

Mediated Landscape/Mediating Photographs: Surveying the Landscape
in Nineteenth-century Canadian Topographical Photography

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ABSTRACT

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The photographs produced as part of Canadian topographical and geological surveys between 1858 and 1890 have teetered between readings of document and art. This is further complicated by the archival and museum collections into which they have been absorbed, institutional divisions that reinforce the distinctions between historical document and aesthetic artwork. This thesis addresses such unresolved tensions by considering topographical photographs as both mediated and mediating in their ability to bridge and accommodate a nexus of antithetical readings – maker and viewer, authorial intent and collective imagination, art and document, subjective and objective, land and landscape. The survey work of four photographers is examined: Humphrey Lloyd Hime (1833-1903) on the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition; Benjamin F. Baltzly (1835-1883) on the 1871 Geological Survey of Canada expedition; Alexander Henderson's (1831-1913) commissions to document the structures of the Intercolonial Railway, the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway, and later as superintendent of photographs for the Canadian Pacific Railway; and Charles George Horetzky (1838-1900) on various expeditions between 1871 and 1877 with the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. In each case study, the photographs are understood as oscillating between functions and readings of science and art. Special attention is given to the texts left behind by each photographer. Biographical histories are compiled from archival findings in order to develop a network of relationships. The circulation of the photographs in scientific, governmental, artistic, and popular arenas is also traced. This thesis argues that by studying nineteenth-century Canadian survey photography within art history what emerges is the foundation of a mutually influential relationship between not only photography and painting, but also between art and document, and the Picturesque and the Romantic. My intention is to demonstrate that while survey photographs can reveal historical context, they also reveal art historical context in the ways that land becomes a landscape through visual representation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Art Association of Montreal, Montreal, Que.
AEAC	Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, Ont.
AGO	Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ont.
AO	Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ont.
CMCP	Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, Ottawa, Ont.
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CPRS	Canadian Pacific Railway Survey
CTA	City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ont.
GSC	Geological Survey of Canada
GTR	Grand Trunk Railway
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
ICR	Intercolonial Railway
KMA	Kamloops Museum and Archives, Kamloops, B.C.
LAC	Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.
McCord	McCord Museum Notman Photographic Archives, Montreal, Que.
MMFA	Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, Que.
MoMA	Museum of Modern Art, New York, N.Y.
NGC	National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ont.
PAC	Public Archives of Canada, now LAC, Ottawa, Ont.
QMO&O	Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Occidental Railway
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ont.
TPL	Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont.
UBC	University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

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Figure 44. (R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, “The Prairie Looking West.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 135.

Figure 45. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Residence of the Chief Factor (Mr. Bird) Middle Settlement*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.12, McCord.

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Figure 47. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Stone Fort, Lower Fort Garry, September-October, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 47.

Figure 48. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Dog Carioles; Expedition retuning to Crow Wing, by Winter Road*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.33, McCord.

Figure 48. (R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Dog Carioles." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 86.

Figure 49. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fossil resting on book entitled Natural History of New York, September-November, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 49.

Figure 50. William Armstrong, *Numbering the Indians, Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island (Ontario), 16 August 1856*. Watercolour, 24.7 x 35.6 cm. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana, JRR 2422 Cab IV, TPL.

Figure 51. William Armstrong, *The numbering of the Indians at Wequamikoong, lake Huron by Captain Ironsides, Indian superintendent and Francis Assikinach, chief of 24 tribes Aug. 16th 1856*. Watercolour, 69.5 x 53.2 cm. William Armstrong fonds, C333-0-0-5, AO.

Figure 52. Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *View of Grand Trunk Railway engines including station buildings and people*. 1858-1860. Positive paper silver salt paper, 21.8 x 34.2 cm. Thomas Evans Blackwell album, p. 165. PA-205566, LAC.

Figure 53. Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *Bank of British North America: north-east corner of Wellington and Yonge streets*. 1856. Positive paper silver salt paper, 23 x 29 cm. Armstrong, Beere and Hime fonds, Fonds 1498, Item 3, CTA.

Figure 54. Paul Kane, "Portrait of a Half-Breed Cree Girl." In Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America: From Canada to Vancouver Island and Oregon through the Hudson's Bay Company Territory and Back Again* (London, U.K.: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859), frontispiece. FC 3205.1 K16 1859, A.C. Rutherford Collection, University of Alberta.

Figure 55. John Fleming, “Beginning of Great Dog Portage.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 40.

Figure 56. William Hind, “An Escape at Fourth Rapid.” Chromo-lithograph printed by Hanhart Chromolith. In Henry Youle Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula: The Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1863), 289.

Figure 57. George Heriot, *La Danse Ronde, Circular Dance of the Canadians*. 1807. Print, 40.3 x 26 cm. M999.27.24, McCord.

Figure 58. John Fleming, ““The Fox.” – Chief of the plain Crees.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 126.

Figure 59. John Fleming, “Plain Crees Driving Buffaloes into a Pound.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 358.

Figure 60. Paul Kane, *Mau-Za-Pau-Kan*. 1845. Oil on paper, 31.3 x 22.9 cm. No. 6457, NGC.

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Figure 62. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Lower Falls, Garnet River Cascade, near Mt. Cheadle, North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69979, McCord.

Figure 63. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Forest trees on the North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69974, McCord.

Figure 64. (L) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Ice-grooved rocks, Victoria, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69910, McCord.

Figure 64. (C) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Ice-grooved rocks, Victoria, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69911, McCord.

Figure 64. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Ice-grooved rocks, Victoria, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69912, McCord.

Figure 65. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Moose Lake, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69997, McCord.

Figure 66. (L) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Cascade on the Garnet River, North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 25 x 20 cm. I-69978, McCord.

Figure 66. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Garnet River Cascade, North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-699980, McCord.

Figure 67. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Lower Falls of Garnet River Cascade, Near Mount Cheadle, B.C.,” *The Canadian Illustrated News* 5, no. 9 (2 March 1872): 133.

Figure 68. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Spuzzum River from Cariboo Road, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69918, McCord.

Figure 69. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Victoria S. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process. I-69909, McCord.

Figure 70. (L) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Victoria N. N. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69904, McCord.

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Figure 72. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Hell Gate, B.C.” (centre). Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-66, AO.

Figure 73. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Savona Ferry, B.C.” (centre); “Forest Scene in British Columbia” (bottom left); “Battle Bluff, Kamloops Lake” (bottom right). Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-52, F4357-0-0-0-53, F4357-0-0-0-54, AO.

Figure 74. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “View on Fraser River 7½ Miles from Yale, B.C.” (top left); “View at Great Bend of Thompson River, Clear Water, B.C.” (top right). Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-56, F4357-0-0-0-57, AO.

Figure 75. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Indian Camp and Scenery at Bonaparte, B.C.” Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-31, AO.

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Figure 78. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Savona Ferry B.C.” (top). William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.

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Figure 80. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Assiniboine Bluff B.C.” (left); “Forest Trees on the N. Thompson River, B.C.” (right). William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.

Figure 81. Alexander Henderson, *Spring Inundation. Bank of St. Lawrence River*. 1865. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.5 x 18.3 cm. Canadian Views & Studies, R5500-66-3-E, PA-126621, LAC.

Figure 82. Alexander Henderson, *Tanneries Village*. 1858. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.0 x 23.8 cm. Andrew Audubon Merrilees fonds, R5500-0-6-E, PA-123822, LAC.

Figure 83. Alexander Henderson, *S.S. MOUNTAIN MAID at Lake Magog pier*. 1864. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.0 x 21.5 cm. PA-028607, LAC.

Figure 84. Otto Reinhold Jacobi, *Laurentian Mountains (On the Gatineau)*. 1867. Oil on canvas, 66 x 104 cm. Art Gallery of Windsor, Windsor, Ont.

Figure 85. (L) Otto Reinhold Jacobi, *Falls of Ste. Anne, Quebec*. 1865. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 58.8 cm. AGO.

Figure 85. (R) William Notman, *St. Anne's Falls, near Quebec City, QC*. 1865. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 25 x 20 cm. I-17486, McCord.

Figure 86. Alexander Henderson, *Ste. Anne's Falls, near Quebec City, QC*. About 1870. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 19.2 x 11.5 cm. MP-0000.139.46, McCord.

Figure 87. Alexander Henderson, *Locomotive with snow plough, Black River, near Quebec City, QC*. 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 11.8 x 19.3 cm. MP-0000.1452.92, McCord.

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Figure 90. Alexander Henderson, *Four G. T. R. locomotives behind snowplough, Black River, near Quebec City, QC*. 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 11.5 x 19.2 cm. MP-0000.1452.95, McCord.

Figure 91. Alexander Henderson, *G. T. R. Train in Snow, Chaudière, near Quebec City, QC*. February 23, 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 45.7 x 53.3 cm. MP-0000.1452.96, McCord.

Figure 92. “Snow Plough on the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada,” *The Illustrated London News* 56, no. 1576 (15 January 1870): 80.

Figure 93. Cornelius Kreighoff, *The Tubular Bridge at St. Henry’s Falls*. 1858. Oil on canvas, 36.4 x 54 cm. M967.100.1, McCord.

Figure 94. Robert Whale, *The Canadian Southern Railway at Niagara*. 1870. Oil on canvas, 58.1 x 101.1 cm. No. 6186, NGC.

Figure 95. Alexander Henderson, “Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River” and “Victoria Bridge, Montreal.” In C.R. Chisholm, *The All Round Route Guide: the Hudson River, Trenton Falls, Niagara, Toronto, the Thousand Islands and the River St. Lawrence, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, the Lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay Rivers, the White Mountains, Boston, New York* (Montreal, Que.: Printing and Publish. Co., 1869), 42.

Figure 96. (L) “Fig. 31.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 137.

Figure 96. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway Bridge Trois-Pistoles*. 1871-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.4 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: “Trois Pistoles bridge / Interl Railway East / A. Henderson Montreal.” PA-022020, LAC.

Figure 97. (L) “Plate 5A. Great Clay Cutting at Trois Pistoles.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 144.

Figure 97. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Clay cutting*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 21.0 cm. Inscribed: “I.C.R. Clay Cutting Trois-Pistolles [sic] – Henderson.” PA-022070, LAC.

Figure 98. (L) “Plate 5. Trois Pistoles Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 146.

Figure 98. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 21.0 cm. Inscribed: "Trois-Pistoles Bridge - A. Henderson." PA-022068, LAC.

Figure 99. (L) "Plate 6. Bridge at Bic." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 148.

Figure 99. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bic Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 21.1 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Bic Bridge – Henderson." PA-022101, LAC.

Figure 100. (L) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. On Bic River*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.8 cm. Inscribed: "On Bic River – Henderson." PA-022081, LAC.

Figure 100. (R) Detail of inscription. Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. On Bic River*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.8 cm. PA-022081, LAC.

Figure 101. (L) "Plate 7. Rimouski Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 150.

Figure 101. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Rimouski Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.6 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Rimouski Bridge. Rimouski – Henderson." PA-022096, LAC.

Figure 102. (L) "Plate 8. Grand Metis Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 152.

Figure 102. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.4 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Grand Metis Bge – Henderson." PA-022111, LAC.

Figure 103. (L) "Plate 9. Amqui Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 154.

Figure 103. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Bridge. Intercolonial Railway*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.7 cm. Inscribed: "Amqui Bridge. ICR – Henderson." PA-022073, LAC.

Figure 104. (L) "Plate 10. River Matapedia – Railway on Opposite Bank." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 156.

Figure 104. (R) Alexander Henderson, *On the Matapedia R. Side rock cutting. Intercolonial Railway just above Hellgate*. 1871-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.6 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: "On the Matapedia R. side rock cutting/Intl Railway just above Hellgate /A." PA-022019, LAC.

Figure 105. (L) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. On the Matapédia River*. June-Aug., 1875. 14.8 x 20.6 cm. Inscribed: "Hellgate Matapedia R./Henderson." PA-022071, LAC.

Figure 105. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Scene along the Intercolonial Railway Line*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 20.5 cm. Inscribed: "Henderson." PA-022097, LAC.

Figure 106. (L) "Plate 11. Causapschal Bridge – 1st Crossing River Matapedia." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 158.

Figure 106. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Causapschal Bridge, 1st crossing of River Matapedia*. June-Aug., 1875. 15.6 x 20.4 cm. Inscribed: "Causapschal B'dge I.C.R., 1st crossing of River Matapedia [sic] – Henderson." PA-022098, LAC.

Figure 107. (L) "Plate 12. River Matapedia—Mill Stream Bridge in progress, in the distance." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 160.

Figure 107. (R) Alexander, Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Millstream distant view*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.3 cm. Inscribed: "Millstream distant view." PA-022123, LAC.

Figure 108. "Plate 13. Pier—Mill Stream Bridge, 3rd crossing River Matapedia, in winter." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 162.

Figure 109. Alexander Henderson, *Trout pool, Millstream, on the I. C. R.* About 1870. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, albumen process, 15.3 x 20.8 cm. MP-0000.1452.145, McCord.

Figure 110. (L) "Plate 15. Pier—Restigouche Bridge, winter view." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 166.

Figure 110. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Restigouche Bridge*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.8 x 19.3 cm. Inscribed: "Restigouche Bridge." PA-022120, LAC.

Figure 111. (L) "Plate 16. Restigouche Bridge – from the New Brunswick Side." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), frontispiece.

Figure 111. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Restigouche Bridge*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.4 x 20.3 cm. Inscribed: "Restigouche Bridge, ICR." PA-022118, LAC.

Figure 112. Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. A Good Catch (On Restigouche River)*. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.3 x 19.2 cm. Inscribed: "On Restigouche River/Henderson." PA-149758, LAC.

Figure 113. Alexander Henderson, *Indian Fishing Camp, Restigouche River*. ca. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 20.1 cm. Inscribed: "Henderson / Indian fishing camp. Restigouche." C-016436, LAC.

Figure 114. (L) "Plate 19. Tunnel at Morrisey's Rock." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 168.

Figure 114. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Tunnel*. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.4 x 20.7 cm. Inscribed: "A.Henderson/Tunnel Morriser [sic] Rock." PA-149759, LAC.

Figure 115. (L) "Plate 20. New Mills Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 170.

Figure 115. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20.2 cm. Inscribed: "New Mills Bge I.C.R. - New Mills -A dry plate failure - Ott." PA-022092, LAC.

Figure 116. (L) "Plate 21. Tete a Gauche Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 172.

Figure 116. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 19.5 cm. Inscribed: "Tête à Gauche Bridge – Henderson." C-010102, LAC.

Figure 117. (L) "Plate 22. Nipissiguit Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 174.

Figure 117. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge, Nepissiguit River*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.1 cm. Inscribed: "Nipissiguit Bridge I.C.R. N.B. – Henderson." PA-022102, LAC.

Figure 118. (L) "Plate 23. Bridge at Red Pine Brook—masonry in progress." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 178.

Figure 118. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Red Pine Bridge. Sec. 16*. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.0 x 18.8 cm. Inscribed: "Red Pine, Sec. 16, Red Pine Bridge." PA-022116, LAC.

Figure 119. (L) "Fig 34." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 179.

Figure 119. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Culvert. North end Intercolonial Railway works*. 1871-1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.6 x 19.0 cm. Inscribed: "St. Fabien [sic] Culvert N. end Intl Ry. Works/A. Henderson Montreal." PA-022014, LAC.

Figure 120. (L) "Plate 24. Barnaby River Tunnel." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 182.

Figure 120. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Diversion Tunnel S 23*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Diversion Tunnel.S23." PA-022113, LAC.

Figure 121. (L) "Fig. 35." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 183.

Figure 121. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Crushed Arch. Section 23*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 21.0 cm Inscribed: "Crushed Arch. sec 23 – Henderson." PA-022072, LAC.

Figure 122. (L) Plate 26. Southwest Miramichi—Section of River—Plan and elevation of Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 190.

Figure 122. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Southwest Miramichi Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.2 cm. Inscribed: "S.W. Miramichi Bridge I.C.R. – Henderson." PA-022108, LAC.
Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in "Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway," *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (August 18, 1877): 108.

Figure 123. (L) "Fig. 36." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 195.

Figure 123. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway. South West Branch. View of temporary works at Pier F*. 13 Sept., 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.4 x 19.2 cm. Inscribed: "Miramichi Bridges. South West Branch. View of Temporary Works and Dredging Machinery at Pier F. 13th September, 1872." PA-022062, LAC.

Figure 124. (L) "Fig. 37." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 203.

Figure 124. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway - Northwest Branch. Side View of easterly abutment. Completed*. 28 Aug., 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.6 x 18.8 cm. Inscribed: "Miramichi Bridges. North West Branch. Side view of Easterly Abutment. (Completed 28th, August 1872)" PA-022035, LAC.

Figure 125. (L) “Fig. 38.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 210.

Figure 125. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway. North West Branch. Pier X, with partial test load.* 2 Sept., 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.4 x 18.3 cm. (Inscription as found in album of Miramichi Bridges) "Miramichi Bridges. North West Branch. Pier X, with Partial Test Load, 2nd Sept., 1874." PA-022044, LAC.

Figure 126. (L) “Plate 33. View of Works in progress.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 216.

Figure 126. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. S.W. Miramichi Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. S.W. Miramichi Bridge - A Henderson '75." PA-022107, LAC.

Figure 127. “Plate 34. Pier of bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 218.

Figure 128. (L) “Plate 35. Sackville Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 224.

Figure 128. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.0 x 20.5 cm. Inscribed: “I.C.R. Sacville [sic] Bridge – Henderson.” PA-022109, LAC.

Figure 129. (L) “Plate 30. Missiquash Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 225.

Figure 129. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Missaguash Bridge.* 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 20.3 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Missiquish Bridge. A. Henderson." PA-022117, LAC.

Figure 130. (L) “Plate 37. River Phillip Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 228.

Figure 130. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 19.7 cm. Inscribed: "Phillip R. Bridge – Henderson." PA-022087, LAC.

Figure 131. “Plate 38. Viaduct across Folly River Valley.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 230.

Figure 132. “The Intercolonial Railway Bridge at River de Loup – From a sketch by Miss D.; The Piers for the Bridge at Trois Pistoles – From a sketch by Miss D.,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 4, no. 17 (21 October 1871): 269.

Figure 133. “The Backwoods of Canada: Lumberman’s Shanty,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 10, no. 23 (5 December 1874): 361.

Figure 134. “Falls of St. Pascal, Near Kamouraska, Q. From a photograph by Henderson,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 12, no. 8 (21 August 1875): cover.

Figure 135. “Scenes on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

Figure 136. “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.

Figure 137. “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 109.

Figure 138. “On the Rimouski River,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 17, no. 19 (11 May 1878): 292.

Figure 139. “Grant’s Saw Mill, Matapedia Lake; On Restigouche River. From Photographs by Henderson,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 17, no. 19 (11 May 1878): 293.

Figure 140. “Views on the Q.M.O.&O. Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 21, no. 14 (3 April 1880): 212.

Figure 141. “Views on the Q.M.O.&O. Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 21, no. 14 (3 April 1880): 214.

Figure 142. “Cover page.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 143. “Extracts from Specifications for Iron Truss Bridges.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 144. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 1. Through Bridge over Gatineau River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 145. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 2. Deck Bridge over Little Upper Blanche River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 146. (L) Alexander Henderson, “Plate 3. Through Bridge over Blanche River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 146. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Regulating dam, Blanche River near Derry, QC*. About 1866. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process 16.5 x 21.6 cm. MP-0000.267.1, McCord.

Figure 147. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 4. Through Bridge over Aux Lievres River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 148. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 5. Through Bridge over Aux Lievres River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 149. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 6. Through Bridge over Aux Lievres River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 150. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 7. Deck Bridge over Little Blanche River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 151. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 8. Through bridge over Salmon River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 152. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 9. Deck Bridge over Salmon Creek." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 153. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 10. Deck Bridge over Pointe de Chêne." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 154. (L) Alexander Henderson, "Plate 11. Deck Bridge over Rouge River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 154. (R) Alexander Henderson, *Ready for the Portage*. Before July 1884. Albumen silver print, 15.4 x 20.7 cm. No. 22804.20, NGC.

Figure 155. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 12. Deck Bridge over Calumet River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 156. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 13. Through Bridge over West River of Lachute." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 157. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 14. Through Bridges over North and West Rivers of Lachute.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 158. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 15. Through Bridge over North River of Lachute.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 159. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 16. Deck Bridge over St. Scholastique River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 160. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 17. Through Bridge over Riviere des Mille Isles.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 161. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 18. Through Bridge over Riviere des Prairies.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 162. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 19. Through bridge over St. Maurice River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 163. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 20. Through Bridge over St. Anne’s River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 164. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 21. Through Bridge over Batiscan River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 165. Page verso: “ALEXANDER HENDERSON, LANDSCAPE PHOTOGRAPHER. Canadian Landscapes suitable for the Graphoscope ALWAYS READY, MONTREAL.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Figure 166. Alexander Henderson, *Giant Trees, Stanley Park, Vancouver, BC.* 1892. Ink on paper colotype. MP-1974.4.14, McCord.

Figure 167. Alexander Henderson, *The Great Glacier, BC.* 1892. Silver salts on paper mounted on card albumen process, 48.5 x 114 cm. MP-1977.165, McCord.

Figure 168. Alexander Henderson, *Bow River Valley at Canmore, AB.* 1892. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. MP-1979.36.7, McCord.

Figure 169. Alexander Henderson, *Mount Rundle, Canadian National Park, Banff, AB*. 1892. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. MP-1974.4.18, McCord.

Figure 170. Alexander Henderson, *Hermit Mountain near Glacier House, Selkirks, BC*. 1892. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. MP-1979.36.11, McCord.

Figure 171. Photographer unknown, *Pig Island Moose Factory landing strip*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-1, container B410606, AO.

Figure 172. Photographer unknown, *Waterfront in Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-2, container B410606, AO.

Figure 173. Photographer unknown, *A group of horses in Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-3, container B410606, AO.

Figure 174. Photographer unknown, *Canoes on the side of the river in Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-4, container B410606, AO.

Figure 175. Photographer unknown, *A snow covered house in Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-5, container B410606, AO.

Figure 176. Bernard Rogan Ross, *Fur traders with huskies*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-6, container B410606, AO.

Figure 177. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory on the Moose River*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-7, container B410477, AO.

Figure 178. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose River*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-8, container B410477, AO.

Figure 179. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory on the Moose River (Moosonee) during winter*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-9, container B410477, AO.

Figure 180. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *Moose Factory; From the Flats*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-10, container B410477, AO.

Figure 181. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *Moose Factory S.W. Front or Two men standing in front of a fence in Moose Factory*. About 1865. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-11, container B410477, AO.

Figure 182. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *View on the Moose River with encampments on the side*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-12, container B410477, AO.

Figure 183. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Church Moose Factory*, Aug. 1868. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-13, container B410477, AO.

Figure 184. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose factory General Store, Launch, Dr. Smith and McDonald in foreground*, Aug. 1868. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-14, container B410477, AO.

Figure 185. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory - view on the Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-15, container B410477, AO.

Figure 186. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory, Fort and Port: Summer*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-16, container B410477, AO.

Figure 187. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *Indian Village. Moose Factory*. About 1865. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-17, container B410477, AO.

Figure 188. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Old Factory House in the winter, Moose Factory*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-18, container B410477, AO.

Figure 189. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *No. 1 View of the old Factory House (off back)*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-19, container B410477, AO.

Figure 190. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory during the winter*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-20, container B410477, AO.

Figure 191. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-21, container B410477, AO.

Figure 192. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *View of the Old Factory House, Moose Factory*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-22, container B410477, AO.

Figure 193. Charles George Horetzky, *Lake Huron*. Also listed by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. On Lac d'Ecorce*. September 1876. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 19.6

cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009241, LAC.

Figure 194. Charles George Horetzky, *Dog train, Fort Garry*. Also listed by LAC as *Man seated in a cariole (sled) with four harnessed dogs and two men standing against a building in the background, Fort Garry, Northwest Territories (now Manitoba)*. December 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009174, LAC.

Figure 195. Charles George Horetzky, *Indian tepees, Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also listed by LAC as *Cree Camp on the prairie, south of Vermilion (Lat N. 53 Long W. 111)*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.7 x 18.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009175, LAC.

Figure 196. Charles George Horetzky, *Camp at Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also listed by LAC as *Men's Lodge Div. P at Elbow of North Saskatchewan*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009170, LAC.

Figure 197. Charles George Horetzky, *Camp at Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Cree Camp at the elbow of the North Saskatchewan River*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 18.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009176, LAC.

Figure 198. Charles George Horetzky, *Camp at Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Camp of Elbow of Saskatchewan R.* 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.1 x 19.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009167, LAC.

Figure 199. (L) Charles George Horetzky, *Engineer's Camp, Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Engineers' Camp, Canadian Pacific Railway Survey Party, Saskatchewan Division P.* 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 18.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009172, LAC.

Figure 199. (R) Detail of re-touched horse from *Peace River Album*. VPL. The horse in the LAC album has not been re-touched.

Figure 200. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Carlton House*. 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.4 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009171, LAC.

Figure 201. Charles George Horetzky, *At Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey, Shell River valley*. August 25, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7

x 18.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009168, LAC.

Figure 202. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Edmonton, Summer*. October 23, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 17.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009240, LAC.

Figure 203. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Edmonton, Winter*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Fort Edmonton, from point below the Wesleyan Mission*. December 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009148, LAC.

Figure 204. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *In the Jasper House Valley looking west*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.8 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009149, LAC.

Figure 205. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey at Jasper House with Roche Ronde to the Northwest*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 19.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009173, LAC.

Figure 206. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Jasper House Valley, looking South*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009169, LAC.

Figure 207. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. In the Jasper House Valley, looking Northeast*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009147, LAC.

Figure 208. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Rocky Mountains. Inside the first range, looking North from Jasper House*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009129, LAC.

Figure 209. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Roche à Miette - 5713 feet above the eye - Jasper House, looking east*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009130, LAC.

Figure 210. Charles George Horetzky, *Victoria, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Victoria from Driard House*. August 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 20.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009128, LAC.

Figure 211. Charles George Horetzky, *South branch Homathico*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of the River Homathco 49 miles from Waddington, looking down west true*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.8 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009214, LAC.

Figure 212. Charles George Horetzky, *South branch Homathico*. Also titled by LAC as *West Branch of the river, with Tiedmann's glacier in the distance. From rocks near outlet of lake*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.5 x 15.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009211, LAC.

Figure 213. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Yale, B.C., showing part of Cariboo Road*. October 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.3 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009219, LAC.

Figure 214. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *On the Yale Waggon Road, about a mile above the village of Yale*. October 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.4 x 16 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009216, LAC.

Figure 215. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C. Thompson River*. Also titled by LAC as *From Indian garden opposite the Provision Depot*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 16.6 x 14.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009127, LAC.

Figure 216. Charles George Horetzky, *Comox, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Showing new wharf & Beaufort range in distance*. January 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.8 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009146, LAC.

Figure 217. Charles George Horetzky, *Comox, B.C.* January 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 10.1 x 19 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009145, LAC.

