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William Notman's Portraits of Children

Katharine J. Borcoman

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Art History
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

July 1991

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Abstract

William Notman's Portraits of Children

Katharine J. Borcoman

This study examines William Notman's portraits of children, taken between 1856 and 1891 in the Montreal studio. The portraits were examined in terms of their commercial origins, their relation to the painted portrait, the iconography of the photographic portrait and the work of other portraitists. Single and family portraits were included in the study. The analysis of the portraits reveals the reliance of the nineteenth-century photographer on the conventions developed over the centuries for the painted portrait and more particularly the iconographic influence of the court portrait. The photographer adapted these conventions to suit the requirements of his medium and his clients. Notman was concerned with the overall integrity of his compositions; whether he chose a simple or elaborate setting, he achieved the desired illusionary effect through his masterful use of light. In comparing the portraits of boys and girls, the differences proved to be representative of the prevailing attitudes towards males and females, with males generally posed less formally. Notman did not always make this type of distinction, but he frequently included emblematic symbols in his portraits that clearly identify the child as male or female. It is evident from the study that Notman developed a personal style within the established traditions that continued to evolve throughout his career. He was an accomplished photographer whose distinctive approach to photography was so characteristic of the studio that the portraits of children are a reflection of his formidable talent regardless of the probable involvement of staff photographers.

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1 Introduction

William Notman (1826-1891) emigrated from Glasgow to Montreal in August 1856. By the end of the year he had opened a photographic studio on Bleury Street. The Notman family records mention that he studied painting, although the evidence is sketchy. There is no information at all on how he learned photography – just the simple statement that he was an amateur photographer.¹ His inherent creativity and his drive to develop his artistic capabilities apparently provided the impetus for what was to become an extremely successful business. Notman took photographs of street scenes, landscapes, hunting scenes, sporting events and other special events that might be of interest to the public. All of these scenic views were on sale at the studio. He also accepted documentary commissions and his photographs of the construction of Victoria Bridge, for example, span the years 1858 to 1860, when the bridge was officially opened.² But the most important aspect of his business was portrait photography. He photographed celebrities, prominent members of Canadian society and members of the general public. In 1868 he opened studios in Ottawa and Toronto.³ He continued to expand his business and by the early 1880s there were approximately twenty studios in Canada and the United States.⁴ The business continued to flourish and after his death it remained with the family until 1935.⁵

This study concerns the portraits of children taken at the Montreal studio, starting with its opening in 1856 and ending with the death of William Notman in 1891. Portraits of children are documented throughout the history of art, but if we are to judge by their numbers, they have not been considered

a significant branch of portraiture. There are many reasons for the dearth of children's portraits. Traditionally, the portrait was a symbol of power, hence the official portraits of rulers, the "imperial images." Commemorative portraits of rulers and important personages were painted or sculpted as a public reminder of state events. Portraits of young princes and princesses were painted as symbols of the sovereignty of these future rulers. Members of the ruling families had their portraits painted as a means of publicly proclaiming the consolidation of their influence. Economics, of course, has always been an important factor in portraiture. Wealthy families commissioned portraits to solidify family alliances and to document their ascendancy. But the cost of portraits prohibited the average family from acquiring a visual record of its members.

The artists must also have played a role in limiting the number of portraits of children simply by choosing not to paint them. If this is so, then the artists' lack of interest may well reflect other factors that are purely societal. Well into the eighteenth century children are portrayed as tiny members of an adult world. In dress, in pose, in demeanour, they are replicas of adults. In England and America, the Puritan belief that children were born in sin and must strive to gain their salvation so that they may die in a state of grace forced children into an adult world from the time they were first able to comprehend right from wrong. But the doctrine of original sin started to lose ground towards the end of the eighteenth century. The writings of John Locke (1632-1704) were instrumental in provoking a change in attitude towards children. Locke wrote, "Children should be treated as rational creatures. They should be allowed their liberties and freedom suitable to their ages. . . . They must not be hindered from being children,

nor from playing and doing as children; but from doing ill.”⁶ The visual images of the early part of the nineteenth century, although still reflecting a puritanical restraint, include images of children involved in their own interests and in informal, relaxed relationships with their parents or siblings.⁷ With the invention of photography in 1839, the economic constraints on portrait images changed entirely. Photography was accessible to just about everyone and the number of portraits multiplied accordingly. By the second half of the century, the status of children had altered to the extent that they were allowed to develop in a child’s world with their own special needs, and in contrast to the concept of original sin, they were seen as innately good, innocent creatures.⁸ This concept of childish innocence and purity characterizes Notman’s portraits of children. However, concomitantly, the notion of a child as a potential adult is at times suggested. The degree of innocence and worldliness will of course vary with the ages of the children and possibly their parentage.⁹

Notman worked alone in the Montreal studio from 1856 to 1860. By 1864 the wage books record a staff of thirty-five.¹⁰ In 1882, Notman’s son, William McFarlane Notman, became his partner and the name of the studio changed to Wm. Notman and Son.¹¹ It is impossible, with a few exceptions, to attribute the photographs from 1861 to 1891 directly to any one of the studio’s many photographers. But Notman personally trained and supervised his staff and the reputation of his Montreal studio is founded on his personal style, his innovative techniques, the standards of excellence he demanded of his staff and, above all, his devotion to the photographic medium. It is therefore in the context of the Notman studio that the photographs of children will be analyzed, with attributions where possible.

There are few visual hints of the economic status of Notman's clients. In the case of children (and perhaps adults), they were generally dressed in their best clothes to have their photographs taken. The studio settings are also misleading, for they do not necessarily reflect the child's own environment. However, many of his clients are well-known through other historical sources and there are compelling grounds for believing that the majority of his clients were financially secure. Although Notman's prices were competitive, a low income family would be less likely to become a regular client (as was the case with many of the families represented). Photographic portraits may not have been completely out of reach of the average wage earner, but they would have been considered a luxury. For example, wages for skilled adult workers in Montreal in 1878 and 1879 varied from \$7.50 to \$15.00 a week, an unskilled labourer might earn \$1.00 a day, whereas professionals earned from \$30.00 to \$40.00 a week.¹² In December 1879 Notman's special Christmas price was \$3.00 for a dozen cartes de visite and \$6.00 for a dozen cabinet photographs; the regular price was \$4.00 and \$8.00 respectively, while duplicate copies were \$3.00 and \$6.00 a dozen.¹³

Regardless of the cost, Notman had from the very beginning made it very clear that photographing children was a privilege not to be missed. In a pamphlet on photography, Notman said about children's portraits: "Many Photographers dislike taking children. It is true they are sometimes troublesome and the result uncertain, but again they are so often easy and graceful, and their pure complexions give such delicate half tones, that some of the finest pictures are those of children, and no artist seeking after excellence, would forego, even from choice, the opportunity they afford."¹⁴

2 Single Portraits

Portraits of children do not as a rule deal with the psychology of the child, yet there are photographs that make a direct statement, that leave no doubt that the child is a force to be reckoned with. Taken as a whole, portraits of children bear witness to the many vicissitudes of childhood, providing clues to their place in society. For the viewer, the sense of communion with the child who is the subject of the photograph is heightened by the eternal child in us all.

Notman's newspaper advertisements in the 1850s read in part: "Daguerreotypes and Paintings Copied in all the various Styles, and increased or reduced to any size required."¹⁵ There are no known daguerreotypes by Notman himself but he did advertise ambrotypes and there are a number of these as well as ferrotypes in the Notman Photographic Archives. In order to understand Notman's portraits of children in the 1850s and 1860s it is necessary to explore the relationship between the photographic portrait and the painted portrait. The early cased photographs are particularly important because of the obvious influence of the traditions of formal court painting as well as their resemblance to primitive painting, which was also based on court portraiture. As the court portrait is intended to ennoble the sitter, the subject takes up the full space of the composition, thus appearing to look down at the viewer. The portrait is frontal and static with the subject evenly lit both to inform and to emphasize the rich and decorative qualities of the clothing. The use of a flat background further emphasizes the image of the sitter. When a chair is included, it is given a throne-like appearance. Hands are usually clasped across the body, sometimes holding

a symbolic accessory. The adaptation of the court portrait for the photographic portrait sees a number of changes. The figure is not always placed high up in the composition and the chair is frequently used for support, particularly for a young child. Lighting varies from a direct even light to a strong chiaroscuro that reinforces the sitter's personality. But the formal qualities of the court portrait are nevertheless identifiable.

The full-length frontal view, the static pose and the lack of eye contact of many of the daguerreotype images of children are part of the iconography of the traditional English court portrait in works ranging from Holbein to Winterhalter.¹⁶ The child stands stiffly facing the camera, leaning on a chair or table for support and holding an object such as a toy or hat. The primitive paintings of children in Canada follow the same general principles. Although chairs or tables are never used for support in these paintings, the child often holds a book or a sprig of flowers. The formality of the daguerreotype and its life-like realism are comparable to the formality and stark honesty of the primitive painting. However, the tiny size of the daguerreotype in its ornate frame and elaborate case makes it a much more intimate object, not unlike the miniature portrait. Daguerreotypes that are taken of the sitter in profile at close range are very similar to the close-up head and shoulder views of the painted miniature, although they are admittedly quite rare. Their similarity therefore lies more in their size, their minute perfection and in their uniqueness.

One of the earliest extant photographs by William Notman is a ferrotype of an unidentified Young Boy, c. 1857–1860 (pl. 1), mounted in a case stamped "Photographer W. Notman Montreal."¹⁷ The photograph is set off

by a plain gilt mat with an elaborate brass frame over the glass protector. The inside of the cover to the left of the image is padded with purple velvet. The collodion wet-plate process used to produce the image on a sheet of black japanned iron required an exposure of two to three seconds or less under ideal conditions. With this quick exposure, a child could hold a pose without difficulty, but Notman has placed a posing stand behind the child (the base of the stand is visible in the photograph) and a chair by his side for him to lean on, to guarantee that the pose is held. In spite of the intrusion of the chair, the child dominates the composition because of his central position in the foreground. The look of trust on his face explains in part the success that Notman had with children's portraits. This photograph has been tinted, but as is often the case with hand-tinted ferrotypes and ambrotypes, because of the difficulty of applying colour over the existing tonal values, the colour is somewhat modified. There can be no doubt that the composition has its roots in the court portrait, but the position of the child within the space is not as imposing and there is an informality that is in keeping with the age of the child.

Notman's ambrotype of his daughter Fanny, c. 1858 (pl. 2), falls into the same category as the ferrotype, but the child appears diminutive and vulnerable because of the large empty space above her head. The viewer is forced to look down instead of up or even straight at the child. Both the height and solid mass of the table to her right reinforce her vulnerability. The vase of flowers, while providing compositional interest, is included as a symbol of femininity. The Portrait of a Young Girl, c. 1854–1870 (pl. 3), an ambrotype by an unknown American in the National Gallery of Canada collection, has much the same spatial arrangement as the photograph of

Fanny, but the scale of the chair is more compatible with the scale of the child and a greater compositional balance is attained. It is fair to assume that the portrayal of the two little girls as more vulnerable, and therefore more dependent than images of little boys, reflects the patriarchal nature of the society they lived in.

The cased photographs are in general stiff and formal, much like primitive paintings. Nevertheless, there are exceptions. There are likenesses of children that are natural and unselfconscious that graphically demonstrate what the daguerreotypist could achieve when pushing the medium to its limits. Some of the daguerreotypes reflect a strong sense of design while others succeed in recording a uniquely expressive quality of the child's character. This is no mean achievement considering the difficulty of maintaining a pose for the required exposure of anywhere from three to nine seconds. Although many of the photographers are unknown, it is interesting that some of the best cased photographs were produced by amateurs.¹⁸ Of course, the amateurs were photographing people they knew, whereas the commercial photographers relied on a formula derived from painting to achieve the desired results.

The introduction of the collodian wet-plate process in 1851, a refinement of William Henry Fox Talbot's negative-positive process, heralded the demise of the direct positive process, the daguerreotype. The commercial photographers' stylistic approach to portraiture in the 1850s and 1860s is generally consistent with the iconography of the direct positive imagery, with the same variations in concept from the very formal to the exceptionally natural. The carte de visite, introduced in 1854, was available to Notman's

clients when he first opened his Montreal studio. The carte portraits are particularly revealing of Notman's talents as a photographer, for these tiny photographs were the visual, if not the technical, offspring of the painted miniature and the daguerreotype.

André Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri (1819–1889) patented the carte de visite photograph in November 1854.¹⁹ The carte has its origins in the calling card presented to introduce the bearer.²⁰ The 8.9 by 5.7 cm print was mounted on a 10.2 by 6.4 cm card.²¹ The name of the photographer was usually printed on the back of the card.²² The cost of these small photographs was part of their appeal, but there was also a vicarious sharing of the lives of public personalities by accumulating copies of their carte portraits or by emulating their portraits in one's own photographs. More importantly, the carte proved to be an extremely accessible way of collecting photographs of friends and relatives and they were collected by the thousands.

Disdéri developed a standard formula for the carte portrait:

The studio space has become a complete interior with a carpet, . . . column and curtain, a . . . punched dado, chairs, tables, and even a potted plant. . . .

. . . [He] centered his sitters within the camera's field, allowed more space above their heads than beneath their feet to keep them weighed down within the composition, and preserved a casualness of pose that belied the presence of a head support. . . .

. . . The most characteristic feature of the carte de

visite portraits was . . . the full-length pose. . . to a certain extent a function of the need to have adequate depth of field at the maximum aperture of the lens, so that the plate could be exposed as briefly as possible.²³

It has been argued that the carte portrait was a commercial success which had little or no artistic merit, although its historical importance has been acknowledged by virtue of sheer numbers. In spite of the compositional conventions of the carte de visite, Notman's sensitivity to his sitters is evident in the carte portraits, many of which have an aesthetic quality that contradicts their relegation to the commonplace by historians.

Photographing very young children poses a problem of scale. This is particularly true of the carte portrait because of the restrictions imposed by its size. If the child is not carefully positioned within the composition, the importance of the subject is so reduced that the value of the photograph as a portrait is questionable. Notman solves this problem in his portrait of an Unknown Child, c. 1861 (pl. 4), by standing the child on a table in the centre of the composition and blocking off the background so that the child is made the focal point of the picture. The pedestal placed beside the table allows the child to lean casually against its surface, comfortable in the security of its bulk. Although Notman successfully solves the problem of scale, the composition itself lacks his usual sense of symmetry because of the juxtapositioning of the pedestal and the floral-topped table. The carte portrait of Charles Raines, c. 1861 (pl. 5), is treated similarly, but the child is standing on a chair instead of a table and he does not look very comfortable with the arrangement, although it is probable that the drapery behind the chair hides a

posing stand, which would provide the proper security. Master William Grinton, c. 1861 (pl. 6), is posed full-length, standing firmly on the floor, in a conventional studio setting. The child is not only diminished by the large “view” window and flowing drapery in the background, but he looks stiffly at the camera with a candid perseverance that is more amusing than pleasing.

Notman uses another approach to the problem of placing a young child securely in a setting in his carte portrait of Mrs. Atwater’s Baby, c. 1861 (pl. 7). The child is sitting on a patterned rug in front of an elaborate wood screen that closes off the background. The flare of the dress on the rug and the restricted ground serve to focus our attention on the tiny figure whose riveting gaze has been captured by something unseen by the viewer. According to J. Russell Harper, “when he wanted to hold a small child’s attention [Notman] would dance about with a toy lamb on top of his head.”²⁴ This might account for Baby Atwater’s attentive gaze away from the viewer. It is this type of simple, direct photography that is so appealing in these early photographs. But is it so simple? Although the floor is part of the child’s natural environment at this age, posing it in this position implies a dependency on his or her parents. In yet another approach to photographing a very young child, Miss Mabel Eardly Wilmot, 1861 (pl. 8), is seated in a high chair and the drapery to the right of the composition is pulled behind the chair to form a partial backdrop. It is unlikely that it is hiding a posing stand as the child seems to be adequately supported by the high-backed chair, although she is sitting in a rather awkward position. Her startled facial expression no doubt derives from having a bell rung practically in her ear and shows one possible solution to focusing the child’s attention.

Children were allowed to play out their fantasies in front of the camera and if Master H. Gordon, c. 1861 (pl. 9), did not provide his own outfit, the studio had a wide selection of accessories that would be sure to appeal to the child's imagination. The traditional setting is again used for this portrait, but the heavy drapery and large window in the background do not in this case detract from the main subject. Master Gordon leans on a chair in the middle ground. The horizontal stripe of his jumper, the wide-brimmed hat, the black eye patch and the casual hand-on-hip pose all lend a hand in setting a swashbuckling mood which culminates in Master Gordon's devil-may-care expression.

In a trio of carte portraits from 1863 distinctive props are used that add to the interest of the photographs. Master Willie Cockrane (pl. 10) perches on a twig stool set beside a large twig plant holder. He carries a brimmed and ribboned hat in one hand and clutches a cricket bat in the other. The cricket bat appears over and over again as an accessory in photographs of young boys in the nineteenth century. It must have been more than just a convenient prop used to give the child something to do with his hands or to give a vertical thrust to the composition; its ubiquitous appearance lends credence to its use as a symbol of masculinity and future endeavours on the "playing field of life." One of the more interesting props used in children's photographs is the rocking horse. The more elegant horses had leather bodies with "horsehair mane and tail."²⁵ Master Thomas Crathern (pl. 11) takes time out from the serious business of riding to look at the camera. The austere setting and closed-off background ensure that our attention is given to the horse and rider in this wonderfully successful image of childhood. In the third portrait, Master Greenshields (pl. 12) rides the real thing. The pony

stands docilely in front of the Notman studio on Bleury Street while his young master poses shyly for the camera. The vertical and horizontal elements of the architectural detail in the background have been fully exploited to provide a strong compositional contrast to the transitory stillness of the pony and child. The light bouncing off the stone walls only to disappear into areas of deep mystery leads the eye back to the tonal contrasts of pony and child. The strength of this carte portrait is derived as much from the sensitive use of light and shadow as it is from the authentication of the truth and reality of this moment in a child's life.

The most common accessories used in the portraits of young girls are dolls and skipping ropes. Notman's carte portrait of his daughter Miss Jessie Notman, 1863 (pl. 13), is technically very similar to his photographs from the 1850s, but two tiny dolls propped up on the chair beside his daughter take the place of the vase of flowers often used to symbolize femininity. In the portrait of Miss Moss, 1868 (pl. 14), the child holds a skipping rope that twists down her legs into a circle at her feet, caught in a moment of repose. The rope serves several functions. It identifies the child as female; gives her something to do with her hands; and adds visual interest to the lines of the composition. The expression on Miss Moss' face is typical of photographs taken in the first several decades of the medium. The solemn, sometimes apprehensive demeanour, intent on holding a pose, characterizes the type of facial expression that developed around the photographic portrait as a result of the lengthy time exposure required. This technical shortcoming dictated that any such facial expression should be serious and devoid of emotion, taking precedence over the subjective reaction of the sitter to the action of being photographed.

