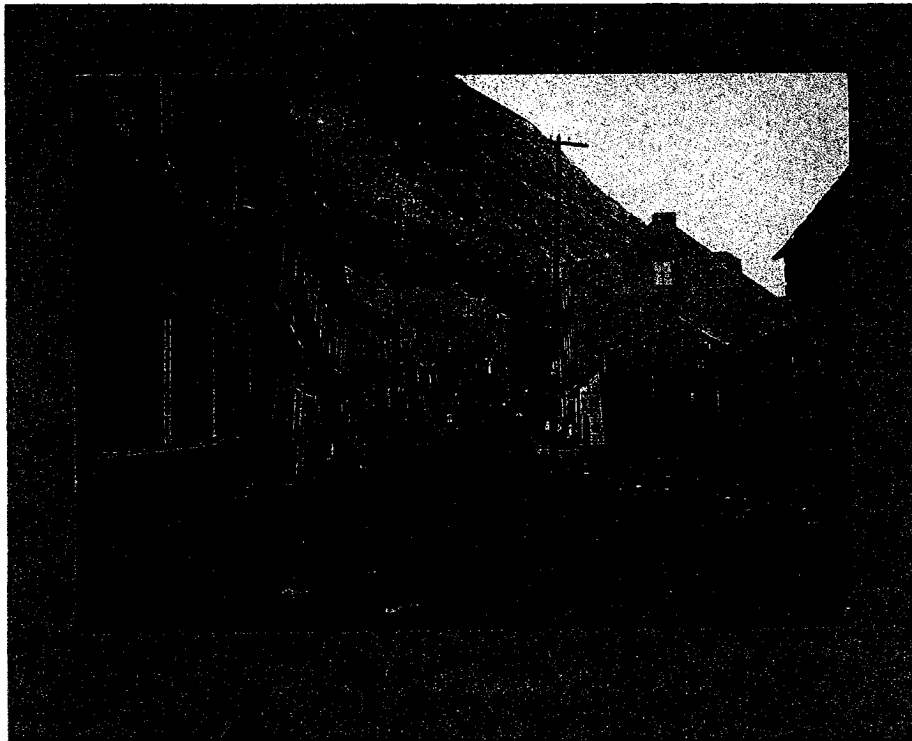
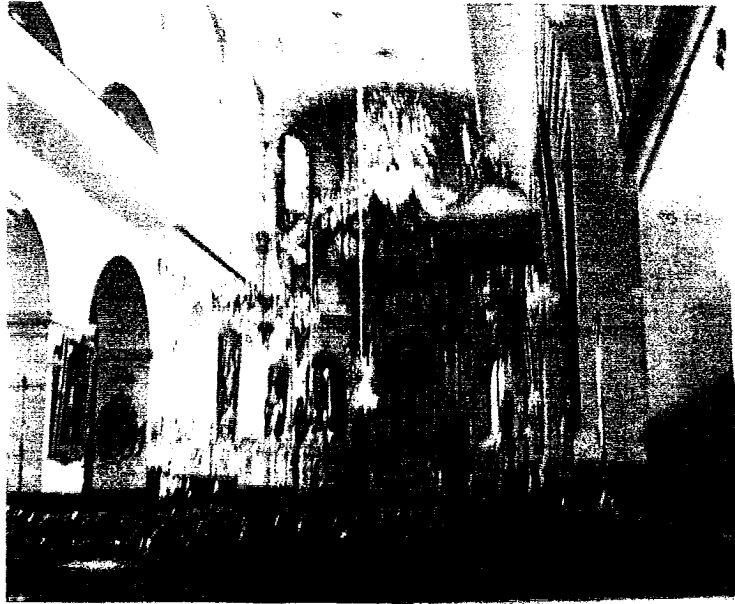