Figure 218. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Simpson, B.C.* January 27, 1873. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009144, LAC.

Figure 219. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Simpson, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey with Dundas Island in the distance*. January 27, 1873. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009137, LAC.

Figure 220. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Simpson, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey with Dundas Island in the distance*. January 27, 1873. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.8 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009135, LAC.

Figure 221. (TL) Charles George Horetzky, *Indian Bridge over Wotsonqua*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009133, LAC.

Figure 221. (TR) Charles George Horetzky, "Indian Graves." Engraving printed by Edward Whymper. In Marquis of Lorne, *Canadian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London, U.K.: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), 204.

Figure 221. (B) Charles George Horetzky, Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. *Suspension bridge over Wotsonqua river - 3 miles from forks of Skeena*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.3 x 19.5 cm. Sandford Fleming fonds, R7666-0-8-E, PA-022581, LAC.

Figure 222. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C. Thompson River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of river looing down. South west (true), 50 miles from Waddington Harbour*. September 25, 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009213, LAC.

Figure 223. (T) Charles George Horetzky, *Group of Indians, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Group of Piegan Natives at Rocky Mountain House*. November 1, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009136, LAC.

Figure 223. (B) Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Piegan Indians. Rocky Mt. House." 25. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Figure 224. Charles George Horetzky, *Indian Canoe, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *12 Miles from the sea, looking up*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009134, LAC.

Figure 225. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River*. Also titled by LAC as *The Canadian Pacific Railway Survey, above Rocky Mountain Portage with Mountains ahead*. October 26, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration

Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009132, LAC.

Figure 226. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River and Fort Dunvegan*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Peace River and Fort Dunvegan from heights North West of Fort*. October 4, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.6 x 19.3 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009143, LAC.

Figure 227. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River and Fort Dunvegan*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway survey along the Peace River*. October 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009141, LAC.

Figure 228. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River and Fort Dunvegan*. Also titled by LAC as *Peace River from hill behind Dunvegan looking down and east*. Camera 650 feet above water. October 4, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 18.8 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009244, LAC.

Figure 229. Charles George Horetzky, *Waddington's Bridge*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon, from station 1663. Looking up 31.0 miles from Waddington*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.3 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009138, LAC.

Figure 230. Charles George Horetzky, *Murderer's Bar*. Also titled by LAC as *View of Murderer's Bay, B.C.* Before 1882. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.4 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009157, LAC.

Figure 231. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon looking down, near upper*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15.3 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009142, LAC.

Figure 232. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon looking down*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.4 x 15.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009140, LAC.

Figure 233. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon from about station 1667. Looking down approximately 31.57 miles from Waddington*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.2 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009139, LAC.

Figure 234. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *In Grand Canon, looking up from standpoint of No. 16*. June 16, 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.9 x 15.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009156, LAC.

Figure 235. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon, 30½ miles from the sea from station 1611*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.7 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009155, LAC.

Figure 236. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *34 miles from sea, looking down from high bluff above Murderer's Bar*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.6 x 15.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009150, LAC.

Figure 237. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of river, 41½ miles from Waddington looking up from mountain slopes 600 feet above the river*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009153, LAC.

Figure 238. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of river, 49 miles from Waddington looking up from standpoint of No. 32*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.4 x 15.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009154, LAC.

Figure 239. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Fraser River, just above Yale*. 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 15.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009217, LAC.

Figure 240. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of River Homathco. About 53 miles from Waddington looking down W N W true*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.5 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009218, LAC.

Figure 241. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of the river, looking down. West (true) 61 1/2 miles from Waddington*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009151, LAC.

Figure 242. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *34 miles from Waddington looking up from high bluff above Murderer's Bar*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.4 x 14.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009152, LAC.

Figure 243. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009212, LAC.

Figure 244. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.1 x 15.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009215, LAC.

Figure 245. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon, 31.34 miles from Waddington, looking down the Gravel Bar*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009131, LAC.

Figure 246. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of river, 58 miles from Waddington Green Lakelet looking across the valley*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.7 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009245, LAC.

Figure 247. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Between the east and west branches of the river*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.2 x 15.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009164, LAC.

Figure 248. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *From trail 1200 feet above river, looking down 30 1/2 miles from Waddington*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009182, LAC.

Figure 249. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Lower end of Grand Canon. 30 1/2 miles from Waddington looking up station 1611*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009165, LAC.

Figure 250. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of river, about 44 miles from Waddington looking up*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 14.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009163, LAC.

Figure 251. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *At tide water, looking across, the located bridge crossing*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009246, LAC.

Figure 252. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Valley, looking up*. June 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.3 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009290, LAC.

Figure 253. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *29 1/4 miles from Waddington looking up*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009242, LAC.

Figure 254. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *14 miles from Waddington, looking across the valley from left bank, with McNeil's Peak in the distance*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009160, LAC.

Figure 255. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Below Cascade Inlet*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 13 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009289, LAC.

Figure 256. Charles George Horetzky, *Skeena Forke and Rocher Deboule*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Forks of the Skeena River. Roché Déboulé Mountain in distance 5000 feet over eye*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009162, LAC.

Figure 257. Charles George Horetzky, *Skeena River*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. At the Forks of Skeena River, Rocher deboulé range distant 5 miles*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.5 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009161, LAC.

Figure 258. Charles George Horetzky, *Gardner Canal*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009178, LAC.

Figure 259. Charles George Horetzky, *Gardner Canal*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. From rocks on east shore, a mile below the mouth of the Kimsquit River. Direction about W N W true*. August 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009179, LAC.

Figure 260. Charles George Horetzky, *Gardner Canal*. Also titled by LAC as *The Triumph Victoria*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds,

Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009159, LAC.

Figure 261. Charles George Horetzky, *Bella Bella Bay*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 11 x 19.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-020537, LAC.

Figure 262. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009158, LAC.

Figure 263. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *B.C. Head of Bute Inlet and Waddington Harbour from south-eastern slope of Mount Evans*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19 x 12.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009180, LAC.

Figure 264. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *B.C. Head of Bute Inlet and Waddington Harbour*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 12.3 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009181, LAC.

Figure 265. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Looking down from mouth of Kimsquit River*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 11 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009319, LAC.

Figure 266. (T) Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Form a point on Northern shore of Lake Tatla, 5 miles below the Detroit, looking N. 80 W Mag.* October 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 14 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009285, LAC.

Figure 266. (B) Detail of lines added, which better render the texture of the rock.

Figure 267. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *At tide water, from west side of located bridge crossing, about one mile from mouth of river*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.3 x 14.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009177, LAC.

Figure 268. Charles George Horetzky, *Head of Dean Canal*. Also titled by LAC as *Dean Canal. From east shore looking North, and across the channel, from a point 3 miles above Sunny Island. 5 p.m.* August 14, 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 19 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009243, LAC.

Figure 269. (L) “Plate 18. Indian Encampment on the Prairie.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 79.

Figure 269. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Cree Camp on the prairie, south of Vermilion (Lat N. 53 Long W. 111)*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.6 x 18.6 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, C-005181, LAC.

Figure 270. (L) “Plate 20. Buffalo Skin Lodge and Red River Carts.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 128.

Figure 270. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Men's Lodge Div. P at Elbow of North Saskatchewan*. September 1871, Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.9 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-1385731, LAC.

Figure 271. (L) “Plate 21. The South Saskatchewan River.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 129.

Figure 271. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Crossing Place South Branch Saskatchewan*. In *Peace River Album*, 47. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Figure 272. (L) “Plate 23. Fort Carleton.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 138.

Figure 272. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *View of Fort Carleton from the hill*. September 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.0 x 20.0 cm. D.M. Beach collection, PA-117931, LAC.

Figure 273. (L) “Plate 25. Fort Edmonton.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 171.

Figure 273. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Edmonton*. October 25, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.2 x 17.9 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009240, LAC.

Figure 274. (L) “Plate 28. Jasper House (looking towards Roche à Miette).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 231.

Figure 274. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *In the Jasper house valley, looking N.E.* January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 20.0 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009147, LAC.

Figure 275. (L) “Plate 29. Jasper House (looking west).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 233.

Figure 275. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *In the Jasper house Valley, looking West*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 20.2 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009149, LAC.

Figure 276. “Plate 37. Near the Grand Forks of the Fraser River.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 257.

Figure 277. (L) “Plate 38. Mount Milton from Albreda Lake.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 263.

Figure 277. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Mount Milton Range from Albreda Lake, B.C.* Wednesday October 11, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69988, McCord.

Figure 278. (L) “Plate 39. Above the Forks of the North Thompson.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 265.

Figure 278. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Snow Clad Mountains on the North Branch of the N. Thompson River, B.C.* Friday October 6, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69984, McCord.

Figure 279. (L) “Plate 40. Mount Cheadle.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 269.

Figure 279. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Mt. Cheadle, showing the upper part of Garnet River, B.C.* Friday September 29, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69976, McCord.

Figure 280. (L) “Plate 41. Confluence of Muddy and N. Thompson Rivers.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 273.

Figure 280. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Glaciers and Mountain Scenery at the confluence of Muddy and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.* Monday September 18, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69972, McCord.

Figure 281. “Plate 42. Skull of the Headless Indian.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 275.

Figure 282. (L) “Plate 43. The Assiniboine Bluff.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 287.

Figure 282. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *View from the N. Thompson River at Assiniboine Bluff, 62 miles from Kamloop, B.C.* Friday, August 25, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69953, McCord.

Figure 283. (L) “Plate 44. Kamloops.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 291.

Figure 283. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Kamloops, B.C.* Tuesday August 15, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69946, McCord.

Figure 284. (L) “Plate 45. From Kamloops looking Northerly.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 295.

Figure 284. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *The junction of N. and S. Thompson River at Kamloops, B.C.* Tuesday August 15, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69947, McCord.

Figure 285. (L) “Plate 47. Savona’s Ferry, Near Outlet of Lake Kamloops.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 299.

Figure 285. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Savona’s Ferry, B.C.* Monday August 7, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69931, McCord.

Figure 286. (L) “Plate 48. Thompson River Above Lytton.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 307.

Figure 286. (R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *View on the Thompson R. 3 miles from Lytton B.C.* Wednesday August 2, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69925, McCord.

Figure 287. (L) “Plate 49. View Near Hell’s Gate, Fraser River.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 309.

Figure 287. (R) Frederick Dally, *Cariboo Road along the Fraser River canyon*. Between 1872-1876. Positive paper silver albumen, 17.1 x 23.1 cm. Lady Dufferin album R4493-1-4-E, C-008077, LAC.

Figure 288. (L) “Plate 50. Fraser River (17 miles above Yale).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 311.

Figure 288. (R) Frederick Dally, *17 Mile Bluff on Fraser River*. 1867-1868. Positive paper silver albumen, 18.7 x 24.5 cm. Hector Langevin fonds R6052-0-6-F, PA-023270, LAC.

Figure 289. (L) “Plate 51. Yale (Head of Navigation on the Fraser).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 313.

Figure 289. (R) Frederick Dally, *Yale, B.C.* Between 1872-1878. Positive paper silver albumen, 18.2 x 21.5 cm. Lady Dufferin album R4493-1-4-E, C-000294, LAC.

Figure 290. (L) “Plate 58. Peace River at Dunvegan (looking Easterly).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 355.

Figure 290. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Peace Rive from hill behind Dunvegan looking down & east*. October 4, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.7 x 19.9 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009244, LAC.

Figure 291. (L) “Plate 59. Forks of Skeena River (January 1873).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 359.

Figure 291. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Hazelton. Forks of Skeena. Rocher Déboulé Mtn in distance*. December 29, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20.1 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-022575, LAC.

Figure 292. (TL) “Plate 60. Great Valley of Peace River (through the Rocky Mountains).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 365.

Figure 292. (TR) Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* In *Peace River Album*, 47. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Figure 292. (BL) “Peace River (20 miles above the Cañon).” In Daniel M. Gordon, *Mountain and Prairie; A Journey from Victoria to Winnipeg, via Peace River Pass* (London, U.K.: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880), 161.

Figure 293. (L) “Plate 61. Salmon Cove, Nasse River, British Columbia.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), frontispiece.

Figure 293. (R) Charles George Horetzky, *Salmon Cove. Nasse River. B.C. looking north.* January 1873, Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20.2 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, C-081504, LAC.

Figure 294. (T) Charles George Horetzky, “Gardner Canal. Looking up, from rocks above Green Point. Kimano Bay. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 294. (B) Charles George Horetzky, “No. 1 Gardner Canal. From rocks above Green Point, looking up, in the direction N 125° E mag. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. P089, AEAC.

Figure 295. (T) Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano. Looking up from rocks above Green Point. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 295. (B) Charles George Horetzky, “No. 3 Kimano valley. Looking N 54° E mag from rocks above Green point. Kimano Bay in foreground. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. P089, AEAC.

Figure 296. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Looking down the ravine of the “Penteuchltenay” from vicinity of Summit Lake. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 297. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Looking up the valley of the Kimano. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 298. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Same as No. 3 June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 299. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Between “First Lake and the summit. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 300. Charles George Horetzky, “Mouth of river Kitimat. Latitude 54° 0'0” N. July 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 301. Charles George Horetzky, “Head of Kitimat Inlet July 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 302. Charles George Horetzky, “Same as No. 8.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 303. Charles George Horetzky, “Bellabella.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 304. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From King Island looking towards Cascade Inlet. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 305. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From King Island looking towards Cascade Inlet. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 306. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. Becalmed, between Cascade Inlet and Labouchere Passage. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 307. Charles George Horetzky, “The head of Dean Canal. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 308. Charles George Horetzky, “The head of dean Canal. From west shore. September 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 309. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From mouth of river “Tsatsquot” looking down. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 310. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From mountain South from Kimsquit looking up. October 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 12” in P089, AEAC.

Figure 311. Charles George Horetzky, “Valley of the “Tsatsquot” August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

Figure 312. Charles George Horetzky, “Valley of the Tsatsquot. Looking up the Little Canon. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.

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INTRODUCTION

The photographs produced as part of Canadian topographical and geological surveys between 1858 and 1890 occupy an ambiguous place in Canadian art history. This is further complicated by the archival and museum collections into which they have been absorbed. Consider, for example, a photograph produced by Benjamin F. Baltzly as he accompanied an expedition of the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) in 1871 under the direction of geologist Alfred R. C. Selwyn, titled *Lower Falls, Garnet River Cascade, near Mt. Cheadle, North Thompson River, BC* [App. 5, Fig. 62]. Today, this photograph is held in the archival collections of Library and Archives Canada (LAC) and the McCord Museum Notman Photographic Archives (McCord), and exhibited on the gallery walls of the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA).¹ In the photograph, a smooth cascade becomes broken and agitated as the water moves down across the rocks, and smooth again as it winds back and forth towards the foreground. The bright white of the light reflecting off the cascade isolates it from the shadowed trees in the background, creating a depth of field further accentuated by a large rock that sits between the foreground and the cascade. The richness of tone and texture, along with the close cropping of the scene and its winding composition, is immersive and captivating. Baltzly himself was taken with the cascades on Garnet River. In his expedition journal he writes of his encounter:

¹ The photograph is in the LAC collection (PA-02260), and in the McCord Collection (I-69979). The photograph was part of an exhibition titled *Early Exploration Photographs in Canada* at the National Gallery of Canada, curated by Andrea Kunard, on view from May 24 to September 29, 2013; and included in an exhibition titled *Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscapes 1860 – 1918*, curated by Hilliard T. Goldfarb on view from June 18 to September 27, 2009, and travelling to the Vancouver Art Gallery.

The cascade as seen from the foot of the falls is grand beyond conception. It is by far the boldest and wildest scenery of the kind I ever witnessed. It made my heart throb with wonder and amazement as I stand for a few moments and looked upon this beautiful sheet of water as it descends and tumbles down over rocks with a thundering and roaring noise.²

How is it possible that such a visually striking photograph, one in which the photographer was emotionally moved by the scene he was photographing, can come out of a geological survey? What does it mean for a photographic recorder, attached to the GSC, to harbour such passion? One might argue that Baltzly made this particular photograph for his own aesthetic pleasure – that artistic and scientific motives alternate in his practice. But are they ever mutually exclusive? Were Baltzly’s finer feelings suppressed when he worked under Selwyn’s direction and sets up his camera to record? Baltzly’s exclamation at once clarifies and complicates the photographs he produced during the survey. Its unresolved tensions undergird his production and that of others – those topographical photographers and “engineer’s witnesses” who dot the landscape of Canadian photographic history.³ This thesis addresses such unresolved tensions both in the context of a photograph’s creation, and in the institutional discourses that have surrounded topographical photography in recent collection, display, and scholarship. It asks what topographic survey photographs, like Baltzly’s, can offer up to the art historical study of nineteenth-century Canadian image-making. What happens to that narrative when we begin to look at these photographs not just as raw documents, but also as examples of mediated landscapes?

This thesis examines four photographers who participated in survey work and documentary commissions in Canada during the second half of the nineteenth century:

² Benjamin F. Baltzly. *Letterbook, Baltzly’s western trip with the Geological Survey, 1871-1872* (Thursday, 28 Sept 1871), 99.

³ I refer here to an exhibition held from November 1, 1976 to May 31, 1977 at the National Gallery of Canada titled *The Camera as Engineer’s Witness*, curated by Ralph Greenhill and James Borcoman.

Humphrey Lloyd Hime (1833-1903) on the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition; Benjamin F. Baltzly (1835-1883) on the 1871 GSC expedition; Alexander Henderson's (1831-1913) commissions to document the structures of the Intercolonial Railway (ICR), the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway (QMO&O), and later as superintendent of photographs for the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR); and Charles George Horetzky (1838-1900) on various expeditions between 1871 and 1877 with the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey (CPRS). I have chosen to focus on these four photographers for two reasons. The first is that all four were commissioned as photographers, though some did take on additional observational or administrative duties. Unlike geologists and surveyors, such as Selwyn (1824-1902), George M. Dawson (1849-1901), or Edouard Deville (1849-1924), trained scientists, engineers, and surveyors who began to take cameras with them into the field and produced photographs that were included in survey documentation, the four photographers examined in this thesis were foremost photographers. The second reason is that there were actually very few instances in Canada in which photography was used in survey work during this period. In addition to those examined in this thesis, the only other major surveys in which photographs were made as part of the survey's documentation output were conducted by the British Corps of Royal Engineers during the 1858-1862 and the 1872-1875 North American Boundary Commission expeditions. Several of the sappers who accompanied this survey were trained by the British military in topographical sketching and photography. However, they were not Canadian. Unlike the four photographers in this thesis who all immigrated to Canada from abroad – Ireland, Ohio, and Scotland, – but were none the less embedded into the cultural, scientific, and political fabric of Canada as citizens, the sappers were distinctly British. While they were invested in securing the boundaries between British North America and the United

States as part of their survey work, they were not invested in Canadian nationalist and expansionist ideas that came to be associated with the Canadian interior, West, and the transcontinental railway photographed by the four photographers discussed in this thesis.

Considered in light of my research question – what can a survey photograph offer up to the art historical study of nineteenth-century Canadian image-making? – each of the four photographers examined in this thesis contributes something unique while at the same time filling out a broader understanding of how survey photographs functioned in the collective imagination of nineteenth-century Canadians. Answers begin to flow when we learn more about the circumstances of their making. The photographs produced by Hime, Baltzly, Henderson, and Horetzky are works that have oscillated between art and science both in their moment of creation and in the recent institutional and scholarly attention that they have received. This definitional tug-of-war has not served our understanding, and I propose that we give it up, for it is precisely in the unresolved tension between document and art, as instruments of mediation between land and landscape, that the photographs come into their own. Each chapter in this thesis concentrates on building up the context of a single photographer, a methodological approach that works to explicate the relationships between the photographer and his networks of influence, and to trace carefully the ways in which their photographs were circulated and received. The aim is to reveal the many subtle tensions, both formal and conceptual, that are brought to bear on the photograph, which form a nexus of antithetical readings and, in this, reflect the desires of the collective imaginary.

The first chapter examines the photographs by Humphrey Lloyd Hime, taken during the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, the first instance that the Canadian Government used photography on an official exploratory survey. The visual corpus consists of

the forty-nine photographs taken by Hime. They are read alongside the diary he kept while on the expedition, and in relation to survey leader Henry Youle Hind's (1823-1908) publication *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, in which they were reproduced. Considering Hime's training as an architectural draughtsman under William Armstrong (1822-1914), an accomplished topographical watercolour artist, and in comparison with watercolour sketches by Armstrong, John Arnot Fleming (1835-1876), and William G. R. Hind (1833-1889) that were treated as documents, this chapter sets up the transition from sketches to photographs as visual outputs of survey documentation. While the medium changes from sketches to photographs, this chapter demonstrates that the visual strategies that communicate both physical description and connotative understandings of colonialism and the landscape remain relatively intact in the transition. The chapter then examines the circulation of Hime's photographs as reproductions in the *Illustrated London News* and in Hind's *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition*, in order to assess how the photographs were used to communicate conceptions of the Canadian interior and in particular conceptions of the Indigenous peoples who inhabited that space as both placated subjects who posed no threat to settlement and as violent marauders who filled out a story of adventure.

The second chapter turns to photographs taken by Benjamin F. Baltzly on the 1871 GSC expedition. Made twelve years after Hime's, the corpus of 124 photographs is examined under the pull of three distinct forces: the goals of the survey leader, Selwyn, who wanted descriptive documents of the physical features of the land; the intentions of William Notman (1826-1891), Baltzly's employer and an entrepreneurial studio photographer, who wanted photographs that he could sell in his Montreal studio; and the motives of Baltzly himself, who vividly reveals his

thoughts on nature, God, and art in the journal he kept during the expedition. In addition to examining how the photographs were used by Selwyn and Notman, this chapter looks at the circulation of Baltzly's photographs in private albums in order to demonstrate growing public excitement over photographs of the Canadian West as both untamed nature and ordered landscape. Whereas Hime marks a transition from topographic sketches to photographs, with descriptive visual strategies migrating from one medium to the next, Baltzly's photographs continue to serve scientists and engineers, while preserving the religious and aesthetic feelings experienced by their maker.

The third chapter focuses on the work of Alexander Henderson as commissioned to document the structures of the ICR and the QMO&O in the 1870s, and his work with the CPR in the 1890s. Henderson is unique in this thesis in that, while the engineers and overseers of the railways commissioned him, he did not accompany a specific survey expedition. Nonetheless, many of the photographs that Henderson produced as part of these commissions, particularly for the ICR and the QMO&O, were used as descriptive documents. This chapter examines the uses of Henderson's photographs as they appear reproduced in chief engineer Sandford Fleming's (1827-1915) *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch of the Inception, Location, Construction of the Line of Railway Uniting the Inland and Atlantic Provinces of the Dominion*, and in an album titled *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges, Constructed & Erected, 1877-1878: For the Government of the Dominion of Canada on the Line of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway*. However, in parallel with his railway commissions, Henderson was taking photographs of a different kind – scenic views of nature and intimate scenes of camping and fishing that were circulated extensively through the sale of albums at his studio and through exhibition. This chapter demonstrates that Henderson himself understood the divergent functions of his

photographs, but that he applied similar artistic compositional strategies to both art and document, developing the idea of shared visual style between painting and photography.

The last chapter focuses on the work of Charles George Horetzky for the CPRS. Horetzky was affiliated with the CPRS between 1871 and 1877, participating in five separate expeditions. The photographic corpus is dispersed across a number of albums that are private, governmental, and even possibly assembled by Horetzky as gifts. In this chapter Horetzky is presented as a kind of foil to the other three photographers. Horetzky wanted to be taken seriously as an engineer, and disavowed the notion that his function on the survey expeditions he accompanied, and sometimes led, was to photograph. Much to the dismay of survey leaders, Horetzky went so far as to publish his own extensive topographical analysis and recommendations for the railway route. The inclusion of Horetzky in this thesis works to establish the perception of photography at that time as it was valued by the CPRS. The photographs made by Hime, Baltzly, and Henderson were used by survey officials such as Hind, Selwyn and Fleming, for scientific, or at the very least schematic and descriptive, purposes. However, with Horetzky's photographs, we have those same engineers and scientists downplaying the scientific potential of photography and of the photographer as participating in the generation of survey findings. In addition to an examination of the albums in which Horetzky photographs have been assembled, this chapter looks to the photographs as reproduced in George Monro Grant's (1835-1902) publication *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872*, in which messages of Canadian settlement were not so subtly being conveyed to the public, and were reinforced through adaptations and alterations of Horetzky's photographs.

The multiple, sometimes antithetical, functions and readings of the photographs are developed through explications of context. In each instance, the photographs are being used to visually communicate facts and ideas about Canada, the railway, settlement, and the land, in scientific, governmental, artistic, and popular arenas. I believe that survey photographs were not only actively facilitating visual understandings of nationhood and of the landscape, but that they were both influenced by and influences upon visual production within and outside of the survey context. In this way they contribute greatly to the study of art history in Canada, serving as a link between the topographic watercolours and sketches of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, and the artistic paintings and popular circulations of engravings during the mid- to late-nineteenth century; and serving to reveal the various ways that land was visually mediated into landscape by the collective imagination.

Survey Photography: Archive, Museum, Art History

The process of folding survey photographs into an art historical discourse comes with significant methodological difficulties. It is crucial not to remove the photographs from the scientific and documentary contexts in which they were produced: first because this context is one that actually helps to insert them into pre-existing representational practices like topographical sketching; and second because while the photographers likely came into contact with aesthetic movements within art like the Picturesque or the Romantic, they were not exclusively, or even intentionally, producing photographs as art. In her 1982 essay, “Photography’s Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View,” Rosalind Krauss issued a stern caution to art historians, curators, and critics looking to engage with nineteenth-century United States survey photography. In her essay

Krauss works to understand how the function of a photograph changes depending on how it is situated by historians, curators, and institutions – its discursive space.⁴ For Krauss the gallery space is one in which the work or creation of an author is automatically judged as a work of art, becoming engaged in aesthetic judgment through its placement on the gallery wall. She identifies the aesthetic discourses of Modernism organized around the museum as the starting point for her discussion of the problems of understanding nineteenth-century topographical photographs within art history. As her central example, Krauss calls into question the decision of curator and critic John Szarkowski to include photographs by nineteenth-century survey photographer Timothy O’Sullivan (1840-1882) in the 1963 exhibition *The Photographer and the American Landscape* held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Krauss uses the exhibition, which featured O’Sullivan’s photographs alongside those of Modernist masters such as Edward Steichen (1879-1973), Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), Edward Weston (1886-1958), and Ansel Adams (1902-1984), to draw attention to Szarkowski’s anachronistic treatment of O’Sullivan’s practice, making him into a self-aware precursor to photographic Modernism. In her essay Krauss proposes a counter-approach, suggesting that in order to understand O’Sullivan’s photographs it is necessary to turn to authorship and authorial intention thereby examining survey photographs under the lens of their original creation and dissemination. Krauss posits that O’Sullivan’s photographs should be considered as “views” rather than the traditionally art and aesthetic title of “landscape.” While I see Krauss’s arguments as over-corrective, in that they deny survey photographs participation in a broader cultural and artistic dialogue, her methodological caution when dealing with survey photographs is one that I acknowledge

⁴ Rosalind Krauss, “Photography’s Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View,” *Art Journal* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1982): 311-319.

wholeheartedly in my attempt to navigate the balance between view and landscape.⁵

Furthermore, I take Krauss's caution to apply not only to the photographs, but also to the scholars who write about them. Indeed, this thesis is as much an institutional history of ways in which the photographs of Hime, Baltzly, Henderson, and Horetzky have been situated in the literature, as it is an attempt to understand the photographs within the moment of their creation.