As the child approaches adulthood, the mood of the photograph changes, but the studio setting remains the same with a closed-off background and a chair and table on a patterned rug in the foreground. John Whitney, 1861 (pl. 15), stands beside a table holding an open book. He acknowledges the presence of the camera and photographer, but he seems somewhat engrossed in his own thoughts. The use of the open book as the classical symbol of the educated man implies the future success of the youth. It is interesting that this tiny portrait so successfully reveals the vulnerability and force of the soon-to-be adult, that it is in fact both a psychological study and a cultural statement. There is no discernible difference in mood in the portrait of Josephine Cartier, 1861 (pl. 16). The setting is also similar, but whether the book is now seen as a symbol of learning or docility is a moot point. As well, her dress describes her entrance into young womanhood.

Notman's carte portraits of Master Hugh Allan (pl. 17) and Master Bryce Allan (pl. 18), 1866, are fully intended to reflect their stature as the sons of Sir Hugh Allan, the prominent shipping entrepreneur. Master Hugh, the eldest of the two, stands on a sheepskin rug in dress kilt holding a rod, while Master Bryce sits on the sheepskin rug in a modified highland outfit. Both children are posed frontally looking directly at the viewer. Their solemn expressions, whether intended or not, seem to convey a knowledge of the responsibilities that they will bear as the future heirs of the Allan empire. The photographs were taken as the first step in the production of hand-coloured portraits. The cartes were enlarged to 69.0 by 52.4 cm and then given to John A. Fraser (1838–1898), the head of the studio's art department, for colouring.²⁶ Of all the abuse heaped on the photographic medium in its developing years by the supporters of the painted portrait, the monochromatic tones of the photograph

sparked some of the severest criticism. The obvious solution was to hand-colour the photograph. By adding the colours of nature to the precise but tonal camera image, the portrait was now a complete and true rendering of the sitter. Fraser's finished portraits, plates 19 and 20, would certainly have pleased those who felt that the imagination and creativity of the artist was in danger of being snuffed out by the camera. The creative license he has taken is quite startling and we can only suppose that the client's wishes were carried out. Master Hugh Allan has been spirited away to the ancestral highlands of Scotland; he stands in the foreground with a fishing rod in his hands, the rugged mountains rising up from the river valley behind him. The superimposition of the past onto the reality of the present through artistic devices has resulted in a sentimental authentication of his cultural ties. The end result is imposing, but there is a loss of vitality in the hand-painted version and the sense of communion with the viewer has been sacrificed. The hand-painted portrait of Master Bryce is less successful. The fish net added to the foreground to continue the allegory of his brother's portrait is obtrusive and lacks authenticity, and even the dog is suspect. Scottish immigrants played an important role in the development of Canada and it is therefore not surprising that the kilt was a popular fashion for young boys, whether or not there was a Scottish connection. It appears frequently in both photographic and painted portraits in the nineteenth century.²⁷

One of the most successful of the painted photographs is the c. 1859 portrait of Frances Elizabeth "Fanny" Notman (pl. 21), thought to have been hand-coloured by Notman himself. In this photograph Fanny sits comfortably in the space without any hint of the vulnerability seen in the c. 1858 ambrotype. The vase to the child's right holds a rose and a thistle, symbols

of her English and Scottish parentage.²⁸ Painting photographs with oil may be less exacting than with water colour but some of the problems mentioned by George B. Ayres in his book How to Paint Photographs in Water Colors, published in 1869, are common to both media. In an effort to preserve the subtle tonal contrasts of the photograph, dark backgrounds tend to lose their transparency and may even look patchy, while the outline of the figure may have an unnaturally hard edge.²⁹ Both of these shortcomings can be detected in the portrait of Fanny, but the child's image is so direct, her gaze so powerful, that technical defects are of little importance.

It is rare for the setting of a Notman portrait to be anywhere other than in the studio itself, although there are a few in which the exterior of the studio is used as a backdrop (see pl. 12). There are also categories of portraits, such as the post-mortem photographs, or portraits that include transportation as a theme, that are photographed in other locations out of necessity and these will be discussed in context. The settings available in the studio were only limited by the imagination of the photographer and Notman not only had an active imagination, but he was also a master of deception. The July 1867 issue of The Philadelphia Photographer included a brief article on cabinet photographs received from William Notman " . . . of boating scenes at the sea-side: one representing a young lady just 'pushing off' and another quietly seated on the edge of the anchored boat, meditating. The effect is very real, and the perspective admirably secured by the background. The photography is excellent, of course."³⁰ The cabinet photograph was introduced in Scotland in 1862, but it was not used for portraits until 1866.³¹ It was a more luxurious format than the carte de visite as it measured 14.0 by 10.2 cm with a mount of 16.5 by 11.4 cm. According to The Philadelphia Photographer,

Notman had been experimenting with a new size of photograph that was in between the carte and the cabinet, but he abandoned it for the cabinet size.³² His reason for doing so may simply have been a question of timing as interest in the cabinet spread internationally. The Philadelphia Photographer was enthusiastic about the cabinet photograph, believing that:

First, . . . it would revive a declining business. Second, . . . that the size would give the photographer more chance to display good taste and skill in his work than the cartes do, and thus have a gradual but sure tendency to improve the photography of this country. Third, . . . the introduction of a new and popular picture would enable us to relieve ourselves from the thralldom of low prices and the attendant degradation of our beautiful art.³³

The journal published a number of articles exhorting its readers to offer the cabinet portrait to their clients, and many of the photographs selected to illustrate the articles were by Notman.

Master Tiffin, c. 1866-1869 (pl. 22), was photographed in a studio setting similar to the boating scenes referred to by the journal. He is standing in a rowing-boat, dressed in his Sunday-best suit with a straw boater perched jauntily on his head, pushing away from the shore with an oar. In fact, half a rowing-boat was kept in the studio and a shoreline was fashioned out of sand and rocks; the backdrop creates the illusion of water stretching to the distant horizon. At the very least, the setting adds interest to the portrait and Master

Tiffin has been kept fully occupied while his likeness was being recorded for posterity. In a carte portrait from c. 1863–1864, the studio has been turned into a garden. Master Allan (pl. 23) poses in front of a twig garden seat. He is holding onto a wheelbarrow and the camera has caught him with his right hand supporting his head as though he has had a tiring session. The result is an unsentimental portrait of a child which is entirely without subterfuge.

The 1878 cabinet portrait of Master F.W. Beaufield (pl. 24) is more romantic than the portraits from the 1860s. Beaufield leans against the twig handrail of a bridge, surrounded by plants and trees. The sailor suit he is wearing was fashionable throughout the latter half of the century, a reference to the popular regard for the British Royal Navy and, by inference, Canada's ties to Great Britain.³⁴ The mood of the portrait is carefully created through the lush garden scene, the romantic notion of a bridge spanning a stream and the child's self-absorption, seemingly unaware of the camera. The simple, straightforward but somewhat artificial portrait of the 1860s has given way to a preoccupation with visual sensations and a deliberate casualness.

While the settings used for the images of boys are generally relevant to the subject, they tend to be more neutral in girls' portraits, although the winter sports scenes, which mirror the portraits of boys, are an exception. As well, the image of the garden is inherently female, symbolizing domesticity and fertility. The garden setting in the cabinet portrait of Miss Kitty Wheeler, 1868 (pl. 25), has been created with twig garden furniture, a trellis and a potted tree. The child is sitting on a bench holding her hat and an open umbrella which is pointed to the ground. Her air of reverie and the brightly lit garden scene recreate the feeling of a languorous summer's day. The feminine

references to flowers and fecundity are also seen in Missie Peterson (pl. 70). A more abstract reference is found in the floral wallpaper of plates 55 and 62.

In January 1867 Notman petitioned the Governor General for a patent to protect his “‘Art of Taking Photographic Pictures, representing winter scenes, by artificial means, with or without figures’, not known or used in this Province by others, before his invention thereof, and not, at the time of this application, in public use or for sale in this Province. . . .”³⁵ He describes his method of achieving a realistic winter scene as follows:

1st – The art of producing . . . the appearance of fallen snow, by the use of artificial representations, such as salt, flour, wool, furs or other analogous substances, separately or in combination, substantially in the manner described.

2^d – The art of representing ice, water, etc. . . . by the use of tin, zinc, or any polished or semi-polished surface, glass or any transparent or semi-transparent substance. . . .

3^d – The art of representing falling snow . . . by blowing or otherwise throwing into the air, fine particles, either in a dry or liquid state, and passing the negative through the same, when falling. . . .

4th – The art of representing snow, either fallen, or falling . . . by retouching the negative, and masking with colours, or any opaque substance. . . .³⁶

Some of the most effective photographs of children are those portrayed in Notman's cleverly simulated Canadian winterscapes. In the April 1867 issue of The Philadelphia Photographer Notman's winter scenes are described as:

snow-covered landscapes, wintry clouds, men and women walking with snow-shoes sinking in the snow and partly covered with the falling frozen element, breasting the storm which beats in their faces. The skating pictures are the most wonderful, however. Here we have figures in all the graceful and easy motions of the scientific skater. Some bended forward, some backward, and others in the act of striking out; some with one foot in the air and arms uplifted, and others with arms folded gliding smoothly along and away from us. The effect of motion is truly wonderful and perfect. This is not all. The reflection of the figures in the scarred and cracked ice is also carefully produced with great effect. Great is Notman. . . .³⁷

The young children bundled up in their winter clothes take on another dimension, their heads protected from the cold by a variety of shapely hats, their bodies turned into fat, dumpy undefined shapes. In a series of

photographs taken between 1862 and 1864 before Notman's request for a patent, the same stark winter scene with a rough wood fence cutting diagonally through the landscape is the setting for every portrait. The winter dreamland is reinforced by the use of bright light and a subtle shading to create the illusion of depth. Each of these carte portraits captures the innocence, the trust and the evidential fragility of childhood. They are both solemn and humourous, and they epitomize the change of attitude towards children in the latter half of the century that simply allowed them to be children. On the other hand, Master Arthur Henshaw, 1863 (pl. 26), carries a snowshoe, but placed in an interior the object functions primarily as a prop to stabilize the child's pose and adds little to the atmosphere. While Notman's use of props and settings acts as an extension of the total image imposed on the sitter, he occasionally uses implements which are not necessarily appropriate to the setting. Because of their primary role as "props," they could easily be replaced by other objects without affecting the emotional content of the image. This is not a particularly common occurrence, but it does happen frequently enough to suggest that Notman may have allowed the child to hold an object that he or she may have particularly favoured, even if it was not the most appropriate accessory.

In another carte portrait with the same setting as the previous "outdoor" photographs, Lilly Torrance, 1863 (pl. 27), stands without artifice, well centred in the winterscape, her skates dangling from one hand, the image of innocence. But there is a new dimension here. She wears a fashionable walking suit decorated with applied braid trim and a hat edged with fur; the jacket is cut to accommodate the wide skirt. The overall effect of the

sophisticated outfit downplays the importance of the child as an individual personality.

In two later photographs taken c.1866–1869, the more elaborate techniques for creating the illusion of winter referred to in Notman's patent application have been used. Master Abbie Muir (pl. 28) and Miss Mary J. Rhynas (pl. 29) are skating on a winding river and the trees overhanging its banks are laden with snow. There is a sense of motion and we can clearly see skate marks on the ice. Both children are in costumes of the type worn at the winter skating carnivals. They are engrossed in their skating, but Miss Rhynas looks out at the viewer as she skates by, her hair streaming out from under her cap. The one note of discord in this idyllic winter scene is that neither child is appropriately dressed for the cold.

While double portraits are discussed later in this study, the image of Master Corley and Missie Halley, 1888 (pl. 30), in which the children are seen as if flying downhill on a toboggan, is an excellent example of Notman's invention of winter settings. The photograph is one of six that was used initially to illustrate the "Canadian Winter Idyll" carnival number issued by the Montreal Daily Star in 1888 and then reissued by Notman to advertise the skill with which the Notman studio photographers portrayed children. This verse accompanies the photograph:

'Tis Clare's first trip; down the hill's steep side

The frail toboggan is seen to glide:

Clare sits in state, while, devoid of dread,

Her brother shouts, with his arms outspread.³⁸

In a cabinet portrait of Master Corriveau, 1880 (pl. 31), the winter scene is not a fabrication of the studio, but a rare example of the use of an actual location, with the child seated in a tiny ornate sleigh pulled by a goat. The ill-defined overexposed background brings the tableau in the foreground into sharp relief, emphasizing the horizontality of the composition.

Needless to say, Notman was not the only photographer to create winter scenes in his studio and some of the extant photographs by James Inglis (active 1864–1884) and George Martin (active 1863–1868) in the Notman Photographic Archives are similar to Notman's work in the 1860s, while some of the extant photographs by other photographers combine photographic realism with classical trompe-l'oeil backdrops, resulting in a lack of credibility.³⁹ The popularity of Notman's winter scenes was reinforced by the frequency of winter sports images in other media. For example, William J. Bennet and Co. of Montreal published a series of greeting cards of Canadian winter sports in the 1880s.⁴⁰ These views were in turn used by John Marshall and Co., a Scottish pottery, for a "Canadian Sports" earthenware pattern intended for the Canadian market.⁴¹ Underglaze transfer prints (in black, brown or blue) of skating, snowshoeing, tobogganing or even shovelling scenes were used to decorate the cream or white earthenware.⁴²

Roland Barthes has written that ". . . the Photograph . . . represents that very subtle moment when . . . I am neither subject nor object but a subject who feels he is becoming an object: I then experience a micro-version of death . . . I am truly becoming a specter."⁴³ Thus the photograph could well represent a universal apprehension to the capturing of the human image by the camera. There are many motives for recording the likeness of an

individual: to conceptualize a public image, as a simple expression of self-conceit, or maybe as a symbol of universal traits or an affirmation of cultural heritage. In the twentieth century, it has been the practice for families to record the many faces of childhood, from infancy to adolescence. But whatever the motive is, the likeness in time is transformed into a reminder of death, and in this sense, all photographs are memento mori. The accuracy and truthfulness of the camera image provoke a sense of communion with the person portrayed and this sense of communion in turn evokes a semblance of immortality that gives comfort to the bereaved. The high mortality rate in the nineteenth century may have provided the impetus for a different type of record, the post-mortem portrait. Photographs that were taken of a child before and after death were bound together in a "Funeral Album."⁴⁴ A photograph of the commemorative headstone might also be included.⁴⁵ Historically, funerary sculptures were made of family groups, but very rarely of individual children. Post-mortem paintings of children were equally rare. Was the post-mortem photograph instigated by families who were unfortunate enough not to have had portraits made of their children when they were alive, or did the practice develop because of the ease with which a funeral portrait could be provided by the camera? The preponderance of "consolation literature" in the nineteenth century with its outpouring of melancholy "humour" quite possibly played a role.⁴⁶

Historians have used pictorial records as a source of information for their studies of children and the almost complete absence of portraits of children prior to the seventeenth century has led to the belief that children were considered of little consequence.⁴⁷ As mentioned earlier, when children do start to appear in visual records, they are generally depicted as stiff little

adults, with some notable exceptions.⁴⁸ By the nineteenth century, children are allowed to be themselves, but the pervasive influence of religious dogma was so all-consuming that in order for parents to fulfill their religious duties to their children, they were expected to create a distance between themselves and their offspring as a means of ensuring the children's spirituality.⁴⁹ It is also postulated that children may have been kept at a distance for fear of becoming too attached to them in a time when they were apt to die in infancy.⁵⁰ Whatever the truth really is, the funeral portraits are not only an expression of nineteenth-century sentimentality engendered by the excessive morbidity of the age; they were a way for parents to deal with their loss. This tends to raise a question as to the validity of negating the existence of parental affection in any age, even when pictorial records seem to reinforce such thinking.

As was the custom, Notman provided his clients with funeral portraits, although there are very few of these images in the Notman Photographic Archives. He also advertised cemetery views, which because of the logistics involved, were photographed at a reduced price when orders were placed in advance.⁵¹ Although we may be unsettled by this nineteenth-century practice, the emotional need is understandable. The Notman portrait of Mr. Hogson's Child, 1869 (pl. 32), and a daguerreotype vignette, Post-Mortem Portrait of Louis Joseph Papineau (pl. 33) by Thomas Coffin Doane, 1855, in the National Archives of Canada collection, reinforce the notion of a child asleep. The image of the sleeping figure had been a common image of death in tomb sculpture since the fourteenth century. The practice of photographing live children in their sleep was fairly common and may have developed because of the difficulties experienced in photographing active young children. From a

purely visual point of view, the images of sleeping children could well have established a predisposition for the images of deceased children, but the portraits of Missie McKogh, 1863 (pl. 34), and Mr. J. Edgar's Dead Child, 1877 (pl. 35), strip away any such misconceptions. By photographing Mrs. Mills' Dead Baby, 1889 (pl. 36), in its carriage the illusion of a sleeping child is again created, but here the reference to the child's previous life is even more direct. The intent of the portrait of Mrs. G. Grant's Dead Child, 1878 (pl. 37), would be problematic if it were not for the funeral wreath placed over the child's bed. Notman's use of dramatic lighting turns the grieving mother, seen in profile, into a dark shadowy silhouette gazing down at the child who is bathed in an even ethereal light. Mother and child are bound together within the arched bed canopy, the black mourning wreath symbolically hanging over the bed. The picture is filled with the emotion of the moment, yet the intrusion of the camera does not seem to have disturbed the solitude of the grieving mother.

The photograph of the Corpse of Mr. Gelinias' Baby, 1872 (pl. 38), gives us a direct statement of the child's death through the inclusion of a crucifix and candles in the portrait. All of these photographs suggest a sensitive restraint and control over the emotional overtones inherent in the subject matter. This was not always the case. There are extant portraits of dead children propped up in a sitting position or held in the arms of a parent which verge on the macabre to our contemporary eyes. Although funeral portraits are discussed in most of the surveys dealing with photographic portraiture, an in-depth study has yet to be done and it is difficult to gauge from the existing records just how prevalent they were. If we can draw any conclusions from

the Notman Photographic Archives, they were not in great demand in Montreal.

In William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio, Stanley Triggs describes the photographs Notman took of Victoria Bridge during its construction as:

one of the great records of engineering works of the world. Art and science are molded together . . . just as in the stone and steel of the bridge. Not for him was the romantic, pastoral school soon to become common among his contemporaries in Britain. Instead he forged his own bold, new world imagery which best suited his expressive needs and the tempo of the time and place. Though stark and often abstract in design, the images radiate subtleties of line, light and texture.⁵²

Notman took advantage of the same starkness and abstraction to record another nineteenth-century engineering marvel, the baby carriage. The carriages have been used as the “framing” for a number of portraits taken outside the Notman studio or on location.