Figure 10. *View on Champlain St. (OQT)*



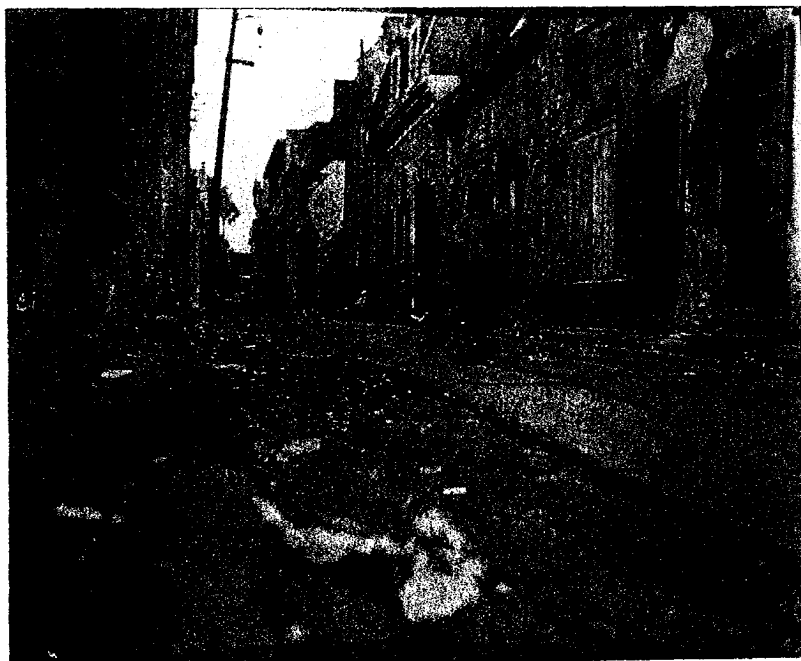
Figure 11. *Little Champlain St. (OQT)*



*Interior of the Basilica - Quebec*

*Aug 1.*

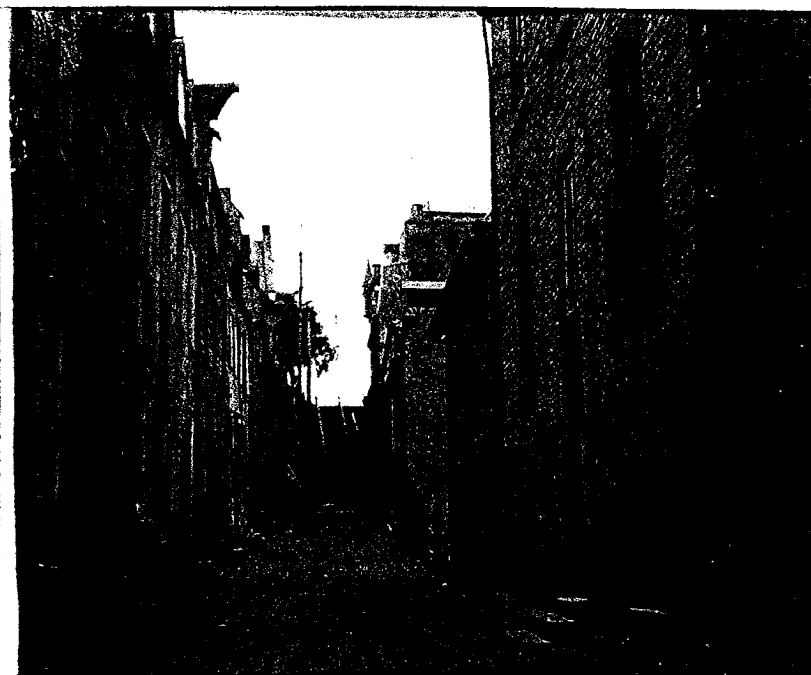
Figure 12. *Interior of the Basilica (Souvenir)*



*Little Champlain street - Quebec*

*Aug 1.*

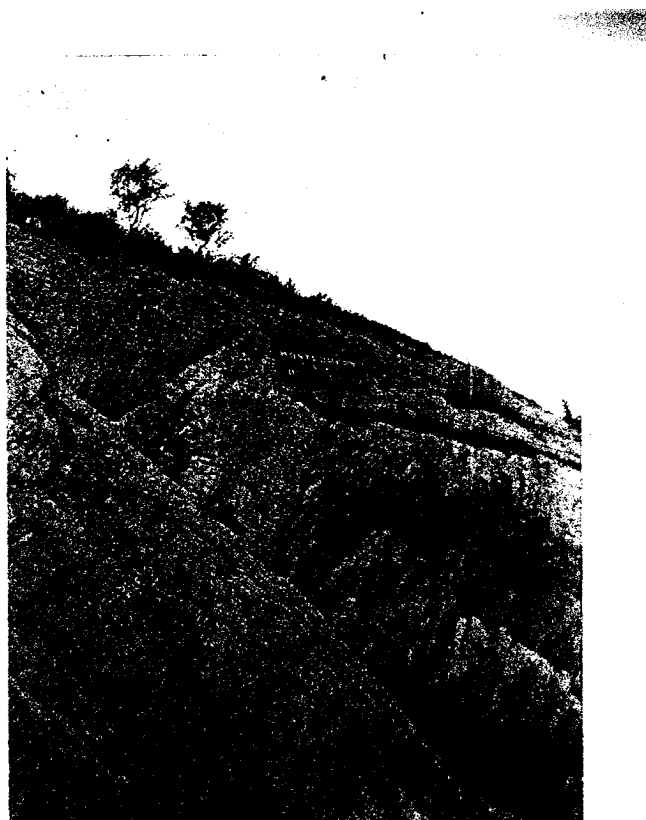
Figure 13. Little Champlain Street (Souvenir)