In Canada, the historic uses of survey photography are very similar to practices in the United States: the division of military and civilian surveys, congruent developments in photographic technology, the desire to push westward and to unify as a nation, and the use of surveys in planning a national railway. However, when it came to creating a history around the survey photograph the job did not fall to art historians, as it did in the United States, but rather onto the shoulders of archivists. Andrew Birrell's catalogue for his 1975 exhibition at the Public Archives of Canada (PAC), now LAC, *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858-1900*, was the first substantial Canadian effort to take on survey photography. Birrell was Director of the National Photography Collection at PAC until 1986. Drawing from the PAC's extensive collection, *Into the Silent Land* situates the survey photograph as a scientific document produced in the exploratory process. Complementing the photographs are Birrell's careful summaries of the history of each expedition, and a preface that

⁵ There are American scholars who have demonstrated that Krauss's vision might be too narrow. In his essay "Naming the View" in *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evan* (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1989), Alan Trachtenberg expands the conditions and context of the survey to consider the broader cultural conditions of the survey photographs taken by O'Sullivan. In his essay "Territorial Photography" in *Landscape and Power*, (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2002), Joel Snyder suggests that photographers during the 1860s became free from the obligation to make works of art in order to record what they saw through the disinterested and truthful nature of the camera. In "Viewing the Archive: Timothy O'Sullivan's Photographs for the Wheeler Survey, 1871-74," in *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003), Robin Kelsey suggests that current scholarship has been too hasty in removing topographical photography from the cultural category of landscape photography. In an effort to return these images to the scientific origins of their production, theorists have over-corrected and thereby minimized the aesthetic experience of the maker and the viewer. The result of Kelsey's argument is the creation of a pre-modern visual narrative and language for American survey photographs. As such, the focus is moved away from the medium of photography, to its embeddedness within a specific visual practice and context, an idea that is fully developed in his 2007 book *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2007).

includes an extensive description of the development and types of cameras, negatives, and printing processes used. In creating *Into the Silent Land* Birrell may not have been concerned with the distinctions between art and documents – often referring to the photographers as artists, a provocative decision considering that several of the survey photographers were soldiers – however, coming forward in time, this catalogue is foundational for the questions it raises, albeit indirectly, about art and document and in the institutional shaping of how survey photographs are interpreted through private, archival or curatorial collection.

That same year another major study of survey photography came out of PAC, now LAC. Richard Huyda's 1975 *Camera on the Interior* traces Humphrey Lloyd Hime's photography during the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. Huyda was Head of the Historical Photographs Section at PAC and later Curator of its National Photography Collection from 1975 to 1980. Huyda divides Hime's work with the survey into three sections: the first dedicated to plates from the expedition; the second to a narration of the events of the expedition; and, the third, a detailed overview of camera technology and development during the 1850s. Within this framework, Huyda provides substantial historical and contextual background to the survey expedition and the Canadian political climate of the time. As with Birrell's study, Huyda's attention is directed away from the photographs themselves and towards the technology of the camera. While Huyda was thorough in putting together the dates and facts of the expedition, he offers almost no critical analysis of Hime's photographic output. For example, Huyda did not mine Hime's journal for insights into the photographer's experience of the expedition, or its connection to a broader Canadian sentiment of frontier excitement. Nonetheless, both Huyda and Birrell offer exemplary work as archivists and historians, reflecting

the institutional context in which they were working as caretakers and gatekeepers of historical documents.

Birrell and Huyda relied heavily on the work of Ralph Greenhill, particularly his 1965 publication *Early Photography in Canada*, which charts the development of Canadian photography from its inception to the end of the nineteenth-century. Greenhill was an active photographer and an avid collector of Canadian photographs – which may explain his subjective and qualitative choosing of the “best” examples of Canadian photography.⁶ It is from this experience that he was able to put together a seminal and authoritative text on Canadian photographic history and, as Huyda states in his acknowledgments, to serve as both a “guide and inspiration” for those who followed.⁷ Interestingly, it was not only the archivists at PAC, now LAC, who would take up Greenhill’s call to collect historical photography. As Greenhill himself indicates, “this new photographic market was boosted by a new trend in institutional buying.”⁸ Beginning in 1967 the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) began collecting photography under director Jean Sutherland Boggs; and James Borcoman would shortly become the NGC’s first Curator of Photographs. Borcoman set out to develop the NGC’s collection of nineteenth-century European photography, an area of photography that was already firmly understood as having artistic merit, through both acquisition and the mounting of exhibitions, such as his 1976 *Photography as Art: A Major Retrospective of Charles Nègre*. That same year the NGC also held an exhibition of documentary photographs co-curated by Greenhill and Borcoman, titled *The Camera as Engineer’s Witness*. The exhibition featured photographs originally intended to document the construction of bridges and buildings, and made an important statement about the

⁶ Ralph Greenhill, *Early Photography in Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1965), 15.

⁷ Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior: 1858, Humphrey Lloyd Hime, Photographer, The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1975), iv.

⁸ Ralph Greenhill, “Collecting Photography Now?” *Canadian Collector* 12, no. 2 (April 1977): 38.

stature of Canadian practitioners by including photographs by William Notman (1826-1891) and Samuel McLaughlin (1826-1914), many of which were from Greenhill's private collection. By 1993 the NGC had amassed a significant collection of nineteenth-century Canadian photographs. That year Borcoman curated an exhibition titled *Magicians of Light: Photographs from the Collection of the National Gallery of Canada*. The catalogue to the exhibition indicates that the photographic holdings of the NGC included two photographs by Hime, one by Horetzky, two by Baltzly and over 100 by Henderson. The inclusion of documentary photographs is outlined in the introduction where Borcoman writes:

The range extends from the unassuming to the artful. At one extreme are the early topographical photographers, who made no pretence to art, but who, because of the sensitivity of their perception, produced work that transcends the original purpose and that today we find emotionally or intellectually stimulating.⁹

Borcoman's justification for the NGC's collection of topographical photographs does not deny them their documentary origin. His assertion that the photographs transcend their original purpose, however, implies that those topographical photographs collected by the NGC are of greater visual and cultural value than those not collected – an assertion that Krauss would no doubt ascribe to the discursive space of the NGC.

It is perhaps because of the institutional interest in survey photographs during the 1970s that art history scholars began to consider the possibility of these photographs existing within the context of Canadian visual and artistic heritage. Along with J. Russell Harper and R. H. Hubbard, Dennis Reid was among the first scholars to trace out the development of painting in Canadian art. Reid, however, also understood the importance of photography in the nineteenth century, in particular the influence that photography had on Canadian painting. Reid's

⁹ James Borcoman, *Magicians of Light: Photographs from the Collection of the National Gallery of Canada* (Ottawa, Ont.: National Gallery of Canada, 1993), 14

monograph *“Our Own Country Canada” Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* emerged from his extensive research for an exhibition of the same title held at the NGC from November 24, 1978 to January 7, 1979. In *Our Own Country Canada*, which relates to the exhibition but is far more extensive than an exhibition catalogue, Reid looks to eighteenth-century British North American topographical watercolours as examples of a crossover between documentation and artistic medium in the Canadian context. Reid’s connections between art and topography are carried over to his discussion of nineteenth-century painting and photography. These ideas were further developed by Ann Thomas in her exhibition catalogue titled *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900*, which accompanied an exhibition of the same title organized at the McCord from June 20 to August 12, 1979. Thomas suggests that as part of the goal of the exhibition, “evidence of painters borrowing the tools and visual terminology of photography and vice versa, is sought out in order to better understand the attitudes and intentions of both painters and photographers during the latter half of the nineteenth-century.”¹⁰ She accomplishes this by formally comparing painting to photography and determining that painting was influenced by a “photographic aesthetic” – high detail, focal dominance of the middle ground, and a sense of a moment stopped in time. Thomas considers the photographs themselves as being part of a larger visual culture hinting at the aesthetic possibilities of landscape photography, even those made as part of scientific topographical surveys. However, Thomas’s study focuses predominantly on the effect of photography on painters, seeing fewer signs of photography being influenced by painting, thereby limiting her notion of a shared visual style.

¹⁰ Ann Thomas, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900* (Montreal, Que.: McCord Museum, 1979), 5.

The archival and curatorial interest in survey photographs that developed during the 1970s as a result of the growth in institutional collecting left in its wake two divergent understandings of the value of the photographs, each tied to its respective discursive space. As art historical scholarship and exhibition histories grew, the documentary origins of topographical photographs tended to be minimized in attempts to insert them into pre-existing movements within art.¹¹ The unresolved tensions between art and document that have shaped the discussion around topographical photographs are as much a product of the photographs' context of creation as they are the outcome of disciplinary boundaries and institutional practices. Each chapter of this thesis begins with an examination of these unresolved tensions within recent scholarship and display. This serves to situate each body of photographs within the scholarship. Perhaps more importantly, it also serves to highlight the institutional forces that have shaped, or in some instances held back, our ability to understand the photographs as places where mediations of land, description, experience, ideology, and disciplinary readings can take place.

There have been recent efforts to bridge the documentary with the cultural. Joan Schwartz has greatly opened up survey photographs by suggesting that scholars accommodate the visual in their approach to photographs in two ways. The first is to be “imaginative about the questions we pose to them [the photographs] and we need to be more receptive to the questions they pose to us. This means going beyond the visual facts, to ask what those visual facts were intended to convey, what they meant for different viewers at the time the photograph was created

¹¹ For example, in 1989 an exhibition titled *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape 1845-1890* was held at the Glenbow Museum. In 2009 the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts organized the exhibition *Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscapes 1860 – 1918*. This exhibition sought to compare the development of the painted and photographed landscape in both emerging nations. What becomes apparent, particularly in Hilliard T. Goldfarb's introductory essay to the catalogue, is that Canadian topographical photographs are being slotted into conceptions of the landscape that are not specific to the Canadian context, such as Manifest Destiny or the Hudson River School movement, or placed within thematic categories such as “Nature Transcendent” in which the scientific origins of the photographs are overlooked in favour of the Sublime. They are read, in other words, through transnational landscape tradition and the mission of the museum.

or subsequently circulated.”¹² The second way is to “try to imagine what cannot be seen in a photograph, to visualize what existed before or occurred soon after the photograph was taken, or to recognize what has been avoided, what is conspicuous by its absence.”¹³ Schwartz suggests that it is only in doing so that we can both return survey photographs to their functional context and recognize them as carefully crafted visual arguments that reflect and shape political, socio-cultural, and economic aspirations. For Schwartz the survey photograph works as a document that is part of a greater set of records and narrative of a particular event. Much of my methodological approach is indebted to the groundwork done by Schwartz. However, where Schwartz has opened up survey photographs as visual documents that reflect cultural and political concerns, her research does not examine how survey photographs operate as visual documents that reflect visual concerns. It is in this realm where art history, the study of the visual both documentary and aesthetic, comes into play.

The Picturesque and the Romantic

Visual anthropologist and photographic historian Elizabeth Edwards has suggested that:

“photography’s default history is told as art – it shouldn’t be.”¹⁴ Instead, I suggest that we move past the fixation on disciplinary boundaries and that instead we bring together discussions of aesthetics and science, feeling and fact, art and document. Certainly the discursive spaces of

¹² Joan Schwartz, “Photographic Reflections: Nature, Landscape, and Environment,” *Environmental History* 12, no. 4 (October 2007): 990.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 991.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, “Photography’s default history is told as art – it shouldn’t be,” *The Conversation*, on February 23, 2015, accessed September 18, 2016, <http://theconversation.com/photographys-default-history-is-told-as-art-it-shouldnt-be-37734>. Edwards’s assertion, however, has not always been the case in Canada, where the default history for topographical photographs has been told as document. However, readings of topographical photographs have been no less institutionally or disciplinarily circumscribed in the Canadian context.

archive and museum have contributed much to the study of topographical photographs. But why should they be mutually exclusive? And, would not a mediation of both bring out more richly the many complex and interwoven understandings of the photograph? What happens if we bring concepts such as the Picturesque and the Romantic, which have been used extensively by Canadian art historians to understand and organize the history of Canadian art, to the study of topographical photographs?

The visual strategies that inform the style and content of the survey photograph cannot be isolated from the ideas that shaped visual production in artworks and documents during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nor are aesthetic concepts such as the Picturesque and the Romantic isolated from developments in science, politics, and culture. For example, William Gilpin, in his 1792 *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape*, suggested that a traveller contemplating the landscape should suppose it to be unexplored, so as to keep the mind in a continual state of suspense.¹⁵ Despite Gilpin's suggestion, the unmediated experience with an untouched landscape desired by its viewers is something that could actually never be. The experience of travel for Gilpin, for example, presupposes a unique, unmediated experience within any encounter with new land. Ironically, this was despite the fact that there were books to instruct tourists on which views were best.¹⁶ My entry point for survey photographs operating as visual documents that express visual concerns rests on this idea that the separation of a topographical landscape from an ideological landscape is never really possible. The topographical photograph, for all of its pretences to objective document is no less mediated in than any other photograph.

¹⁵ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To which is added a Poem on Landscape Painting* (London, U.K.: R. Blamire, 1792), 47.

¹⁶ See, for example: Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, "Canada by Photograph: Instructed looking and tourism of the nineteenth-century Canadian landscape," *Histoire sociale/Social history* 49, no. 99 (June 2016): 309-327.

I want to begin with the ideas of the Picturesque as they apply to painting since, as we will see with Hime, there is a direct connection between Hime's visual training as a photographer to topographical watercolours and sketches. Though outmoded in Europe by the nineteenth century, the Picturesque continued to find a place in art in both the United States and Canada. In 1801 George Mason's *Supplement* to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* provides a concise summary in its definition of the Picturesque as "what pleases the eye; remarkable for singularity; striking the imagination with the force of painting; to be expressed in painting; affording a good subject for a landscape; proper to take a landscape from."¹⁷ The Picturesque is, in short, the arrangement of the land to into pictorial form – to arrange land so that it is, according to Gilpin, "capable of being illustrated into painting."¹⁸ To be precise in my use of language, it is important to note here that I use the term 'land' throughout this thesis as meaning that actual physical earth – rocks, dirt, trees etc. – and conversely, 'landscape' as any human understanding or construction of the land. Under the rubric of the Picturesque, features of the land could be described as Picturesque simply because they could be painted. Scholar of Canadian poetry Susan Glickman goes so far as to suggest that, "the picturesque was not really a new aesthetic category at all, but rather a methodological description. The picturesque, that which was paintable, included both the sublime and the beautiful."¹⁹ Indeed the Picturesque is a process in which land becomes landscape. However, in visual representations of the landscape it is also an aesthetic category ascribed to paintings and sketches that are often descriptive in nature; made to document travels,

¹⁷ George Mason and Samuel Johnson, *A Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary: Of which the Palpable Errors are Attempted to be Rectified, and Its Material Omissions Supplied* (London, U.K.: C. Roworth, 1801), n.p.

¹⁸ Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 3.

¹⁹ Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 10.

convey information, or accompany text.²⁰ Gilpin acknowledges the descriptive aspect of the Picturesque, particularly in its relation to sketching. In the third section of his *Three Essays*, after describing the process of how to translate elements of the land into a sketch, he writes:

A sketch need not be carried farther, when it is intended merely to assist memory. But when a sketch is intended to convey, in some degree, our ideas to others, it is necessary that it should be somewhat adorned. To us the scene, familiar to our recollection, may be suggested by a few rough strokes: but if you wish to raise the idea, where none existed before, and to do it agreeably, there should be some composition in your sketch – a degree of correctness and expression in the outline – and some effect of light. A little ornament also from figures, and other circumstances may be introduced.

For Gilpin, the first sketch will be truest to the maker's experience. However, the addition of ornaments, which he calls an "adorned sketch" and goes on to describe the ways in which to do so, is more successful at conveying that experience to others through its additional information. Under the Picturesque, the usage of unique geographical features found in the land to compose a particular vision or landscape is indicative not only of the grey line between scientific observation and aesthetic observation, but also of the way they are linked to one another.

In Canadian studies of painting, the Picturesque is commonly ascribed to the military topographers of eighteenth-century British North America – a group Reid refers to as "garrison artists."²¹ However, by the nineteenth century, the idea of the Picturesque is downplayed in

²⁰ In the Canadian context, for example, J. Russell Harper writes of George Heriot's watercolour sketches made during his travels as Picturesque in *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 52; Dennis Reid refers to the watercolours made by British military officers in Canada as Picturesque in *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford university Press, 1973), 19; William Colgate discusses the sketches by Anna Jameson, Catherine Parr Traill, and Susanna Moodie as Picturesque in *Canadian Art, Its Origins and Development* (Toronto, Ont.: Ryerson Press, 1943), 3-4; and R. H. Hubbard suggests that the paintings by Cornelius Krieghoff of portraying "the life of the Quebec *habitant* in picturesque, anecdotal, and often meretricious terms" in *Canadian Landscape Painting, 1670-1930* (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 15.

²¹ Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1988), 17-37.

studies of Canadian painting in favour of the Romantic.²² The Romantic is difficult to define. Scholars of Romanticism have grappled with creating a unified definition, only to abandon the idea. Arthur O. Lovejoy, Northrop Frye, Isaiah Berlin and Hugh Honour, for example, have all begun books on Romanticism, be they literary, intellectual history, or art historical, with attempts to define it and conclude with the idea that there can be no single definition.²³ In Europe, Romanticism, like the Picturesque, was passé by the late nineteenth century, however in Canada the excitement over an unexplored wilderness, with vast and striking geographical features, acted as the perfect seedbed for Romantic tenets such as the Sublime. Its intersection of awe and apprehension at the landscape, peaked in Canada at a time of European explorers' and settlers' excitement, anticipation, and bewilderment, combined with the prospect of possession through nationhood.²⁴ Both Reid and Thomas have attributed the stylistic movements in nineteenth-century Canadian landscape painting and photography to the Romantic. In *Fact and Fiction*, Thomas's "photographic aesthetic" attributes the turn to realism by painters to the idea of a

²² This assertion is made in light of my historiographic understanding of landscape painting in Canada and also in regards to my contribution to the field. In developing this assertion I have reviewed significant literature and exhibitions on the nineteenth-century Canadian painting including William Colgate, *Canadian Art, Its Origins and Development*; J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*; R.H. Hubbard, *Canadian Landscape Painting, 1670-1930*; Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* and "Our Own Country Canada" *Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* (Ottawa, Ont.: National Gallery of Canada, 1979); Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Towards a People's Art* (Toronto, Ont.: NC Press, 1974); Ann Thomas, *Fact and Fiction*; Mario Béland, *Painting in Quebec 1820-1850* (Quebec, Que.: Musée du Québec, 1992); Hilliard T. Goldfarb, *Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscapes 1860 – 1918* (Montreal, Que.: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2009).

²³ See: Arthur O. Lovejoy, "The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2, no. 3 (June 1941): 257-278; Northrop Frye, *A Study of English Romanticism* (New York, N.Y.: Random House, 1968); Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).

²⁴ A key outcome of Romanticism, particularly in the context of this study, is the assertion of nationalism, with strong emphasis placed on national folklore and tradition, particularly with Romanticism as it emerged in Germany. The idea of a powerful landscape and of a nation's or culture's identity residing in the landscape are two major tenets of Romanticism that have been absorbed into landscape depiction in Canada. It must be noted, however, that not all of the principles of Romanticism can be said to have had application in the Canadian context. The most glaring omission is the emotional basis of European Romanticism, which was a reaction against industrial and scientific progress. In fact, the photographs under discussion were almost all made in the service of progress.

landscape that needed no further embellishment in its engagement with Romantic notions like the Sublime – where Romantic qualities were already present in the landscape just waiting to be put on canvas.²⁵ One might add that Romanticism was carried to Canada via the influx of painters and photographers from Europe during the nineteenth century, meaning that it was not revived, but experienced a late blooming in the Canadian context.

By turning to the realism of Romantic painting in nineteenth-century in Canada, I contend that scholars have been too hasty in changing their focus from the Picturesque to the Romantic. In what Thomas and Reid consider to be Romantic, there are also signs of a strong effort made within painting to use the features of the land to show an explicitly Canadian landscape, selectively choosing and composing subjects in order to do so. In other words, there is a very Picturesque construction occurring in these Romantic landscapes. This idea can be compared with readings of nineteenth-century poetry that fits, as Glickman suggests, under both the Picturesque and the Sublime.²⁶ Although topographic photography is less easily accepted than poetry as the product of aesthetic intention, what poetry helps us to see is the connection between observation and the land; the rendering of that land mediated into landscape as

²⁵ Barbara Novak in *Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting 1825-1875* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1995) discusses a similar turn to realism in the American context in which “reading Ruskin, American painters might have been inspired to get it “scientifically right”: [...] with the revelation of the divine presence in nature as their ultimate aim.” (90) Though she makes only brief mentions of photography, Novak’s reading accentuates the gap between art and document suggests that “as witnesses, their [photographers’] role was to document man’s progress into the wilderness,” going on to write that, “the results of their efforts are now acknowledged as major contributions to the visual arts in the nineteenth century.” (177) See also: Michael Harvey, “Ruskin and Photography,” *Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (1984): 25-33.

²⁶ In his conclusion to Carl F. Klinck's *Literary History of Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1965), Northrop Frye presents the idea of the "garrison mentality" as a feeling of isolation and overcoming by a hostile landscape. In his *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto, Ont.: Anansi, 1971), Frye concluded that Canadian identity was defined by a fear of nature. While Frye’s ideas have either been championed or denounced, for example by scholars like Glickman in her *The Picturesque and the Sublime* who argue that fear of nature is too negative a perception of the Canadian relationship with landscape, it is important to take away that in the field of literature and poetry there have been considerable studies made that have formed a connection between the aesthetic and the Canadian experience.

understood through the conventions of the Picturesque and the Romantic; and how that mediated landscape was understood as a product of visual conventions both within the particular moment of mid- to late- nineteenth-century Canada and in the scholarship it engendered. What we also discover is a categorical impasse: cultural scholars' reluctance to pin down, name, or define a particular school of art produced in Canada during the nineteenth century. It does not fit neatly into the existing definition of Romanticism as it emerged and developed within Europe. Furthermore, the antagonistic relationship of the Picturesque and the Romantic in their European versions complicates Canadian production further – to paint actual geographic features within the landscape is something that flies in the face the Romantic notion of the primacy of the artist's feeling.

This thesis asserts that by studying nineteenth-century Canadian survey photography within art history what emerges is the foundation of a mutually influential relationship between not only photography and painting, but also between art and document, and the Picturesque and the Romantic. Indeed survey photographs can tell us about historical context, but they can also tell us about art historical context and the ways in which the land becomes a landscape in its visual representation.

Mediated / Mediating

This thesis discusses mediation in two ways: that land through human engagement is mediated into landscape; and that the photograph is a mediator between often opposing readings and functions. These two approaches are intertwined. In order to see this, it is necessary to clarify my understanding of the photograph and of the actors involved.

The photograph itself is mediated twice: by authorial intent at the moment of its creation, when the elements are arranged and/or framed by the photographer and the shutter released; and in its subsequent readings and circulations. Neither of these mediations can be considered dominant – authorial intent does not necessarily affect the photograph’s subsequent uses, nor do subsequent uses deny the conditions under which the photograph was made, even if they do not acknowledge them. As with the example of *Lower Falls, Garnet River Cascade*, Selwyn was not obliged to, nor did he, read into or use the photograph in light of Baltzly’s religious feelings.

Several scholars of photography have been inclined to privilege authorial intent and context as a way of understanding the coding or message of the photograph; in other words, as a way to access the meaning behind the contents of the photographs and their selection and arrangement. For example, in her 2004 essay ““We make our tools and our tools make us””: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomats,” Joan Schwartz holds on firmly to this idea, leaning on the scholarship of John Berger, Svetlana Alpers, and Luciana Duranti²⁷ in order to “understand the language of the document.”²⁸ There is, no doubt, great value in this. This thesis works hard to construct the original intent and context of the four photographers examined in order to understand how they were influenced by visual convention. However, I contend that to read the photograph strictly as a product of authorial intent and context ultimately denies the photograph’s generation of other interpretations and imaginative

²⁷ Joan Schwartz, ““We make our tools and our tools make us””: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomats,” *Archivaria* 40 (1995): 40-74. For example, in her essay Schwartz quotes: John Berger’s understanding of photograph “a message about the event it records”; (55) Svetlana Alpers’s notion of photographs not as “pictures illustrating history..., but rather pictures themselves constituting a social fact”; (56) and Luciana Duranti’s caution that “it is impossible to understand the message fully without understanding the makeup and articulation which the author chose to express it.” (57)

²⁸ Schwartz, ““We make our tools,”” 57.

experiences, thereby cutting short our understanding of photographs in their capacity to be what James C. A. Kaufmann calls “flexible illustrations.”²⁹

Once taken, the photograph exists in a state of potential. It is necessary for an actor to activate that potential by viewing and reading the photograph – Baltzly, Selwyn, Notman, those who subsequently compiled it into albums, archivists, curators, yourself and myself.³⁰ Elizabeth Edwards describes this as the photograph’s “infinite recodability.”³¹ However, this does not imply that every actor should strive to recapture the intent of the author, or to have a definitive reading of the photograph, but simply that there is a possibility for multiple readings within the bounds of an indexical or realist image. For example, when Szarkowski read O’Sullivan’s photographs as precursors to modernist art photography, his reading struck some as debatable, even controversial, but the reading none the less exists as a chapter in the discourse. With this in mind, the photograph becomes a meeting point for a range of intentions, personal or institutional. For Baltzly, the photograph as he made it was at once a manifestation of religious feelings on nature, a descriptive document, and a visual commodity held together in the mind of its maker. In its circulation the photograph went on to have these and other meanings: an expression of Canadian experience, an aesthetic artwork, a historical document. In the photograph an

²⁹ James C. A. Kaufmann, “Photographs & History: Flexible Illustrations,” in *Reading Into Photography. Selected Essays, 1959- 1980*, Thomas F. Barrow, Shelley Annitage, William E. Tydeman, eds. (Albuquerque, N.M: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 193-199. Kaufmann argues that “the photograph remains, paradoxically and of necessity, a highly specific and yet ambiguous image.” (199)

³⁰ Theorizing the importance photographic readings by the viewer of the photograph is well trodden ground, most notably Roland Barthes’s discussion of the *spectator* and the *punctum* in his *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1981); Victor Burgin who acknowledges that the photograph is “a structured and structuring space within which the reader deploys, and is deployed by, what codes he or she is familiar with” in his “Looking at Photographs” in *Thinking Photography* (London, U.K.: Macmillan, 1982), 153; and Michael Baxandall’s grappling with the ways in which language and description are used to come to terms with pictures broadly, but whose discussion of Benjamin Baker’s Fourth Bridge and the photographs and drawings that are connected to it finds a certain amount of resonance in this thesis, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989).