In the portrait of M. Lewis, 1874 (pl. 39), Missie Lewis sits cross-wise in the carriage with her legs dangling over the side. The carriage cuts across the picture plane, its front wheels pushing up against the outer edges. Light bounces off its curves and angles, setting it in opposition to the dark flat background. The play of light and shadow over the child creates a solid three-dimensional axis and describes every nuance from the laced boots to

the beads around her neck and the bonnet tied under her chin, and finally, her penetrating gaze. In contrast, Mrs. Melvin Smith's Baby, 1877 (pl. 40), is integrated into the overall design of the composition and seems to share equal importance with the elaborate carriage. The light background intensifies and exaggerates the strong geometrical shapes turning them into a bold abstract design of circles and intersecting lines with the child strategically cradled at their centre. The oval format chosen for the photograph of Mrs. W.F. Lewis' Baby, 1873 (pl. 41), simplifies the composition by narrowing the field of vision. The front wheels of the carriage have been cropped, bringing the child closer to the viewer. The light catches the wheels and then settles its full strength on Baby Lewis whose attention has been caught by something out of the camera's range. The use of the carriage is not as dramatic in this photograph, but its sleek lines are a perfect foil for the rakish hat.

Mrs. Drummond's Children in a Carriage, 1885 (pl. 42), are sitting in a cart pulled by two goats. Although a group photograph, the composition is similar to the 1880 photograph of Master Corriveau (pl. 31). The misty winter landscape has been replaced by a well-defined stretch of grass in the foreground and the background has been blocked off with no hint of structure or distant landscape. The mise-en-scène is the same, with a horizontal tableau stretching across the width of the composition. The solid shapes of the goats contrast with the structural elements of the cart, providing an anchor for the light-bathed innocent quality of the children. The children have been strategically positioned, with the eldest child seated protectively behind the two younger ones. All three children look directly at the camera, the young boy is self-possessed and smiling, the other two children are more reserved.

squinting slightly in the bright light. From a design point of view, the tableau arrangement is a structural success, but the composition lacks the drama of the close-up, where the curves and angles of the carriage have been used to full advantage to create a solid framing for the child. Ernest Livernois (1851–1933) chose not to exploit the interesting structural elements of the vehicle as a potential design element in his photograph of E.L. Laliberté and His Velocipede, c. 1890 (pl. 43), in the National Archives of Canada collection. Instead, he elected to use an orthodox academicism which results in a stiff composition with an artificial “trompe l’oeil” background.⁵³

Notman’s portraits of children throughout the 1850s and 1860s are derivative of the traditional court portrait. Nevertheless, as we have seen, he adapts the established artistic conventions to suit the occasion and he frequently sets aside the more formal poses and introduces unconventional settings and accessories. In the 1870s Notman moves away from the popular photographic formulas into a much more interpretive and richer imagery. Plates 39 and 40 are characteristic of a dramatic exploitation of form as an integral part of the composition. In the much earlier portrait of Miss H. Frothingham, 1871 (pl. 44), the balustrade and latticework screen on the Frothingham’s verandah at Cacouna become the backdrop; the child sits informally in a chair placed squarely against the lattice, a dog cradled in her arms. The horizontal slats of the shutter to the left and verandah railing to the right lead the eye to the child and even though she is positioned in the middle ground, there is no doubt that she is the subject of the picture. The sense of the child’s personality comes as much from the awkward way she sits and the tilt of her hat as it does from her direct eye contact with the viewer. There is a striking difference between this portrait and Notman’s studio portraits

because of the reality of the setting here as opposed to the artificiality of the studio. The very real background creates an image that is far more believable and moving in its authenticity and we identify much more closely with the subject because of the snapshot-like spontaneity of the photograph. Notman's understanding of the play of light and shade allows him to transform the image into poetry and in his role as observer he draws our attention to the drama of an everyday scene. What Notman was doing in Cacouna remains a mystery, although it was a favourite summer haunt of Montrealers.

Notman also used the close-up to heighten the feeling of intimacy with the sitter. The portrait of Miss E. Allan, 1876 (pl. 45), is an oblique head and shoulders view of the girl in an oval format set against an undefined background. Her face is dramatically lit, but her hat and coat are partly obscured by the play of light and shadow. Through the clever use of lighting, the photographer succeeds in creating an emotional response to the child's apparent reverie. In a portrait from 1876 of Miss Celina Rough (pl. 46), the same oval format is used, the widest part of the oval framing the image. Miss Rough was photographed leaning back with her arms behind her head in a very relaxed, private moment. A parallel can be drawn between these portraits and the work of David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848) as well as that of Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–1879). Hill and Adamson's use of chiaroscuro in their portraits, the sense of quiescence and of their sitters' personalities convey a similar feeling of intimacy. The reference to artistic traditions is unmistakable in the Hill and Adamson photographs, but their realism is the magic of the camera. How they were able to capture such intensely personal images in the most difficult of conditions is awe-inspiring. All of their portraits were made out of doors

and the length of exposure depended on the intensity of the light.⁵⁴ The soft focus of Julia Margaret Cameron's close-up portraits prompts an emotional response to the innocence and purity of childhood, but her portraits are also filled with a very personal sense of the individual.⁵⁵

An analogy can also be drawn between the Notman portrait of Miss Bertha Field, 1874 (pl. 47), and Lewis Carroll's (1832–1898) portrait of Beatrice Hatch, c. 1872 (pl. 48). Both portraits are full-length, the children sit informally looking straight out at the viewer and each in her own way demands the complete attention of the viewer. Where the photographs differ substantially is in the use of light. Notman uses a dark background, emphasizing the child's face and contour through a subtle chiaroscuro. Carroll uses an even lighting that clearly defines the child's features and every detail of her outfit. He purposely places the chair at an angle against the neutral wall, and then picks out the horizontal lines of the baseboard to anchor the chair to the floor, emphasizing the directness of the image. All of these portraits have in common a romantic notion of childhood that heightens our knowledge of its fleeting nature.

Notman developed the romantic notion of childhood even further by portraying children in elaborate settings that added a touch of the theatrical to the compositions, which in spite of their similarities to earlier traditional settings, have quite a different effect, partly because of the use of chiaroscuro and partly because of the informality of the poses. In a full-length portrait, Miss Nellie Small, 1876 (pl. 49), leans on a small table with her hands clasped and one leg casually crossed in front of the other. Her expression is both composed and trusting as she looks out at the viewer. The dramatic lighting

emphasizes her features and gives a tactile quality to her striped and ruffled outfit and the rich folds of the material draped over the table. The eagle on the table appears in many of the studio's photographs and it is possible that it was used to symbolize the evanescence of time. In another portrait from this same period, Missie Malarkey, 1877 (pl. 50), sits casually on a chair angled to the picture plane and set against an elaborate architectural background that is partly bleached out by the strong light that plays over the figure of the child in the foreground, emphasizing the buttons and stripes of her outfit, glancing off the cabinet and turning the bird into a ghost-like outline. The child is completely engrossed in the bird and seemingly unaware of the camera that captures an intimate moment of play.

In the 1880s and 1890s the portraits of children are increasingly individualistic as the personality of the child is more fully explored by the photographer. From the moment that photographic portraits were technically feasible, it was possible to record facial expressions, as the daguerreotypes prove. But the lengthy exposures required in the early years of photography tended to discourage any show of expression. The traditional formality of court portraiture also influenced the photographer and the sitter to the extent that to exhibit any kind of emotion was generally considered inappropriate. The changes that appeared in the Notman studio photographs in the 1880s were the result of technical innovations that in turn triggered stylistic changes. The gelatin dry-plate process came into general use in the 1880s. The faster, more sensitive gelatin dry plates promoted the use of the shutter which, although it had been available since the 1860s, was not being used to any great extent by photographers. Notman started using the dry plate in combination with a shutter in the fall of 1880. It became possible to

photograph facial expressions without the distortion or stiffness that was all too common with slower exposures. The changes were well received and portraits expressing emotion became desirable. Missie Hosmer, 1881 (pl. 51), is a masterpiece of childish poise and self-satisfaction engendered by the attention of the moment and the sheer pleasure of looking one's best. The child sits on the backboard of a chest which brings her up to eye level. She has been strategically placed in the angle formed by the horizontal line of the backboard and the vertical line of the screen behind the chest, creating the illusion that she has just stepped down from her own portrait to visit with us for a few minutes. The white eyelet dress and hat are carefully lit so that the delicate material is seen in minute detail. Her left hand rests lightly on one knee and she smiles out at the viewer with a charm and innocence that exemplify the ideality of childhood.

In contrast, Master Rogers, 1881 (pl. 52), describes a much more serious image of a child. He stands on an upholstered chair holding onto the back and resting one foot on the arm, a casually masculine pose of the type that was adopted for all males in both carte and cabinet portraits. There is a sense that the child is not entirely trustful of the photographer and that he is uncomfortable with the attention. In another pair of cabinet portraits, Master Henderson, 1881 (pl. 53), sits on the edge of a chair, his feet dangling over the side, his elbow resting on a table and his hand supporting his head. He is completely relaxed and looks passively at the viewer in a way that is suggestive of a Gainsborough portrait. The light is fairly even throughout, with just enough contrast to highlight the child's clothing and the different textures and patterns of the table accessories. The same chair and table appear in the portrait of Missie Edgas, 1881 (pl. 54), but the child is less passive. The

background is also darker in this photograph which gives a much more sculptural quality to the figure of the child, emphasizing a slight plumpness and giving her more authority and presence. She does not look directly at the viewer, but off to one side as though she is engrossed by some action happening outside the viewer's range of vision.

In another pair of portraits from 1881, two very different approaches have been used to achieve dramatic effect. Miss E. Allan (pl. 55) is photographed in profile against a floral background. The mood of the portrait is reminiscent of the romanticism of the Pre-Raphaelite paintings without their overt emotional content. The play of light across her face hints at a strong personality. The full-length portrait of Master Kane (pl. 56) is unusual because of the controlled lighting. He stands in an open doorway with his hands resting on the doorframe. Except for the light striking his face and hands, his collar and cuffs, and the buttons on his suit, his body is in deep shadow, blending into the background. The effect is very similar to the flat decorative quality of primitive painting in Canada in the first half of the century.

Notman submitted photographs to the international photographic exhibitions throughout his career and he would have been familiar with the work of the other participants. He also subscribed to a number of publications on photography which would have kept him informed about the work of his contemporaries. If we examine the close-up portrait of Miss Paton, 1889 (pl. 57), together with Lewis Carroll's close-up portrait of Florence Bickersteth, 1865 (pl. 58), there is a striking resemblance in the depth of feeling achieved in both photographs even though the approach is somewhat

different. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Notman would have seen any of Carroll's photographs, nonetheless, the use of the window sill as part of the framing of a portrait has any number of antecedents in painting and it provides the means for a simple and effective pose. The angle formed by her right arm and the careful fanning of her hair on her shoulders draw attention to her well-lit face. The setting for Miss Paton's portrait is ambiguous and it is the play of light on the fabric and stitchwork of her dress along with her carefully arranged hair that provide compositional support to the focal point of the portrait, the young girl's face. What is startling about the two portraits is the similarity in the depth of feeling they project. There are many years separating the two photographs, but the fact that Notman felt free as a commercial photographer to experiment with portraiture to the degree that he did, very much as the amateurs such as Carroll had been doing for many years, and culminating in the superb photographs produced by the Notman studio in the 1880s and 1890s, is certainly to Notman's credit. While it appears that Notman's photographs of children are more inventive than those of other Quebec studios such as the Livernois, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to compare Notman's images with other Quebec and Canadian photographers.

Although the photographer has created the setting for the portrait of Master Sutherland, 1889 (pl. 59), and has also provided the accessories (the doll appears in several Notman photographs), Master Sutherland has entered into the role with enthusiasm and in so doing has revealed an impishness that is humorous and heart-warming. The portrait of Baby Ritchie, 1889 (pl. 60), is equally successful. The sharp vertical lines of the striped dress, the horizontal stripes of the cap and the curve of the whip provide decorative

interest to a setting that is only hinted at by the play of light. The whip is frequently used as a prop for young children and its significance is not clear although it is likely that the importance of the horse for transportation and work in the nineteenth century meant that young boys would soon learn to handle a horse and that it was more of a preoccupation for males than females. Whips would be in the possession of any household that owned a horse and of course they would be available at the Notman studio. It was probably considered to be a suitable prop for keeping a young boy's hands busy. Baby Ritchie participates happily in the making of his portrait; a graphic testimonial to the ability of the Notman studio photographers to create a relaxed atmosphere for the children. It was this ability that accounted in some measure for their success. The setting for the portrait of Carl Blackman, 1889 (pl. 61), is more elaborate than that of the previous photograph. The solid dark background is broken up by the light glancing off the fencing. The light also picks out a floral design in the dark mass to the left of the child, but not sufficiently to identify it. The chain that the child is hanging onto is also a puzzle. Master Blackman is dressed in a little Lord Fauntleroy suit, made popular by the publication of the book in 1886.

The difference between the portraits of girls and boys, which is evident in some of the photographs selected here, is particularly evident in the portrait of Missie Muir, 1881 (pl. 62), as it is in the portrait of Miss Kitty Wheeler (pl. 25). The floral background is traditionally feminine and so is the frilled bonnet. However, such sexual stereotypes become confusing in the case of very young boys and girls because they both wore petticoats, skirts and frilly bonnets. Their clothing does eventually change when they are about five years old and there is a discernible difference in their comportment. It is

difficult nevertheless to sort out the little boys from the little girls and this is not helped by the fact that quite often the Notman studio identified a very young child as Baby Atwater or Baby Smith. It is only in searching for later portraits or family records that it is possible to distinguish one from the other, when these sources are available.

In two close-up portraits identified simply as Baby Baumgarten, 1890 (pl. 63), and Baby Turnbull, 1890 (pl. 64), there are no accessories that tell us the gender of the subjects. The only possible clue is in the clothing. Are the fur pompom and fur trim on Baby Turnbull's outfit more feminine than masculine? This is not a safe assumption, however, but because of another photograph taken of Baby Turnbull in the same year in which there are a number of accessories, it is safe to say that Baby Turnbull is a little girl (see pl. 128). She is portrayed playing with a miniature tea set and she seems to be serving tea to two dolls. The photographer's role must have been made much easier by children like Baby Turnbull who seem to genuinely enjoy having their pictures taken, with the result that their portraits have become enchanting nineteenth-century ambassadors that offer a refreshing perspective on the popular negative views of the Victorians held by some twentieth-century historians. As for Baby Baumgarten, there simply aren't any clues. Nevertheless, the bright light embraces and defines the child, holding it for a fleeting moment and capturing for all time the shy welcoming smile, the universal language of childhood.

Hill and Adamson's photographs of enigmatic rear views of young women appear, on the surface, to be ingenuously straightforward, but as David Bruce points out in Sun Pictures: The Hill-Adamson Calotypes:

“Deliberately to devise a portrait composition without showing the face creates special problems. It concentrates the interest on formal aspects of the pictures, particularly the juxtaposing of areas of light and dark and the division of the frame into three vertical panels.”⁵⁶ There is also an elemental pathos to a portrait in which the face of the subject is absent, making of it a symbol of a deeper reality, the power of memory. The unusual Notman photograph of Baby Hutchins, 1890 (pl. 65), evokes not only pathos; every detail of the image expresses the vulnerability of childhood. Like the Hill and Adamson photographs, the portrait is divided into three panels. The door to the left of the child is identified by the light on the doorknob, the closed door to the right by the horizontal and vertical lines of the moulding, and in the middle panel the child’s torso absorbs the full force of the light which then bounces off the crop of curly hair. The child seems to glide towards the black opening of the door, the means of locomotion just barely visible. Was this portrait planned or did it come about spontaneously because the child was upset and walked away from the sitting? The evidence of two other photographs taken at the same sitting would seem to indicate that the child was distressed by the entire situation.

The fact, however, that Notman made the exposure shows that he saw something of significance. The portrait ultimately describes both his sensitive appreciation of the uniqueness of children and the delicacy of his eye. Nevertheless, Notman has quite understandably photographed the child frontally as well and in one of the other portraits of Baby Hutchins, 1890 (pl. 66), taken at this same sitting, the vulnerability that we can read in the back view is confirmed in the child’s expression and in the manner that his or her hands are clasped, indicating a level of withdrawal from the photographer.

There is another important element included in this portrait, the use of a mirror to expand the space within the composition and to increase the impact of the strong light directed at the child. The image in the mirror seems to add to the volume of the first image, but it also has its own unique quality; the light appears to have carved the child's silhouette in alabaster, the real image reflected in a sculptured image. Mirrors have often been used as literary emblems. For the Victorians and more particularly the Pre-Raphaelites, the mirror was a device used to express the dilemma of living in an imagined world, the dichotomy "between art and life."⁵⁷ Although there are sometimes overtones of this nature in the photographs of Clementina, Lady Hawarden (1822–1865), she also used mirrors as an integral part of the configuration of her compositions, which is the case in the c. 1860 photograph of her daughter, Girl in Fancy Dress (pl. 67) and it is in this same structural use of the mirror that Notman excels in a number of his photographs.

It has been said that the nineteenth-century amateur photographers were more innovative and artistic than the commercial photographers because of their freedom to do what they wished. Both Julia Margaret Cameron and Lewis Carroll have been described as being ". . . motivated by an obsessive interest in their sitters. . . ." ⁵⁸ The "soft focus" that is characteristic of Cameron's work, combined with the close-up views she preferred and her intuitive approach, were responsible for the depth of feeling in her portraits.⁵⁹ Cameron blurs the details in her photograph of Margie Thackeray, 1868 (pl. 68), just enough to focus attention on the little girl's subtly modulated features and as a result, she captures in this one image all the poignancy of childhood. The use of light in the Notman portrait of Missie McLachlin, 1891 (pl. 69), is quite different, but the effect is strikingly similar.

The strong light on the child's clothing changes dramatically as it moves up to her face, modelling its contours on one side, but leaving the other side in almost complete darkness and then glancing off the crown of her head, highlighting strands of hair against the dark flat background. While Cameron's portrait evokes the poignancy of childhood, the Notman portrait with its masterly use of chiaroscuro is full of the mystery and fantasy of childhood. Nevertheless, the emotional content of both images is equally persuasive.

The strength of the Notman studio portraits in the 1880s and 1890s is in the individuality of the compositions. There is much less reliance on the formal settings which were originally adopted to reflect the actual or fictionalized status of the sitters. It is nevertheless useful to compare the Notman portraits to those of the amateurs working in the same era to remind us that the commercial photographers still had to please their clients. There are compositional differences between the Notman studio photograph of Missie Peterson, 1890 (pl. 70), and Carroll's photograph of Alice Pleasance Liddell, 1859 (pl. 71), but the end results are very similar; they are both portraits of little girls who, dressed up for the occasion, exude the innocence and purity of childhood. But if one looks at a broader selection of Carroll's work, the difference between the private and the public photographer is self-evident. Carroll's portrait of an Unknown little girl, undated (pl. 72), is starkly realistic. There are shadows under her eyes that make her look somewhat unhealthy, she is carelessly dressed and her expression is sad and haunting. The pose of the child against a wall reinforces her sense of isolation and loneliness. Carroll was not alone in producing such images. The British photographer Oscar Gustave Rejlander (1813 – 1875) was producing carefully posed portraits of street urchins as early as the 1860s, a tradition that

probably comes from certain ideas of the picturesque in paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We are to see this approach magnified by the social photographers working at the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. Such portraits, which set forth another view of childhood, are not found in Notman's studio work, but "urchins" are sometimes included in his scenic views.