*Little Champlain street - Quebec.*

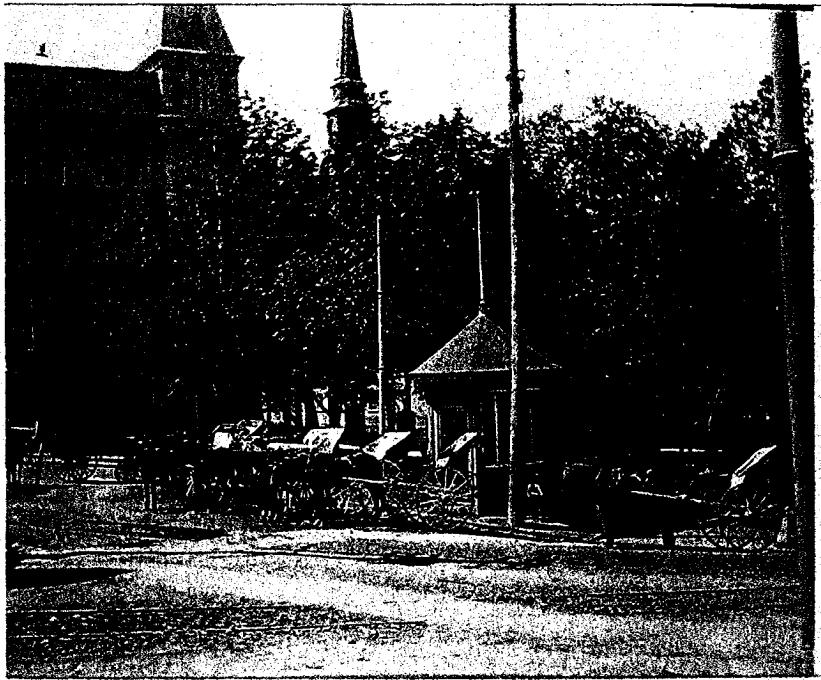
*Aug 1.*

Figure 14. Little Champlain Street (Souvenir)



*Cliff where General Montgomery fell*

Figure 15: *Cliff where General Montgomery fell (Souvenir)*



*Cab-stand opposite Chateau Frontenac*

*Aug 2.*

Figure 16. Cab-stand opposite Chateau Frontenac (Souvenir)



*A Calèche*

Figure 17. A Calèche (Souvenir)





Figure 18. A *Calèche* (OQT)



Figure 19. *Notre Dame de la Victoire* (OQT)



Figure 20. 'Station' on Beauport Road (OQT)

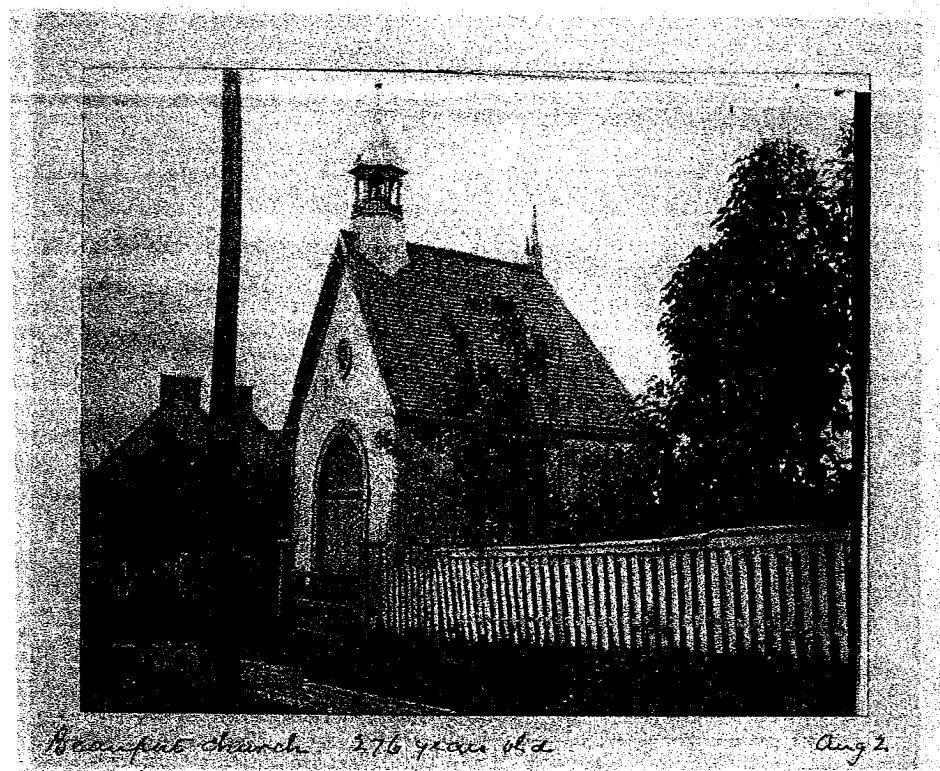
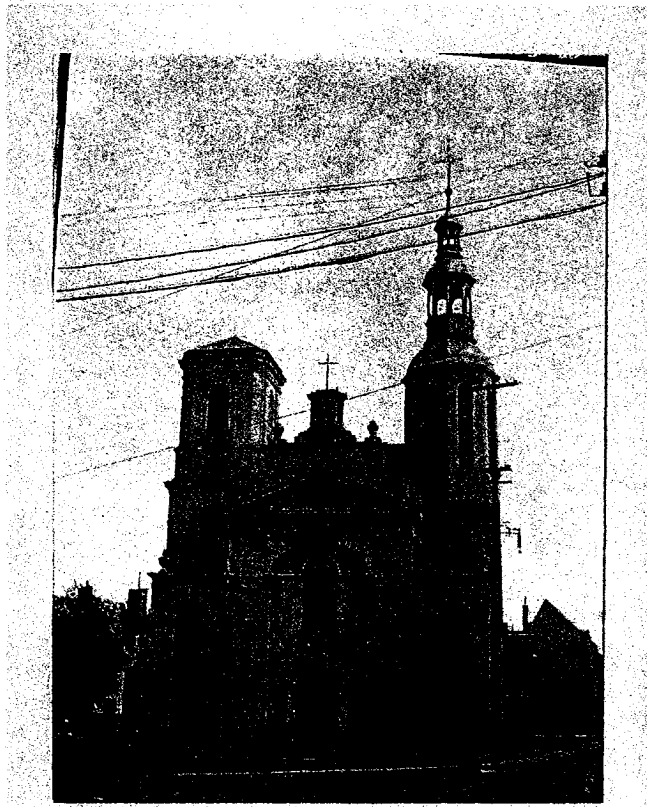