³¹ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford, U.K.: Berg, 2001), 5.

understanding or agreement of infinite and flexible readings is mediated, just as two people might comment on a view.

Now, how is this discussion of the photograph as mediator intertwined with the discussion of land mediated into landscape? It rests on the idea that the photograph must be activated. Considering our discussion of Gilpin, in which the raw materials of land are always mediated through human experience into landscape, the photograph both echoes and enables this mediation. In those moments where the photograph exists in a state of potential – after authorial intent and context of creation, but before that authorial intent is decoded, or the photograph is placed along side text and image, and the viewer has brought to bear their own interpretation and usage – the photograph presents land. Any viewing, decoding, interpreting of that photograph, mediates that land into landscape. To be clear the photograph, while it contains authorial intention, itself does no work. Authorial intention must be interpreted by the viewer or explained by the author. Nor is the photograph an active mediator, despite common references to its agency or catalytic function, it can only passively accept, or contain, projected readings and in this way functions as a mediator.

By suggesting that we examine photographs not just as raw documents,³² and not just as works of art, but as examples of mediated landscapes, I am asserting that in all readings of photographs of land, the components that we identify as land or of the land are mediated into a landscape through the recognition and interpretation. In this way the binary between art and document, which has dominated the discourse around topographical photographs, is both

³² Here I use “raw” in the same way as Lorraine J. Daston and Peter Galison in their discussion of scientific documentation in which the notebook – and in my understanding the photograph – “began to be imagined as a repository of raw data, unedited and uninterrupted.” *Objectivity* (New York, N.Y.: Zone Books, 2010), 243. In *Raw Histories*, Elizabeth Edwards also uses the word “raw” in this manner, issuing a caution that we should “not concern ourselves solely of questions of empirical detail and veracity of content, a raw evidentiality that, as Barthes has argued, might paradoxically be the site of the photographs resistance.” (96-97)

illuminated and brought together. The photograph is not just a raw document of description, nor is it just an artistic interpretation of the land, it is open to both readings and to others.

An Archival Paper Chase

My paper chase began, as most research begins, with an examination of secondary sources. It was interesting to me that much of the information in these sources – by archivists, curators, and art historians alike – lacked references to specific primary archival documents, though it is clear that their work was based on extensive primary research. With indications that there must be documents to corroborate the facts and information, I began a six-year journey of carefully combing archival collections of censuses, correspondence, journals, record books, albums, newspapers, pamphlets, publications, and, of course, photographs. I have been careful to cite as specifically as possible all pertinent archival documentation. In doing so I have produced an archive of my own, with a system of records and an extensive collection of reproductions. The twenty-three appendices that accompany this thesis are my attempt to share just a fraction of the material I have examined. In some appendices, the inventories, albums, and writings have been reproduced in full as a way to consolidate photographs that are scattered across fonds and to highlight the remarkable wealth of under-examined material that exists in this subject area. The other motivating factor was to ensure that the archival materials that have so fully occupied my thesis project do not disappear. I would be remiss if I did not mention what my colleagues and I often referred to as a “hollowing out” of Canadian archives. During my years of research, I have benefited from the generosity of individual archivists, curators, and librarians, and I have also felt the cut-backs in institutional support, feeling a tightening of access to photographic materials

because the funding to support archivists, the caretakers of our collective history, was being reduced. There are hopeful signs that this trend is being reversed.

My archival research has informed much of my methodological approach. While writing is not necessarily the only way to access a photographer's intent, this thesis has given special attention to the texts left behind by each photographer: Hime's diary, Baltzly's journal, Henderson's correspondence, and Horetzky's publications. The biographical histories of the four photographers, compiled from archival findings, develop a network of relationships between the photographers, other members of the survey, their superiors, their families, their acquaintances, and their publishers. The result is the building of an art history from the photographer and their photographs outwards. In addition to the written word, the visual data of the photographs themselves, and how they exist compiled into private albums and circulated in popular publications, is as revealing as the words accompanying them. It is in the process of creating context through archival findings that an answer to the central question of this thesis can be found. In order to look at topographical photographs not just as raw documents, but also as place where land can be mediated into landscape, the explication of context reveals the many lenses and discursive spaces through which mediation takes photographic form.

CHAPTER ONE: HUMPHREY LLOYD HIME ON THE 1858 ASSINIBOINE AND SASKATCHEWAN EXPLORING EXPEDITION

Mr. Hime occupied the period of his stay on Red River in executing a number of photographs of scenery, churches, buildings, Indians, &c, which will form an interesting collection.³³

Henry Youle Hind

Humphrey Lloyd Hime's attachment to the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition as photographer marks the first instance that the Canadian Government used photography on an official exploratory survey. The success of Hime's photographs, which were subsequently included in government reports and circulated in popular print, ensured a continued and frequent place for photography on exploratory, topographic, and geological survey expeditions in Canada from that moment forward. For their success and their importance as a pivotal moment in the history of photography's use on Canadian surveys, Hime's life and work have been of significant interest to contemporary scholars looking to study the history of photography in surveys and exploration in Canada. Hime's Irish origins, his employment in Toronto as a draughtsman, later employment by Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908) to accompany the 1858 survey, and the fallout between the two men over fees and reproduction rights, is a story summarized in the pages of Andrew Birrell's 1975 Public Archives of Canada (PAC), now Library and Archives Canada (LAC), exhibition catalogue *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West*.³⁴ The story is told in Ralph Greenhill's 1965 *Canadian Photography 1839-1920*, and again in the publication's second revised edition in 1978 with

³³ Henry Youle Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress; Together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, Made under Instructions from the Provincial Secretary, Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: John Lovell, 1859), 15.

³⁴ Andrew Birrell, *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858-1900* (Ottawa, Ont.: Public Archives of Canada and Information Canada, 1975).

Birrell.³⁵ As a story of firsts, the events leading up to Hime's attachment to the expedition are detailed most comprehensively by Canadian archivist and photography historian Richard Huyda in his 1975 monograph *Camera in the Interior: 1858 H.L. Hime Photographer The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition*. Huyda provides a complete set of plates of the existing photographs from the expedition and an account of the expedition, its origins, route, and reports, as well as two chapters specifically dedicated to the photographic equipment and processes used by Hime. These are important details, considering that photography was still in its second decade at the time of the expedition and photographic technology and process were changing rapidly.³⁶ While the interest of Canadian scholars and institutions would be expected, non-Canadian specialists have also looked at Hime's 1858 photographs, a somewhat rare occurrence for nineteenth-century Canadian photography. United States historian Martha Sandweiss discusses Hime as a "first" for Canadian photography, and as an example of the challenges of wet-plate photography in *Print the Legend: Photography in the American West*.³⁷ Hime is also listed in Peter E. Palmquist's *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary, 1839-1865*; the entry for Hime is a summary of Huyda's efforts.³⁸ There are Hime photographs in various collections across the United States, including the Yale Collection of Western Americana, the Photography Collection of the New York Public Library, the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, and the San Francisco Museum

³⁵ Ralph Greenhill, *Early Photography in Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1965); Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1979).

³⁶ Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior: 1858. H.L. Hime, Photographer The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1975).

³⁷ Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 141-148.

³⁸ Peter E. Palmquist, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary, 1839-1865* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 325-327.

of Modern Art. Hime also finds brief mention in photography-history survey textbooks like Naomi Rosenblum's *A World History of Photography*, reprinted in several editions since 1984.

This international interest in Hime's photographs is one that stems from the ethnographic potential found in the photographs of Indigenous subjects that Hime produced while on the expedition. This explains why several of Hime's photographs have ended up in ethnographic collections, such as the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives. In the 2000s, a growing interest in settler, colonial, and post-colonial issues in photography brought renewed scholarly attention to Hime's photographs. In *Print the Legend*, Sandweiss discusses Hime's 1858 body of photographs as representing both the past of Indigenous peoples and the future settlement of the Canadian prairies, and as echoing the idea of the "vanishing race" that United States scholar of photography Alan Trachtenberg describes as the "theory that dominated all thinking about Native Americans until quite recently, the idea that the indigenes of the continent would disappear as a matter of natural course."³⁹ In the Canadian context, there has been a growing sensitivity amongst scholars to Indigenous and colonial histories. In 2002, the same year as Sandweiss's *Print the Legend*, Andrea Kunard, then assistant curator of the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography (CMCP) collection, published "Relationships of Photography and Text in the Colonization of the Canadian West: The 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition." Kunard takes a distinctly art historical approach to Hime's photographs, suggesting that, in addition to their documentary role, "in terms of their artistic qualities, the formal and iconographic basis of the photos and engravings aided in luring settlers and investors

³⁹ Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York, N.Y.: Hill & Wang, 2004), 4.

to the area.”⁴⁰ This artistic aspect, as Kunard suggests, was a product of Hime’s understanding of visual “metaphor” in the creation of his photographs. She works to connect Hime’s photographs to Victorian understandings of *memento mori* still life,⁴¹ and the neoclassical history painting of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) and Dominique Ingres (1780-1867).⁴² The aesthetic and visual language Kunard finds in Hime’s photographs is reinforced as she draws attention to five Hime photographs as exhibited in the NGC’s 1993 exhibition *Magicians of Light* curated by James Borcoman, and Peter Galassi’s 1981 exhibition *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA).⁴³

Kunard’s 2002 essay was followed in 2003 by another on Hime’s 1858 photographs, perhaps a response, written by Joan Schwartz and titled “More than “competent description of an intractably empty landscape”: A Strategy for Critical Engagement with Historical Photographs.” The title, “competent description of an intractably empty landscape,” is drawn from Galassi’s catalogue of the 1981 exhibition where he addresses Hime’s photograph *The Prairie on the Banks of the Red River Looking South* [App. 1, Fig. 32]. For Schwartz, Galassi’s observation flags the photograph as having both aesthetic and descriptive qualities, rather than being bound exclusively to either – the implication being that the study of photographs can be taken up by historical geographers to better understand historical context as much as it can be by art historians. The two readings are distinct as Schwartz suggests that art historical readings are not

⁴⁰ Andrea Kunard, “Relationships of Photography and Text in the Colonization of the Canadian West: The 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 26 (Fall 2002): 78.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴³ The five photographs as captioned in the Kunard essay are: *Ojibway Encampment near the Falls of Rainy River, May 24, 1858*; *The Prairie looking west, September-October 1858*; *An Ojibway Woman with Baby, September-October 1858*; *Wigwam: an Ojibway-Métis, Lake Superior, September-October 1858*; *Letitia, a Cree Halfbreed, September-October 1858*.

concerned with understanding historical context, but rather are concerned with “bringing context to the image better to understand the image.”⁴⁴ In contrast to Kunard’s approach to understanding Hime through the aesthetics of nineteenth-century painting, Schwartz goes on to write “as a historical geographer, I want to know what meanings were invested in and generated by *The Prairie ... looking south* – not as a photograph reflecting the immanent genius of the photographer or the aesthetic qualities of the image, but as a landscape, as a visual representation of place, as a medium of geographical engagement with unfamiliar terrain.”⁴⁵ The main thrust of the essay is that a photograph as visually empty as *The Prairie on the Banks of the Red River Looking South*, with only sky, flat land, and a horizon line, can be understood as a reflection of political and cultural ideas surrounding Canadian expansionism, and changing attitudes towards the prairie from a place that is hostile, arid, and empty to one that is understood as being safe, fertile, and suitable for settlement. By situating the photographs in their historical moment, Schwartz’s study elucidates both the photographs and the history in which they were made.

Schwartz’s notion that historical context can be gained by thinking about the photograph as a representation of place is integral to the study of historical photographs. However, her position that the principle ambition of art history is to use history to better understand the image and, therefore, resists the possibility of gaining historical knowledge through the image, is contestable. Likewise, Kunard’s art historical approach, which links European traditions of history and portrait painting, and tropes within still life painting to the photographs of Hime – who was many things including architectural draughtsman, stock broker, and beer maker, but left scant archival traces of having been trained in European fine arts – is equally debatable. The

⁴⁴ Joan M. Schwartz, “More Than ‘Competent Description of an Intractably Empty Landscape’: A Strategy for Critical Engagement with Historical Photographs,” *Historical Geography* 31 (2003): 107.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

application of art history in the form of curation, which Kunard commends and Schwartz criticizes, namely in the exhibitions at the MoMA and the NGC, creates additional tensions through the alteration of, to borrow from Rosalind Krauss, the “discursive space” of the photographs.⁴⁶ Held in the archival collection of LAC and displayed in the fine art collection of the NGC, the photographs occupy two discursive spaces – placed in a collection of Canadian historical documents and in the narrative of Canadian art history, respectively.

The essays by Kunard and Schwartz, though neither citing Krauss’s arguments, reflect divergent methodological approaches towards Hime’s photographs in their respective discursive spaces and signal the tensions that exist between readings of art and document in nineteenth-century survey photography. As Schwartz suggests: “The distinction is clear: where art historians are primarily concerned with bringing context to the image, better to understand the image, historical geographers (as well as others swept up in the visual turn) are essentially interested in bringing context to the image, better to understand the context.”⁴⁷ Indeed, the methodological approach of this thesis is one that brings context to the image. However, by proposing to examine the photographs as mediating between art and document, so that both perspectives can be brought together in reading the photograph without compromising one at the expense of the other, and in their capacity to mediate land into landscape, the aim is not only to better understand the photograph, but also the history of the visual context in which it was produced. In this thesis, recovery of the historical context is used to better understand both the image and the conditions of image-making that include both the visual conventions that shaped the photograph’s production to the ways in which viewers were receiving, deciphering, and adapting

⁴⁶ Rosalind Krauss, “Photography’s Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View,” *Art Journal* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1982): 311-319.

⁴⁷ Schwartz, “More Than ‘Competent Description,’” 107.

those conventions. In this chapter, and in the thesis as a whole, art history is understood as a methodological approach that works to examine how history and context can influence visual production. It also works to examine how history is shaped, manifested and digested through visual representation. This chapter considers Hime's photographs as products of the exploratory survey and of their historical context, including the visual history in which they participate.

Hime's Beginnings and the Influence of William Armstrong

To study the photographs as products of the exploratory survey it is necessary to begin with the historical context of the photographer himself. Hime's early life, his move to Toronto, and his taking up of photography are difficult to trace in the archival records. Those details that have been found are retold in almost every piece of scholarly writing on Hime, though sources are generally unreferenced. Graeme Mercer Adam's 1891 *Toronto Old and New*, a publication celebrating the achievements of Toronto's leading citizens and the centennial anniversary of the Constitutional Act of 1791, provides a summary of Hime's life before coming to Canada. Adam writes that:

Mr. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, president of the Toronto Stock Exchange, was born at Moy, Co. Armagh, Ireland, September 17th, 1833. At the age of fifteen he crossed to England to obtain a business education and learn textile manufacturing. Coming to Canada in 1854 he spent some years with surveyors on the Indian Peninsula, on the islands of Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, and in Hudson Bay Territories."⁴⁸

By 1891 Hime was a prominent enough citizen to warrant a listing in *Toronto Old and New*, though he did not arrive in Toronto with such a high status. Hime does not appear in the *Brown's*

⁴⁸ Graeme Mercer Adam, *Toronto Old and New: A Memorial Volume, Historical, Descriptive and Pictorial, Designed to Mark the Hundredth Anniversary of the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, which Set Apart the Province of Upper Canada and Gave Birth to York (now Toronto) with Some Sketches of the Men who Have Made Or are Making the Provincial Capital* (Toronto, Ont.: The Mail Printing Company, 1891), 198.

Toronto General Directory for 1856, and the first time any residence for Hime is listed is in the 1861 City of Toronto Assessment Rolls where he is down as the renter of a small apartment from a Mrs. Foster.⁴⁹ Between September 25, 1855 and January 10, 1856, Hime was employed as first chainman on a survey party under the direction of William H. Napier (1830-1894) surveying the “Indian Reserves northwest of Owen Sound and Saugeen,” paid a total of £33 and 15 pence.⁵⁰ It is under Napier where we find the first record of Hime’s work as a surveyor and draughtsman. In addition to being a surveyor, Napier also made topographical sketches, and is perhaps responsible for Hime’s introduction to draughtsmanship and topographical sketching.⁵¹ Just one year later, Hime is listed in *The Canada Directory for 1857-58* in the classified business index under the category of “Ambrotypists and Photographers” with the firm “Armstrong, Beere & Hime, 35 King st. east.”⁵² This is the first listing of Hime that indicates his having a photographic practice. It seems that he was capable enough to become a partner at the firm by 1857.⁵³ Hime’s partnership at the firm was instrumental in his attachment to the 1858 survey and provides a window into the photographs that he took.

⁴⁹ City of Toronto Assessment Rolls, St. Patrick’s Ward, 1861, 264731-62, Reel 15, City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ont.

⁵⁰ Indian Reserve Survey Pay List, Indian Affairs fonds, RG 10, Vol. 223, No. 8904, Reel c-11529, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵¹ There is not much written specifically on Napier, and he is not found in Reid’s discussion of garrison artists (see note 60) in either his *Our Own Country Canada* or *A Concise History*. However, Napier was included in Jim Burant’s essay “The Military Artist and the Documentary Art Record,” *Archivaria* 26 (Summer 1998): 33-51. In his essay, Burant chronicles the various militaries that occupy Canadian history from 1750 onward and outlines the drawings and visual documents produced as they exist in archival and museum collections. It is interesting that Burant does not make a note of Reid’s garrison artists, nor does he discuss the output of any given artist at length. Unlike Reid, Burant, a historian and archivist, does not make art historical assessments of the examples he discusses and makes no connection to notions of the Picturesque as Reid does. Further, Burant discusses neither William Armstrong nor William Hind, who are central to this study of Hime.

⁵² John Lovell, *The Canada directory for 1857-58: containing names of professional and businessmen, and of the principal inhabitants, in the cities, towns and villages throughout the Province* (Toronto, Ont.: John Lovell, November 1857), 835.

⁵³ Hime’s affiliation with Armstrong, Beere & Hime continues to be listed in directories until 1861. For example as “AMBROTYPISTS AND PROTOGRAPHISTS. Armstrong, Beere & Hime, 42 King st. east. [sic]” in *Caverhill’s Toronto City Directory for 1859-60* (Toronto, Ont.: Lovell & Gibson, Printers, 1860), 212; and as located on Van

In addition to the draughtsman work of technical architectural drawings, the partners of the firm produced work in watercolours and in photography of a range of subjects including landscapes and portraits. Most notable is William Armstrong (1822-1914), partner at the Armstrong, Beere & Hime firm for his influence on Hime's participation in and visual output of the 1858 Expedition. Armstrong has been written about extensively by Canadian art historians for his work as an artist and art teacher, but not for his photographic practice.⁵⁴ Dennis Reid in his chapter "English Immigrant Artists in Canada West," in *Concise History of Canadian Painting*, and J. Russell Harper in his chapter "The English Colonial Period 1759-1867," in *Painting in Canada: A History*, describe Armstrong's training and experience as an engineer: as an apprentice on the Midland Railway,⁵⁵ as a draughtsman in London in 1841, and as an engineer in Liverpool from 1848 to 1850.⁵⁶ In 1851, Armstrong immigrated to Toronto and was employed by the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR) and Northern Railway before starting his own firm.⁵⁷ As part of his engineering work, Armstrong produced numerous watercolour drawings. These

Auley Street West, address "39 Hime, Humphrey L. of Armstrong, Beer [sic] & Hime" in *Brown's Toronto General Directory 1861* (Toronto, Ont.: W.C. Chewett & Co., 1861), 102. In the same directory the firm is listed under "Photographers. All are Daguerrean and Ambrotypists. See also Artists. Armstrong, Beere & Hime, 44 King st. east. [sic]" (328). The individuals Armstrong, Beere and Hime are also all listed as committee members for the Royal Canadian Yacht Club (362).

⁵⁴ "He accompanied the Wolsely expedition to the Canadian West in 1870. His earlier views of the Canadian West were probably copied after William Napier, H. L. Hime, John Palliser, and John Fleming. Armstrong became the drawing instructor at the Toronto Normal and Model Schools in 1864, and he also taught at the University of Toronto from 1872 to 1877. He won numerous prizes as an artist at provincial exhibitions, and his work was displayed at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855 and in Dublin in 1865. Also taught at the University of Toronto from 1872 to 1877. He was a member of the Royal Canadian Academy until 1887, when he resigned." William Armstrong fonds, Descriptive Database, R10980-0-9-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2016-05-23T23%3A05%3A41Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=186516&rft_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

⁵⁵ William Armstrong fonds, Descriptive Database, C 333, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/ARCH_DESCRIPTIVE/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%20126?SESSIONSEARCH

⁵⁶ Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1988), 70; J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Ont.: Toronto University Press, 1981), 125.

⁵⁷ William Armstrong fonds, Descriptive Database, Archives of Ontario.

watercolours served engineering and survey purposes by providing highly detailed and descriptive renderings of both the land and the activities that took place on it. In their descriptive capacities they highlight important geographical and topographical features as well as showing many activities being performed on that land all at once and in close proximity. Neither Reid nor Harper discusses the descriptive aspect of the watercolours in any depth, though Reid does remark that they “delight us today as records of early Canada.”⁵⁸ As documents, the scenes and the activities of those who occupy those scenes are arranged as to provide the most detail about a location in a single watercolour or sketch. The arrangement, or fabrication, of the elements of the scene, however, does not detract from the function of the watercolour or sketch to inform. Consider, for example, Armstrong’s *Numbering the Indians, Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island (Ontario), 16 August 1856* [App. 2, Fig. 50]. The watercolour provides a rendering of the features of the land, village, and inhabitants. An understanding of the significant topographical and constructed features of the area can be gained from this rendering: the valley in which the village sits and the birch trees and rocky soil that characterise the island; the four distinct types of houses, all arranged in three-quarter view in order to maximize the amount of the building shown; and, the tools, dress and social groupings of the figures. These elements, however, sit in a carefully constructed arrangement. The church is situated above the village and the two white-European figures in red at the centre of the scene, identified by the Toronto Public Library (TPL) as Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) “voyageurs,”⁵⁹ are to be understood symbolically as the ordering presence of religion and colonialism.

⁵⁸ Reid, *A Concise History*, 72.

⁵⁹ *Numbering the Indians, Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island (Ontario), 16 August 1856*. 1908, Descriptive Database, JRR 2422 Cab IV Armstrong, Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room, Toronto, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-PICTURES-R-955&R=DC-PICTURES-R-955>

Armstrong's work is a useful example of factuality in topographical drawing, particularly in light of the symbols of colonialism that find their way into watercolours such as *Numbering the Indians*. Before photography, drawings and watercolours were relied upon as visual records in their representation of the land and its inhabitants. The arrangement by the artist of elements and figures did not diminish confidence in the drawing as an accurate document. This is the case with Armstrong's watercolours and also with the watercolours, sketches, and maps produced by garrison painters such as George Heriot (1759-1839) and Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841), discussed by Reid and Harper.⁶⁰ The creation of a descriptive landscape was intensified by photography, which was understood within the context of the survey, and of scientific pursuit more broadly, as being mechanical and therefore inherently objective.⁶¹ At the same time, photography was being used to foster a specific colonial idea about the land and the people who lived on it through its dissemination both official and popular. Of course, the photograph is as objective as a topographical drawing made under similar circumstances and serving the same purposes – which is to say, not very much at all.

Dennis Reid writes of the watercolours and sketches of the garrison artists that, “much like the picturesque or topographical painting of the earlier years, the watercolours of these immigrant artists were primarily landscapes meant to be kept in portfolios.”⁶² These contexts are meaningful. Armstrong's *Numbering the Indians* can be found in at least two collections: one at

⁶⁰ Reid discusses painters settled in garrisons across British North America who were trained at the Royal Military Academy in the production of topographical views including watercolours, drawings and maps. Reid, *A Concise History*, 17-37. Likewise, Harper discusses the same set of painters in his chapter “British Army Topographers in Eastern Canada.” Harper, *Painting in Canada*, 47-55. Both Reid and Harper suggest that while the primary role of the garrison artist was for military documentation, that many of the artists were also inclined towards sketching as a gentlemanly interest, and as such were influenced by notions of the Picturesque in their rendering of the landscape.

⁶¹ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York, N.Y.: Zone Books, 2010).

⁶² Reid, *A Concise History*, 68.

the TPL, discussed above, and the other at the Archives of Ontario (AO).⁶³ Looking at the two versions of the watercolour side by side, they are at once the same and different [App. 2, Figs. 50 and 51]. The topographical features, the placement and types of structures, and even the horse to the left of the scene, are consistent in both. The arrangement of the figures, thirty-four in the TPL version and fifty-seven in the AO version, while different in number show similar social groupings. Most importantly both feature white-European figures in the centre, though in the AO version, these are not HBC voyageurs, but priests or missionary-type figures. While neither the TPL, nor the AO, is able to provide information on the accession of the watercolours or their history of prior ownership, the change of the central figures from HBC voyageurs to missionaries suggests that the watercolours were made for two different clients. An HBC executive would want to see the company as the stabilizing force in a particular area, whereas, the Church would want to see religious figures, their missionaries, in that very same role. While the visual information conveyed by these watercolours is nearly identical, their meaning changes when placed in the portfolio of a particular compiler. Photographs offered a similar flexibility in function, as the same images, or series of images, were placed in different albums. In the context of any given album, the same photograph can take on meaning dependent on the compiler's intentions and the context of circulation.⁶⁴ Realistic elements in a composition could readily be understood as fragmentary, some more important than others, depending on the user. Photographs might be composed in the same manner – elements might be assembled before the camera – but once taken, all the elements would be unified into a certain authority. In this way,

⁶³ Armstrong's watercolour exist prominently in both archive and museum collections: Coverdale Collection of Canadiana, Library and Archives Canada; Sigmund Samuel Collection of Canadiana, ROM; National Gallery of Canada; Art Gallery of Ontario; Peabody Museum, Harvard; Winnipeg Art Gallery. Archival Description, C 333, William Armstrong fonds, Descriptive Database, Archives of Ontario.

⁶⁴ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

sketches, watercolours, and photographs provide documentary and factual information, but that information can be made to support a particular reading when assembled into portfolios and albums.