Carroll did on occasion photograph young boys and his portrait of Angus Douglas, 1863 (pl. 73), is not only a good character study, the composition is masterly. He keeps the setting characteristically austere, but reinforces the strength of the image through the simple device of posing the boy beside the vertical posts of a fence. There are romantic overtones to the photograph that work as well with the young boy as they do with Carroll's female sitters. In comparison, the stark light background in the Notman portraits of Master Ross, Master Sclater and Master Kirkpatrick, all from 1891 (pls. 74, 75 and 76), brings the images into sharp relief. There are few accessories included in the photographs, although the ubiquitous whip appears in all three. What makes these photographs so striking is their quality of romanticism, from the Rungeian "pneumatic" cheeks of Master Ross to the saccharine sweetness of the Little Lord Fauntleroy portrayed by Sclater and Kirkpatrick.⁶⁰ Although Notman is not concerned with "character" to the degree one finds in Carroll's portrait of Angus Douglas, his photographs capture the essence of little boys and their role-playing suggests the notion of the freedom of childhood (for Notman's clients at least) and the importance of fantasy in a child's development.

The single portrait, which concentrates its full force on the one individual, reveals within a variety of views both the formal concerns of the photographer and the connection to the ongoing technological changes in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The iconographic representations that come to be associated with childhood through the photographic medium, while intrinsically part of the formal traditions developed for the painted portrait, move away from academic formalism to a more prosaic view expressive of the realities of day-to-day rituals. The choice of setting, whether a romantic garden scene or a winter outing, reflects a way of life that is further reinforced by the introduction of props such as cricket bats, skipping ropes or skates that are part of a child's world. The innocence and romanticism associated with childhood are communicated by a make-believe boat, a real pony or the fantasy of a costume; moods of mystery, drama or adventure are created by the manipulation of light. Gender differences are established through the choice of settings and props, while the individuality of the sitter is respected and often enhanced by tantalizing glimpses of the child's distinctive personality. The high mortality rate in the nineteenth century made the rituals associated with death very much a part of daily life and the post-mortem photograph is a memento of the death of a loved one.

While Notman's portraits in the early years reveal a conformity to nineteenth-century social behaviour, his open and innovative approach often produced images that are refreshingly informal.⁶¹ The fact that his work became increasingly individualistic over the years can be attributed in part to innovations in technology that made it possible to capture the most subtle facial expression. But his innate sense of the child before him resulted in a view of childhood that was uniquely his, very often unconventional and always

informative. It is these single portraits from the Notman studio that are the most instructive, both from an aesthetic point-of-view and as a means of establishing pervasive attitudes towards children.

3 Family Portraits

The family portraits have been divided in this thesis into three different categories: photographs of two or more siblings together, photographs of children with one parent, and photographs of the family. The evolution in the Notman approach to group portraiture, from the formal portraits of the 1860s and 1870s to the more individualistic portraits of the 1880s and 1890s, is consistent with the changes seen in the individual portraits. Nevertheless, there are special problems to photographing more than one person, not the least of which is ensuring that all the sitters maintain their poses, particularly if they are children. One can therefore assume that the difficulties increase with each additional person. There are also compositional considerations and photographers inevitably turned to the conventions developed for painted portraits. The rules established varied according to the number of children. Although there are no known Notman daguerreotypes, it is useful to look at the daguerreotype in order to establish the types of group images that were being produced when Notman appeared on the scene.

The market was flooded with daguerreotypes that presented unflattering images of family groups posed stiffly in a row, their eyes fixed in catatonic stares. In an article in La Lumière in 1851 Francis Wey poked fun at the daguerreotypists for the astonishing resemblance of their images to "fried whiting glued on a silver plate."⁶² But the daguerreotypists had to cope with a number of problems. Images were often technically inferior because of subtle changes in the harsh natural light. The lengthy exposures that were required accounted for the lack of expression, the stiffness and the occasional blurring. In spite of the many difficulties, by carefully planning the compositions around

the limitations of the individual sitter and the medium it was possible to produce a successful group portrait, even when the task was further complicated by the presence of children. The more informal the pose, the better the portrait was apt to be. The daguerreotypist could control facial expressions by placing the subjects at different angles; a head tilted downwards or turned to one side eliminated much of the physical discomfort. Toys or other small objects that could be held by a child encouraged an informal pose that was also easier to maintain. There is a greater sense of personal involvement and attention to detail in the more successful daguerreotypes. It is the exceptionally natural group portraits among these that contain the seeds of the future snapshot that are the most captivating. The profusion of daguerreotype images, whether exceptional or technically flawed, served as references for Notman's introduction to group portraiture.

Although the group portraits of siblings in the Notman Photographic Archives are not as numerous as the individual portraits, it is impossible to tell whether they were generally less popular or whether it had more to do with the difficulties of posing several children together, particularly in the 1860s and 1870s before the faster gelatin dry-plate process replaced the collodion wet plate. Certainly, the portraits of siblings from the 1860s are of uneven quality. The portrait of Judge Monk's Boys, 1861 (pl. 77), is formal and rigid, yet it respects the artistic conventions established for group portraiture by posing two children of uneven height in a standing position. If they had been the same height, it would have been considered appropriate to have one seated. The two boys stare straight ahead with no expression on their faces and there is no interaction between them. The choice of lacrosse sticks as props seems incongruous for such a formal salon setting. In the portrait of

Three Children, c. 1856–1861 (pl. 78), the traditional pyramid arrangement is much more successful because of its unexpected informality. The eldest child stands protectively behind the two younger ones, while the physical contact between all three children creates a feeling of affection without becoming sentimental.

Posing Mrs. Dillon's Two Children, c. 1856–1861 (pl. 79), side-by-side on the floor is expedient because of their small size. The children are dwarfed by their surroundings; and even if they were sitting in the foreground, the formal salon setting would still be overwhelming. But because they both look directly at the viewer and perhaps because they appear so fragile, the portrait is arresting. The portrait of Mr. Embrey's Two Children, c. 1856–1861 (pl. 80), retains a number of the traditional elements of court portraiture. The young girl's chair is slightly angled to the picture plane, its back visible. A table is drawn up to her right with a book lying open on the reading stand. The young boy stands beside the table in the subordinate position befitting his age. In spite of the lack of physical contact, a mood of companionship is created by the open book before the young girl, implying that she has been reading to her young brother. The portrait of Miss and Master Lemesurier, c. 1856–1861 (pl. 81), deviates from the traditional format, even though some of the same elements are present. While the young boy, the elder of the two children, stands beside the table in the conventional dominant role, his little sister sits on a stool to his left with her legs crossed most informally, a pose which does not conform to the standard behaviour for even a very young child. Both children have been given books as props so that it appears that they have been interrupted from their reading and this shared action conveys a feeling of companionship. The children are placed in the middle ground and are well

integrated into their surroundings without being dominated by them. Mrs. Major's Three Children, c. 1856–1861 (pl. 82), are posed in a diagonal line in the middle ground, the youngest child seated between her two sisters. In spite of the obvious attempt to vary the traditional approach to group portraits the composition is still quite formal. Yet Notman was to photograph children in a row in descending order of size in later photographs with enormous success.

The obvious rapport between Masters J.R. and H.E. Smith, 1863 (pl. 83), is a refreshing change from the more formal portraits. Dressed in their winter clothes in a winter setting, the young boy standing on his sleigh appears to be in deep conversation with his brother. Even though the winter scene is contrived, it is easy to imagine coming across two children taking a break from their sledding. There is a similar effort in the portrait of the Ferrier Children, 1864 (pl. 84), to integrate the children into a garden scene with the appropriate outdoor furniture and props, but the composition is still too self-conscious and formal to be truly successful. However, a portrait of Mrs. Molson's Children, 1867 (pl. 85), which was taken on location, is highly unusual in denying the traditional formality of group portraiture. The four youngest children are grouped around the eldest child who reads to them. The young boy to the left leans companionably against his sister, the child to the right makes a face, the child in the foreground looks up, disturbed by the camera, while the child in the centre is absorbed in the book. The trellis wall encloses the children and provides compositional interest. The scene is completely natural without the stiffness and contrivance seen in most of the other group portraits in the 1860s. In fact, it has the characteristics of the much later snapshot.

In the 1870s the group portraits of siblings become much more informal, although the settings are sometimes quite elaborate. The photograph of the Masters Allan in Andrew Allan's Conservatory, 1871 (pl. 86), was also taken on location. The varied textures and patterns of the conservatory setting surround the three boys sitting informally in the middle ground. The eldest boy sits on a stool, a ball in his hand and a bat at his feet. One of his brothers sits in the chair, while the other perches on its arm, his hand tucked Napoleon-like in his shirt. There is both unity and variety in their poses, creating a casual bond between the children without any actual eye contact. That all three boys are dressed the same reaffirms their relationship. The garden nymph watching over them adds an intentionally amusing touch to the composition. The academic concern for the importance of variety in a group setting would sometimes result in a breakdown of the group, a form of spiritual isolation, which is not the case, however, in the Allan group portrait.

The photograph of Mrs. G. Ward's Children, 1875 (pl. 87), takes a further step in conveying the feeling of an emotional bond between the children.⁶³ The pose is informal but natural with the interaction of the children implied by the manner in which they lean towards each other. The children all look out at the viewer from their positions around the table, which, along with the judicious use of light and shadow, seems to reinforce the feeling of unity within the group. Children have always enjoyed dressing up and Masters E. and G. Whitehead, 1875 (pl. 88), may have lost something of themselves in their role-playing, which appears to be eastern potentate meets western prince, but what a wonderful tableau. The flat dark background with just a hint of rich drapery to the left leaves the stage to the two young boys in the foreground, their opulent outfits dramatically lit. The trend to romanticism.

in the 1870s is well illustrated by the photograph of Mrs. Jesson's Three Boys, 1877 (pl. 89). The composition is so loaded with detail that there is a danger of diluting the importance of the figures. But by carefully using the horizontal lines of the bridge to frame and reinforce the triangle formed by the three boys, the photograph succeeds in providing a sense of intimacy.

The Notman double portraits are generally more successful than the larger groups. There is a stronger sense of the children's individual personalities and there is also more frequently a sense of their relationship to each other. The close-up photographs of Mrs. Taylor's Boys, 1882 (pl. 90), and Miss Gilmour and Sister, 1890 (pl. 91), are full of warmth and affection without being contrived. The two boys lean easily against each other, comfortable with their closeness. The composition is not entirely successful. The patterned table cloth is distracting and the distortion of the vertical moulding behind the boys is disconcerting, to the point of a lack of overall balance. The photograph of the Gilmour girls concentrates entirely on their closeness, the deep chiaroscuro obliterating any details that might detract from the real subject matter, and for this reason it is the more accomplished of the two portraits. The setting for the double portrait of Miss and Master Rogers, 1881 (pl. 92), is an agreeable part of the composition, providing not only the means for posing the two children side-by-side in an informal and balanced arrangement, but it also introduces interesting textural details that contrast carefully with the solid tones of their clothing.

But even double portraits sometimes created compositional problems. In the photograph of Mrs. Davidson's Children, 1887 (pl. 93), the two young boys are physically and emotionally isolated from each other. The self-

absorption of the elder child is so complete that there is no sense of the protective support that is usually extended to a younger child. Compositionally, the elaborate setting is overpowering, the elder child's outdoor clothing is inappropriate for an interior, and the placement of the two children at almost the same height, considering the disparity in their size, further separates the two subjects. This type of awkwardness is much less common in the group photographs from 1890. Mrs. Kerry's Children, 1890 (pl. 94), are posed in a studio setting, but the architectural details are softened by the indirect lighting and the interior becomes an adjunct to the physical arrangement of the four children rather than a strong competitive force. The axial movement of the figures visually knits the group together.

Mrs. Ramsay's Children, 1890 (pl. 95), have been photographed in exactly the same setting as Mrs. Davidson's Children (pl. 93), but the former are much more relaxed. Each child strikes a pose that in itself is informal, but when they come together in a group, the result is somewhat artificial. The tartans vie with the architectural details for attention, the children's expressions are rather studied, and the composition generally lacks a satisfactory integration. A wonderfully successful solution to the problem of photographing a group of children is the simple yet unconventional approach that defies all the academic conventions and that Notman used unerringly for the portrait of Mrs. J.D. Miller's Children, 1890 (pl. 96). The four children are lined up in ascending order of height from right to left, each clutching the dress of the child in front. The foreground and background are in deep shadow with just a glint of light glancing off the children's boots and picking out some of the architectural detail. The children's dresses are brightly lit, and the play of light across their faces brings out their individual expressions. The photograph is compositionally and emotionally a convincing work of art.

Images that depict the parent-child relationship similarly find their antecedents in the traditions of portrait painting, in terms of both compositional conventions and the portrayal of emotional content. The formula for portraying a mother with her daughter and a father with his son was more prevalent in painted portraits than in photographic portraits. This gender division is particularly less rigid in photography when a very young child and its mother are the subjects. This is understandable because the nurturing of children was primarily the responsibility of the mother. The majority of the portraits in the Notman Photographic Archives are therefore of the mother with a child or children. It is interesting to note that even in photographs of children with no parent present the children are usually identified as the children of "Mrs." so and so. This is most probably because it was the mother who brought the children to the Notman studio and of course it was the adult who was invoiced.

Nevertheless, the father is occasionally photographed alone with his sons or daughters. Very young children are usually photographed in their mothers' arms, the most practical approach, considering the need for the child to be supported. There are, however, any number of photographs of very young children propped up on a chair or sofa, or sitting on the floor. A slightly older child, one who can stand alone, usually stands beside his mother. The older the child is, the greater the distance between mother and child. In portraits where both parents are present, the child is either held by the mother or stands to one side of his or her parents, but rarely between them. The mother is almost always seated, the father standing. When a father is portrayed alone with his children, as the "tallest" member of the group, he too is generally seated.⁶⁴

The formal setting in the photograph of Mrs. Berry and Child, 1863 (pl. 97), is an important element of the portrait, adding a hint of theatricality that accentuates the woman's stiffness but leaves the child untouched. The conventional court portrait is obviously the source for the composition. In the portrait of Mrs. D. McFarlane and Child, 1863 (pl. 98), the mother and child have a far more compelling presence. The horizontal and vertical lines of the architectural details in the background subtly frame the two, the soft light accentuating the tucks and ruffles in their clothing. Both mother and child look out directly at the viewer and there is a strong expression of affection in the way the mother leans towards the child in her arms. In two other portraits from 1863, Notman varies the standard mother and child image by increasing the importance of the child. In the photograph of Mrs. Frothingham and Baby Harriet, (pl. 99), Mrs. Frothingham's back is turned to the camera and she holds baby Harriet over her shoulder. The unorthodoxy of the image evokes not only a particular intimacy but an informality that denies traditional conventions. The background is indefinite; a flowering plant is just visible to the left, the twig chair the mother sits on is also reversed so that we see it from the back. In the portrait of Missie M.E. Little and Mother, (pl. 100), the photographer combines all the formal elements of a court painting, but the child is seated on the table while the mother is seen in profile; the full sweep of her dress and cloak creates a strong base to the portrait that leads the eye up to the child.

The photograph of Mr. Dawson and Child, 1863 (pl. 101), is also most unusual. The father looks down at his young child, gently supporting the infant against his body in a remarkably casual gesture. Only part of Dawson's face is visible under his hat and the child is the real focal point. But more

important, the privacy of Mr. Dawson's pose is an extraordinarily novel approach to the presentation of a father and child. The portrait of Mr. and Master H. Archibald, 1863 (pl. 102), describes the more traditional convention of a proud father "displaying" his son. While the clasped hands imply parental affection (and also stabilize the young child), there is an underlying current of warmth through the slight awkwardness of their poses. Conversely, although Mr. Bingham and Anna, 1861 (pl. 103), clasp hands, the severity of his expression, his stiffness, and the difference in height of the two figures standing side-by-side, suggest an emotional distance between them.

The inclusion of a window in the setting for the portrait of Mrs. Pell and Child c.1856-1861 (pl. 104), creates a recessional space in the academic manner seen in Théophile Hamel's paintings of Quebec patricians. The children in Hamel's portraits are treated with importance by their position relative to their parents, whereas in the Notman portrait the child is subordinate to his mother. Nevertheless, the feeling that the child is secure in the knowledge of his mother's affection is conveyed by the way he clasps his mother's hand. The composition is not entirely successful because of the pull of the vertical frame dissecting the window, but Mrs. Pell's full striped skirt spread out at the bottom of the picture does redress the balance to some extent. The photographs taken between 1856 and 1864 are typically somewhat stiff and formal, with some variations from the academic standards, but still under their influence. Any demonstration of affection between parent and child is usually restrained, although it is more evident when only one child is present.

The portraits of children with one parent from the 1880s and 1890s are generally more relaxed, but the poses do not vary a great deal from the

earlier photographs. The background may be more luxurious and the accessories more opulent, but otherwise they look much the same, with some interesting exceptions. The little girl in the photograph of Mrs. Stevens and Child, 1881 (pl. 105), is standing behind her mother with her arms draped around her mother's shoulders. What is particularly striking in this portrait is the naturalness of the child's pose. As well, the child is wearing only a loose undergarment. The mother sits stiffly, her hands clasped in her lap and her head bent slightly to accommodate the child. Although she is smiling, she does not look very comfortable as she attempts to maintain her dignity. The child was also photographed alone during the same sitting, still wearing just the undergarment (pl. 106). Both Lewis Carroll and Julia Margaret Cameron photographed children in various stages of disahabillement as a matter of course in their studies of children, but these are most unusual images for Notman. In the search for portraits of children in the Notman Photographic Archives, approximately 45,000 photographs were examined and there is no doubt that this type of image is rare and even risqué for the Notman studio. Such portraits pose an intriguing question for which there appears to be no answer. Possibly the subjects are close family friends and for this reason reflect a special intimacy.

The setting for the portrait of Mr. W.S. McFarlane and Child, 1881 (pl. 107), has been carefully manipulated as a formal device. The pilasters on either side of the composition act as a frame within a frame to bind the two figures more closely together. There can be no doubt that Mr. McFarlane is the primary subject. He sits squarely in the chair, one hand grasping the arm, the other holding what is probably a newspaper. The light catches his watch and chain, leading the eye up to his well-lit face. He looks directly at the

viewer, his expression serious. while his daughter stands at his side with one hand on his shoulder, the other resting on the arm of the chair. She leans towards her father but looks to one side. The emphasis on their hands and faces implies a bond between father and daughter that is understood rather than clearly stated. However, the child remains a subordinate element within the composition and the photograph would succeed aesthetically without her presence.