Figure 21. Beauport Church (Souvenir)



*The Basilica - Quebec.*

*Aug 1.*

Figure 22. *The Basilica* (Souvenir)

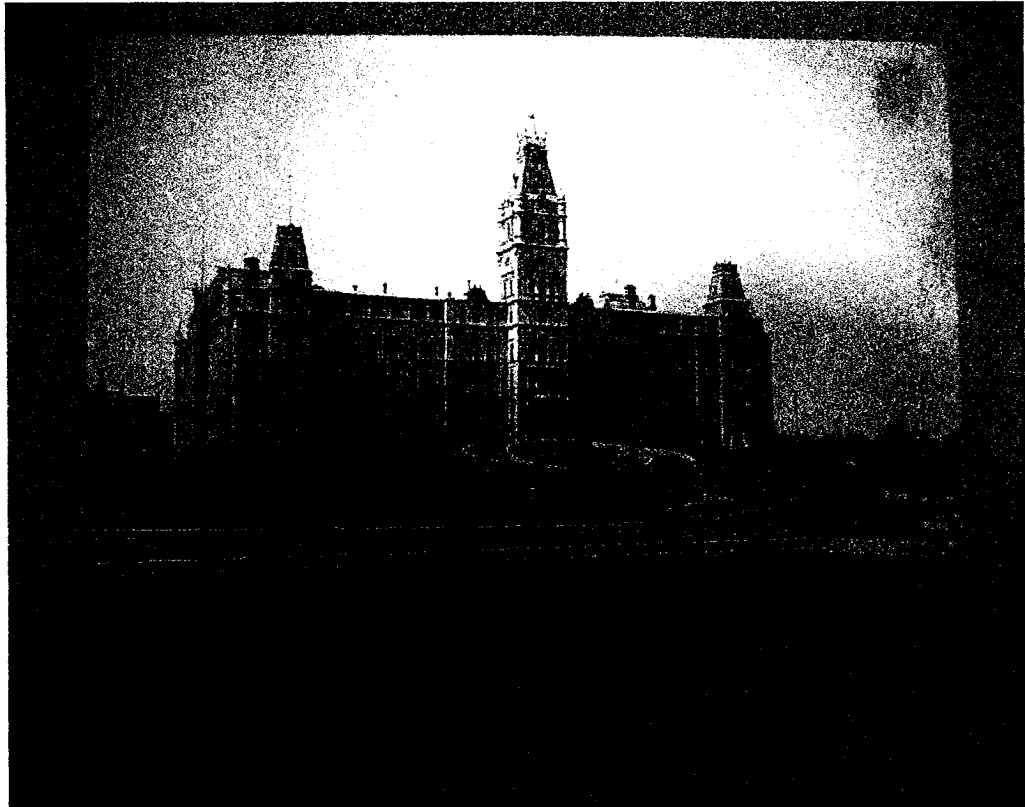


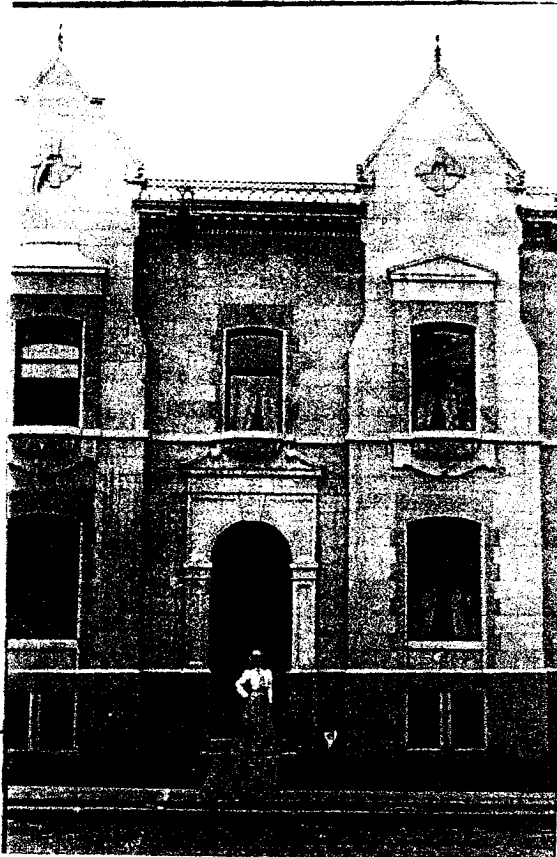
Figure 23. *Parliament Buildings (OQT)*



*Parliament House . Quebec*

*Google*