The move from topographical watercolours to photography was a logical progression for Armstrong, who opened his firm in 1855 with his nephew Daniel Manders Beere (1833-1909), and was later joined by Hime. As with Armstrong's earlier work, the firm continued to pursue commissions with various railways but now with a photographic emphasis. Unfortunately, the railway work that the firm produced has not survived in any significant quantity, or at least it hasn't made its way into archival collections. LAC holds a collection of stereo views produced by Armstrong, Beere & Hime, in addition to three photographs produced for the Northern Railway: *Toronto Depot, Northern Railway of Canada, 1857-1858*;⁶⁵ *Bridge near Lake Simcoe, Northern Railway of Canada, 1857-1858*;⁶⁶ and, *View from Collingwood Depot Lake Huron, Northern Railway of Canada, 1857-1858*.⁶⁷ There is an additional photograph in the Thomas Evans Blackwell album at LAC: *View of Grand Trunk Railway engines including station buildings and people, 1858-1860* [App. 2, Fig. 52]. This album, also known as "Reminiscences of North America," has been broken apart into separate pages over time. It contains photographs by William Notman and Alexander Henderson, along with maps and watercolours, of scenes along the GTR. Blackwell was general manager and vice-president of the GTR between 1858

⁶⁵ Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *Toronto Depot, Northern Railway of Canada, 1857-1858*. Oval albumen print. e008406083, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁶⁶ Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *Bridge near Lake Simcoe, Northern Railway of Canada, 1857-1858*. Oval albumen print. e008406082, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁶⁷ Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *View from Collingwood Depot Lake Huron, Northern Railway of Canada, 1857-1858*. Oval albumen print. e008406081, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

and 1865.⁶⁸ It is important to note that Notman's and Henderson's photographs garnered much attention in exhibition, as did Armstrong's. This indicates that the circulation of photographs was not restricted to the arenas of their original commission. For example, Armstrong won prizes at the *Twelfth Annual Exhibition of the Provincial Agricultural Association* at Brantford in 1857.⁶⁹ His photographs of Lake Superior won an award at the annual Provincial Exhibition of 1862, and formed part of the Canadian display at the Dublin Exhibition in 1865.⁷⁰ And, in addition to photographing, Armstrong continued to produce numerous sketches of northern Ontario, several of which were published in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.⁷¹ The pull between the function of descriptive document and the creation of meaning through both maker and viewer as it is found in topographical watercolours and sketches was transferred to the photographs as watercolourists, such as Armstrong, took up photography, and as photographs were commissioned and compiled into albums, such as the Blackwell album, alongside watercolours.

The most significant body of photographs produced by the firm of Armstrong, Beere & Hime was a portfolio of photographs assembled and submitted in 1857 to the British Colonial Office in an effort to establish Toronto as Canada's capital. LAC holds a set of twenty-four photographs from this series and the City of Toronto Archives (CTA) holds a set of twenty-five photographs reproduced from copy negatives. A Council of the City report on June 2, 1856, suggests that initially it was understood that the submitted images were to be lithographs:

⁶⁸ Reminiscences of North America I, Blackwell Album, Descriptive Database, R3523-0-4-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=139644&rec_nbr_list=139644,102419,102428,3007569,3007530,3007571,111481,102525,3589491,3589490

⁶⁹ George Buckland, *Transactions of the Board of Agriculture and of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada*, vol. 2 (Toronto, Ont.: Thompson and Co., 1858), 344.

⁷⁰ Harper, *Painting in Canada*, 126.

⁷¹ For example: "Silver District, Thunder Bay – From a Sketch by Wm. Armstrong," *Canadian Illustrated News* 7, no. 3 (18 January 1873): 44.

That they have been in communication with Mr. Armstrong [...] upon the subject and offers to make an accurate painting of the city [...] taken from some point upon the Peninsula and to give to the council fifty lithograph views with the painting for the sum of £130 and your committee would recommend that this offer be accepted.⁷²

The portfolio contained thirteen photographs that together formed a panorama of the city, and twelve views of various important buildings, such as Trinity College and Osgoode Hall, and main streets like Yonge and Wellington. The photographs follow the same compositional rules as *Numbering the Indians*; for example a three-quarter perspective is used for buildings as well as for intersections of road, as in *Bank of British North America: north-east corner of Wellington and Yonge streets* [App. 2, Fig. 53]. In addition to their submission to the Colonial Office, the photographs, along with a painting commissioned of Armstrong and its reproduction as lithographs, were widely circulated. In a Report of the Standing Committee from March 18, 1857 it is written that:

The application of Mr. Armstrong Civil Engineer desiring to be informed if the corporation should require any more copies of his lithographic views of the city was considered. The Committee are of the opinion that the fifty copies already purchased are amply sufficient. The Committee recommend that suitable frames be procured for a portion of the said lithographic views of the city and that such views be forwarded free of expense to several of the Corporations in the United States and Canada, under the direction of His Worship the Mayor and the committee on Finance and Assessment and that the sum of sixty pounds be appropriate for that purpose including the cost of transmission.⁷³

Despite the enthusiasm of City Council over the photographic portfolio, Toronto's bid to become Canada's capital was unsuccessful.⁷⁴ However, the portfolio itself indicates Armstrong's

⁷² Report of the Select Committee, 2 June 1856, Journal of the Common Council of the City of Toronto, 63. Series 1077, City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ont.

⁷³ Report of the Standing Committee, 18 March 1857, Journal of the Common Council of the City of Toronto, 63. Series 1077, City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ont.

⁷⁴ For more on the portfolio and the role of photography in the bid for Canada's capital see: Richard J. Huyda, "Photography and the Choice of Canada's Capital," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 104-107; Joan M. Schwartz, "Photographs from the Edge of Empire," in *Cultural Geography in Practice*, edited by Alison Blunt (London, U.K.: Arnold, 2003), 154-171.

growing reputation as a photographer, as well indicating an adaptation of visual strategies from watercolour to photograph.

In the network of Napier, Armstrong, and Hime there is a clear link between topographical sketching and photography. In training Hime as surveyor, draughtsman, and photographer, both Napier and Armstrong passed on to Hime the necessary knowledge of their trade, which includes strategies of visual representation, such as those used in creating either version of the *Numbering the Indians* watercolour sketch and in the Toronto portfolio of photographs.

Henry Youle Hind's Decision to Employ a Photographer

Armstrong was active in securing large commissions such as the Toronto portfolio. He understood the documentary and topographical capabilities of photographs and made a great many efforts to promote his firm's capabilities. His professional network was vital to the firm's success. For example, there is record of correspondence between Armstrong and Sir William Logan (1798-1875), Director of the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC). In a letter from April 12, 1856 Armstrong writes:

A number of professional friends have expressed a wish to obtain from me a photographic likeness of you. You would confer a great compliment on them and myself by sitting for a few minutes.⁷⁵

On January 14, 1858, Armstrong again wrote to Logan, this time directly inquiring about work on expeditions:

⁷⁵ Letter from William Armstrong to Sir William Logan, 12 April 1856, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

I was told at the Crown Lands office yesterday that you were going to make use of photography in your future expeditions. May I solicit your good wishes for our firm, there are three of us [...] and any of us would be glad to be employed under you. We have taken prizes at all the exhibitions and in a late photography journal. In New York our work/landscape has been pronounced most excellent. Our terms these hard times must be low. Pray take this offer into your considerations and oblige.⁷⁶

Logan, however, may have passed Armstrong's request onto Henry Youle Hind. Logan was President of The Canadian Institute, of which Hind was a member and editor of its published proceedings.

Hind was both a firm believer in industrial and scientific progress and an advocate for Canadian expansionism. He served as the first editor of *The Canadian Journal: a Repertory of Industry, Science and Art* from 1852-1855, which was a record of the proceedings of The Canadian Institute, founded in 1849 and existing now as the Royal Canadian Institute for the Advancement of Science. The organization sought to bring together "Land Surveyors, Civil Engineers and Architects, practicing in the Province,"⁷⁷ but it also had a significant nationalist outlook. The introduction to the inaugural issue of *The Canadian Journal* is an almost apologetic piece on Canada's latent scientific progress, its vast potential, and the need for such associations in developing that potential:

Where may we hope to look for information relating to the Canadas if Canadians themselves do not supply the materials and furnish the record? How shall we elevate our position in the world of science and letters if the "sons of the soil" do not arouse and exert themselves?⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Letter from William Armstrong to Sir William Logan, 14 January 1858, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

⁷⁷ Henry Youle Hind, ed. *The Canadian Journal: A Repertory of Industry, Science and Art*, vol. 1 (Toronto, Ont.: Hugh Scobie for the Council of the Canadian Institute, 1852-1853): 4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

Hind's expansionist ideas were also expressed in his frequent contributions to the *Canadian Almanac and Repository of Knowledge*.⁷⁹

Exploration of, and expansion into, the interior for the purposes of settlement was a lengthy endeavour. This was in part due to the stronghold of the British colonial government and of the HBC. With the Act of the Union, the 1840s and 1850s offered much motivation for the Province of Canada to begin explorations: the gold rush and natural resources of the north west; the potential for settlement in the prairies; the threat of United States advancement north; a quickly expiring hold on the interior by the Hudson Bay Company set for 1859; and the British imperialist drive to gain access to the Pacific. Both Britain, which still had colonial control of the Province of Canada until the British North American Act of 1867, and Canadian exploratory survey operations were quick to send out expeditions.

In 1857 a joint effort by the Royal Geographical Society, the British Colonial Office, and the Hudson's Bay Company sent British military Captain John Palliser (1817-1887) and Scottish geologist James Hector (1834-1907) on what is now known as the Palliser Expeditions, which continued their exploration until 1861 as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Also in 1857, the Canadian Government commissioned its own, entirely civilian, expedition to explore and establish trade routes in the expanse westward towards the Red River. The explorations, overseen by George Gladman (1800-1863), were divided into three parties: one under Simon J. Dawson (1818-1902), another led by William H. Napier, who had supervised Hime in northern Ontario and who also produced watercolour sketches on this 1857-1858 expedition, and a third headed by Hind. The success of this tri-part expedition led to another the following year, also led

⁷⁹ Henry Youle Hind, "The Future of Western Canada," *Canadian Almanac and Repository of Knowledge* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1856): 33-36; Henry Youle Hind, "Our Railway Policy – Its Influence and Prospects," *Canadian Almanac and Repository of Knowledge* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1857): 30-33; Henry Youle Hind, "The Great North-West," *Canadian Almanac and Repository of Knowledge* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1858): 27-30.

by Hind, to venture farther west of Red River to the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan region – the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. In addition to Hind’s connection to Hime through Armstrong via Logan, and also through Napier under whom Hime worked as a chainman north of Owen Sound in 1855-1856, Hind himself was an individual on the cutting edge of scientific developments and progress so it is not surprising that he initially allocated funds in his preliminary budget to purchase photographic equipment to use on his anticipated exploring expedition.⁸⁰

Hind had an understanding of the importance of visual representation in communicating the findings of survey works. John Arnot Fleming (1835-1876), brother of Sanford Fleming (1827-1915), and topographer and draughtsman, accompanied Hind on his 1857 Red River Exploring Expedition. Fleming’s duties were to provide assistance to Hind in surveying work, but also to produce a series of sketches. Fleming would again accompany Hind on the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. It was not unusual to have a member of the party who could do double duty by also producing sketches.⁸¹ In a letter from April 10, 1858

⁸⁰ Huyda, *Camera in the Interior*, 30-31.

⁸¹ Before the invention of photography, the inclusion of an artist on topographical and exploring missions, such as the inclusion of John Arnot Fleming by Hind, was commonplace as a way to secure visual renderings of topography and specimens of interest. Sketch artists were preferable to photographers as the complexity, bulkiness, and danger of early photographic processes, like the daguerreotype, made photography a difficult and cumbersome pursuit in the field. There were few early attempts to use daguerreotypes on surveys in the United States, Edward Anthony on James Renwick’s Northeast boundary survey 1840 to 1842 and Solomon N. Carvalho on John C. Fremont’s 1852 fifth expedition from Missouri to Utah along the 38th parallel. Roger Fenton’s wet collodion glass plate negatives of the Crimean War in 1855 are widely considered the first examples of photography used in the field. Even with the development of wet-plate photography in the 1850s used by, for example, C.C. Mills who photographed under J.H. Simpson’s 1859 expedition with the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, it wasn’t until the late 1860s that photography was used more frequently and with greater success; take for example Alexander Gardner and Timothy O’Sullivan’s photographs during the Civil War. It was during this period that many of the photographs which now characterize the surveys of the nineteenth-century United States West were made: Carleton Watkins’s photographs on the 1865 California State Geological Survey, Timothy O’Sullivan on Clarence King’s 1867 to 1869 40th Parallel Survey and on George Montague Wheeler’s 1869 to 1871 100th Meridian Survey, and William Henry Jackson on Ferdinand Vandever Hayden’s 1871 Geological Survey which led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park. The latter surveys have received much scholarly attention. For comprehensive histories of early attempts at survey photography and field photography see, Martha Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004) and Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1989).

informing the Provincial Secretary of the selected expedition members, Hime is listed as photographer with a salary of 20£ per month. Hind goes on to justify his selection of Hime, writing:

Mr. Hime is a practical photographer of the firm of Armstrong, Hime and Beere, Toronto. In addition to the qualification of being an excellent photographer, he is also a practical surveyor, and it is understood that when his services are not required for the practices of his department, he is to assist in surveying operations. Mr. Hime will furnish a series of collodion negatives for the full illustration of all objects of interest susceptible to photographic delineation, from which any number of copies can be taken to illustrate a narrative of the Expedition and a report of its results.⁸²

A similar letter must have been sent to Hime, as on April 13, 1858 Hime responded to Hind in acceptance of the terms of employment and insisting on his role as photographer:

In answer to your letter [...] relative to the terms on which I am to be employed on the expedition to the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan, namely “that I occupy the position of photographer to the expedition at a salary of 20 pounds a month, all my travelling expenses being paid, that all my work shall belong exclusively to the Canadian Government, and that I shall make myself useful in every way I can” – I do hereby agree to these terms.⁸³

Since this was one of the first instances that photography was used in such a context, Hind must have felt the need to convince the Provincial Secretary of Hime’s usefulness.⁸⁴ That the idea of including a photographer was Hind’s is reinforced by two separate letters of instruction from the

⁸² Letter from Henry Y. Hind to the Provincial Secretary, 10 April 1858, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

⁸³ Letter from H.L. Hime to Henry Y. Hind, 13 April 1858, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

⁸⁴ There are two essentially identical letters both dated to 2 February 1859 written by Hind, one addressed to Charles Alleyn, Provincial Secretary of Canada East and the other to the Provincial Secretary of Canada West. It is possible that one is a draft of the other. Or, that one was to be sent to E.A. Meredith the Assistant Provincial Secretary of Canada West, to whom Hind directed a great deal of correspondence. It is interesting that in the letter to Alleyn, the word ‘photographer’ in every instance has been changed to ‘taxidermist.’ The letter indicates that the photographer/taxidermist was paid 80£ per for a total of 960£. Letter from Henry Y. Hind to Department Secretary, 2 February 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.; Letter from Henry Y. Hind to Charles Alleyn, Department Secretary of Canada East, 2 February 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

Provincial Secretary to Hind outlining the objectives of the survey in which there is no mention of producing sketches or photographs.⁸⁵

On the Expedition, Territories and Categories of Interest

Hime confirmed his participation in the survey on April 13, 1858, and on April 29 he departed Toronto for Windsor in connection with the survey. He recorded details of his travels in a diary from April 29, 1858 to November 30, 1858 [App. 3].⁸⁶ A supplemental log was kept by Hime between July 20 and July 27, 1858, in which he recorded extensive topographical measurements and descriptions from Qu'Appelle Mission, to Qu'Appelle Lake, and on to Fort Pelly along the White Mud River Road.⁸⁷ From Windsor he boarded a steamer ship and arrived in Sault Ste. Marie on May 2. The next few days were spent aboard another steamer ship travelling through Copper Harbour and Ontonagon, Michigan and to Grand Portage Bay, Minnesota by May 5. On May 6 the expedition team began their portage towards Pigeon River where they arrived on May 10, and then commenced a journey that would take them along Pigeon River and a series of small lakes that form what is now the Canadian and United States border. On May 23, the party arrived at Fort Francis at the mouth of the Rainy River. The party travelled the Rainy River westward until they reached the Winnipeg River on May 28, and Stone Fort, or Lower Fort

⁸⁵ Letter from the Provincial Secretary to Henry Y. Hind, 14 April 1858, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.; Letter from the Provincial Secretary to Henry Y. Hind, 27 April 1858, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

⁸⁶ The diary was given to the York Pioneer and Historical Society by Hime's daughter, Marion C. Hime Armstrong, in 1940 and then acquired by Library and Archives Canada in 1993. Humphrey Lloyd Hime Fonds, R3859-0-X-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁸⁷ Unlike Hime's diary, the supplemental log was kept in collection with Hind's and James A. Dickenson's surveyor's notebooks. Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition - Notebook No. 5, Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition fonds, MG1 B22/5, Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

Garry on June 2 where they remained until June 13. On June 14 the party began along the Assiniboine River, and on June 15, the party divided with Hind and Dickenson travelling by cart and Home and Fleming by water along the right bank of the river. By June 17 they had travelled approximately 100 km from Lower Fort Garry to Portage la Prairie. They left what Hime calls “this most western settlement” on June 19.⁸⁸ The party travelled across prairie that Hime refers to as sand hills, now found in the Spruce Woods National Park area. Hime, Hind, and Richard Huyda, much later, all suggest that the party travelled along the Little Souris River, however, the Little Souris today is a small river near Brandon, Manitoba. It is unlikely that this is the river that was travelled. Rather, the party travelled on what is now known as the Souris River, a large river that flows north-east through Manitoba from its south-eastern boarder with North Dakota. The party arrived at the border point, known then as the International Boundary, on July 3, after travelling close to 300 km from Portage la Prairie to Red Deer’s Head River along the Souris River. From this point, the party headed directly north towards Fort Ellice approximately 200 km away. The party again divided into groups on the way to Fort Ellice. Hime arrived on July 10, a day before the remainder of the party, staying until July 12 when they departed along the Qu’Appelle River, arriving at the Qu’Appelle Mission on July 17. On July 19, the party once again divided on their way to Fort Pelly, with Hime travelling by horseback along the North side of the river. He arrived at Fort Pelly on July 27 and spent the next several days in small exploring excursions. The teams departed on August 4 to explore the area from Fort Pelly to Oak Rivulet towards Fort Ellice, where Hime arrived on August 24 when they started on their way back to the Red River Settlement, now Winnipeg, along established cart routes. Hind arrived on September 4, a day after Hind and Dickinson, however, Fleming, did not arrive until September 16. On

⁸⁸ Humphrey Lloyd Hime, diary, Humphrey Lloyd Hime Fonds, 1858, R3859-0-X-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (19 June 1858), 36.

September 18, all of the members departed on various surveying excursions while Hind remained at the settlement with the express purpose of taking photographs. The party would reconnect on November 29 and begin their journey back towards Toronto. Hime's diary ends on November 30, 1858. The return to Toronto was a marked occasion, with Toronto's *The Globe* announcing the party's "Date of Return to Toronto on December 18, 1858."⁸⁹ [App. 22, Map 1]

In addition to his diary and log, there are forty-nine images that remain from those Hime took while traveling, forty-eight photographs and one image which exists only as an engraved reproduction in the *Illustrated London News* [App. 1]. Unfortunately, a complete set of photographs produced by Hime did not survive the expedition itself. In the introduction to his 1859 official report, or Blue Book, submitted to the Canadian government and published under the title *North-west Territory Reports of Progress; Together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, Made under Instructions from the Provincial Secretary, Canada*, Hind's disappointment with the loss of negatives is clear:

Arrangements have been made to publish a number of copies of some of the photographs taken during the exploration. It is, however, much to be regretted that the negatives of those taken on the Souris, the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle were left at Selkirk Settlement, in direct opposition to my expressed wishes. An effort to procure them during the last summer has not been successful; the box in which they were stated to have been placed, has arrived, but without containing the photographic negatives.⁹⁰

Hind put those photographs that did survive to immediate and thorough use. Trial proofs were submitted to E.A. Meredith (1817-1899), Department Secretary, on February 2, 1859 with an accompanying note stating:

⁸⁹ "Mr. Hind's Expedition," *The Globe* (28 December 1858): 2.

⁹⁰ Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, vi.

I have the honour to submit for your inspection the trial proofs of the photographs taken by Mr. Hime during the last summer in connection with the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. These photographs do not represent Mr. Hime's duties in connection with the expedition. Being by profession a surveyor he gave material assistance to Mr. Dickinson [...] Mr. Hime is preparing copies of the photographs.⁹¹

Huyda points out that it is interesting that Hind would make such a statement considering that the terms of employment specifically outline that Hime's primary duties are photography. Huyda suggests, "Perhaps this refusal to recognize Hime as a photographer was an expression of Hind's displeasure with the man and his disappointment with Hime's photographic efforts."⁹² However, it seems more likely that these words offered a more practical justification for the Government's expenditure of including Hime on the expedition to Hind's superior, the Department Secretary. Despite the loss of negatives Hind is saying that photography did not fully represent Hime's efforts in that he was also providing assistance with survey work.

Thirty-three photographs are listed as accompanying the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress* [App. 4, Table 1]. On May 31, 1859 Hind wrote to Hime informing him of the photographs' inclusion: "I am to inform you that the photographs in question were laid before Parliamentary Committee with the official report of the expedition."⁹³ The photographs are not discussed at any length in the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, with Hime and photography mentioned sparingly: in his capacity as photographer and assistant surveyor;⁹⁴ as occupying "his stay on Red River in executing a number of photographs of scenery, churches,

⁹¹ Letter from Henry Y. Hind to E.A. Meredith Department Secretary, 2 February 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

⁹² Huyda, *Camera in the Interior*, 23.

⁹³ Letter from Henry Y. Hind to Armstrong, Beere & Hime, 31 May 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

⁹⁴ Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, 39.

buildings, Indians &c., which will form an interesting collection”;⁹⁵ as taking a photograph of the valley of Red Deer’s Head River near the 49th parallel;⁹⁶ as taking “two excellent photographs, taken near the Mission, of the lakes and hills, display the chief characteristic of the valley with the fidelity which can only be attained by that wonderful art”;⁹⁷ and, as taking photographs of the Qu’Appelle Mission encampment on July 19.⁹⁸

While the photographs do not accompany the copies of the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress* as they are found in libraries and archives today, a set of photographs did accompany the reports as it was distributed to officials in its moment. In a letter to E.A. Meredith on May 4, 1859, Hind writes:

It has therefore been arranged that I am to prepare written description of the photographs and have some copies provided and bound for the Library Committee next session when I hope to receive instructions for the issue of a copy to each member of the legislature.⁹⁹

The photographs listed in the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress* are broken down thematically into seven sections: The Red River, Churches of Selkirk Settlement, Houses and Stores of the Settler, Indian Tents and Graves, The Prairie, Forts and Stores of the Honourable Hudson’s Bay Company, Native Races. Besides the initial explanation of the missing photographs at the beginning of the report, and the list of photographs accompanying the report at the end, there is very little mention of photography. There are, however, several references to Hime’s assistance in surveying work. For example where Hind writes “Mr. Hime was to explore

⁹⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 45.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 138.

⁹⁹ Letter from Henry Y. Hind to E. A. Meredith Assistant Secretary, 4 May 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

Long Lake and meet Mr. Dickinson at Fort Pelly”¹⁰⁰ and “the next morning accompanied by Mr. Hime, who has been giving me great assistance in making the survey, I rode on horseback up the valley, we could only go, however, fifteen miles, as the trees and underwood became then so marvellously dense as to make it quite impossible for horses.”¹⁰¹

An Imagistic Narrative

In addition to the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, Hind published a two-volume account of the expedition and its findings in 1860 titled *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*.¹⁰² Both volumes are heavily illustrated, featuring forty-seven illustrated plates in Volume One and forty-nine in Volume Two. Eighteen of these are direct copies or altered versions of Hime photographs. At the start and end of each volume appears an advertisement for *Photographs Taken at Lord Selkirk's* published by J. Hogarth in London indicating that the complete portfolio of photographs could be purchased separately [App. 4, Table 1].¹⁰³ This is likely the reason why photographs appear selectively in the *Narrative*. The text in Volume One of the *Narrative* follows closely that of the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*.

Photographs are, again, discussed sparingly: “The Stone Fort covers an area of about four acres,

¹⁰⁰ Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, 49.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰² Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vols. (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860).

¹⁰³ Henry Youle Hind and Humphrey Lloyd Hime, photographer, *Photographs Taken at Lord Selkirk's Settlement on the Red River of the North, to Illustrate a Narrative of the Canadian Exploring Expeditions in Rupert's Land* (London, U.K.: J. Hogarth, 1860). WA Photos 110, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Conn.

and encloses within its walls numerous buildings of which several excellent photographs were taken in 1858”;¹⁰⁴ “Two excellent photographs, taken near the Mission, of the lakes and hills, display the chief characteristic of the valley with the fidelity which can only be attained by that wonderful art.”¹⁰⁵

The *Narrative* was well received. A review in *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* from March 1861 states:

But it is an old saying that Parliament can print blue books, but it is beyond its power to make people read them; and we doubt if the “Red River” and “Assiniboine” Blue Books furnished any very notable exception to this popular dictum. Extracts and digests in the periodical press sufficed to gratify popular enquiry; a few copies were bound and placed on the shelves of both public and private libraries, both here and at home, and the remainder, it is to be feared, experienced the usual fate of Blue Books, however valuable. But the enterprising leader of those expeditions wisely conceived that the subject treated of in his two reports merited a wider and more enduring interest; and the two handsome and copiously illustrated volumes, now issued from the London press, suffice to show what good editing and liberal publishing zeal can effect.¹⁰⁶

Indeed many reviewers of the *Narrative* praised it for being a captivating read.¹⁰⁷ Much of this was credited to the illustrated plates. A reviewer in the November, 1860, issue of *The Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* writes that, “Hine [sic] while sojourning on the Red River during the fall months, took photographic views of landscapes, churches, Indians, etc.”¹⁰⁸ The U.K.’s *The*

¹⁰⁴ Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 133.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 327.

¹⁰⁶ E.J. Chapman, ed., “Reviews – Red River and Assiniboine Explorations,” *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* 6, no. 32 (March 1861): 175.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 175-176. “A soldier returned from a rough campaign, tattered, travel-stained, and way-worn, does not differ more marvellously from the hero set forth by the most fashionable of army tailors for a review or presentation at Court, than does the Blue Book of our Canadian Parliamentary press from these gay volumes, with their chromoxylographs, wood-cuts, maps, and sections. The very wood-outs which had already figured in the first issue are scarcely recognisable in their new and greatly improved aspect, under the combined effects of good paper and London printing [...] To the future historian of the extending provinces and colonies of British North America it will be indispensable as a book of reference.”

¹⁰⁸ E.J. Chapman, ed., “Canadian Expeditions to the North-West Territory,” *The Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* 5, no. 30 (November 1860): 549.