The greater individuality of the 1880s and 1890s is apparent in the portrait of Mrs. Sproule and Baby, 1885 (pl. 108). Mrs. Sproule stands facing the camera with her baby sitting on her shoulder; her arm is securely around the child who smiles broadly, while hanging on to her mother's hair just in case. The two figures are brightly lit against a flat dark background. The lack of accessories and the simple, direct close-up view ensure that mother and child are given our full attention. There is a palpable tenderness and love in this photograph that can truly be said to represent the eternal mother and child. Its spontaneity also foretells the approach of a snapshot aesthetic and when we realize that George Eastman's Kodak only came on the market in 1888, three years after this photograph was made, Notman's visual invention seems all the more daring. The close-up portrait of Mrs. Bouthillier and Baby, 1890 (pl. 109), is equally successful in portraying the special relationship between a mother and child. There is a much greater use of chiaroscuro; the child's features are just visible through the deep shadow. Notman's emphasis on the spirit of maternal love and pleasure described through the pose, the juxtaposition of the two faces and the flickering light instill the image with a new movement and a new energy.

There is no doubt that as the number of people in a group photograph increases, the more difficult it is to create a successful and pleasing composition. In the early years of photography there was the added difficulty of several people, particularly small children, remaining still for the required length of time. These difficulties may account for the fact that there were relatively few portraits produced of family groups. It is also quite possible that photographers may not have encouraged group photographs because they would have made a larger profit if they provided individual images rather than a group shot. The iconography of photographic group portraiture is based on the academic conventions applied to paintings of family groups, particularly the conversation piece, and the formal problems encountered by photographers were solved within this lengthy tradition.⁶⁵ The most common family portraits and the easiest to manage are of one child with both parents. Traditionally, there have been two approaches to representing a family unit. The adult female was portrayed standing in a caretaker role, with the male receiving care as the most important person in the family unit and the child receiving care as the most helpless or vulnerable member of the unit. Or, the adult male was portrayed standing as the protector of the family. There is very rarely any physical contact in the traditional representations of the family unit, with the exception of the works of the German portraitists who frequently expressed the affections nurtured within the family through physical contact.⁶⁶

Notman's photographs of family groups in the 1860s are particularly faithful to the established conventions. In the portrait of J.D. McIntosh and Family, c. 1869–1870 (pl. 110), Notman photographed the mother standing in the dominant or caretaker position. The father is seated with the youngest child on his lap and the eldest child is beside him. The composition respects

the traditional approach to the family portrait both in its formality and the symmetrical arrangement of the figures. In the photograph of Sargent Tooth, Lady and Baby, c. 1867–1868 (pl. 111), the Sargent stands beside his wife who holds their young child. There is no physical contact between husband and wife. The Sargent is made the focal point of the portrait through the compositional arrangement which plays up his position and his dress uniform, whereas the McIntosh portrait, in spite of its stiffness, portrays a tight family unit in which the children are of equal importance. There is also a strong sense of family in the portrait of Mr. and Mrs. C.J. and Miss Mattice, 1868 (pl. 112). The father assumes the dominant role of the protector, while the mother focuses her attention on the little girl who in turn looks directly at the viewer. Both parents appear protective in their own separate ways and this illustrates a tradition in British, French and North American portraiture in both painting and photography. The child's status is clearly that of a privileged member of the family.

Mr. Simpson's Group, c. 1866–1869 (pl. 113), is more informal than the previous photographs. The setting replicates a sitting room, although the open door in the background is somewhat distracting. The group interacts through a variety of poses that add interest as well as unifying the composition. The pet dog with its back to the camera is a stuffed studio prop that appears over and over again in the Notman portraits in exactly the same pose.⁶⁷ Even though the father is in the dominant position, because he bends solicitously over the central group of children, he does not have the authority of isolated male figures in portrait groups. In the portrait of General Wyndham and Family, 1868 (pl. 114), the family shares in the activities of a winter's day, in the studio. The strong pyramidal shape of the composition

builds from the left to the right, then down to the youngest child, who looks out at the viewer from the vantage point of his sleigh. The importance of the youngest child is increased by his slight isolation from the others at the base of the pyramid. The photographs of the Simpson's and the Wyndham's are successful because of the careful arrangement of each family member within the composition, with the result that each group is natural and realistic.

The portrait of the S. Handlow's Group, 1869 (pl. 115), is less successful. The six members of the family are divided into two distinct units in a horizontal format with three children to the left and two children and Mr. Handlow to the right. The physical contact within each unit varies, but it is sufficient to establish the integrity of each group; the angle of Mr. Handlow's legs provides the link between the two groups. There is no eye contact between any of the family members. The father's expression is contemplative, which may be a reference to the open book. The children merely look bored. The contrast of light and shadow is dramatically exploited, but it is not enough to save the composition from mediocrity. The sense of isolation, both within each unit and between the two, as well as the incompatibility of their physical arrangement, is all too evident. Although some academicians preached the need for variety in a group setting, the lack of integration in this composition is unsettling. Might it also be a reflection of the emotional relationships within the family?

Inevitably, the portrait of the individual loses something to the whole in a group portrait, and it is those photographs that succeed in giving each individual a measure of importance that are the most compelling. The wooded setting chosen for the portrait of The Stuart Family, 1872 (pl. 116),

envelops the family without diminishing their presence. They sit close together leaning towards each other, the women's wide skirts providing a strong horizontal base for the group. The family unit is well established, but each member within the family is given the same weight. The composition is one of the most successful in the collection of group photographs because of the equilibrium between man and nature and the ease with which the figures interact with each other and with the setting. Throughout Notman's work one finds a willingness to explore a kind of photographic vision that has its basis in reality rather than the artificiality of the studio.

The 1870s were difficult years for Montrealers. The severe economic depression from 1873 to 1878 was exacerbated by smallpox epidemics in 1875 and 1876.⁶⁸ Because Notman's photographic business was so diversified he was able to weather these years without too much difficulty, but the number of portraits made between 1873 and 1878 did decrease substantially.⁶⁹ Stylistically, the 1870s were also transitional years for group portraiture. The formality of the 1860s is still the norm, but there is a refreshing increase in creativity that results in a greater individuality in the portraits, a trend that becomes even stronger in the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1880s there is also another noticeable difference: the introduction of more elaborate settings in the studio which often include a luxurious landscape in the background. There is a dream-like quality to the compositions that seems to be an odd marriage between the picturesque tradition in painting and realism, a reference to the past and the present. The best of these photographs celebrate realism and are free of self-conscious sentimentality.

The portrait of Mr. Fred Evans and Family, 1889 (pl. 117), is an example of the languid romanticism that is so expressive of the Pre-Raphaelite psyche. The father is established as the head of the family by being somewhat isolated from the other members of his family, but the young child in the foreground is draped over his feet, linking him to the family unit. The children are posed in a semi-circle. The placement of each child is determined by the need for symmetry rather than age. The children are given a great deal of importance as a result of the direct light on their pale dresses in contrast to their parents' dark clothing. In spite of the sentimentality of the composition, the children's direct eye contact with the viewer establishes their individuality in relation to their parents. The passive role of the parents is more protective than it is dominant. The same exterior view appears in the portrait of A.F. Gault and Family, 1890 (pl. 118), but instead of the stone wall and columns that give the impression of a garden scene, the Gault's are in an interior. An isosceles pyramid arrangement is used, with Mrs. Gault at the base and her daughter at the top. Mr. Gault stands in the centre casually leaning on the window sill, his son on a bicycle beside him. The composition is tightly structured, each of the four members of the family has an equally strong presence, and there is none of the sentimentality of the Evan's family portrait. On the other hand, it is a more formal, conventional photograph.

The illusion of three-dimensional depth that made the stereographic photograph so entertaining also made it a successful medium for group portraits, which, when viewed through the stereoscope, brought the viewer right into the family group. One of Notman's earliest group portraits is a stereograph of the Henderson Group, c. 1859–1860 (pl. 119). If Notman had respected the precedent for identifying the members of a group, then the man

standing with his hand resting on the back of the woman's chair should be the head of the family and the two children should belong to the couple, but the identity of the other man is not clear. Because of the relationship between the seated adults and the two children, they could well be the family unit. The photograph is extremely ambiguous when one applies the conventional norms. In fact, the seated adults are Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Henderson, the parents of the two children. The gentleman standing behind Mrs. Henderson is William Henderson, Alexander's brother. There is no eye contact within the group, as it was considered appropriate to have each individual occupied with some activity without engaging each other or the viewer, although in this case the children look directly at the viewer. The pyramidal arrangement unifies the group even if it is misleading in terms of hierarchy. The setting is very traditional, with heavy drapes on either side of the studio window to balance the two seated units. In spite of the formality and the isolation of the adults, the importance of the children is evident through the gentle manner in which they are presented by their parents.

The composite photograph, which includes such techniques as the photocollage and the combination print, provided a solution to the problem of creating a pleasing composition when several people were to be portrayed together. The combination print is achieved by exposing parts of more than one negative onto the final sheet of photographic paper. The first known reference to the combination of separate negatives into a group portrait through multiple exposures on the photographic paper appeared in La Lumière in 1851.⁷⁰ This technique gave photographers a freedom of control over their compositions that was tantamount to the painter's selective creativity.⁷¹ Composite prints were not always successful. The major

problems with the portraits were inconsistencies in scale and light, and poor integration of the images into a cohesive composition.²² Notman's contemporaries considered his composites to be of excellent quality; they were particularly impressed by his sporting subjects.²³ First a detailed compositional layout of the family group was developed and then each member of the family was photographed individually in a predetermined pose. A suitable background, either painted or photographed, was prepared separately to receive the individual portraits and then the completed montage was photographed in its final form. The occasion for the portrait could be a family celebration of some sort and it was fairly common to have three generations in the group. The prearranged poses were fashioned after the seventeenth-century conversation piece where family members are gathered together in some type of generalized activity.

The ten family members of the P.S. Ross Family, 1876 (pl. 120), have been integrated into a painted salon setting. The figures are divided into four distinct groups, each with its own activity. The individuality of each person is respected, while the sub-groups are realistic and adroitly combined in the overall image. But there is a problem of scale; the four children on the left seem too small in relation to the background and to the other figures; while the brother and sister at the piano seem rather large in comparison to their parents, considering that they are also the farthest away. The two young boys at their parents' feet are treated like children, in a subordinate but protected role, while the other children function within their autonomous groups without any special reference to their status. The eye direction varies from direct contact with the viewer to passive introspection, with the exception of the young boy at the centre left who actually appears to be reading. The

artifice of the assemblage gives the photograph a patchwork effect that is reinforced by the disjunction between the figures and the setting.

The Hanson's Composition Group, 1889 (pl. 121), is a much more complicated family group because of the number of people involved. There are three generations represented. Of the twenty-eight people listed in the accompanying family tree, twenty-three have been photographed.⁷⁴ Portraits of Joseph Hanson, who died in 1868, and Mary Ann, assumed to be his daughter, hang on the back wall; three children are missing. The family is divided into four groups and although the husbands and wives are either side-by-side or in close proximity, only the child to the extreme left poses beside her parents. The figures are integrated into the composition by virtue of the horizontal format and their linear placement. The proportion of each figure in relation to the whole is successful and the lighting appears to be consistent. The background is authentic, although it creates a strong pattern and competes with the human forms. The figures are arranged in a variety of poses. Some of the participants make eye contact with the viewer while others look off in different directions without engaging each other. Although this is one of the more accomplished composite photographs, the artifice of the process is still evident.

This particular montage successfully validates each individual within the family group. For this reason, the portraits of the younger children in the Hanson group are of special interest. Each child has been photographed in the act of playing with a toy. The toys not only provide additional visual interest to the composition, they set a childlike ambiance and they define each child's space within the composition. The older children are posed

more formally, as young adults. The portraits of the younger children are refreshingly natural, even to young Reggie playing soldier. Pauline and Laura were each photographed playing with a doll and a doll's crib (pls. 122 and 123), but in the montage the toys have been cropped from Pauline's photograph. The toys were used in the original portrait as a means of obtaining the appropriate position for her final portrait. The individual photographs were also intended as autonomous portraits that would be purchased by the family along with the composite. It is evident that in spite of the time it took to complete a composite portrait, it was a lucrative undertaking if each and every photograph was ordered in quantity, as it likely would be. Although the Notman composite portraits are not of equal quality, they were the most practical way of producing group portraits, particularly when the group included the extended family and from this point-of-view alone, they were a success.

4 Notman's Portraits Of His Own Children

For portraitists to represent more than just a physical image, they must have some understanding of the inner nature of their sitters. This can only be accomplished through the artists' ability to interpret what the sitters reveal of themselves. Portrait painters have the advantage of being able to study their clients during numerous sittings. Photographers, however, because of the mechanical role of the camera, are free to direct their creative will entirely towards accurately representing that much sought-after inner spirit. Both the painter and the photographer, of course, benefit from a personal knowledge of the sitter. Notman had a very select and private clientele who remained with him throughout his photographic career: his own family. Alice and William Notman had eight children, seven of whom survived at birth, although two died before reaching adulthood.⁷⁵ Many of the portraits he made of his children are extant, and it is possible that these photographs were the inspiration for his portraits of other children. In a letter to his father-in-law (22 February 1857), Notman describes his nineteen-month old daughter Fanny, at that time the only child, as " . . . loving and pretty full of fun and mischief and a decided taste for pictures which she handles rather roughly when she gets a chance but you could not possibly be very angry with her she is so conciliating."⁷⁶

The knowledge that Notman had of his own children meant that he would undertake the creation of their portraits with a very personal understanding of their characters. This would be particularly rewarding if it meant that the child was more receptive, but it could be frustrating if the child felt free to be uncooperative because of the close relationship. In either

case, the skills he acquired with his own children must have stimulated his professional development. Although there is some evidence to support the idea that he tried out innovative techniques in the photographs of his children, it is not conclusive. In many instances the compositional applications were similar, but some of his more original concepts did appear in family portraits long before they were tried commercially. However, simply because Notman was their father, the children could be approached with a more decisive and scrutinizing eye. The concern to "please" the client, to whatever degree appropriate in commercial photographs, is not a consideration in this situation. Yet while his parental role entitled him to both a greater freedom and power, these images of his own children have an intimacy and awareness of the individual spirit that could not occur in photographs of "strangers."

The photograph of Jessie Notman (pl. 124) from 1870 was apparently made as an element to be included in a larger composite, The Skating Carnival, 1870.⁷⁷ As a portrait of a single individual, its implications are intriguing. The portrait emphasizes the side and back of the child, although part of her face is visible without actually revealing any features. The oval vignette format concentrates attention on the child's form as described through her winter clothing. Her long wavy hair cascading down from under her fur hat contrasts with the textures of her costume. Photographers often produce images that have an original photographic vision which has little to do with their conscious intent. Nonetheless, portrait compositions that do not include the sitter's face are rare in Notman's work. The 1890 photograph of Baby Hutchins (pl. 65) walking away from the viewer also falls into this category of original photographic vision whose esotericism challenges the viewer. The greater individuality of the 1880s and 1890s, which was made

possible by technical changes, in turn triggered stylistic changes and portraits like the Baby Hutchins' photograph became more acceptable. The fact that Notman was experimenting with this type of portrait, without actually exploiting it, long before the public sanctioned any deviation from the established artistic conventions, had as much to do with social constraints as it did with overcoming technical difficulties. It is such images as these that fascinate the modern photographic audience.

The solemn faces of the children photographed by the Notman studio in the 1860s and 1870s conform to the prevailing taste for portraits with little or no facial expression, although the natural solemnity of children when faced with a new experience or an adult-orchestrated occasion cannot be discounted. While this propensity for earnestness is also reflected in the photographs of Notman's children, there are a number of photographs where the child's personality escapes unfettered by social concerns or technical restrictions, assisted by a talented father's keen sense of timing. Miss Jessie Notman, 1861 (pl. 125), was two year's old when this photograph was taken. She is sitting in the Renaissance Revival-style armchair that Notman bought for the studio c. 1860, dressed in a coat and hat. Her smile suggests her delight in the making of her portrait. Nine-year old Miss Emma Notman, 1874 (pl. 126), leans casually on a chair back, a fan in one hand, looking pleasantly self-aware and self-possessed in a fashionably elegant dress. In a second photograph taken at the same sitting (pl. 127), her hand rests against her face and in this view she reveals a coquettishness that does not at all distract from the image. This portrait is quite theatrical with its dark background, the light concentrated on the child's dress and shadow obscuring part of her face. The photographs from the 1880s and 1890s that capitalize on the child's

facial expression differ from these earlier works only in the degree of emotion. The photograph of Baby Turnbull, 1890 (pl. 128), is of a child with a wide open-mouthed smile, whereas the two Notman girls' smiles are closed-lip grins which would be easier to hold for the required exposure.

Portraits that are described as "psychological" more often than not are portraits of adults. It is understandable that children in their formative years are viewed as malleable little creatures who because of their limited experience of life could not possibly have a great deal to reveal other than what is evident on the surface. The very fact that there are still divergent opinions about the influence of environment as opposed to inherited characteristics in the development of a child's personality explains to a degree the difficulty of interpreting what it is we see in children's portraits. Regardless of any differences of opinion on the developmental influences, a child is a unique being and a psychological portrait that is revealing of the child is attainable. Notman's portraits of his children in the 1860s do reveal, to this extent, something of his children that is less noticeable in the photographs of other children during the same period. The photographs of Master George Notman and Miss Emma Notman, c. 1869-1870 (pls. 129 and 130), are more than just pleasing photographs of children. These are not static, passive individuals, but children with their own view of their sphere of knowledge, children who think for themselves and manage to convey their independence through the camera's image. In the seventies this strong sense of individualism is present in some of the photographs of other children, but it is so obvious in the portraits of Notman's own children that it is easy to assume that the father-child relationship played a decisive role.

Notman occasionally revealed his sense of humour through his photographs of his children. The portrait of three-year old Master George Notman, 1871 (pl. 131), is a case in point. The unhappy child poses for his father wearing a sailor suit and a boater with the word "sunbeam" printed on it. Whether the irony was intentional or fortuitous is lost in time, but the image has an innate empathy that evokes the relationship between the photographer and his son. The 1863 portrait of Fanny, Jessie and Willie Notman (pl. 132) is characteristic of group portraits in the 1860s. The children are strategically posed in a pyramid arrangement with the youngest, Jessie, in the foreground and the eldest, Fanny, behind Jessie. Fanny leans over towards Willie, putting him in the dominant, protective role. Willie and Fanny smile slightly while Jessie poses with patient determination. The children appear to be spiritually close, but there is a stiffness to the composition, perhaps because of Notman's formal interest in the pattern of circular forms. The 1872 portrait of Masters George and William McFarlane Notman (pl. 133) is not unusual in any way, but it is a sensitive, warm portrayal of brotherly love that is remarkably successful because of the carefully integrated composition.