Figure 24. *Parliament House (Souvenir)*



*Home and Hostess*

Figure 25. *Home and Hostess* (Souvenir)

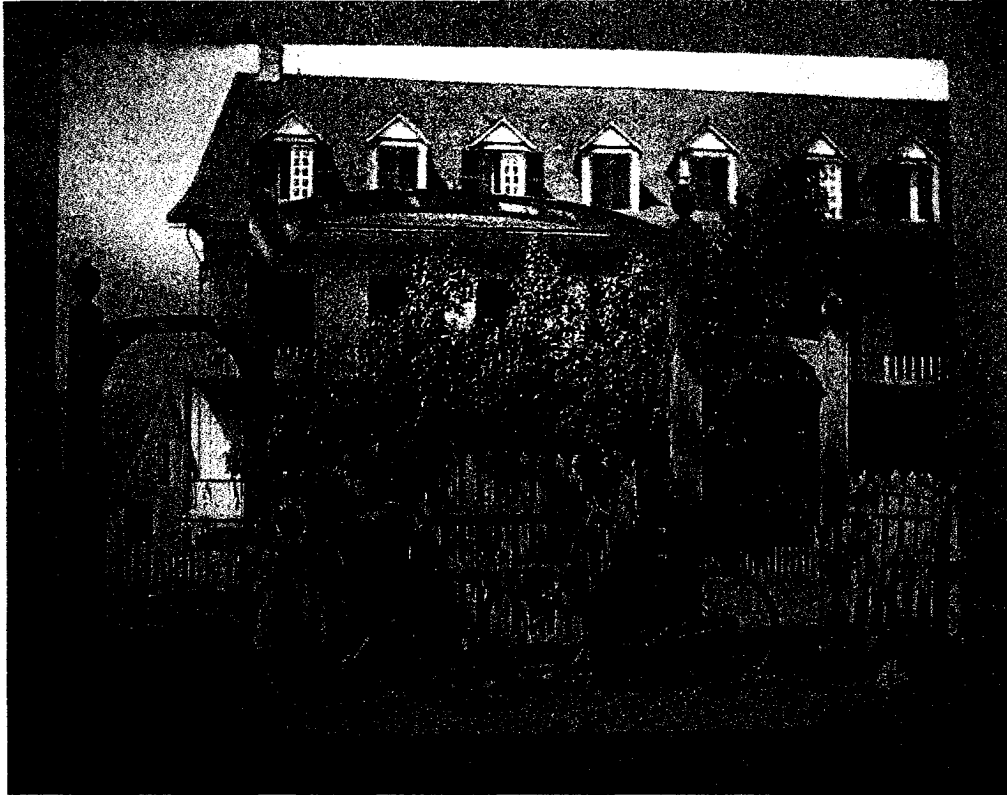


Figure 26. Untitled – group portrait in front of Mansion House Hotel, Cacouna (OQT)



Figure 27. Untitled – group portrait, Cacouna (OQT)