Morning Chronicle of December 26, 1860, writes of the photographs that, “Of its kind we have seen no work that can approach it.”¹⁰⁹ Also from the U.K., *The Sun* from December 17, 1860 writes that, “The work is illustrated with many woodcuts, and likewise several engravings of remarkable localities, which are executed with great skill and judgment.”¹¹⁰ The U.K.’s *The Critic* from December 22, 1860 writes that, “These volumes are plentifully furnished with maps, engravings and illustrations in chromoxylograph, and altogether possess a high value and interest as contributions to geographical science.”¹¹¹ The February, 1861, issue of *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, based in Montreal, gives the most substantial review of the photographs:

The two volumes are profusely illustrated with beautiful and artistic views of interesting localities. This book should be in all our public libraries and be carefully studied by those who interest themselves in the prosperity and extension of the Province to the westward. Distances, topography, natural productions, geological structure and climatal conditions of these regions are carefully noted. Intending emigrants will find the work invaluable.¹¹²

These types of reviews highlight popular interest in both the survey and the photographs and illustrations that resulted from it. The reviews also suggest a heightened interest in the Canadian interior, both as a site for Canadian expansion and settlement, and as a curiosity. The photographs and illustrations of the *Narrative* satiate popular curiosity about a particular geographical area and its inhabitants in which seeing is knowing.

¹⁰⁹ *The Morning Chronicle*, U.K., 26 December 1860, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 1-2.

¹¹⁰ *The Sun*, U.K., 17 December 1860, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 4.

¹¹¹ *The Critic*, U.K., 22 December 1860, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 7.

¹¹² *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, Montreal, February 1861, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 11.

In addition to the illustrations, the popularity of the *Narrative* was also attributed to the adventurous nature of Hind's account. The U.K.'s *Globe* of January 3, 1861 writes that:

Brilliant-coloured engravings, and well-designed and numerous wood-cuts, give their illustrative aid to the letter-press. Great as these recommendations are—and there are others which we have not named—Mr. Hind's manner of telling his story stands before them all. His sense of the rich beauty or wild grandeur of the scenes which he describes, and his happy adaptation of words to impressions, the serious and reflective tone of his mind, make these volumes as delightful to read as they are instructive to reflect on.¹¹³

Much of the adventurous nature of the *Narrative* was taken from Hind's account of encounters with Indigenous peoples. The U.K.'s *The Morning Post* of January 7, 1861 writes,

To the general reader, it will prove attractive for its varied and pleasing descriptions of places and scenes in the far-distant West, for the record of the many vicissitudes which attend explorers in unknown and uncivilised lands, and as bringing him into the presence of those whom he may have hitherto met only in the pages of Cooper—the North American Indians in their pure and untutored state.¹¹⁴

Likewise, the U.K.'s *John Bull* of January 19, 1861 writes that, “The glimpses given of the condition of those ancient tribes who once roved free over the prairie and forest, are full of melancholy interest.”¹¹⁵ However, if it was indeed being marketed as travel or adventure writing, of which there was much produced in this genre during this period, then there were reviewers who were disappointed. For example, in the U.K. a reviewer for *The Guardian* of January 23, 1861, writes that:

Professor Hind's work, interesting and important as in many respects it is, is not one which affords much material for the reviewer. In spite of its gay binding and coloured engravings, it partakes far more of the character of a special geographical treatise than of a book of travels. There are no amusing details of

¹¹³ *The Globe*, U.K., 3 January 1861, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 4.

¹¹⁴ *The Morning Post*, U.K., 7 January 1861, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 2.

¹¹⁵ *John Bull*, U.K., 19 January 1861, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 5.

personal adventure, no tolling bits for quotation, and in their stead we have a body of valuable but somewhat monotonous details respecting the soil and vegetation of Rupert's Land.¹¹⁶

Another reviewer from the U.K. in the *Oriental Budget* of January, 1860, writes:

If Mr. Hind had felt himself bound to make an exact report of everything that occurred from his leaving his bed on the morning of his starting, he could not more conscientiously have performed his duty than in sending the draft of these volumes to the Canadian Government. He was despatched as a geologist, and he has faithfully fulfilled his mission as such, in a properly cold and stony way. He exhibits rare qualities of labour, and the prosy exactitude of a diary, in registering, step by step, the vegetable products and the adaptation of the soil.¹¹⁷

A reviewer from *The Athenaeum* tried to provide a more balanced understanding of the *Narrative*, discussing both the Hind and Gladman expeditions:

Both had the advantage of the services of able scientific men: and their historian, although the severities of science have trammelled his pen, nevertheless tells his story in a manner to command approbation. True we look in vain for such pages of thrilling excitement as abound in Mr. Paul Kane's 'Wanderings of an Artist among the North American Indians,' but there are many passages of deep interest in Mr. Hind's volumes; while the records of his scientific labours and those of his brother officers are of great value.¹¹⁸

Paul Kane's (1810-1871) publication makes for an interesting comparison to Hind's. Kane's text contains much less analysis of the region's potential for infrastructure, agriculture, and settlement than does Hind's *Narrative*. This is due to Hind's *Narrative* being drawn from his official reports to the government that were not intended from the outset to be published as an adventure narrative. The illustrations in both publications mirror the text in this way. The colour lithographs in *Wanderings of an Artist* provide much more flourish than the chromoxylographs and woodcuts in *Narrative*. The intricate and colourful beading on the clothing of the closely

¹¹⁶ *The Guardian*, U.K., 23 January 1861, excerpted in "Opinions of the Press," supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 4-5.

¹¹⁷ *Oriental Budget*, U.K., January 1860, excerpted in "Opinions of the Press," supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 7.

¹¹⁸ *The Athenaeum*, U.K., 22 December 1860, excerpted in "Opinions of the Press," supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 8-9.

framed portraits of Indigenous subjects, as with that captioned “Portrait of a Half-breed Cree Girl” [App. 2, Fig. 54] in *Wanderings of an Artist* may have provided more visual “thrilling excitement” than, for example, the chromoxylograph reproduction of Hime’s photograph captioned “Susan: a Swampy-Cree half breed” [App. 1, Fig. 38] in which the subject occupies a only a quarter of the scene, and any intricacies of her clothing are overshadowed by the textures of the trees and ground cover in which she sits.

Also accompanying, but like the photographs not included in the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, were watercolour drawings by William Hind (1833-1889) based on the sketches by James Arnot Fleming. There are twenty watercolours grouped into six sections: Lake Winnipeg, The Saskatchewan, Lake Manitoba and St. Martin’s Lake, The Qu’Appelle or Calling River, The Little Souris or Mouse River, The Assiniboine River.¹¹⁹ William Hind (hereafter W. Hind) was Henry Youle Hind’s brother, and an accomplished painter. In a letter to E.A. Meredith from May 27, 1859, Hind discusses his choice of artist:

I have made arrangements for a series of paintings two feet by twenty inches of all the most interesting among which are a number of sketches of parts of the country which were not taken by photograph or were attempted but the photographer failed [...] Having these paintings executed and to have employed an artist in whom I place far more confidence than in Armstrong and Hime there is no reason why these gentlemen should make copies even of the photographs [...] They will be at the Provincial Fair and they should become public property, or when the photographs are published and do become in consequence public property. I do not admire Mr. Armstrong’s artistic touches – they give a false interpretation. Though I secure by this step to have taken not only a full illustration of the valley of the Saskatchewan by photographs and painting but at the same time a truthful one.¹²⁰

Truthfulness comes up again – and directly from Hind’s own words. Truthfulness, or perhaps more aptly descriptive accuracy, in the visual outputs from the survey was paramount. Hind

¹¹⁹ Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, 193-194.

¹²⁰ Letter from Henry Y. Hind to E. A. Meredith Assistant Secretary, 27 May 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

considers W. Hind's paintings to be of a more truthful nature than those of both Armstrong and Hime – “in whom I place far more confidence than in Armstrong and Hime.” W. Hind's paintings, however, were no less an interpretation of the land than Armstrong's. Both J. Russell Harper and Dennis Reid discuss W. Hind and Armstrong immediately one after the other in their writing. Both art historians also discuss W. Hind in light of a Pre-Raphaelite influence on his careful rendering of the smallest details, which is perhaps what made them more accurate and truthful for Henry Youle Hind, as well. There is no hard-and-fast rule, however. What makes it art also makes it more factual. Harper and Reid discuss only the work done by W. Hind as he accompanied Hind on his Labrador Exploring Expedition of 1860. Of the watercolours produced, Harper writes:

They contain factual details of the Indians met and precise documentation of their clothing, tools, and other artefacts. But they also romanticize the wilderness rivers and mountains, the fierce Naskapi oarsmen guiding a canoe down rapids or portaging supplies; the wild faces of the Indians compel the attention, and the whole composition is made more dramatic by the rushing water curving around the bases of dark and forbidding mountains.¹²¹

Reid writes of the same body of watercolours, suggesting that they “go far beyond their documentary function. All are remarkable works of art.”¹²² The idea that painting can be constructed and truthful at the same time was also understood about photography during this period. And, while Hind certainly did not understand the notion of a constructed photograph as it has been theorized by contemporary scholarship – choices of the photographer in composition and darkroom manipulations among many things – he did understand that a photograph could fail to accurately capture what was needed to be rendered in order to satisfy the descriptive needs of the survey.

¹²¹ Harper, *Painting in Canada*, 127.

¹²² Reid, *A Concise History*, 72.

Many of Hime's photographs were technically unsuccessful. This was a result of the difficulties of wet-plate technology in the late 1850s.¹²³ In the field, keeping things light-tight, dust free, and chemically stable was a difficult task often resulting in speckled, cracked, and in the case of the 1858 expedition, even lost photographs. Weather was also an issue. Rain, haze, and swarms of grasshoppers make for a flat, and at the very worst a failed, photograph. Perhaps the greatest weaknesses of photography in this period was movement. The rushing of water and the movement of figures could not accurately be captured by the long exposure of several seconds that was required by wet-plate photography. In those seconds, the ripples and whitecaps of rapids appear as smooth sheets. The movement of blowing greenery appears as a blur. In a way the photograph is in fact providing temporal information, that a falls or rapid was indeed rushing or that the winds were blowing. For Hind, however, blurring would have lent an inaccurate communication of the area – rapids were not smooth and any visual representation of them should demonstrate the ripples and caps. This is why the sketches produced by Fleming were still required in addition to the photographs of Hime. Indeed, many of the sketches included in the *Narrative* are water scenes.¹²⁴ Take for example the chromoxylograph captioned “Beginning of Great Dog Portage” on page 40 of Volume One of Hind's *Narrative* [App. 2, Fig. 55]. The falls, the current, the paddling movement of the canoe party, and the figures mid-step in an uphill portage, would likely not have appeared in any clarity had the scene been photographed. Arranging the components of a scene to indicate the various stages of an activity was used in Hime's photographs as they were adapted and reproduced in the *Narrative* as either chromoxylographs or woodcuts. In Hime's photograph reproduced as a woodcut captioned “Fort

¹²³ Richard Huyda, “Part III. Landscape Photography in the 1850s,” in *Camera in the Interior: 1858* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1975), 35-51.

¹²⁴ The bulk of the sketches of landscapes are included in Volume One of Hind's *Narrative*. In Volume Two, the sketches are primarily of specimens – rocks, shells, leaves.

Ellice – Beaver Creek” [App. 1, Fig. 7], two figures have been added in addition to the original figure sitting to the right: one in the process of building a tepee, and the other sitting in it. As in the chromoxylograph of the portage, which displays the many stages of moving from water to land, the adaptation of Hime’s photograph shows both the construction and use of the tepee, as well as the use of figures for scale in the built structure and in the landscape.

Sketches and watercolours such as Fleming’s were considered accurate enough to satisfy the representational needs of the survey. This was in spite of those liberties taken by the sketch artist. Detail added after the fact, and often by someone different, or details from various moments and actions combined into a single scene were acceptable. That one team in “Beginning of Great Dog Portage” would be already actively underway with a portage as the other team is still working to reach the shore is unlikely, as, among any number of possibilities, the parties would have had to redistribute cargo in order to make the portage. That Fleming could have so accurately captured the scenery and the action of the figures in the short moments when those actions were taking place is also unlikely – the details were added onto the sketch over time. While Hind regarded his brother’s work as having fewer “artistic touches” than that of William Armstrong, it was no less a constructed scene. Take for example W. Hind’s sketch reproduced as a chromo-lithograph, captioned “An Escape at the Fourth Rapid” [App. 2, Fig. 56]. The sketch was made on an 1861 expedition up the Moisie River in Québec led by Henry Youle Hind and was included in his 1863 account of the expedition *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula*, 1863.¹²⁵ In a review of the publication in the *Illustrated London News*, a reviewer writes of W. Hind’s sketches:

¹²⁵ Henry Youle Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula: The Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians*, 2 vols. (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1863).

Such as his story is, Mr. Hind tells it well and simply. [...] Its picturesqueness is much increased by the obvious accuracy of the illustrations made by Mr. William Hind, the draughtsman of the expedition.¹²⁶

This demonstrates a trust in the sketch, something that had been built up over centuries of understanding topographical sketches as having documentary and descriptive value. During this very same moment, while the photograph was understood as having great potential to be an accurate document, aspects of it did not satisfy what was visually expected from a document. As we will see, just over ten years later, Benjamin Baltzly's photographs of blurred and rushing cascades would be understood, or at the very least aesthetically admired, but in the moment of the 1858 survey, the blur would be read not as a temporal indicator, but as a detriment. The photograph could not be read as it would be even just ten years from this 1858 moment, or as topographical sketches and watercolours were read as familiar methods of documentation.

Hime frequently mentions in his diary that he unsuccessfully attempted to make a photograph. In the entry for June 24, 1858, he writes, "The grasshoppers swarming where we breakfasted. They eat through the saddles, quilts, canvas and leather bags, tents, coats, and everything that was not made of iron. Tried to take a pho. [photograph] but failed, very vexing."¹²⁷ June 24 included, there are only nine entries in which he mentions photography or his photographic equipment.¹²⁸ Of the forty-nine photographs known to have been taken by Hime,

¹²⁶ Dominique Bartholemy, "Explorations in Labrador," *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* 17, no. 431 (30 January 1864): 140-141.

¹²⁷ Hime, diary, (24 June 1858), 40.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, (24 May 1858), 17. "Took first photographs of Indians and canoes"; (24 June 1858), 40. "Tried to take a pho. [photograph] but failed, very vexing"; (26 June 1858), 41. "Stopped to work. Took pho. [photograph] of valley"; (3 July 1858), 46 "Took a pho. [photograph] at camp"; (12 July 1858), 59. "Took phos [photographs] of valley"; (18 July 1858), 68. "Took a pho. [photograph] of junction of rivers but tent blew down and destroyed it"; (19 July 1858), 68. "Took several phos. [photographs] of valley etc."; (27 July 1858), 79. "...the first cart, men horse and all upset in the rapid and I had the satisfaction of beholding my photographic apparatus, my gun, my clothes and all my little property submerged. After considerable struggling the horse was let loose and swam down the river while the cart was dragged ashore. The things were fortunately tied well in the cart so none of them were lost"; (18 September 1858), 107. "I remain here to take phos. [photographs]."

attaching each one to a specific date based on his diary is not possible. Furthermore, if he makes several photographs, as he did on July 12 where he wrote, “Took phos [photographs] of valley,”¹²⁹ we are not informed of how many. In fact, Hime’s diary develops an experience that is very different from the photographs he took. The photographs take on a draughtsman-like quality. The dominant subjects are the forts, churches, and structures encountered on the expedition. Indeed, the reason for this is that those structures do not move, making it easier to capture a sharp photograph over the long exposure needed to make it. If there are trees in the photograph, these are often blurred by movement, and unless added in their translation to engraving, the sky is flat and without clouds. These differences become apparent when placing the photographs alongside their reproductions in the *Narrative*. Take, for example, the photograph *Birch Bark Tents* [App. 1, Fig. 29 (L)] where the spindly trees and empty sky have been filled out in their reproduction, not to mention the addition of figures [App. 1, Fig. 29 (R)]. The draughtsman-like quality is observed in Hime’s vantage point: he positions himself to take three-quarter views, like the photographs in Armstrong, Beere & Hime’s Toronto portfolio, as in our example of the *Bank of British North America* [App. 2, Fig 53] or Armstrong’s *Numbering the Indians*. However, unlike the photographs in the Toronto portfolio, the structures in Hime’s photographs appear in an unusual landscape where an empty horizon stretches in every direction. A photograph such as *St. Andrew’s Church (Rapids Church), sixteen miles below Fort Garry (Church of England)* [App. 1, Fig. 22] presents a familiar structure in a familiar manner in a then unfamiliar landscape.

Both Karen Stanworth and Gillian Poulter have examined the ways in which the idea of an unfamiliar Canadian landscape was visually organized through British scientific reasoning,

¹²⁹ Ibid., (12 July 1858), 59.

military ordering, tourism, and performativity. For example, in her discussion of indigenous difference Stanworth writes that there were attempts to “remove the strangeness residing in disparate objects so as to articulate the desired tale of a nation unified under the progressive mantle of Victorian England.”¹³⁰ In her discussion of the way the landscape was used and performed, namely by the Montreal Snow Shoe Club during the nineteenth century, and thereby made familiar Poulter writes that such performative acts were akin to what “studies of tourism have pointed out that nineteenth-century travellers attempted to understand foreign landscapes by likening them to those with which they were already familiar.”¹³¹ Indeed, Hime’s photographs echo this process. His photographs attempt to visually order the prairie landscape and the structures and people found within it according to his training as a photographer and draughtsman. However, the photograph here is unique amongst other visual modes of representation in that no further additions can be made to it – Gilpin’s “adornments” – in the effort to turn the unfamiliar into the familiar. The photograph can only present what was there in front of the camera when the photograph was taken with little opportunity to cover up or downplay the unusual. It is in this ability to be at once familiar and unfamiliar, known and unknown, that made a photograph such as such as *St. Andrew’s Church* exhilarating to a collective imagination that desired adventure, but wanted it delivered in a familiar way.

Landscape as Experience

¹³⁰ Karen Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian: Imaging Collective Identities in the Canadas, 1820-1910* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 136.

¹³¹ Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal, 1840-1885* (Vancouver, B.C: UBC Press, 2009), 41.

In his diary Hime does not describe any of the landscapes as he approaches them photographically, or what his intentions are when setting up to take a photograph. He does however, describe the landscape as a traveller imbedded within it. He describes travelling through mud, incessant grasshoppers and mosquitos, hunting adventures, camp life, scalp dances, and shootouts. His role as a photographer and as assisting in topographical assessment seem incidental to what is, instead, an adventure. The nineteenth century saw a proliferation of travel and adventure writing in Canada: George Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas* (1807), George Head's (1782–1855) *Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America; being a Diary of a winter's route from Halifax to the Canadas* (1829), Anna Brownell Jameson's (1794-1860) *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), and Colonel J.E. Alexander's (1803-1885) *L'Acadie: Or Seven Years' Explorations in British America* (1849), to name only a few. These publications were often illustrated, combining topographical description of the land with experiential description. For example, in his *Travels through the Canadas*, Heriot uses the words 'picturesque' and 'sublime' frequently throughout his descriptions of the land. He does not precisely define how he understands these terms, but they can be understood contextually. In describing the Saint Nicholas River in Quebec, he writes, "on the opposite coast, at the mouth of the small Saint Nicholas, a charming combination of picturesque objects is afforded."¹³² Throughout his writing 'picturesque' is used in discussions of arrangements of features – streams, falls, and hills – often "charming" in nature. This is distinct from his use of the word "sublime," which comes with a more experiential quality. For example, in describing a section of Niagara Falls, Heriot writes, "casting the eye from the Table Rock into the basin beneath, the effect is awfully grand, magnificent and sublime. No object intervening between the spectator

¹³² George Heriot *Travels through the Canadas, Containing a description of the Picturesque Scenery on some of the Rivers and Lakes; with an account of the productions, commerce, and inhabitants of those provinces* (London, U.K.: Richard Phillips, 1807), 99.

and that profound abyss, he appears suspended in the atmosphere.”¹³³ These words are not unusual in topographic work, in fact Hind frequently describes the landscape as “sublime”¹³⁴ or “magnificent”¹³⁵ in his official reports. For example, Hind makes a point of describing the landscape, though not in relation to any specific photograph, where he writes, “At 8 P.M., the sky was quite free from clouds; the comet shone with brilliant lustre, a flashing aurora gradually spread over the northern sky, the stars glittered like diamonds in the south, and the whole heavens assumed that aspect of silent beauty which renders night in the wilderness so impressive and sublime.”¹³⁶ Such words are not used in a philosophical sense; they are common language used to convey the scope and impressive nature of the sights encountered. However, they do indicate that there was an active process of mediating of the land that was taking place through both the ordering and experience of it.

The watercolours that are printed in Heriot’s publication are predominantly landscape scenes of large bays and waterfalls, with the occasional structure and human presence. Some of the compositional strategies that are found in Armstrong and W. Hind’s work are also observed in Heriot’s. Take, for example, Heriot’s *Danse Ronde, Circular Dance of the Canadians* [App. 2, Fig. 57], the structure in the background appears at three-quarter view and the figures demonstrate various actions occurring within the same space. The influence of Heriot, who numbers among Reid’s garrison artists, along with James Pattison Cockburn (1779-1847) and Thomas Davies (1737-1812), on later sketch and watercolour artists working in the field seems obvious. The enduring tradition of topographical drawing of eighteenth-century Britain was

¹³³ Ibid., 160.

¹³⁴ Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, 47, 96.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 42, 44.

¹³⁶ Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 53.

firmly in place and unrivalled in Heriot's and Hime's moment as a method of visually representing the landscape in the context of science and exploration.¹³⁷ Hime was a participant in this tradition through his training as a draughtsman under Napier and particularly in his relationship with Armstrong. The watercolours and sketches of the garrison artists were widely known. Reid writes of Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas* that, "a classic Canadian contribution to the picturesque travel book, it was popular enough to appear in a pirated edition in 1809 and was reissued in the United States in 1813."¹³⁸ With such popularity, it is likely that Hime was aware of Heriot, or at least broadly aware of the adventure and exploration writing being produced in the first half of the nineteenth century. While there is no hard evidence that Hime kept with the intention of publishing his diary – journal writing was a standard means of record keeping in exploration – his lack of notes on measurements of pressure, temperature, elevation, combined with his extensive detailing of wolf and buffalo hunts and late night marauders, give his diary the subject and feeling of adventure writing.

In addition to hunting and exploration, encounters with Indigenous groups take a prominent place in much of the writing and visual production produced during this period. European explorers had made portraits of Indigenous subjects as early as the seventeenth century. To offer just two examples, Catholic missionary Père Jean Pierron's (1631-1700) painting *La France apportant la foi aux Hurons de la Nouvelle France* (c.1670) and William

¹³⁷ This is a well-trodden area of study. In Canada scholars such as Reid and Russell have acknowledged the British influence in Canadian visual output. In Britain the scholarship in this area has been plentiful. Recently the Victoria and Albert Museum mounted side by side exhibitions *The Art of Seeing Nature: The Oil Sketches of John Constable* from 17 December 2012 to 22 September 2013; and, '*So Peculiarly English*': *Topographical Watercolours from the V&A Collection* from 7 June 2012 to 12 March 2013, which were accompanied by a publication authored by Katherine Coombs, *British Watercolours: 1750-1950* (London, U.K.: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2012). This recent scholarship builds on the more socially sensitive scholarship of the 1980s with studies such as John Barrell's *The Darkside of the English Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1980) and Ann Birmingham's *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1986).

¹³⁸ Reid, *A Concise History*, 21.

Berczy's (1744-1813) painting of *Joseph Brant* (1805) are, like Armstrong's *Numbering the Indians*, replete with connotations of colonial assimilation, domination, and control. Beginning with seventeenth-century painting, the notion of "civilising" through religion and through the infrastructure of colonial expansion like forts and trading posts, framed Indigenous peoples as "others" who could be controlled, assimilated, and eradicated. This was, contrastingly, in the face of a common understanding of Indigenous people as unpredictable, primitive, and savage, and therefore a threat to exploration and settlement. Visual works done in the context of documentation highlight this double-edged understanding of the Indigenous subject. There have been a number of recent critical studies focused on the photographs of Indigenous people in Canadian survey and documentary work, namely Carol Payne's essay "Through a Canadian Lens" in *Canadian Cultural Poesis* in which she argues that nineteenth- and twentieth-century survey photographs were produced to "to buttress governmental authority" and worked to "justify Aboriginal acculturation";¹³⁹ and, Joan Schwartz in her discussion of Hime's *The Prairie, Looking West* [App. 1, Fig. 44 (L)] in which she writes that "the presence of a skull – which, by Victorian standards of morality, could only have been that of an Indian – and an animal bone symbolized the disappearance of the physical threats to westward territorial expansion," an idea that would aid Hind in actualizing his expansionist vision.¹⁴⁰

Hind's drive for Canadian expansion and settlement was made very clear by Hind himself in the writings he left behind through his surveying work, *The Canadian Journal*, and the *Canadian Almanac*. However, it is difficult to assess how much influence and direction Hind had over Hime in making and naming the photographs. For example, *The Prairie, Looking West*

¹³⁹ Carol Payne, "Through a Canadian Lens: Discourses of Nationalism and Aboriginal Representation in Governmental Photographs," in *Canadian Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture*, eds. Garry Sherbert, Annie G rin and Sheila Petty (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2006), 422.

¹⁴⁰ Joan M. Schwartz, "More Than 'Competent Description,'" 120.

has been dated by Huyda and LAC records to September-October 1858.¹⁴¹ However, Hind and Hime, according to Hime's diary, were only together between September 4 and September 18 as Hime was left at Fort Garry without other survey members for the greater part of September, October and November. It seems likely that in the few days when Hind was also at the fort, he would have been occupied in administrative duties and preparing for his trip through Lake Winnipeg. Hime makes no mention of taking such photographs, nor does Hind in his report. Analysis of who made the decisions in staging and photographing *The Prairie, Looking West* remains speculative.¹⁴² While a reading of the photographs in light of Hind's desire to promote a vision of territorial expansion free of threat and ready for settlement produces one understanding of the photographs, reading the photographs in light of Hime's diary provides an additional nuance to both the visual and historical context of the photograph's creation. Though Hime did not write in a significant way about the photographs, he did write extensively about his encounters with Indigenous groups and individuals, and his feelings about those encounters, quite contrary to Hind's perspective. Much of Hime's writing characterises the Indigenous groups he met along the journey as violent and squalid. Some of this comes from word of mouth. For example when Hime writes:

One of their men informed us that the Blackfeet and Cree Indians had made peace, but immediately after the meeting the Cree stole horses from the Blackfeet who went in pursuit and killed 2 Cree and caught another, then boring holes through his wrists they passed a thong through them and tying them behind his back they stripped him naked and sent him adrift in the plain. It is always thus with these Indian tribes, peace one moment, deadly war the next."¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Photographic record-keeping on this expedition is somewhat lacking. Unlike Baltzly, Hime scarcely uses his diary to track his photographs. It is possible that a master list was left missing along with the glass-plate negatives that never made their way from the Red River Settlement to Toronto. I have kept the dates ascribed to the photographs by Huyda, as can be seen in Appendix 1, with only a few exceptions where I have found evidence in Hime's own writing that the photograph may have been produced elsewhere.