By the 1880s there is little discernible difference between the photographs of Notman's children and his client's children. The technical changes that made it possible to capture fleeting expressions without difficulty and the acceptance of a greater individuality in the portrayal of children meant that Notman and the studio photographers could offer to the general public, without being rebuffed, the type of photographs that Notman had been experimenting with privately for years.

Conclusion

The camera's ability to replicate the original scene before it, to capture forever a brief moment in time with remarkable detail and consummate delicacy, brought a sense of discovery to portraiture in the nineteenth century that responded to the search for truth that was so much a part of the Victorian ethos. The verisimilitude of the photograph provokes a synergism between the viewer and the subject that is part physical and part mystical, an interaction that animates the emotional power of the photographic image. Notman's sensitive portraits of children are, for the viewer, as tangible and intrusive as direct experience.

Notman brought to photography a considerable artistic talent. We know that his father was a textile designer and manufacturer and it is conceivable that Notman's own involvement in the textile business gave him his keen sense of design. His portraits of children, for all their traditional influences, are innovative and penetrating. The informality of many of the portraits is a reflection of his genius for allowing children to be themselves. Add to these qualities his abilities as an illusionist and it is evident that we are dealing with an accomplished photographer. Notman's sitters represent the established notions of propriety and his portraits reflect the nineteenth-century perception of children as innocent and pure beings to be cherished, loved and protected. They are eloquently expressive of their own time and the universality of childhood. Yet any attempt to mythologize nineteenth-century children through an adherence to strict behavioural norms when in front of the camera was doomed to failure in the Notman studio. The stereotypical portrait, even when it does surface, has an element of surrealism that belies the image.

Notman's sophisticated use of simple design elements was ingenious. The brass nail-heads of a chair become a frame within a frame for a young seated child. His strong sense of design is evident in the construction of the studio sets. Elaborate architectural scenes were turned into rich but muted backgrounds through the judicious use of light. He could also be very sparing in his choice of accessories. A potted plant placed on a table beside a standing child seems commonplace until we realize that the shape of the leaves echoes the cut and drapery of the child's dress. A sleigh with tracks curving up into graceful swan-heads is placed on an angle in the "snow" to become the perfect vehicle for showing off children in their winter finery. By exploiting the elegant design of a baby carriage as an integral component of a composition, a symbiosis is created between the rounded three-dimensional volume of the child and the geometric shapes of the carriage that results in an extraordinary portrait. Although the symbolic significance of toys in child portraiture is obvious, their decorative qualities were used with great effect by Notman and they are often the only means of identifying a very young child as female or male.

Once Notman had decided on the physical elements of a composition, there remained the consolidation of its various parts into a cohesive whole that would reflect the mood that he wished to project and this was achieved by the manipulation of light. He created drama and mystery, romance and sorrow, the mundane and the spiritual with supreme talent, through the play of light and shadow. While all of these devices are extraordinarily effective in Notman's hands, his success with children's portraiture must ultimately be judged on the basis of his ability to capture a sense of the individual child and this he does with remarkable skill. From the vignette that presents a child in

stark relief to the child slouched in an overstuffed armchair or the child dressed in his or her Sunday best, he captures the essential spirit of childhood for our contemplation.

Notes

¹ Refer to Stanley Triggs, William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (Toronto: The Coach House Press, 1985), for additional information on Notman.

² Ibid, 24.

³ Ibid, 29.

⁴ Ibid, 30. There were probably more than twenty studios. The studios will be the subject of a forthcoming book by Gordon Dodds, Roger Hall and Stanley Triggs.

⁵ After Notman's death in 1891 the Montreal studio passed to William McFarlane Notman; Charles F. Notman was made a junior partner in c. 1894 and he inherited the business when his brother died in 1913. Although Charles sold the business to Associated Screen News in 1935, he remained with the firm until it was sold in c. 1955. The collection of photographs was subsequently purchased by a group of benefactors who donated it to McGill University. See n. 1 above.

⁶ Cornelia Meigs et al, A Critical History of Children's Literature, rev. ed. (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 54.

⁷ Rosamund Olmsted Humm, Children in America: A Study of Images and Attitudes (Atlanta: The High Museum of Art, 1978) 20.

⁸ Ibid, 15-19.

⁹ A very different study of the attitudes towards children could be done if their backgrounds were actually known. This would require extensive research into the sitters' families.

¹⁰ Triggs, 24.

¹¹ Ibid, 70.

¹² Bettina Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy: Montreal, 1861-1881" (Ph.D. diss., Concordia University, 1984) 94-95, Jean Hamelin et al, Les Travailleurs Quebecois 1851-1896 (Montreal. Les Presses de l'Université du Quebec, 1973) 36. Unfortunately, the information on wages in Montreal in the nineteenth century is sketchy and the figures quoted should be regarded as approximate. Nevertheless, it is evident that Notman's prices would in fact have been a luxury for the average worker. In an interview with the author 14 June 1991 Stanley Triggs expressed the opinion that the Notman studio was accessible to anyone who wished to have a photograph taken and the records indicate that a number of clients were photographed on one occasion only.

¹³ The Montreal Daily Witness 9 December 1879, Notman Photographic Archives, Advertisements File, McCord Museum of Canadian History; William Notman, Photography: Things you Ought to Know (Montreal, c 1870): n. pag., Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File. According to the information available in these files, Notman's prices did not vary until the late 1880s. In 1889 he advertised cartes at \$2.00 to \$4.00 a dozen and cabinets at \$4.00 to \$8.00 a dozen. There were always extra charges for colouring, fancy costumes, miniatures on ivory, lockets, brooches, etc.

¹⁴ Notman, Photography: Things you Ought to Know, n. pag.

¹⁵ The Argus 10 November 1857, Notman Photographic Archives, Advertisements File.

¹⁶ John Pope-Hennessy, The Portrait in the Renaissance (New York: Random House Inc., 1966) 190-195; William Gaunt, Court Painting in England From Tudor to Victorian Times (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1980).

¹⁷ All of the photographs referred to, unless otherwise noted, are from the Notman Photographic Archives.

¹⁸ See, for example, the work of Hermann Carl Eduard Biewend (1814 – 1888) in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) 27, 34. It is assumed that Disderi used a multiple lens camera that could produce eight to ten small portraits on one plate. Stanley Triggs informed the author in an interview 14 June 1991 that Notman used a single lens camera which produced a single image on a plate approximately 12.7 x 10.2 cm which he then trimmed to the carte size.

²⁰ McCauley, 30.

²¹ Lee D. Witkin and Barbara London, The Photograph Collector's Guide (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1979) 32.

²² Ibid, 32.

²³ McCauley, 31-34.

²⁴ J. Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs, Portrait of a Period (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), n.p.

²⁵ Janet Holmes, "Toys and Games," The Book of Canadian Antiques, ed. Donald Blake Webster (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1974) 191.

²⁶ Triggs, 141-144.

²⁷ The setting for William Raphael's (1833–1914) Portrait of a Boy, 1875, is very similar to the Notman and Fraser Portraits of the Allans. Refer to Christine Boyanoski, Sight and Insight (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1982) 12. Boyanoski points out that "Raphael's experience in William Notman's photographic studio may account for the incongruity of the lighting: while the background landscape is bathed in an even light (like a studio backdrop), a

strong shadow falls to the right of the boy as if the subject were lit from the left by an artificial light source." According to Dennis Reid in Our Country Canada (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979) 86, Raphael worked for Notman in 1859.

²⁸ Triggs, 152.

²⁹ George B. Ayres, How to Paint Photographs in Water Colors (Philadelphia: Bennerman and Wilson, 1869) 87-89.

³⁰ The Philadelphia Photographer (July 1867): 234, Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File.

³¹ Witkin and London, 31; Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 4th rev. ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978) 57

³² The Philadelphia Photographer (August 1866): 253, 312, Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File. Notman suggested a photograph measuring 12.7 by 8.3 cm, with a mount of 14.6 by 8.9 cm.

³³ The Philadelphia Photographer (August 1867): 247, Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File.

³⁴ Doreen Yarwood, The Encyclopaedia of World Costume (London: B.T. Batsford, 1978) 82.

³⁵ William Notman, Petition for Patent (1867): n. pag., Notman Photographic Archives, Patent File.

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ The Philadelphia Photographer (April 1867): 115, Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File.

³⁸ Wm. Notman and Son, "Canadian Winter Idyl," Montreal Daily Star 1888, Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File.

³⁹ J. Russell Harper, Earl Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) 7, 216.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Collard, The Potters' View of Canada (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983) 69-70.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid, 70.

⁴³ Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) 14.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Heyert, The Glass-House Years: Victorian Portrait Photography 1839-1870 (Montclair, N.J.: Abner Schram Ltd., 1979) 46.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ann Douglas, "Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States 1830-1880," Death in America, ed. David E. Stannard (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975) 56.

⁴⁷ Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 33-38. For further discussions on attitudes towards children, refer to Lawrence Stone, The Past and the Present (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981) 217-231, as well as other sources listed in the bibliography.

⁴⁸ Ariès, 33-34.

⁴⁹ David E. Stannard, "Death and the Puritan Child" Death in America, 19-20.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 19-20.

⁵¹ Montreal Herald 26 August 1859, Notman Photographic Archives, Advertisements File.

⁵² Triggs, 24.

⁵³ Michel Lessard, The Livernois Photographers (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987) 304.

⁵⁴ David Bruce, Sun Pictures: The Hill-Adamson Calotypes (London: Cassell and Collier Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1973) 22.

⁵⁵ Heyert, 111-118.

⁵⁶ Bruce, 151.

⁵⁷ Michael Bartram, The Pre-Raphaelite Camera: Aspects of Victorian Photography (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985) 142-144.

⁵⁸ Heyert, 111.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Robert Rosenblum, The Romantic Child from Runge to Sendak (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988) 47-48.

⁶¹ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, Likenesses: Portrait Photography in Europe 1850-1870 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1980) 2-5.

⁶² Ibid, 2, 21.

⁶³ The open book in the Ward group photograph could be the Art-Journal, published in London. Although there are a number of extant copies from Notman's library in the Notman Photographic Archives, this particular image has not been found.

⁶⁴ McCauley, Disderi, 118.

⁶⁵ A further study of Notman's portraits and portrait painting of the period would prove the many interactions between the two media.

⁶⁶ James Borcoman, Intimate Images (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988) 4.

⁶⁷ Stanley Triggs, interview with author, 14 June 1991.

⁶⁸ Dennis Reid, Our Country Canada (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1979) 166-168.

⁶⁹ Stanley Triggs informed the author in an interview 9 November 1990 that there were 14,000 negatives registered for the year 1873 alone. By 1878, there were 4000. From 1879 to 1884, the last year for which the figures were compiled, the numbers fluctuated between 3000 to 4000. It is

understandable that the business was affected by the Depression, but why did it not pick up after? Notman had made inroads into the American market which may account for the decrease in the Montreal business. He obtained a number of contracts with American universities to photograph the students and the professors. While the negatives were developed in Montreal, they were not registered in the studio's records. When the American government started charging duty on photographs shipped from Canada, Notman transferred the contract work to Boston (see Triggs, 29). He also obtained the photographic rights for the International Exhibition of Philadelphia in 1876 (see Triggs, 30). It is possible, therefore, that because of his activities elsewhere, he did not feel the need to rebuild the Montreal studio business to its pre-Depression eminence.

⁷⁰ James Borcoman, "Notes on the Early Use of Combination Printing," One Hundred Years of Photographic History: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall, ed. Van Deren Coke (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975) 16-18.

⁷¹ Ibid, 18.

⁷² Aaron Scharf, Art and Photography (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974) 108-113.

⁷³ The Philadelphia Photographer (October 1867): 327, Notman Photographic Archives, Publications File.

⁷⁴ Notman Photographic Archives, Family Composites.

⁷⁵ Notman Photographic Archives, Notman Family Records.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ The Skating Carnival, printed on canvas with applied oil colour, is attributed to William Notman, Henry Sandham and Edward Sharpe. Jessie

Notman can be seen at the lower left of the photograph facing H.R.H. Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught.

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William Notman's Portraits of Children

Plates

Unless otherwise indicated the photographs are from the William Notman studio in the collection of the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. The caption page precedes each illustration.

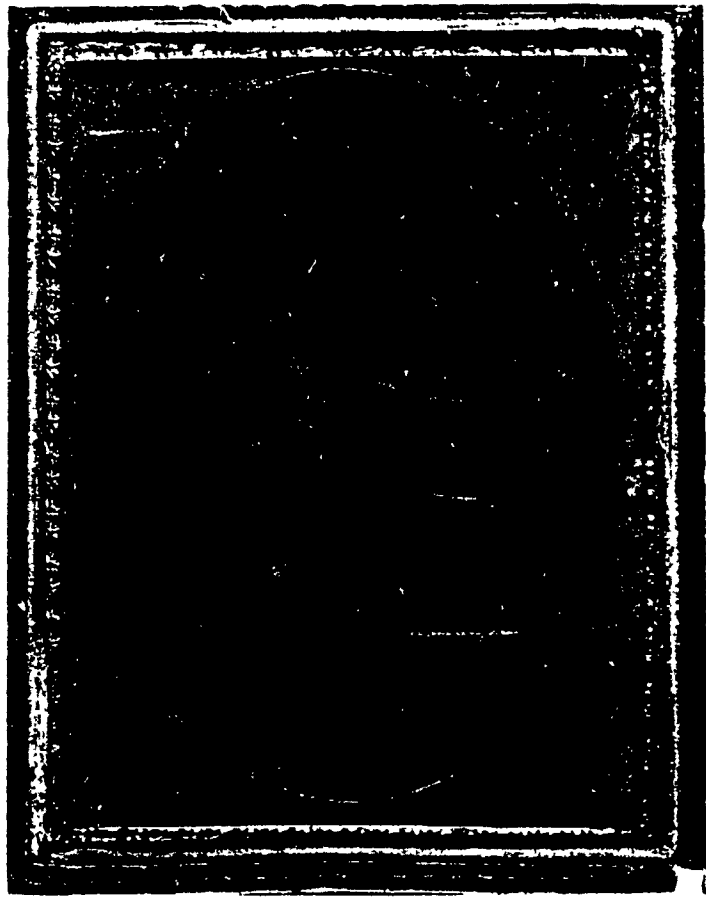
1. Young Boy, c. 1857-1860, ferrotype, 6.8 x 5.7 cm, no accession number.



2. Fanny, c. 1858, ambrotype, 12.1 x 8.9 cm,
oval, no accession number.



3. Anonymous (mid-late 19th century): probably American, Portrait of a Young Girl, c. 1854–1870, ambrotype on glass, 9.6 x 7.2 cm, oval, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 34963.



4. Unknown Child, c. 1861, carte de visite, 0.208-I.



5. Charles Raines, c. 1861, carte de visite, 269-l.



6. William Grinton, c. 1861, carte de visite, 453-l.



7. Mrs. Atwater's Baby, c. 1861, carte de visite,
581-I.



8. Miss Mabel Eardly Wilmot, 1861, carte de visite, 2872-l.



9. Master H. Gordon, c. 1861, carte de visite,
443-I.



10. Master Willie Cockrane, 1863, carte de visite,
7283-I.



11. Master Thomas Crathern, 1863, carte de visite, 3702-I.



3712

12. Master Greenshields, 1863, carte de visite,
4277-I.

13. Miss Jessie Notman, 1863, carte de visite,
5323-I.



14. Miss Moss, 1868, 24.8 x 19.7 cm, 31,729-l.



15. John Whitney, 1861, carte de visite, 1012-l.



16. Josephine Cartier, 1861, carte de visite, 637-l.



17. Master Hugh Allan, 1866, carte de visite,
23,532-1.



18. Master Bryce Allan, 1866, carte de visite,
23,534-i.



19. Master Hugh Allan, 1867, applied watercolour,
69.0 x 52.4 cm, 23,532-I.



20. Master Bryce Allan, 1867, applied watercolour,
69.0 x 52.4 cm, 23,534-I.



21. Frances Elizabeth "Fanny" Notman, c. 1859,
applied oil, 38.3 x 30.4 cm, oval, no accession
number.



22. Master Tiffin, c. 1866–1869, cabinet, 26,887-BI.



23. Master Allan, c. 1863-1864, carte de visite,
10,115-l.



24. Master F.W. Beaufield, 1878, cabinet, 48,789-BII.



25. Miss Kitty Wheeler, 1868, cabinet, 32, 614-BI.



32614

Miss Kitty Wheeler

26. Master Arthur Henshaw, 1863, carte de visite,
6622-I.



27. Lilly Torrance, 1863, carte de visite, 6598-l.



28. Master Abbie Muir, c. 1866–1869, cabinet,
24,859-BI.



29. Miss Mary J. Rhynas, c. 1866–1869, cabinet,
24,843-BI.



30. Master Corley and Missie Halley, 1888,
cabinet, 87,417-BII.



31. Master Coriveau, 1880, cabinet, 55,752-BII.



32. Mr. Hogson's Child, 1869, cabinet, 37,396-BI.



33 Thomas Coffin Doane (1814–1896): Post-Mortem Portrait of Louis Joseph Papineau, 1855, daguerreotype, 4.1 x 5.5 cm, oval, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, PA-165558.