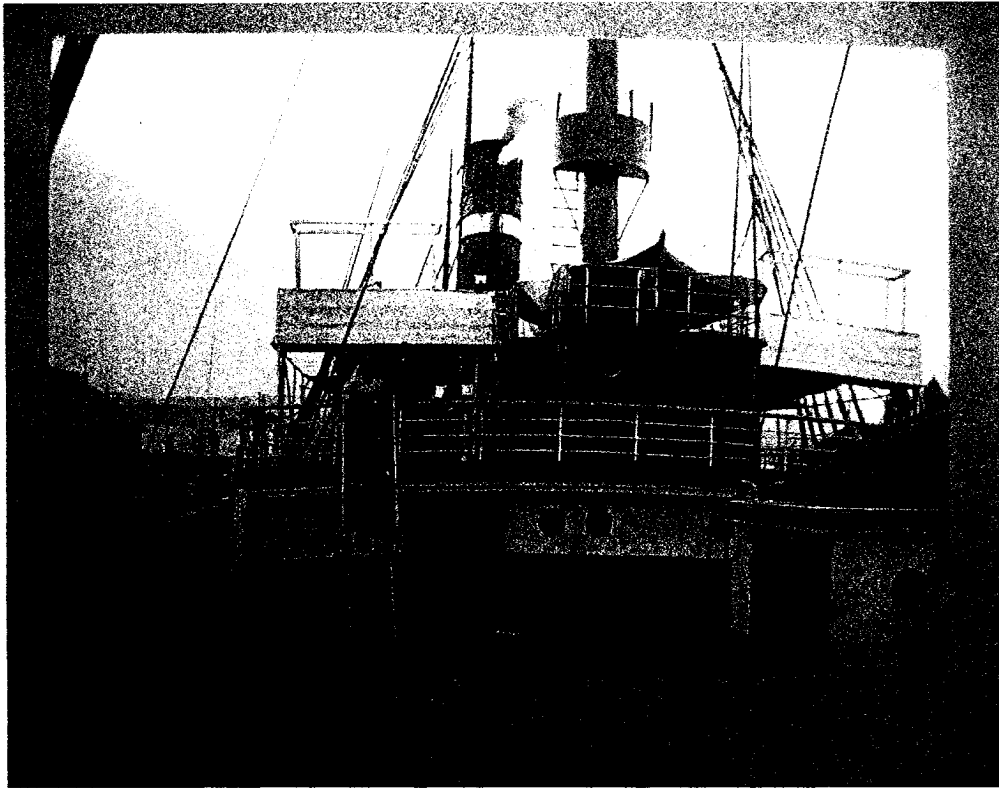


Figure 28. *The Vancouver* (OQT)

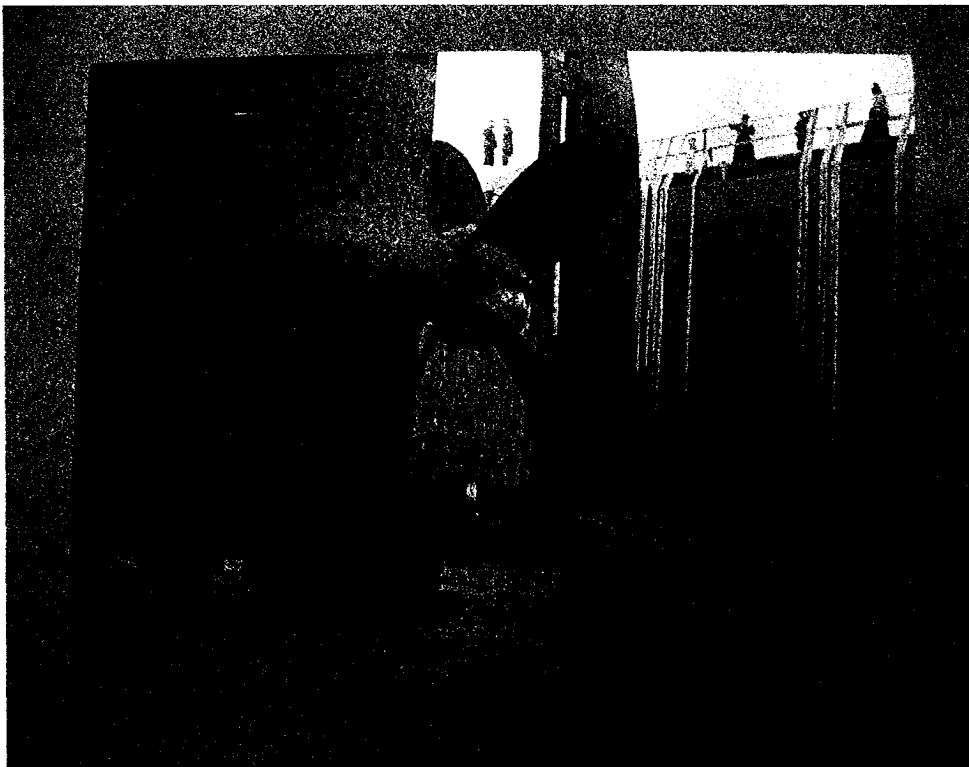


Figure 29. *The Keel and Screw of the Vancouver* (OQT)