¹⁴² Joan M. Schwartz, "More Than 'Competent Description,'" 120.

¹⁴³ Hime, diary, (16 July 1858), 62.

Or when he writes,

Heard of the death of one of the Red River traders. He was coming from St. Paul's with his carts and was driving ahead with another man in his buggy when near Pembina Mountain he was shot from behind by a party of Sioux, the other man jumped out and tried to escape, but was killed and scalped. Camped. A good many Indians about. Scalp dance going on at night.¹⁴⁴

The acts featured in these types of stories are confirmed in some of Hime's own experiences, for example on the night of July 3, when a surprise intruder looking to steal the party's horses sent the camp into a defensive panic. Or, when he writes: "Met 3 Indians with a cart and 2 squaws on their way to Red River. 2 of the men were in the cart, while the 2 poor young frightened looking little squaws as usual had to trudge on foot through rivers and bogs and one of them had a papoose on her back,"¹⁴⁵ and "Here there is an awful specimen of an old white-headed Chippewa with a bandage across his face to hide the disgusting remains of a nose the point of which has been bitten off in a drunken Indian row."¹⁴⁶ If the Indigenous figure is not portrayed as violent, he or she is described as naïve and child-like, often verging on comedic. For example, when he writes, "one of our Indians on leaving the room after dinner commenced brushing his hair diligently before a larger pier glass with the crumb brush to the intense horror and amazement of the waiters."¹⁴⁷ And, where there was a need, Indigenous figures are seen as knowledgeable about the conditions of the land, offering advice as on May 26, "The Indians say the good land extends inward on the British side from an hour's to a day's journey the navigation is only obstructed by three easy rapids and the falls at Ft. Francis."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., (1 September 1858), 102.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., (22 August 1858), 93.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., (10 July 1858), 58.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., (1 May 1858), 3.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., (26 May 1858), 20.

These characterisations, based on stories and experience, fit with Hind's perception of Indigenous people. For example, in Volume Two of his *Narrative*, Hind provides much ethnographic discussion of Cree and Sioux peoples. Illustrations are not explicitly discussed, but are adjacent to related text. For example, a woodcut captioned "'The Fox' – Chief of the Plain Cree" [App. 2, Fig. 58] accompanies the text:

The great chief of the Plain Crees is styled " the Fox"; he is held in high estimation by all the Plain Indians with whom he comes in contact, either in peace or war. He is dreaded by the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Bloodies, the Fall Indians, the Assiniboines, and the tribes who occasionally hunt on the Grand Coteau de Missouri and the South Branch of the Saskatchewan. The barbarous and cruel treatment of prisoners so often described in narratives of Indian warfare, is common even now in the prairies south of the Qu'appelle and the Assiniboine. On that part of Red River which lies in the State of Minnesota, Indian warfare, with all its horrors, is constantly carried on between the Ojibways and Sioux.¹⁴⁹

These feelings seemed to have reflected those of the greater public. Contemporaneous reviews of Hind's *Narrative* express agreement with Hind. In Canadian reviews of the *Narrative*, discussions of Indigenous subjects tend to be framed within the history and on-going process of settlement. For example in *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist* the *Narrative* is described as: "Intending emigrants will find the work invaluable."¹⁵⁰ In *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art* a review states: "Indian customs, superstitions, and general characteristics, as well as the history of the curious mixed population growing up within the Company's territories, supply materials for another series of chapters."¹⁵¹ In British reviews, the tone is distinctly more dramatic. For example in *The Morning Post*, the usefulness of the *Narrative* is described as: "To the general reader, it will prove attractive for its varied and pleasing descriptions of places and

¹⁴⁹ Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 126.

¹⁵⁰ *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, Montreal, February 1861, excerpted in "Opinions of the Press," supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 11.

¹⁵¹ *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art*, Toronto, March 1861, excerpted in "Opinions of the Press," supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 12.

scenes in the far-distant West, for the record of the many vicissitudes which attend explorers in unknown and uncivilised lands, and as bringing him into the presence of those whom he may have hitherto met only in the pages of Cooper—the North American Indians in their pure and untutored state.”¹⁵² And, in *John Bull*, we find a melodramatic turn: “The glimpses given of the condition of those ancient tribes who once roved free over the prairie and forest, are full of melancholy interest.”¹⁵³ The differences between Canadian and British reviews can be linked to intent. Canadian responses aimed to encourage Western settlement by those already in Canada; and British responses hoped to entice those from Britain with more adventurous perspectives. In a review also by *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* of Hind’s official report, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, the description of Indigenous life as understood through Hind is drastically negative:

The picture he draws of the Red Man, exhibits in no very flattering aspect, the improvident, superstitious, and treacherous savage, whom civilization visits only to exterminate [...] Thus we perceive that the poor Indian learns as little as the Buffalo, to profit by experience, or to adopt from the white settlers any of those simplest arts of civilization, whereby the whites, though as yet a mere handful among the Indian Tribes of the vast territory, are destined to be their supplanters.¹⁵⁴

These are the popular perspectives formed directly out of the expedition ephemera and are as close as a contemporary researcher can get to filling out popular understandings of the Indigenous peoples encountered within the context of the 1858 survey. While it is easy to suggest that Victorian society as a whole shared the view of the “treacherous savage” and to apply such a perspective to the context of the survey, here we move from the context of the

¹⁵² *The Morning Post*, U.K., 7 January 1861, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 2.

¹⁵³ *John Bull*, U.K., 19 January 1861, excerpted in “Opinions of the Press,” supplement to Hind, *Narrative* (Toronto, Ont.: Maclear & Co., 1861), 5.

¹⁵⁴ E.J. Chapman, ed., “Reviews – North West Territory,” *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* 5, no. 26 (March 1860): 187-195.

survey outward to a dissemination of ideas through readership of Hind directly, and those reading the circulated reviews.

But, what about Hime's photographs produced during the survey? Do they contribute to the construction of the "treacherous savage" in the same way as text? Of the forty-seven illustrated plates included in Volume One of the *Narrative*, fourteen chromoxylographs and thirty-three woodcuts, only five have a central subject that is Indigenous, and only three of these are based on Hime photographs.¹⁵⁵ The descriptions provided are ethnographic in nature, observing and describing Indigenous peoples' cultures and ways of life. For example, of the plate captioned "Ojibways at Fort Frances, Rainy River" [App. 1, Fig. 2] based directly from Hime's photograph, Hind writes:

The great enemies to extended cultivation are the Lac la Pluie Indians. They are not only numerous, but very independent; and although diminishing in numbers, they frequently hold near Fort Frances their grand medicine ceremonies, at which 500 and 600 individuals sometimes assemble. The number of Indians visiting this fort for the purpose of trade, reaches 1,500. They do not scruple to jump over the fences, and run through the growing crops, if the ball in their games is driven in that direction.¹⁵⁶

The descriptions, while providing useful information, such as numbers of individuals who settle or frequent a particular location, and the purpose and activities that occur at a particular place like Fort Francis, often move from information to opinion. For example, the text which accompanies the plate captioned "Ojibway Tents on the Banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement" [App. 1, Fig. 29], where figures have been added to Hime's photograph in its reproduction, states:

¹⁵⁵ "Ojibways at Fort Frances, Rainy River," based on Hime photograph, Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 83; "Prairie Portage, Assiniboine River," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 145; "Birch-bark Tents, west Bank of Red River, Middle Settlement," based on Hime photograph with seated Indigenous figure added, Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 200; "Ojibway Tents on the Banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement," Hime photograph with Indigenous figures added, Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 202; "Driving Buffaloes into the Pound," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 358.

¹⁵⁶ Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 83.

The heathen Indians held their dog feasts and medicine dances on the open plain. In one instance five dogs were slaughtered, cooked and devoured; in another instance three; the evil spirit was invoked, the conjuror's arts used to inspire his savage spectators with awe, and all the revolting ceremonies belonging to the most degraded heathen superstition practised.¹⁵⁷

And of the plate captioned "Driving Buffaloes into the Pound" [App. 2, Fig. 59], based on a sketch by John Fleming, Hind writes:

The dying struggles of so many huge and powerful animals crowded together, create a revolting and terrible scene, dreadful from the excess of its cruelty and waste of life, but with occasional displays of wonderful brute strength and rage while man in his savage, untutored, and heathen state shows both in deed and expression how little he is superior to the noble beasts he so wantonly and cruelly destroys.¹⁵⁸

The forty-nine illustrated plates, six chromoxylographs and forty-three woodcuts, included in Volume Two of the *Narrative* take on a significantly more ethnographic connotation in that they are arranged and used as specimens.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, they are even followed by representations of botanical specimens such as "Ammonites Billingsi"¹⁶⁰ and "Avicula Nebrascana."¹⁶¹ Where in

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 358-359.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ "Susan," from a Hime photograph, Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 27; *Wigwam*, from a Hime photograph, "Our Ojibway half-breed, Wigwam, insisted upon carrying the sledge hammer in addition to his pack, declaring that he was accustomed to quaking bogs, and we should have enough to do to get across without carrying anything that might impede our progress," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 52; "Skin Tents, Cree; Birchbark Tents, Ojibway," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 63; "Snow Shoes," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 85; "Sioux Dress and Moccasins," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 105; "Sioux Knife Sheath," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 119; "Indian Hunters' Tents in the rear of Fort Garry," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 121; "Sioux Scalp from the Graves at Red River," "But to be an eyewitness of a scalp dance, or a skull dance, is more than sufficient to press home the conviction that the fiendish passions so faithfully described by Cooper, still find expression in violent gesture, loud vociferation, triumphant song and barbarous feasting, with undiminished strength and bitterness, even after a century's intercourse with civilized man," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 124; "An Ojibway Squaw with Papoose," from a Hime photograph, Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 123; "The Fox, Chief of the Plain Crees," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 126; "Cree Medicine Bag," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 128; "Medicine Rattle," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 132; "Tobacco Pipes of the Swampys of Lake Winnipeg," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 139; "Tobacco Pipes of the Ojibways of Rainy Lake, &c," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 139; "Sioux Pipe," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 140; "Chipewyan (1 and 2), Plain Cree (3), and Blackfoot (4) Pipes," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 140; "Babeen Pipes," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 141; "Cree Fire Bags," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 143; "Bows and Arrows," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 144; "Indian Graves covered with Split Sticks, from a Hime photograph," Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 164; "Indian Graves," from a Hime photograph, Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 166.

¹⁶⁰ Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 2, 315.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 343.

Volume One the illustrated plates are primarily of landscapes or scenes where an action is taking place, in Volume Two the focus is placed on a single, isolated subject or object. There are twenty-one illustrated plates of Indigenous subject matter. Seventeen of these are drawings presented explicitly as specimens – the same as one would find in a nineteenth-century book on geology or plants and animals. Four are portraits of a single individual, all Indigenous, and all four copies from Hime photographs.

The ordering and framing of the reproduced photographs by text is where Hind's influence emerges. This was a meaning-making process that occurred in the writing and ordering of the *Narrative*, after the photographs were taken – regardless of whether or not there was a premeditated objective. The portraits in particular expose a tension between the way that the photographs were used in reports and publication, and the conditions of their creation. Hime's first attempt to photograph an Indigenous subject was on May 24 at Fort Frances, very early in his expedition. He writes:

Took first photographs of Indians and canoes. Tried to get the interior of a wigwam, but the inhabitants were out hurrying their children into the bath and could not be induced to remain inside at any price. They imagined that the photographs were great medicine and that by their means we would take their land and destroy themselves and their children.¹⁶²

Hime is an intruder here, and he must have been made to feel – intentionally or not – very unwelcome if he got the idea that no amount of payment would allow him access. Hime's writing suggests a bit of self-consolation, suggesting that the group he wished to photograph were fearful of the camera and of the explorers and settlers to whom that technology belonged. However, the writing also works to humanize the subjects. They were too preoccupied with caring for their children and that no price could interrupt the daily routines of family life. The

¹⁶² Hime, diary, (24 May 1858), 17.

fear is framed to include not only land, but also children, as things that could be harmed – a parental care for the well-being of their children.

This quote from Hime’s diary refers to a photograph that was never taken. However, it has been used in some iterations, and both in Hime’s time and ours, to caption two photographs: “Ojibway Encampment at Rainy River,” which exists only as an engraved reproduction in *The Illustrated London News* [App. 1, Fig 1]; and the photographic portrait of *Wigwam* [App. 1, Fig. 39 (L)]. In the October 16, 1858 issue of *The Illustrated London News*, the photograph is accompanied by a lengthy text on the function of Iroquois and Cree guides during the expedition, interesting facts and stories learned by the expedition party, and the following paragraph:

When an attempt was made to take a photograph of the interior of one of the lodges, several squaws, who were seated with their children round the fires, instantly rose, and, driving the children before them, hastened off to the neighbouring forest, and no arguments of presents could induce them to remain. They said that “the white man wanted to take their pictures and send them far away to the great chief of the white men, who would make evil medicine over them, and when the pictures were sent back the Indians who were drawn would all perish. They know this was how the white man wanted to get rid of the Indians and take their land.” Many of the men had this impression, and carefully moved out of reach of the camera.¹⁶³

This text closely, but not exactly, resembles Hime’s diary entry. It was Hind who submitted the photographs and text directly for submission to *The Illustrated London News*, something he had intended to do even before the expedition’s start.¹⁶⁴ The text as it appears in the publication, or any description of this encounter at all, does not appear in Hind’s *North-west Territory Reports*

¹⁶³ “The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition,” *The Illustrated London News* 33, no. 941 (16 October 1858): 367.

¹⁶⁴ Letter from Henry Y. Hind to the Provincial Secretary, 23 April 1858, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “I respectfully ask permission to endeavour to make arrangements with Dr. [Charles] Mackay, the Editor in Chief of the Illustrated London News, and now in this city, to have published in his Illustrated London News a series of sketches of the forts belonging to the Hon. Hudson’s Bay Co., of Indians and of scenery, either drawn by hand or taken by photograph during the exploration of the valleys of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan under my charge. I would suggest that each sketch or photograph be accompanied by a brief description furnished by myself and in all instances sent to Toronto for your inspection and approval before transmission to London.”

of *Progress* or in either volume of his *Narrative*. There is either a missing link, or Hime's diary was used by Hind in generating captions to accompany the photographs in their publications.

The text has been fundamentally altered from Hime to Hind. The notion of protecting children has been eliminated: "They imagined that the photographs were great medicine and that by their means we would take their land and destroy themselves and their children" has been changed to "They know this was how the white man wanted to get rid of the Indians and take their land." This caption has again been changed in more recent uses of it, and again, for a different photograph. In the catalogue for the NGC's 1993 exhibition *Magicians of Light*, James Borcoman writes of the photographic portrait of *Wigwam* [App. 1, Fig. 39 (L)] that, "The native people of Red River accused the explorers of taking their photographs in order to deprive them of their lands through black magic. In spite of this, Wigwam, a Métis guide with a French father and Chippewa mother, exhibits both confidence and serenity before the lens."¹⁶⁵ Hime's original understanding is diminished, while Hind's is amplified. The word "medicine" here changed to "magic" and any emphasis on children eliminated in favour of a focus on land. This is not to say that Hime was particularly sensitive, or conversely any less convinced of the idea of the "treacherous savage." His writing, as discussed above, makes clear that he understood the danger of travelling through Indigenous peoples' land and was convinced of the Indigenous person as savage in their ongoing warring and in practices such as scalping. The point is, however, that in publication and re-contextualization from Hind to Borcoman, Hime's own diary has been slighted or at least underutilized in assessing the photographer's own experience in shaping the photographs. It is valuable to pause on this in light of the photograph's documentary authority. A photograph that was never actually taken has left an enduring imprint on the understanding of the

¹⁶⁵ James Borcoman, *Magicians of Light: Photographs from the Collection of the National Gallery of Canada* (Ottawa, Ont.: National Gallery of Canada, 1993), 74.

photographs that came out of the survey. Disseminated to the readership of *The Illustrated London News*, and surfacing again in recent scholarship around the photographs, the idea is more important than the image itself. The same idea seems true of the topographical watercolours that were understood as documents – the features they represent and ideas that they present are valued more than the image itself, and so the image, such as in Armstrong’s *Numbering the Indians*, can change while the information remains.

The Portrait of John McKay

Photographic imaginings have shaped how the photographs were used and understood from Hind to the NGC. By using Hime’s diary to illuminate the photographs, knowledge can be gained on the relationship between the survey party and their Indigenous guides and encounters. There were several Indigenous guides attached to the survey.¹⁶⁶ Hime does not mention these guides in any way beyond occasional survey tasks, and when the party divided, how many guides accompanied each smaller expedition. An Indigenous presence – Iroquois, Cree, Ojibway, Métis – is evident from the beginning of Hime’s diary, but individuals are rarely named. The exception is John McKay, described in Hind’s *Narrative* as “a Scotch half-breed.”¹⁶⁷ The friendship that developed between these two men stemmed from Hime’s respect for McKay as a hunter, helping Hime to hunt down a buffalo on July 8; from McKay’s willingness to have fun racing horses and

¹⁶⁶ In listing the expedition members, Hind notes that “the voyageurs were composed of twelve Iroquois Indians from Caughnawaga, near Lachine, a Scotchman from Ottawa, a French Canadian from Collingwood, a French Canadian (Lambert) from Fort William, a half-breed, engaged on board the steamer Collingwood, where he was employed in the capacity of cook, and twelve Ojibway Indians from Fort William.” Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 3. Further on, Hind lists by name the Iroquois that were hired in Montreal to man the expedition’s canoes: Charles Skanasati, Martin Takatsitsiensere, Louis Pekageiaien, Ignace Tior-ateken, Lazare Aneratentka, Mathias Shaitikarenes, Thomas Orite, Louis Atioksisaks, Thomas Shakashetstha, Mathias Asinrathon, Ignace Taseraren, Thomas Tekarenhonte, Pierre Aronhiakenra. Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 274.

¹⁶⁷ Hind, *Narrative*, vol. 1, 302.

wagering bets; and from their mutual unwillingness to eat skunk meat when camping with men from an HBC party. Throughout the diary McKay is named where other guides are not: for example, “While I proceed on horseback with McKay and an Indian guide along N. side of river and up N. Branch.”¹⁶⁸ The photographic portrait Hime took of McKay is different from the other four individual portraits of Indigenous subjects that Hime made [App. 1, Fig. 36]. McKay is presented in a built environment, sitting up off the ground, in front of the entranceway to a building. This can be read as an attempt to reflect McKay’s long history of employment as a guide working for the HBC. The effect, when viewed against the four other portraits, in which the subjects sit on the ground in a natural setting, makes a change in the way the subject is viewed [App. 1, Figs. 37, 38, 39, and 40]. We do not look at McKay from above as he sits on the ground. Instead we see him on near equal footing. Perceived symbols of Indigeneity – furs, sewn leather goods, nature itself – are minimized and replaced with the buildings and symbols of white settlers and explorers. While this photograph of McKay does not appear in the *Narrative*, it is listed as accompanying the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress* and it does appear in the separate publication of the photographs from the expedition published by William Hogarth in 1860, in both instances under the heading “Native Races” and accompanied by the other four portraits. It is possible that the McKay portrait was not included in the *Narrative* because it lacks the ethnographic staging of the other four portraits, which characterises the second volume in which they are located.

¹⁶⁸ Hime, diary, (19 July 1858), 68.

Andrea Kunard suggests that the photographs of Wigwam [App. 1, Fig. 39], Letitia [App. 1, Fig. 37], and the mother and child [App. 1, Fig. 40], “pose in and thus affirm, the tradition of European portraiture.”¹⁶⁹ She continues:

Hime posed the native woman in the tradition of mother and child. She kneels beside and gazes upon her child who is securely wrapped on its cradleboard. Such a sentimental representation would reassure a Victorian audience that the native was conforming to proper methods of child raising. But that very tradition would be challenged by the photograph’s conspicuous rendering of the woman’s facial features and manner of dress which harkened back to her “savage” roots.¹⁷⁰

Though her essay examines the function of text in colonial photographs of the Canadian West, it is interesting that these examples were chosen, as Hime does not write about these subjects in his diary, and Hind, though situating the photographs in a broader dialogue on generalized characteristics of Indigenous peoples, does not address the photographs explicitly in any great detail. Such a reading implies that Hime must have had a grasp of artistic portraiture. This may be the case, however there is little evidence in the archival record that would suggest Hime had any formal artistic training – no evidence of art school, or interest in galleries and museums, or even photographic portrait studio work, that is demonstrated by photographers such as Alexander Henderson and Benjamin Baltzly. It is difficult to assess whether or not Hime was influenced by portraits of the Madonna and child in taking the photograph of the Ojibway mother and child. It is difficult to assess whether or not Hime arranged the subjects or if they arranged themselves.

This is suggested by Richard Huyda when he writes:

The portraits of Wigwam and of the Ojibway woman reveal a mastery of classic studio composition. Those of Jane L'Adamar (whose portrait has been wrongly captioned as Susan, a Swamp Cree half-breed) and John McKay, on the other hand, show a spontaneous capturing of character and spirit without any posing of the subject. The portrait of Letitia is unique, being neither totally posed nor

¹⁶⁹ Kunard, “Relationships of Photography and Text,” 89.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

wholly spontaneous, but a clever natural arrangement of the subject in an external setting.¹⁷¹

It is likely that Hime chose the location, given the care that needed to be taken in setting up the camera, and chose the moment, as lighting and weather were important determinants in the final quality of the exposure. However, whether or not Hime told subjects to arrange themselves in a particular manner or whether the subject had some agency in this arrangement cannot necessarily be determined. Nevertheless, this example highlights that we as twenty-first century scholars need to be aware of our own hindsight understandings and those that can be determined directly from the context of the photographs' creation.¹⁷²

For example, in Hime's diary there is substantial writing on the relationship between Hime and McKay. Hime understood McKay's history working with the HBC, and his value as a knowledgeable guide and hunter. The positioning of McKay in front of what is most likely a fort reflects this knowledge as well as Hime's attitude and friendship towards McKay. This changes when the photograph of McKay is placed by Hind under the category of "Native Races" in the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress* and in the Hogarth portfolio. The photograph of McKay, as with the other four portraits, becomes one of a series of ethnographic specimens. By this positioning of the photographs by Hind and their subsequent dissemination to the Canadian and British governments and publics, connections are made to the general attitudes towards and

¹⁷¹ Huyda, *Camera in the Interior*, 21.

¹⁷² In decolonizing readings of African photography, particularly studio and portrait photography, there has been a return of agency to the subject. Namely the work of Christraud M. Geary, "Photographs as Materials for African History: Some Methodological Considerations," *History in Africa* 13 (January 1986): 89-116; and more recently the multiyear and multiplatform project *Of Africa, Histories Collections Reflections* (beginning in 2013) at the Royal Ontario Museum developed by Julie Crooks and Dominique Fontaine. In the Canadian context, Carol Payne's photo-based oral history project in collaboration with the Inuit training program Nunavut Sivuniksavut, Library and Archives Canada's *Project Naming*, and Carleton University's Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre, along with her online initiative *Views from the North* (www.viewsfromthenorth.ca), has done much to restore agency to historic photographs of Inuit subjects. Likewise, Carol Williams's *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003) examines the agency of the women and the Indigenous subject contrasted with the more prevalent uses of the photographs by the church and government.

perspectives on the quelling of the perceived threat of Indigenous peoples by colonial expansion. It is valuable to consider how these kinds of ethnographic portraits were popularly understood and used in the mid- to late- nineteenth century. There exists much ethnographic painting made in both the United States and Canada in the early nineteenth century. Take, for example, United States artist Charles Bird King's (1785-1862) portraits of Indigenous figures which were commissioned by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs to document what was considered to be a vanishing race.¹⁷³ A three-volume series of lithographs of King's portraits painted throughout the 1820s were published between 1836 and 1844. King's detailed cataloguing of race and characteristics is echoed in Hind's own cataloguing of "Native Races."¹⁷⁴ This work would be followed most notably by the paintings of George Catlin (1796-1872), from the United States, and Paul Kane, an Irish-born painter who immigrated to Upper Canada in the 1820s. In the 1840s Kane travelled towards the Rocky Mountains via Forts William, Frances and Edmonton producing numerous sketches of Indigenous people, encampments and hunts. Kane's paintings and writings were widely published in the 1850s, demonstrating a strong public interest in ethnographic studies of Indigenous peoples.¹⁷⁵ Hind no doubt wanted to tap into this interest in his decision to focus so heavily on Indigenous subjects in Volume Two of his *Narrative* and to publish the photographs with Hogarth.

¹⁷³ Herman J. Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King*, 1st ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976).

¹⁷⁴ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (Philadelphia, Pa.: F.W. Greenough, 1838–1844).

¹⁷⁵ Paul Kane, "Notes of a sojourn among the half-breeds, Hudson's Bay Company's territory, Red River. Read before the Canadian Institute, Nov. 13th, 1855," *Canadian Journal of Science Literature and Art* 1, no. 2 (February 1856), 128–38; Paul Kane, "Notes of travel among the Walla-Walla Indians," *Canadian Journal of Science Literature and Art* 1, no. 5 (September, 1856), 417–24; Paul Kane, "The Chinook Indians," *Canadian Journal of Science Literature and Art* 2, no. 7 (January 1857), 11–30; Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon through the Hudson's Bay Company's territory and back again* (London, U.K.: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859).

The paintings by an artist such as Kane, who was formally trained as a painter and even went on a grand tour through Italy to copy old master works, can be reasonably placed within European traditions of portrait, history, and genre painting. Indigenous figures, exemplified by his 1845 oil on paper *Mau-Za-Pau-Kan* [App. 2, Fig. 60], are painted sitting formally in three-quarter view on a dark background. If the figures are depicted outside, as with *Flat Head Woman and Child*, *Caw-wacham*, *Cowlitz* [App. 2, Fig. 61], the background is a highly detailed, yet unspecific landscape. Rendered in the style of European portraiture, the ethnographic element of the paintings is none-the-less strong. The dress of *Mau-Za-Pau-Kan* and the practice of reshaping the skull seen in the process and as a final result in *Flat Head Woman and Child* are as ethnographically informative as they are artfully and skillfully rendered.¹⁷⁶ It is likely that Hime would have been aware of Kane, possibly through his connection with Armstrong or Hind, or even through his own preparation for the expedition knowing that Kane had travelled a similar route through the country's interior. The growing interest in viewing the Indigenous subject must have had an impact on the decision to take the five portraits on the 1858 survey. The connections to painting through the idea of ethnographic study are solid. However, the stylistic connection between Hime and painters such as Kane are tenuous. The portraits share little in terms of composition. With this in mind, rather than moving backwards in terms of influence and in connecting Hime to painting traditions, it is perhaps more productive to place Hime's portraits at the starting point of a new and enduring tradition of ethnographic photographs.