34. Missie McKogh, 1863, carte de visite, 6095-I.



35. Mr. J. Edgar's Dead Child, 1877, cabinet,
44,045-BII.



36. Mrs. Mill's Dead Baby, 1889, cabinet, 90,209-BII.



37. Mrs. G. Grant's Dead Child, 1878, cabinet,
50,932-BII.



38. Corpse of Mr. Gelinas' Baby, 1872, carte de
visite, 75,956-I.



39. M. Lewis, 1874, cabinet, 6210-BII.



40. Mrs. Melvin Smith's Baby, 1877, cabinet,
45,287-BII.



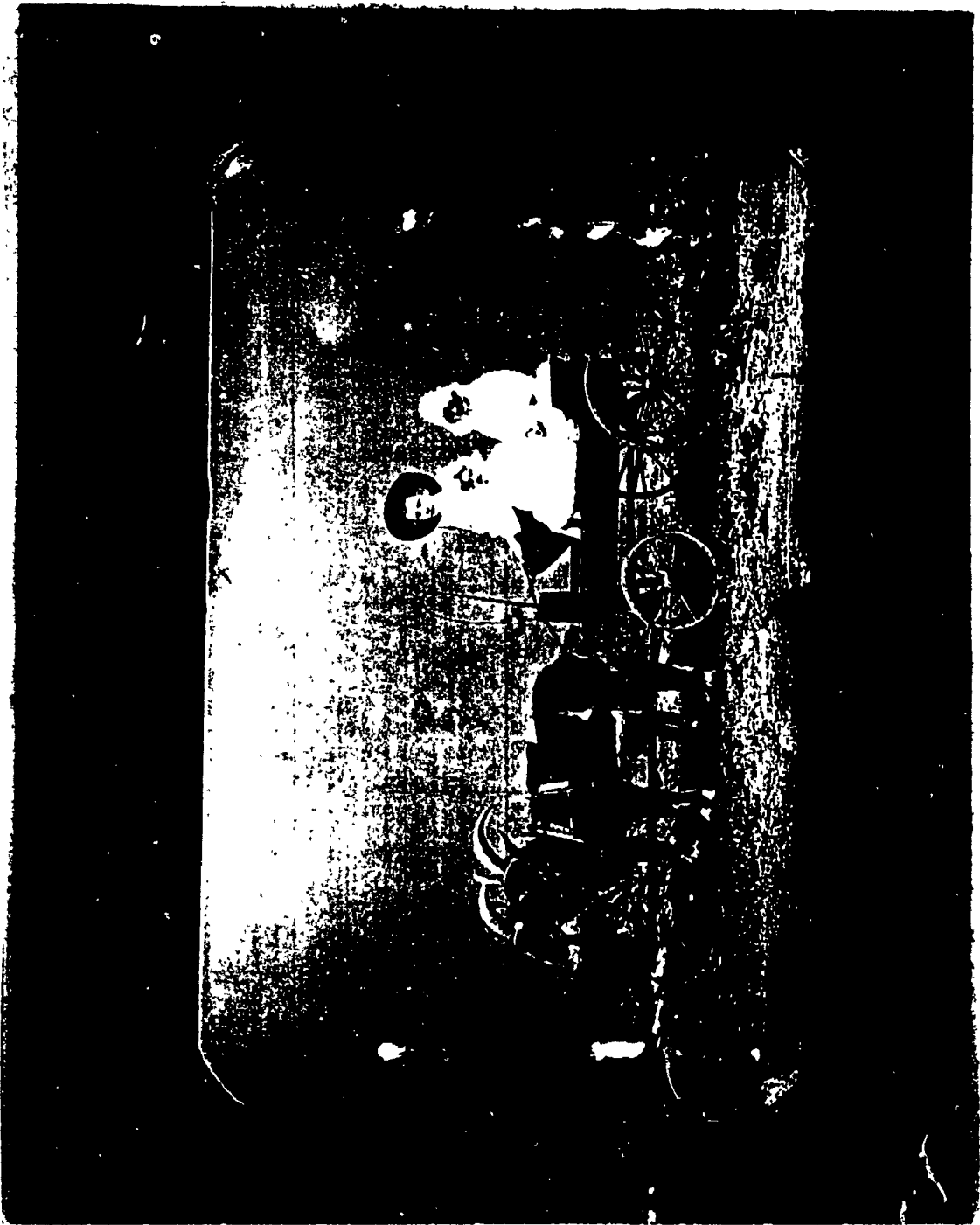
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41. Mrs. W.F. Lewis' Baby, 1873, cabinet, oval,
85,910-BI.

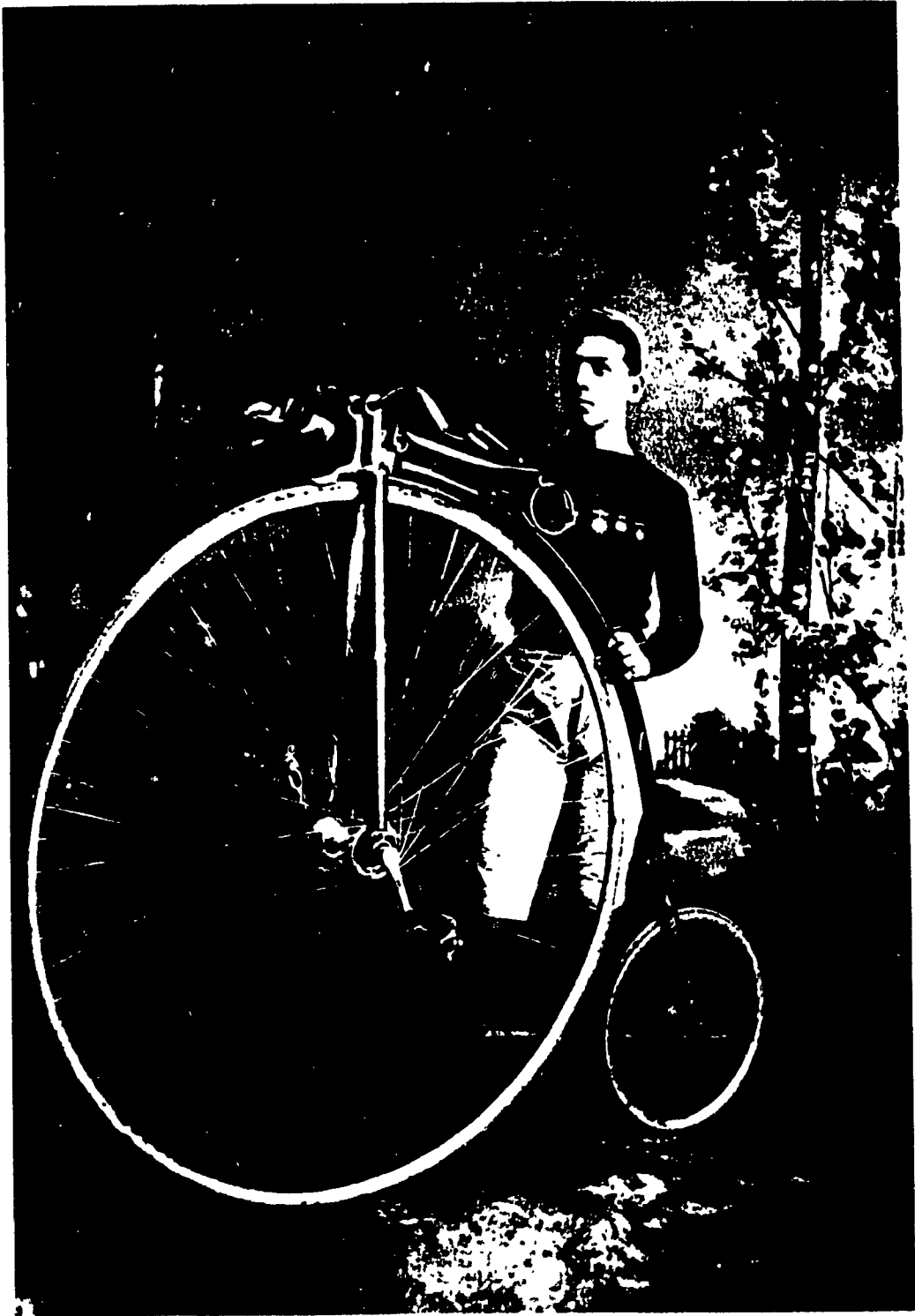
8591



42. Mrs. Drummond's Children in a Carriage,
1885, cabinet, 77,873-BII.



43. Ernest Livernois (1851–1933): E.L. Laliberté and His Velocipede, c.1890, modern print from an original negative, 51.0 x 40.5 cm, Livernois Studio, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, PA-024047.



44. Miss H. Frothingham, 1871, 24.8 x 19.7 cm,
65,141-l.



45. Miss E. Allan, 1876, cabinet, oval, 41,333-BII.



46. Miss Celine Rough, 1876, cabinet, oval,
43,157-BII.

47. Miss Bertha Field, 1874, cabinet, 7390-BII.



48. Lewis Carroll (1832–1898): Beatrice Hatch, c. 1872, albumen silver print, image size unknown, Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas, rpt. in Helmut Gernsheim, Lewis Carroll Victorian Photographer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) 31.



49. Miss Nellie Small, 1876, 24.8 x 19.7 cm,
43,199-II.



50. Missie Malarkey, 1877, cabinet, 46,825-BII.



51. Missie Hosmer, 1881, cabinet, 60,944-BII.



52. Master Rogers, 1881, cabinet, 62,120-BII.



53. Master Henderson, 1881, cabinet, 62,358-BII.



54. Missie Edgas, 1881, cabinet, 63,205-BII.



55. Miss E. Allan, 1881, cabinet, 62,353-BII.



56. Master Kane, 1881, cabinet, 63,164-BII.



57. Miss Paton, 1889, cabinet, 89,629-BII.



58. Lewis Carroll (1832–1898): Florence Bickersteth, 1865, albumen silver print, image size unknown, Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas, rpt. in Elizabeth Heyert, The Glass-House Years: Victorian Portrait Photography (London: George Prior Associated Publishers Ltd., 1979) 123.



59. Master Sutherland, 1889, cabinet, 91,263-BII.



60. Baby Ritchie, 1889, cabinet, 90,647-BII.



61. Carl Blackman, 1889, cabinet, 90,072-BII.



WM. NORMAN & SON—MONTREAL.

62. Missie Muir, 1881, cabinet, 62,108-BII.



63. Baby Baumgarten, 1890, cabinet, 92,537-BII.



64. Baby Turnbull, 1890, cabinet, 94,056-BII.



65. Baby Hutchins, 1890, cabinet, 92,885-BII.



66. Baby Hutchins, 1890, cabinet, 92,884-BII.



67. Clementina, Lady Hawarden (1822–1865): Girl in Fancy Dress, c.1860, albumen silver print, 23.2 x 27.3 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, rpt. in Graham Ovenden, ed., Clementina Lady Hawarden (London: Academy Editions, 1974) 26.



68. Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–1879): Margie Thackeray, 1868, albumen silver print, 33.0 x 25.4 cm, oval, collection unknown, rpt. in Graham Ovenden and Robert Melville, Victorian Children (London: Academy Editions, 1972) n. pag.



69. Missie McLachlin, 1891, cabinet, 95,490-BII.



70. Missie Peterson, 1890, cabinet, 92,757-BII.



71. Lewis Carroll (1832–1898): Alice Pleasance Liddell, 1859, albumen silver print, image size unknown, oval, Ovenden Collection, rpt. in Graham Ovenden, Masters of Photography: Lewis Carroll (London: Macdonald and Co. Ltd., 1984) n. pag.



72. Lewis Carroll (1832–1898): Unknown, n.d., albumen silver print, image size unknown, Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas, rpt. in Helmut Gernsheim, Introduction, Lewis Carroll Victorian Photographer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) 93.



73. Lewis Carroll (1832–1898): Angus Douglas, 1863, albumen silver print, image size unknown, Ovenden Collection, rpt. in Graham Ovenden, Masters of Photography: Lewis Carroll (London: Macdonald and Co. Ltd., 1984) n. pag.



74. Master Ross, 1891, cabinet, 95,522-BII.



75. Master Sclater, 1891, cabinet, 95,281-BII.



76. Master Kirkpatrick, 1891, cabinet, 95,504-BII.



77. Judge Monk's Boys, 1861, carte de visite,
652-l.



78. Three Children, c. 1856–1861, carte de visite,
0.290-l.



79. Mrs. Dillon's Two Children, c. 1856–1861,
carte de visite, 164-l.



80. Mr. Embray's Two Children, c. 1856–1861,
carte de visite, 187-l.



81. Miss and Master Lemesurier, c. 1856-1861,
carte de visite, 622-l.



82. Mrs. Major's Three Children, c. 1856–1861,
carte de visite, 1134-II.



83. Masters J.R. and H.E. Smith, 1863, carte de
visite, 6030-l.



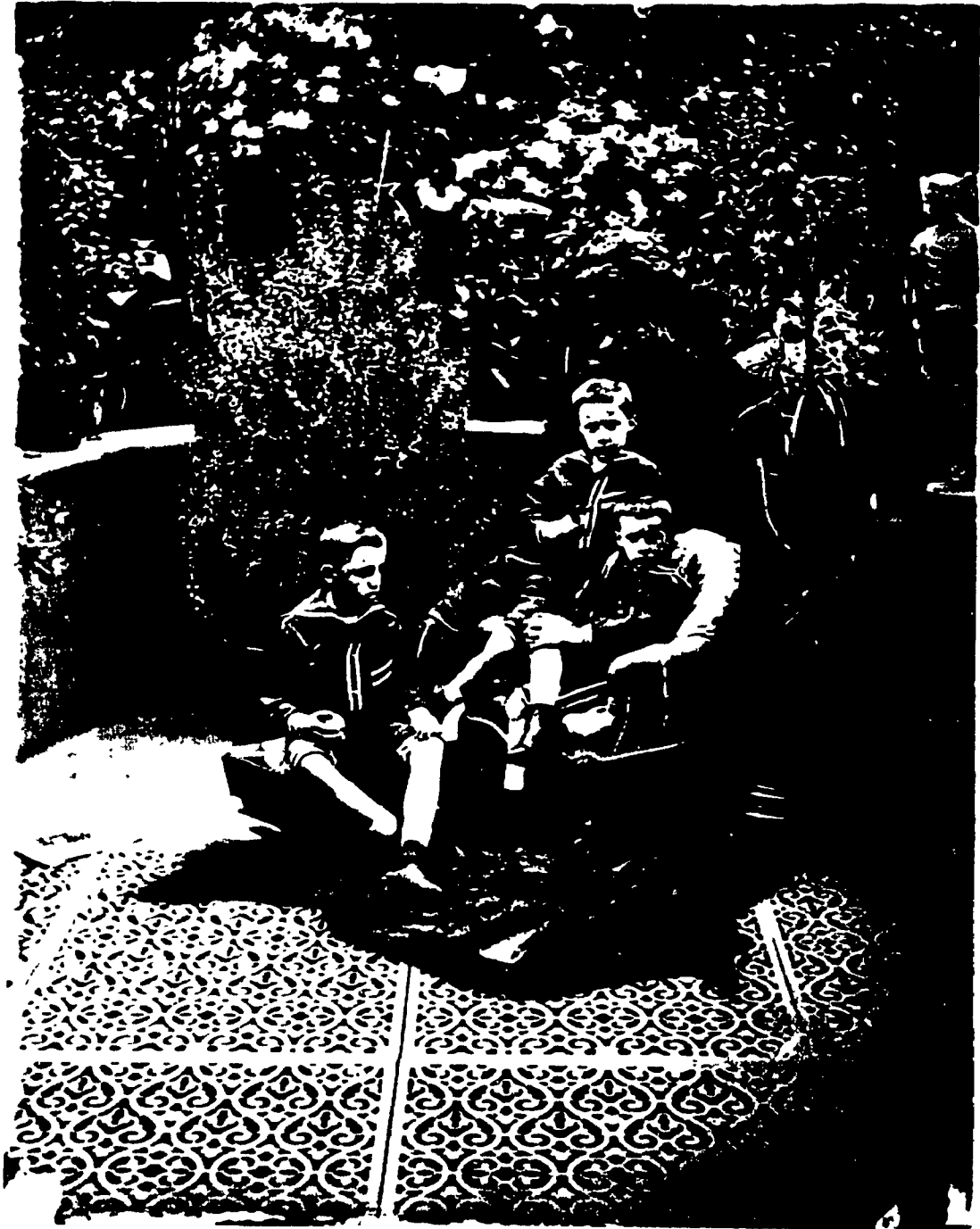
84. Ferrier Children, 1864, carte de visite, 11,219-l.



85. Mrs. Molson's Children, 1867, carte de visite,
28,984-I.



86. Masters Allan in Andrew Allan's Conservatory.
1871, 24.8 x 19.7 cm, 63,837-I.



87. Mrs. G. Ward's Children, 1875, 24.8 x 19.7
cm, 16,602-II.



88. Masters E. and G. Whitehead, 1875, cabinet,
14,345-BII.



89. Mrs. Jesson's Three Boys, 1877, 24.8 x 19.7
cm, 46,065-II.



90. Mrs. Taylor's Boys, 1882, cabinet, 66,059-BII.



91. Miss Gilmour and Sister, 1890, cabinet,
91,686-BII.



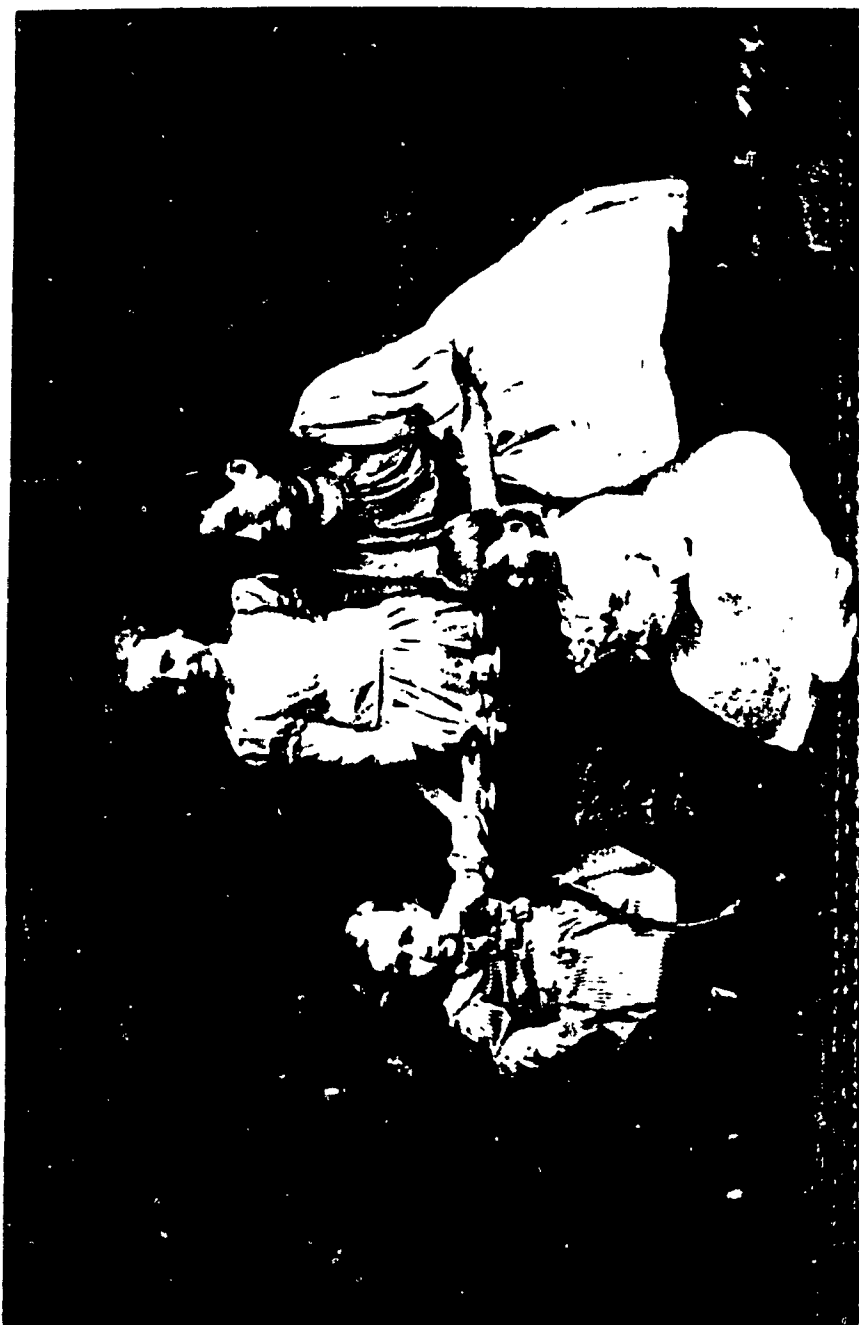
92. Miss and Master Rogers, 1881, cabinet,
62,198-BII.