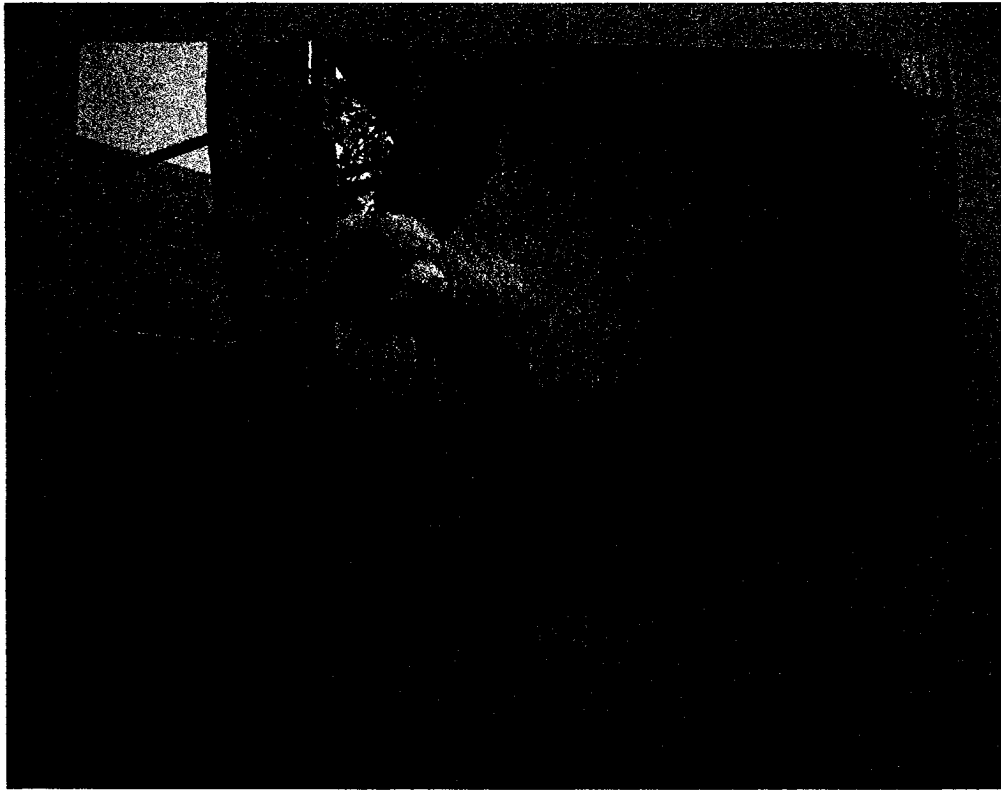


Figure 30. Untitled – group portrait in front of the Keel and Screw of the Vancouver (OQT)



*Fellow Passengers.*

*July 29.*

Figure 31. *Fellow Passengers* (Souvenir)



## APPENDIX A

### The Photographs of *Our Quebec Trip*

1. *Parliament Buildings, Quebec City*
2. *St. Justine's Gate, Quebec* (Kent Gate, misidentified)
3. *Untitled* (view of Quebec City and citadel)
4. *View of Quebec near the landslide*
5. *Schoolhouse on St. Louis Road*
6. *Market Scene*
7. *A Calèche*
8. *Views of Quebec and Point Levis taken from Beauport Road*
9. *'Station' on Beauport Road*
10. *Calèche on Beauport Road*
11. *Above the Montmorenci Falls*
12. *Beauport Road*
13. *Partial View of Montmorenci Falls*
14. *Untitled* (view of the St. Lawrence River, Point Levis in background)
15. *View on Champlain St.*
16. *A Batteau*
17. *Untitled* (A boat)
18. *Little Champlain St.*
19. *Notre Dame de la Victoire*
20. *Sous le Cap*

21. *Sous le Cap*
22. *Point Levis*
23. Untitled (The shipwrecked Vancouver steamship, with newspaper clipping, "The Vancouver Hit")
24. *Mr. Robinson's house*
25. Untitled (A boat at dock)
26. *The Vancouver in Dry Dock*
27. *The Vancouver*
28. *The Keel and Screw of the Vancouver*
29. Untitled (Group portrait in front of the Keel and Screw of the Vancouver)
30. *On the Road to Cacouna*
31. Untitled (view of the road)
32. *River Ouelle*
33. *An Old Windmill on the Road to Cacouna*
34. Untitled (Group portrait of Quebec's inhabitants on oxcart)
35. Untitled (Group portrait in front of Mansion House Hotel, Cacouna)
36. Untitled (Group portrait, Cacouna)
37. *View above Notre Dame de Portage*
38. *Rivière du Loup*
39. *Windmill at Cacouna*
40. Untitled (Pigs feeding at trough)