93. Mrs. Davidson's Children, 1887, cabinet,
85,395-BII.



94. Mrs. Kerry's Children, 1890, cabinet, 92,220-BII.



95. Mrs. Ramsay's Children, 1890, cabinet,
92,493-BII.



96. Mrs. J.D. Miller's Children, 1890, cabinet,
93,986-BII.



97. Mrs. Berry and Child, 1863, carte de visite,
6063-l.



98. Mrs. D. McFarlane and Child, 1863, carte de
visite, 7636-I.



99. Mrs. Frothingham and Baby Harriet, 1863,
carte de visite, 7483-I.



100. Missie M.E. Little and Mother, 1863, carte de
visite, 7600-l.



101. Mr. Dawson and Child, 1863, carte de visite,
7156-I.



102. Mr. and Master H. Archibald, 1863, carte de
visite, 8923-l.



103. Mr. Bingham and Anna, 1861, carte de visite,
2280-l.



104. Mrs. Pell and Child, c. 1856–1861, carte de
visite, 98-l.



105. Mrs. Stevens and Child, 1881, cabinet,
60,301-BII.



106. Missie Stevens, 1881, cabinet, 60,302-BII.



107. Mr. W.S. McFarlane and Child, 1881, cabinet,
62,985-BII.



108. Mrs. Sproule and Baby, 1885, cabinet, 78,836-BII.



109. Mrs. Bouthillier and Baby, 1890, cabinet,
90,581-BII.



110. J.D. McIntosh and Family, c. 1869-1870,
cabinet, 40,135-BI.



A O. A. C. I. - H. I.

111. Sargent Tooth, Lady and Baby, c. 1867–1868,
cabinet, 28,864-BI.



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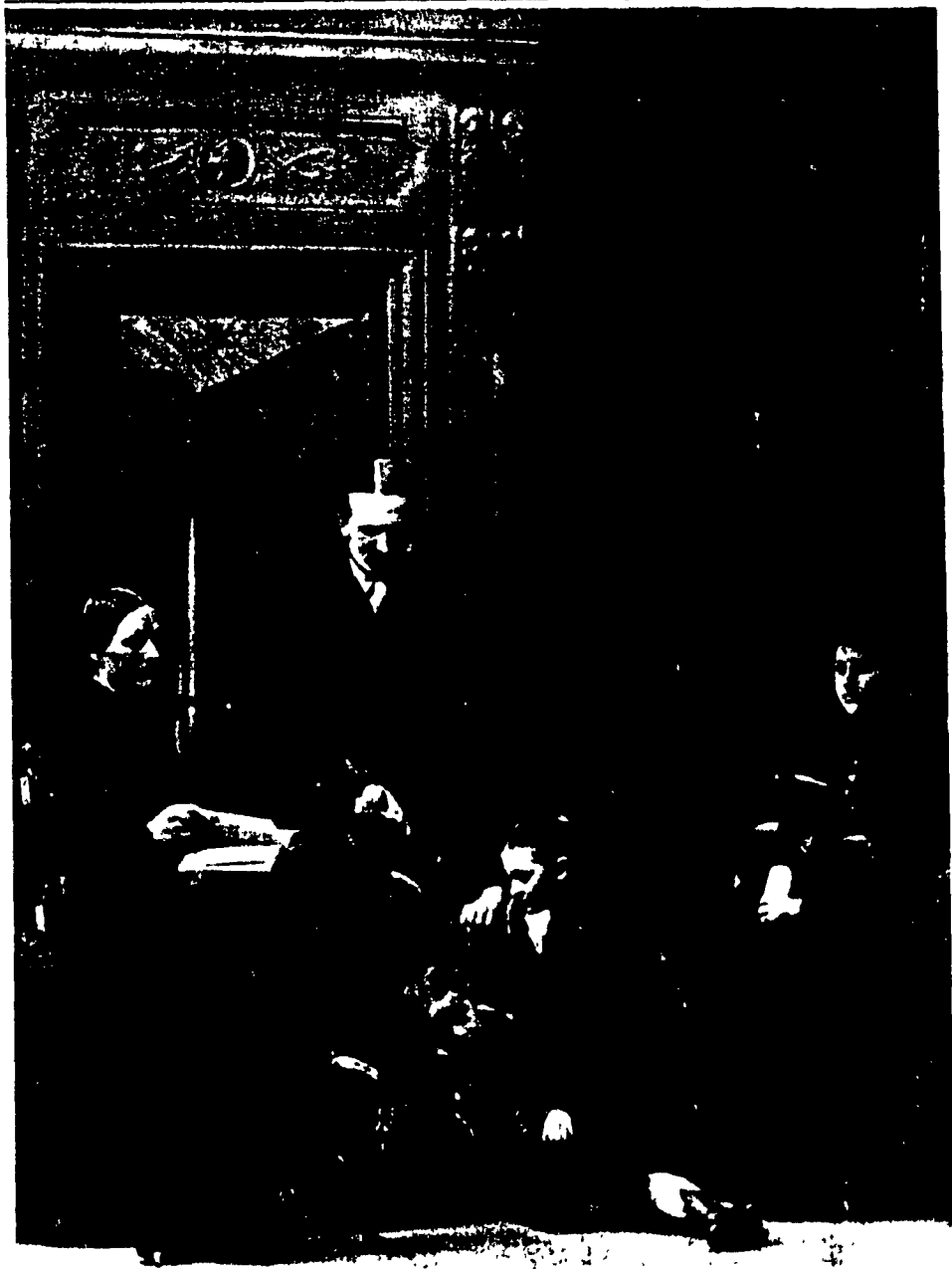
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

112. Mr. and Mrs. C.J. and Miss Mattice, 1868,
cabinet, 31,456-BI.

31706



113. Mr. Simpson's Group, c. 1866-1869, cabinet,
45,343-BI.



114. General Wyndham and Family, 1868, cabinet,
30,495-BI.

30495



30495

115. S. Handlow's Group, 1869, 19.7 x 24.8 cm,
39,660-I.



116. The Stuart Family, 1872, 19.7 x 24.8 cm,
76,723-I.



117. Mr. Fred Evans and Family, 1889, cabinet,
90,193-BII.



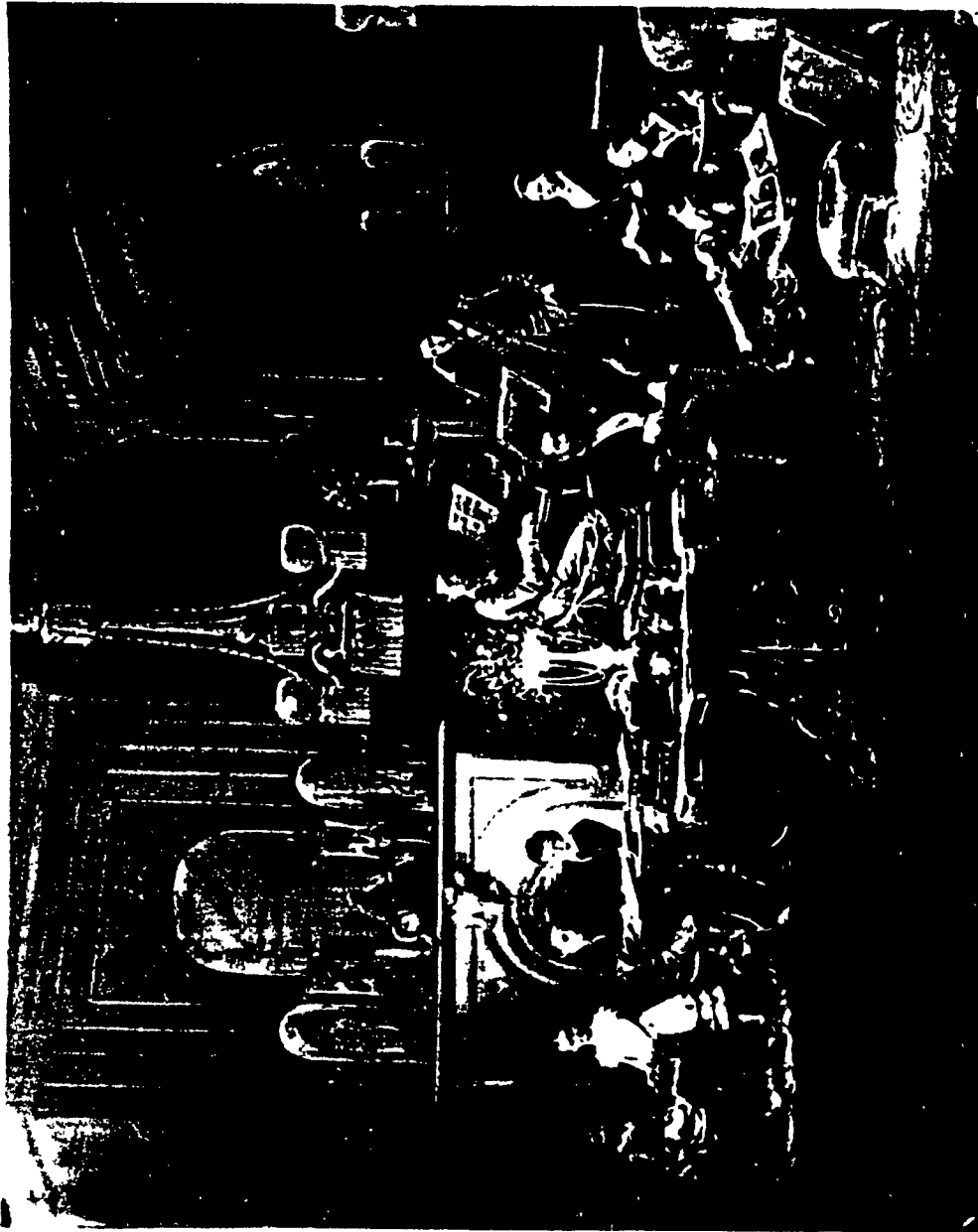
118. A.F. Gault and Family, 1890, cabinet, 92,056-BII.



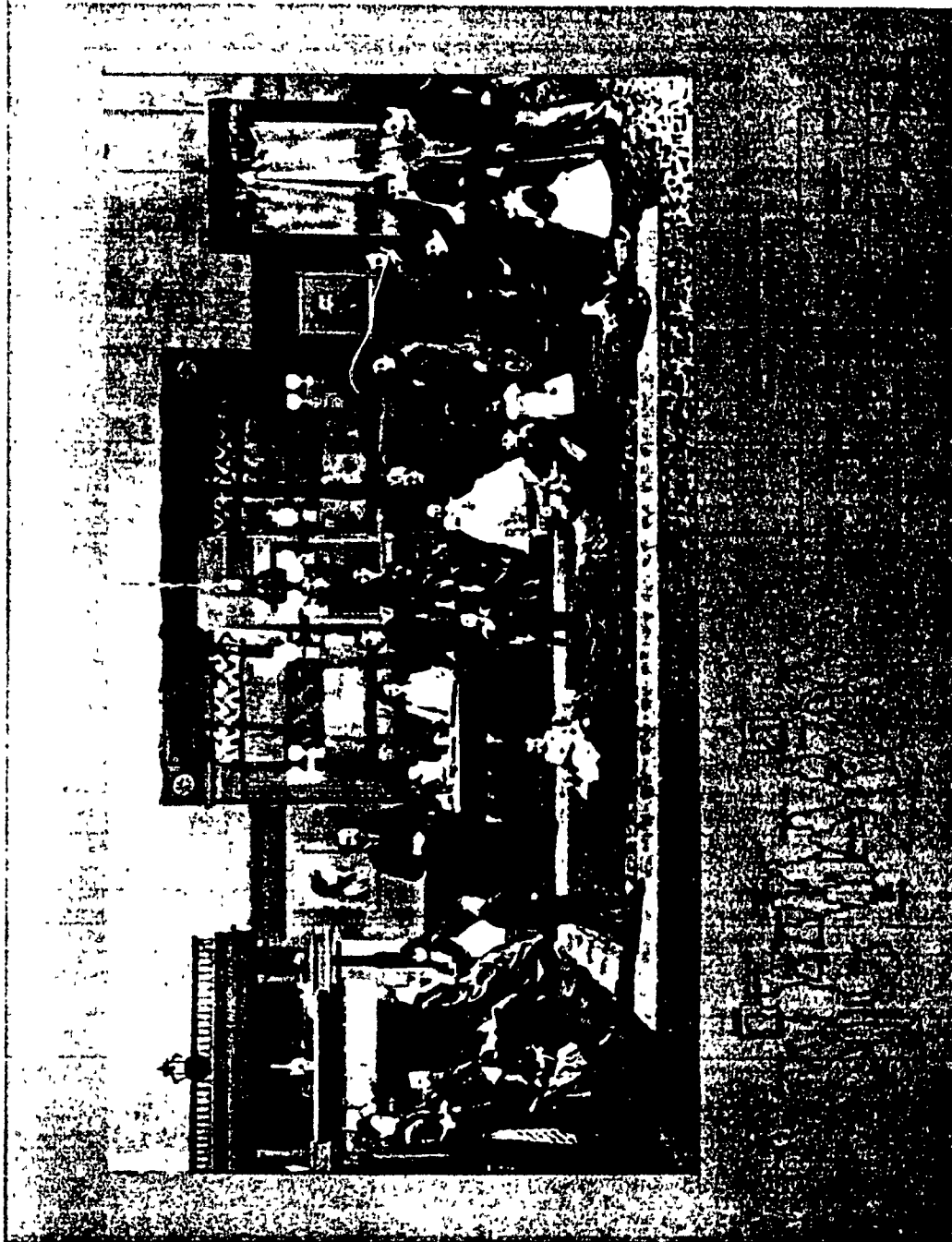
119. Henderson Group, c. 1859-1860, stereograph,
no accession number.



120. P.S. Ross Family, 1876, copy photograph of a collage, 19.7 x 24.8 cm, 41,408-II.



121. The Hanson's Composition Group, 1889, copy
photograph of a collage, 45.7 x 55.9 cm,
89,133-II.



122. Miss Laura Hanson, 1889, 21.3 x 16.2 cm,
88,973-II.



123. Missie Pauline Hanson, 1889, cabinet, 89,005-BII.



124. Jessie Notman, 1870, cabinet, oval, 45,213-BI.



125. Miss Jessie Notman, 1861, carte de visite,
2300-l.



126. Miss Emma Notman, 1874, cabinet, 8021-BII.



127. Miss Emma Notman, 1874, cabinet, 8022-BII.



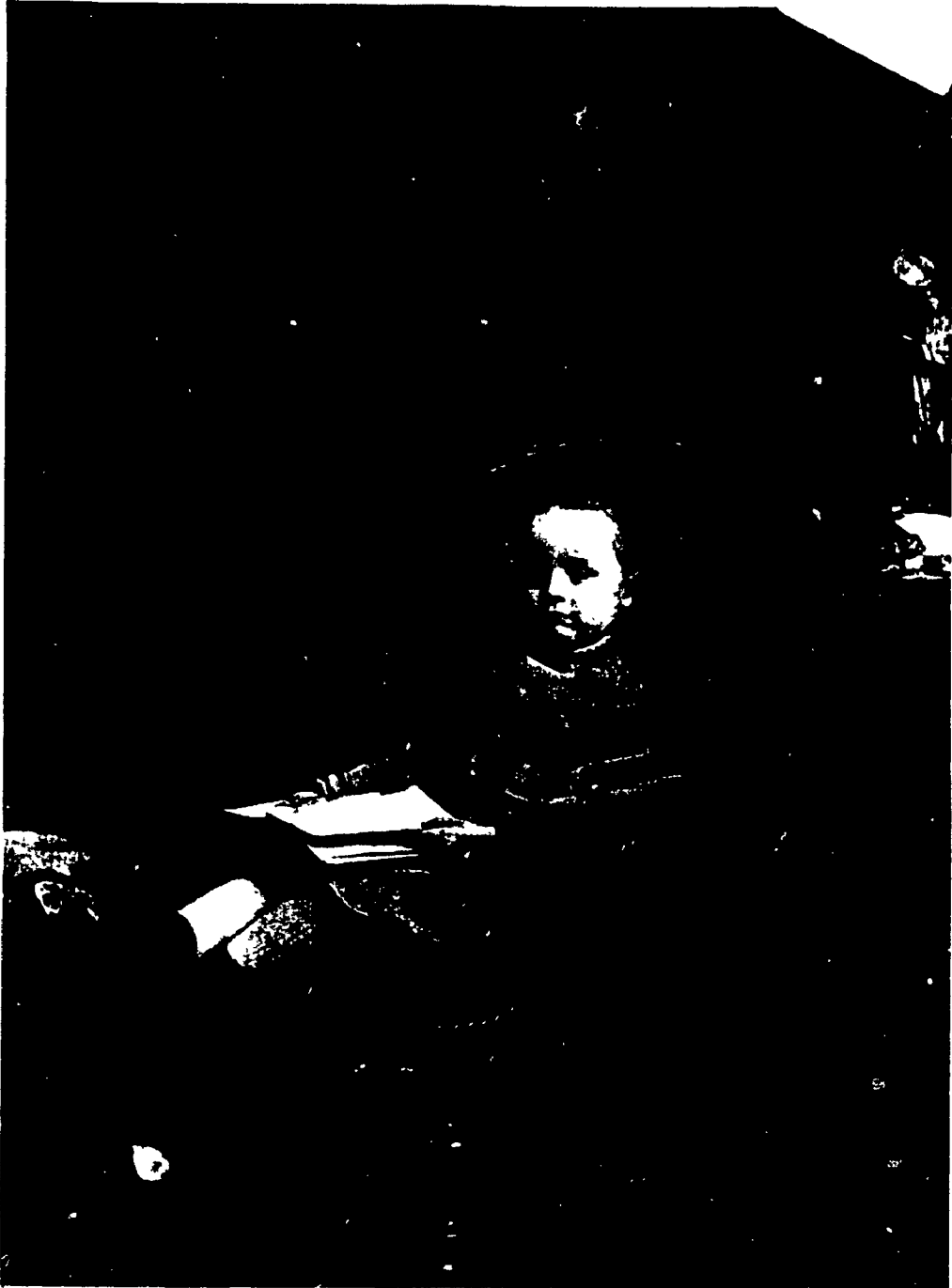
128. Baby Turnbull, 1890, cabinet, 94,055-BII.



129. Master George Notman, c. 1869-1870, cabinet,
oval, 43,618-BI.



130. Miss Emma Notman, c. 1869-1870, cabinet,
43,501-BI.



131. Master George Notman, 1871, cabinet,
66,085-BI.



132. Fanny, Jessie and Willie Notman, 1863, carte
de visite, 5324-I.



133. Masters George and William McFarlane
Notman, 1872, cabinet, 78,010-BI.