## APPENDIX B

### **The Photographs of *Souvenir of a few pleasant summer days***

1. *St. James Cathedral, Montreal – July 26*
2. *Macdonald Monument, Montreal – July 26*
3. *Crimean Canon, Dominion Square – July 26*
4. *General Montgomery's Headquarters in 1775 – July 26*
5. *Victoria Bridge from the tower of Notre Dame – July 26*
6. *Statue of Maisonneuve – July 26*
7. *Notre Dame – July 26*
8. *Nelson's Monument – July 26*
9. *Chateau de Ramezay Museum – July 26*
10. *Park Rangers house, Mount Royal – July 26*
11. *Windsor Hotel – July 27*
12. *Dominion Square, Montreal – July 27*
13. *Dredger in the St. Lawrence – July 27*
14. *Montreal from the river – July 27*
15. *Montreal from the River – July 27 (more distant view)*
16. *On St. Helen's Island – July 27*
17. *A Party of Monks – July 27*
18. *Dorchester Street, Montreal – July 27*
19. *Prescott Light-House – July 28*
20. *Galops Rapids – July 28*

21. *Iroquois on the St. Lawrence – July 28 (view of town from river)*
22. *Du Plat Rapids – July 28*
23. *Steamer “Empire State” – July 28*
24. *Village at head of Long Sault Rapids – July 28*
25. *Long Sault Rapids – July 28*
26. *Long Sault Rapids – July 28*
27. *Cornwall on the St. Lawrence – July 28*
28. *Stanley Island in the St. Lawrence – July 28*
29. *Light-House at head of Lake Francis – July 28*
30. *Light-House in Lake St. Francis – July 28*
31. *Light-House in Lake St. Francis – July 28 (different from #30)*
32. *Couteau on the St. Lawrence – July 28*
33. *Couteau Bridge – July 28*
34. *Couteau Rapids – July 28*
35. *Couteau Rapids – July 28*
36. *Cedar Rapids – July 28*
37. *Cedar Rapids – July 28*
38. *Cascade Rapids – July 28*
39. *Lachine Rapids – July 28*
40. *St. Jean, Isle d’Orleans – July 29*
41. *Cap Rouge Light-house – July 29*
42. *St. Paul’s Bay Light-house and Landing – July 29*
43. *Les Eboulements – July 29*

44. *Fellow Passengers – July 29*
45. *Point à Pique – July 29*
46. *Point à Pique – July 29 (closer view)*
47. *Point à Pique – July 29 (view of houses)*
48. *Murray Bay Landing – July 29*
49. *Cap à l'Aigle – July 29*
50. *Landing at Rivière du Loup – July 29*
51. *Wharf Merchants – July 29*
52. *Chicoutimi – July 30*
53. *Chicoutimi – July 30 (view of buildings, lumber, trains)*
54. *On the Saguenay River – July 30*
55. *Cape Trinity and Eternity, Saguenay River – July 30*
56. *Cape Trinity, Saguenay River – July 30*
57. *Cape Eternity, Saguenay River – July 30*
58. *Entrance to Saguenay River – July 30*
59. *Steamer "Carolina" at Tadousac – July 30*
60. *Tadousac – July 30*
61. *Mouth of Saguenay River – July 30*
62. *Tadousac – July 30 (view from river)*
63. *Rivière du Loup – July 30*
64. *Laurentian Hills back of Cap à l'Aigle – July 31*
65. *Frasers River and bridge – July 31*
66. *Frasers Falls – July 31*

67. *Frasers Falls – July 31*
68. *Frasers River – July 31*
69. *Frasers River – July 31*
70. *A Calèche – July 31*
71. *The Citadel, Quebec – Aug. 1*
72. *Château Frontenac, Quebec – Aug. 1*
73. *The Basilica, Quebec – Aug. 1*
74. *Rue Sous le Fort, Quebec – Aug. 1*
75. *Interior of the Basilica, Quebec – Aug. 1*
76. *Rue de Montagne, Quebec – Aug. 1*
77. *Little Champlain Street, Quebec – Aug. 1*
78. *Little Champlain Street, Quebec – Aug. 1*
79. *Cliff where General Montgomery Fell – Aug. 1*
80. *Beauport Church, 276 years old – Aug. 2*
81. *Falls of Montmorency – Aug. 2*
82. *Falls of Montmorency – Aug. 2*
83. *Falls of Montmorency – Aug. 2*
84. *Falls of Montmorency – Aug. 2*
85. *Head of Montmorency Falls – Aug. 2*
86. *Montmorency River – Aug. 2*
87. *Kent Gate, Quebec – Aug. 2*
88. *Parliament House, Quebec – Aug. 2*
89. *St. Louis Gate, Quebec – Aug. 2*

90. *Cab-stand opposite Château Frontenac – Aug. 2*
91. *Levis opposite Quebec – Aug. 2*
92. *Quebec and Levis Ferry-boats – Aug. 2*
93. *Rue Sous le Cape, Quebec – Aug. 2*
94. *Rue Sous le Cape, Quebec – Aug. 2*
95. *Westmount Park, Montreal – Aug. 3*
96. *Home and Hostess – Aug. 3*