In Canada, the Corps of Royal Engineers produced photographs of the Indigenous inhabitants of Victoria, Vancouver Island, Esquimalt and British Columbia between 1859 and

¹⁷⁶ A thorough discussion and formal analysis of Kane's paintings of Indigenous figures and scenes can be found in: Sheila Urbanek, *Paul Kane's Great Nor-West* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 1996).

1862.¹⁷⁷ Indigenous subjects continued to have a place in survey photography throughout the 1870s in the work of Charles Horetzky (1838-1900) with the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys, and of George Mercer Dawson (1849-1901) and Joseph Burr Tyrrell (1858-1957) with the GSC from 1875 to 1900. Ethnographic portraits for the purposes of documentation continued through the twentieth century in photographs of the Canadian north produced by the HBC and later the National Film Board of Canada.¹⁷⁸ In addition to survey work, commercial and itinerant photographers who found themselves venturing west in the 1860s and 1870s opened up a market of interest in photographs of Indigenous subjects in which people were eager to buy photographs as a way to witness the curiosities of the Indigenous other – Chiefs in headdress, totem poles, and encampments of tepees.¹⁷⁹ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, photography was heavily used in anthropological work. German anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942) conducted fieldwork along the Pacific coast of British Columbia in the 1880s using photography in addition to dioramas and artefacts. This work was followed by that of United States ethnologist Edward S. Curtis (1868-1952) in the early twentieth-century, whose heavily constructed photographs were intended to preserve what painters Charles Bird King and George Catlin, nearly one hundred years earlier, believed to be a “vanishing race.”¹⁸⁰ What is common to these types of photographs, to use Carol Williams’s categories of survey, commercial, and

¹⁷⁷ Birrell, *Into the Silent Land*, 14.

¹⁷⁸ Carol Payne, “Lessons with Leah: Re-Reading the Photographic Archive of Nation in the National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photographic Division,” *Visual Studies* 21, no. 1 (April 2006): 4–22.

¹⁷⁹ Brock V. Silversides, *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939* (Saskatoon, Sask.: Fifth House Publishers, 1994).

¹⁸⁰ Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, 20 vols. (Seattle, Wash.: E.S. Curtis, 1907-1930).

ethnographic types¹⁸¹ – is that while the photographers were not necessarily trained as artists, though some had been trained in a form of visual production like draughtsmanship, the photographs operated somewhere between portrait and specimen; between art and document. As portraits, they present an individual situated and arranged within a setting that provides a connotative understanding of them – the humanity of a mother and child, or the noble servitude of a figure such as McKay, for example. As specimens, they become one of a number of types to be visually indexed and categorized. The photograph mediates understandings of the camera’s ties to mechanical objectivity and the experience of the photographer – it can sustain both readings at once. The use of these photographs reinforces this dual capacity as they were circulated in their own right in a distinguished portfolio of print in Hogarth’s *Photographs Taken at Lord Selkirk’s* [App. 4, Table 1] and as they were indexed into Hind’s *Narrative* amongst sketches of botanicals and tools. In the collective imagination, understandings of the photographed Indigenous subject echoed this, presenting a figure such as that in Hime’s photograph of Wigwam [App. 1, Fig. 39] as at once descriptive and storied; familiar and unusual; as someone who poses no threat but is threatening.

The Fallout

The outcome of the expedition was, surprisingly, a sour one for the relationship between Hind and Hime. In a letter from Armstrong, Beere & Hime to Hind on May 4, 1859, there is a bill for “Beere assisting Hime. One month at \$80.00.” On the bill is a note dated May 8, 1859 written by Henry Y. Hind stating, “Mr. Hime informed me when he presented the bill that Mr. Beere had

¹⁸¹ Williams outlines three uses: survey, promotion, ethnography. However, in lieu of survey uses, her focus is placed on commercial photography, motivated by the tourist market, and on ethnographic uses by the church and government. Williams, *Framing the West*, 8.

assisted him the fortnight and he has to be charged for the month.”¹⁸² There is a great deal of correspondence in April of 1860 between the firm and Hind. Hind refused to pay for work that Beere had done, as Beere was not officially employed by the government and Hime had no authority to hire assistance.¹⁸³ Payment had not been received in 1862, and though Hime was no longer affiliated with the firm as a partner, Armstrong and Beere brought the issue before the Division Court.¹⁸⁴ In an April 22, 1862 letter to E.A. Meredith outlining his position, Hind writes:

¹⁸² Letter from Armstrong, Beere & Hime to Henry Y. Hind, 4 May 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

¹⁸³ The correspondence is as follows:

Letter from H.L. Hime to Provincial Secretary, 14 October 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “You will oblige by informing me when the amounts of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition are likely to be paid as I have had to pay cash for all photographic materials. You will pray sense my feeling anxious for the settlement of the balance of my account which is due since may last.”

Letter from William Armstrong to E. A. Meredith Assistant Secretary, 12 November 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “I will feel much obliged by your informing me when the balance of our amount against the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition is likely to be paid. The account is due since April and as we have obliged to pay cash for all the materials the need for the government to delay of payment comes hard upon us. Pray excuse this application if it does not come under your department.”

Letter from Armstrong, Beere & Hime to E. A. Meredith Assistant Secretary, 11 April 1860, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “Will you be good enough to inform us why we have received from Mr. Hind only forty instead of eighty dollars which was the amount of our claim.”

Letter from Henry Y. Hind to H.L. Hime, 21 April 1860, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “With reference to the other fortnight, I know nothing, but if you will send me all particulars, with date, character of work done and authority for employing Mr. Beere, it shall receive my early attention.”

Letter from Henry Y. Hind to H.L. Hime, 30 April 1860, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “If you make well to persist in your supposed claim, I shall be quite willing to enclose your letter to the Provincial Secretary. I must remind you however of your former attempt to charge for a year when you had been employed for eleven months, and its results.”

Letter from H.L. Hime to Henry Y. Hind, 30 April 1860, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “It is a matter of indifference to me whether you send in this claim to the Provincial Secretary or not, as I look to you alone of a payment.”

¹⁸⁴ Letter from Armstrong and Beere to E.A. Meredith, 22 April 1862, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. “We were obliged to bring Mr. Hind before the Division Court where the judge decided that we must look to the Government for payment of our claim.”

I made arrangements with Mr. Hime above in 1858 without the slightest reference to his partners, to accompany the expedition as photographer. [...] Upon the return of the expedition to Toronto Mr. Hime absented himself without leave for ten days after our arrival, and at subsequent periods, until the close of his connection with the expedition, occasionally for a day or two. He employed Mr. Beere without my authority or knowledge to make up for lost time as I referred at the time. He told me on the day when he closed his accounts with me that he has employed Mr. Beere for one fortnight. He charged on this account one month for Mr. Beere's services [...] The right of Mr. Hime to employ and charge for the services of another person, while he neglected his duty and amused himself in the country, the other members of the expedition being hard at work all the time I told him I could not conscientiously endorse his claim [...] Subsequently Messrs. Armstrong, Beere and Hime sued me for \$40 the amount of the unpaid alleged claim. The judge on hearing my statement at once dismissed the case. Had Mr. Hime done his duty on the expedition might have made the circumstances of the case, namely a long absence from friends, a ground for a respectful request from the Provincial Secretary, that the charge should be allowed as a gratuity. But Mr. Hime neglected his duty and proved a very undesirable companion on an expedition of this kind, retarding its progress and work.¹⁸⁵

While Hind stood to make a large contribution and profit from the publication of Hime's photographs, and while there is no mention of any discord between Hime and Hind in Hime's diary, there is some indication in the *North-west Territory Reports of Progress* in which Hind writes:

Few but those who have been engaged in a responsible work, in a wild and distant country can appreciate the worth of conscientious, talented and most trustworthy friends [Hind mentions Dickinson and Fleming in the previous sentence], and there are equally few who can conceive the pain and anxiety which the absence or temporary suppression of these qualities in a companion, is capable of inflicting, when circumstances will not permit avoidance or separation.¹⁸⁶

Richard Huyda has suggested that here Hind is referring to Hime.¹⁸⁷ If this is indeed the case, then Hind was unimpressed with Hime from the moment of their return to Toronto. This corroborates the fact that Hind was unwilling to allow the firm of Armstrong, Beere & Hime the

¹⁸⁵ Letter from Henry Y. Hind to E.A. Meredith, 22 April 1862, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

¹⁸⁶ Hind, *North-west Territory Reports of Progress*, vi.

¹⁸⁷ Huyda, *Camera in the Interior*, 22.

rights to reproduce the photographs on their own, despite Armstrong's very polite request.¹⁸⁸ It also is likely the reason that Hind was so steadfast in his resistance to pay Beere for assisting Hime. By July 1862, a legal decision was reached in which Armstrong's claim was rejected.¹⁸⁹

By this point, Hime had moved on from photography entirely. In the 1868 *C.E. Anderson & Co.'s Toronto City Directory* he is listed at an office at 6 Wellington Street East as "Humphrey L. Hime, estate and insurance agent, &c."¹⁹⁰ That firm had become "Hime and Baines" by 1873¹⁹¹ and changed location from Robert Street to King Street East in 1875.¹⁹² He remained in estate and insurance throughout the 1870s and 1880s, eventually joined in the business by his son, Frederick,¹⁹³ and taking a position as a member of the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1881.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ Letter from Armstrong, Beere & Hime to E. A. Meredith Assistant Secretary, 4 May 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. "We would feel obliged of you if you can inform us whether the Government would allow us to print and disseminate the views of Red River which are so useful and interesting to parties wishing to visit the country for purposes of settlement. [...] Should the Government allow us to print from their Negatives an order for the same would be required: will you be good enough to inform us who the order is to be obtained from."

Letter from Henry Y. Hind to E. A. Meredith Assistant Secretary, 4 May 1859, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. "It has therefore been arranged that I am to prepare written description of the photographs and have some copies provided and bound for the Library Committee next session when I hope to receive instructions for the issue of a copy to each member of the legislature. You will, I think, see that under these circumstances there is a strong objection to Armstrong and Hime having the use of them [...] having given myself much trouble in writing descriptions and adopting means to ensure a much larger distribution and publication of the photographs than Armstrong and Hime could do."

¹⁸⁹ "Report of the Committee of the honourable of the Executive Council," 7 July 1862, H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que. "The auditor of Public Accounts being of opinion that Mr. Hind's report is conclusive against the claim, the Committee advise that the same be rejected."

¹⁹⁰ *C.E. Anderson & Co.'s Toronto City Directory for 1868-9* (Toronto, Ont.: C.E. Anderson, 1868), 163.

¹⁹¹ *Cherrier, Kerwin & McGown's Toronto Directory for 1873* (Toronto, Ont.: Cherrier, Kerwin & McGown, 15 January 1873), 109. "On Robert Street, east side: "38 Hime H.L., of Hime & Baines."

¹⁹² *Toronto Directory for 1875* (Toronto, Ont.: Fisher & Taylor, Publishers, 1 January 1875), 310. "Hime & Baines, estate agents and insurance brokers, 20 King e."

¹⁹³ *Toronto Directory for 1879* (Toronto, Ont.: Might & Taylor, 1 January 1879), 305. His son is listed "Hime Fred C., clerk, 41 Robert w"; "HIME HUMPHREY L & CO, (Humphrey L Hime) stock broker, estate and ins agent 20 King e; "HIME & LOVELACE, (Humphrey L Hime & Fred G C Lovelace) agents Citizens' Ins Co, 20 King e."; *Toronto City Directory for 1881* (Toronto, Ont.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1881), 294. "HIME H L & CO (H L Hime). Brokers, estate and insurance agents, 20 King e"; "Hime H L, of H L Hime & Co, 41 Robert."; *Toronto City Directory for 1883* (Toronto, Ont.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1883), 380. "Hime H L & Co (Humphrey L Hime), stock brokers and estate agents 20 King east."

The 1871 Census lists a 37-year-old Hime as married to Christina J., 32, with five children: Frederick C., 9; Ethel M., 7; Arthur, 5; Maud, 3; and Paul, 10 months.¹⁹⁵ Advertisements for the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company which list Hime as an agent are found frequently in *The Monetary Times and Trade Review Insurance Chronicle* throughout the late early 1870s, and by the end of the decade, ads for Hime's own company H.L. Hime & Co., Stock Brokers and Estate Agents take their place through to the 1890s. Outside of this business Hime took on various positions within the community. In the *W.C. Chewett & Co's Toronto City Directory 1868-69*, Hime is listed as a "Life Member" of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. He is also listed as Treasurer for the year of 1868, at the same time that William Armstrong was serving as Secretary.¹⁹⁶ He was involved with the church, listed as a member of the vestry in the July 1865 edition of *The Church Chronicle*,¹⁹⁷ and in the *Journal of the Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Toronto* for 1872 lists Hime as a lay member of Synod for Toronto St. Stephens.¹⁹⁸ The *Cherrier, Kerwin & McGown's Toronto Directory* for 1873 lists Hime as part of the City Corporation, or city council, as a representative for St. Patrick's Ward.¹⁹⁹ Hime was involved in various enterprises throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1877 a note appears in the *Daily Leader* indicating that "City Council Committee of the ----- beg to recommend that Mr. H.L. Hime be invited to act as referee on behalf of the city, upon the

¹⁹⁴ *Toronto City Directory for 1881* (Toronto, Ont.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1881), 554. Listed as a member of the Toronto Stock Exchange.

¹⁹⁵ Census 1871, St. Patricks Ward, Toronto. City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ont.

¹⁹⁶ *W.C. Chewett & Co's Toronto City Directory 1868-69* (Toronto, Ont.: W.C. Chewett & Co., Printers, 1868), appendix. Both men are also listed as officers of the club in "Chapter CCLV. Royal Canadian Yacht Club" *Robertson's landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 until 1833*, vol. 2 (Toronto, Ont.: J.R. Robertson, 1896) 967-968.

¹⁹⁷ Listed as a member of the vestry in *The Church Chronicle* 3, no. 4 (July 1865): 61.

¹⁹⁸ *The Journal of the Synod of the Church of England in the Dioces of Toronto* 1872, 13.

¹⁹⁹ *Cherrier, Kerwin & McGown's Toronto Directory for 1873* (Toronto, Ont.: Cherrier, Kerwin & McGown, 15 January 1873), 286.

question of the annual rental to be paid by the Credit Valley Railway Company for water lots nos. 1 to 12.”²⁰⁰ Hime is also found in a list of persons included in an “Act to incorporate the Pacific Junction Bridge Company” in the *Statutes of Canada*.²⁰¹ He appears as a shareholder of the British America Assurance Co. in the proceeds of their annual meeting printed in *The Week*.²⁰² The most unusual of Hime’s enterprises was his involvement as president of the Copland Brewing Company.²⁰³ According to a note in the LAC research file on Hime, he was active in the Temperance Movement during the summer of 1878 as an anti-temperance speaker and in favour of liquor producer’s interests, likely because he was president of the Toronto Brewer’s Association.²⁰⁴ In the 1890s Hime was an investor in the Rosedale Pressed Brick and Terra Cotta Company.²⁰⁵

Hime passed away on Saturday October 31, 1903. His obituary in the *Toronto Globe* remembers him for his career as a stock broker and real estate agent: “He was one of the best known and most highly esteemed agents in Toronto, and was frequently consulted by those

²⁰⁰ *The Daily Leader* (31 July 1877).

²⁰¹ “Act to incorporate the Pacific Junction Bridge Company” in the *Statutes of Canada ... being the fifth session of the first Parliament of Canada, begun and holden at Ottawa, on the eleventh day of April, 1872, and closed by prorogation on the fourteenth day of June in the same year* (Ottawa, Ont.: B. Chamberlin, 1872), 387.

²⁰² British America Assurance Co. in the proceeds of their annual meeting printed in *The Week* 4, no. 13 (24 February 1887): 209.

²⁰³ *Toronto City Directory for 1883* (Toronto, Ont.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1883), 380. “Hime Humphrey L. (H L Hime & Co., pres Copland Brewing co, h 54 Robert.”; *Toronto City Directory for 1883* (Toronto, Ont.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1883), 817. “Copland Brewing Co. Incorporated 1881. 55 Parliament st. H Lloyd Hime, pres; James E. Millet, sec-treasurer.”; Jordan St. John, *Lost Breweries of Toronto* (Toronto, Ont.: The History Press, 2014).

²⁰⁴ Letter from Andrew Birrell to Richard Huyda. H.L. Hime research file, Preservation Centre Records, Library and Archives Canada, Gatineau, Que.

²⁰⁵ “Canadian Companies” *Canadian Mining and Mechanical Review* 11 no. 2 (February 1892): 34. “The Rosedale Pressed Brick and Terra Cotta Company, (Ltd.) – Give notice that application will be made for incorporation under the Ontario Act, to make and sell bricks and other products of clay and shale. Head office, Toronto. Capital stock, \$30,000 in 300 shares of \$100 each. The applicants are: W.T. Jennings, C.E.; Humphrey Lloyd Hime, estate agent; Donald Campbell Ridout, engineer; Thomas Parker, brick manufacturer; and James David Edgar, solicitor; all of the city of Toronto.”

having important land values to deal with.”²⁰⁶ While this work has found some mention in recent local histories of Toronto,²⁰⁷ it is, instead, the then quickly forgotten photographs Hime made on the 1858 expedition that have endured in archival and gallery collections. Hime’s photographs leave a mark on Canadian history and art history as the beginning of a new way of photographically documenting Canada, geographically and culturally, which would endure through the twentieth century. In this study of visual history, Hime’s photographic training under Napier and Armstrong signals a transfer of visual vocabulary from topographic sketching to photography. The history and context of the 1858 survey allows us to see not only how that training was used by Hime in the types of photographs he made, but also as it was circulated by Hind, and understood by the collective imaginary. The entanglement of art and document in Hime’s photographs reflects the tensions that existed for both Hime and Hind in reconciling their experience of the land with their understanding of the landscape informed by adventure and a colonial desire for expansion and settlement into the Canadian interior.

²⁰⁶ “Death of Mr. H. L. Hime,” *The Globe*, Toronto (Monday, 2 November 1903): 10.

²⁰⁷ For example: Jordan St. John, *Lost Breweries*, 2014.

CHAPTER TWO: BENJAMIN F. BALTZLY ON THE 1871 GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA

Yesterday was splendid and clear but being Sunday Mr. B. would not take them losing a chance not likely to come again. This morning it is enveloped in mist and clouds.²⁰⁸

Alfred R. C. Selwyn

Land becomes landscape as it is mediated through a variety of ideological and social connotations. The Canadian landscape during the nineteenth century was not only caught up in centuries of European philosophical understandings of the Romantic landscape, which often hinged on religious feelings and implications, but also an emerging sense of endeavour, expansion, and identity. Suzanne Zeller, historian of Victorian culture and science, has suggested that this moment in Canadian history was one characterised by progress. She writes, “Victorian Canadians, like Victorians elsewhere, marvelled at the technological signs of material progress and economic development – canals, railways, and electric telegraphs – and tended to identify these with science.”²⁰⁹ Photography was no less such a marvel, being a relatively new technology and the ideal medium to capture and communicate the coming of age of the new nation of Canada. However, religion was not set aside in the face of progress, but integrated into the very pursuit of it. The study of natural history – the collection, identification, and categorization of all that is observable – was understood not only a way to possess and claim the Canadian landscape, but also as a way to understand God’s creations on Earth better.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Alfred R. C. Selwyn, notebook, British Columbia 1871, Natural Resources Canada fonds, Geological Survey of Canada sous-fonds, RG 45, Vol. 71, File 2727, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (Monday, 23 October 1871), 19.

²⁰⁹ Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), 3-4.

²¹⁰ Zeller calls this the “possessive spirit,” *Inventing Canada*, 9.

To this I would like to add another aspect to the relationship between natural science and religion: visual production, both artistic and documentary.²¹¹ Canadian historian Carl Berger hints at this relationship in his discussion of natural history; he writes:

One of the most distinctive features of natural history was the association of the study of nature with aesthetic appreciation and religious feelings. The support for science in a colonial society was no doubt heavily utilitarian, but natural history also impinged on the minds of thoughtful Victorians because for them nature was the handiwork of God and its patterns and operations disclosed His wisdom, power, and goodness.²¹²

While Berger does not refer to the manifestation of these beliefs in art, his linking of nature with aesthetic appreciation, along with Zeller's explication of the relationship between science and religion, are central to this study. Both Berger and Zeller offer Canadian perspectives, focusing on specific national historic conditions and events. Both studies also take science and technology as they developed in Canada as their starting points for explorations of the connections between nationhood, science, and religion. Though considered by neither scholar, photography adds considerable depth to this discussion. Photography is certainly a technological marvel to be added to Zeller's list of examples of progress and ingenuity, yet it also shares a very close relationship to artistic representations of the landscape, painting or sketching for example, in that it composes and frames the components of the land into a landscape. Photography, in this way, brings together science, religion, and nature. The photographs and writing of Benjamin F. Baltzly highlight the complex relationship that exists among those three ideas.

²¹¹ There are a few key texts that have shaped the study of science and religion in the Canadian context. Zeller's *Inventing Canada*; Carl Berger's *Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1983); and J.D. Rabb's edited volume *Religion and Science in Early Canada* (Kingston, Ont.: Ronald P. Frye, 1988) are central texts in establishing the particular nuances of the connections between science and religion in Canada. So often studies of Victorian science are reliant on British and United States frameworks. These three studies provide a specifically Canadian foundation on which further studies, like this thesis, can be built. By contrast, art historical studies by Dennis Reid, J. Russell Harper, and most recently Hilliard T. Goldfarb's exhibition *Expanding Horizons* tend to rely on United States and British models to explore Canadian art.

²¹² Berger *Science, God and Nature*, xii-xiii.

To date, the major studies of Baltzly's photographs have been written by archivists and social historians. Andrew Birrell's 1978 monograph *Benjamin Baltzly: Photographs & Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia 1871*, exemplifies the approach that has dominated the study of survey photographs in Canada, often consisting of a complete profile of the photographer and his career based on extensive research in various Canadian archives. Birrell divided his study of Baltzly into three parts: a detailed account of the expedition; a portfolio of seventy-one plates by Baltzly, including a checklist of all 124 photographs; and Baltzly's journal as revised by survey leader Alfred R. C. Selwyn (1824-1902) for Montreal's *The Gazette*. The monograph includes photographs, newspaper articles, and even a reproduction of a map of British Columbia drawn by Joseph Trutch (1826-1904) in 1871, but little interpretation of the archival material is presented.²¹³ In an exacting review of Birrell's *Benjamin Baltzly*, David Mattison notes that, "The Baltzly photographs are valuable primarily for their historical and geological/geographical statements. Their importance as artistic statements is secondary. Birrell has ignored, or possibly avoided for whatever reason, these aspects of history, geology/geography, and art."²¹⁴ Indeed, Birrell provides only occasional reference to the artistic and cultural influences that enrich Baltzly's photographs, instead providing facts and information in almost objectivity. Likewise, Stanley Triggs, historian and former curator of the McCord Museum Notman Photographic Archives (McCord), emphasizes the documentary aspect of Baltzly's photographs. In *William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio*, Triggs briefly touches on the religious aspects of Baltzly's life and writings suggesting that Baltzly's fervent religiosity is "unexpurgated" throughout the photographer's writings. Yet Triggs's focus shifts quickly away

²¹³ Andrew Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly: Photographs & Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia 1871* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1878).

²¹⁴ David Mattison, "Benjamin Baltzly: Photographs and Journal of an Expedition through British Columbia," *Archivaria* 9 (1978): 246.

from religion to the documentary stating that, “Baltzly’s photographs seem not at all influenced by his religious fervor, there is no uplifting quality to them, nothing speaks to us of the divine or Sublime. Instead Baltzly worked in a truly documentary style.”²¹⁵ This insistence on the documentary function of the photograph reflects the role of the archivist, or the curator in a museum of social history, as gatekeepers of documents and knowledge.

Conversely, there have been attempts by fine art curators to include Baltzly’s photographs into artistic lineages and traditions. Take, for example, the 1989 exhibition *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape 1845-1890* curated by Christopher Jackson, Assistant Curator of Art at the Glenbow Museum.²¹⁶ *With Lens and Brush* explores the ideas and mythology of the Canadian West within an art historical framework. It includes a broad range of visual production within the arts: painting, printmaking, and photography. The exhibition and its catalogue attempted to convey perceptions of the Canadian West on a national and international scope. Six Baltzly photographs were included, all from the 1871 expedition.²¹⁷

About them, Jackson writes,

Baltzly’s photographs of landscape and settlement along the Cariboo Road through the Fraser Valley, and along the Thompson River to *Tête Jaune* or Yellowhead Pass, deep in the mountains, often go beyond topographical record. Among the best known are *Cascade on the Hammond [Garnet] River, B.C., 1871* and *Junction of the North and South Thompson Rivers at Kamloops, 1871*, both of which display Baltzly’s talent for capturing large panoramas of the mountain valleys and the more enclosed picturesque scenes of the interior. One can compare the clarity and detail of *Junction of the North and South Thompson* with

²¹⁵ Stanley G. Triggs, *William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio* (Toronto, Ont.: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach House Press, 1985), 55-56.

²¹⁶ *With Lens and Brush* was on view at the Glenbow from April 1, 1989 to May 28 1989, and travelled to the Mendel Art Gallery from January 11 to February 18, 1990, the Art Gallery of Windsor from March 10 to April 22, 1990, and to the Winnipeg Art Gallery from May 19 to July 15, 1990.

²¹⁷ The six Baltzly photographs included in the exhibition are listed in the catalogue as: *Cascade on Hammond [Garnet River], B.C. Sept. 1871*; *South Side of Kamloop(s) Lake Opposite Battle Bluff, British Columbia, 1871*; *Gravel Banks & Columns & Mountain Scenery on Tranquille River, 3 miles from its mouth, B.C., 1871*; *Basaltic Ricks at Battle Bluff, Kamloop Lake, B.C., 1871*; *Junction of the North and South Thompson Rivers at Kamloops, British Columbia, 1871*; and, *Glaciers on the North Thompson River*.

[W.G.R.] Hind's watercolours of the same area. Both Hind and Baltzly concerned themselves with setting out detail and the scale of the landscape they encountered. Artists who followed them – for example, the Marquis of Lorne in 1881-82 – would sketch a similar scene and in some cases, virtually duplicate the point of view and general composition of Baltzly's work.²¹⁸

Jackson brings together the topographical photographs of Baltzly, the research and scholarship of Andrew Birrell, Stanley Triggs and Dennis Reid, and ideas of the Romantic and the Picturesque.

While both Birrell and Triggs are clear in their emphasis on a presentation of Baltzly's photographs as documentary, Jackson goes to great lengths to reinforce his premise that topographical photographs were created within an artistic lineage.

A similar approach to Baltzly's photographs was taken by Hilliard T. Goldfarb in his 2009 exhibition at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) titled *Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscape 1860 – 1918*. The exhibition is divided into six thematic sections: Nature Transcendent, The Stage of History and the Theatre of Myth, Man Versus Nature, Nature Domesticated, The Urban Landscape and Return to Nature. The goal of the exhibition was to “explore and compare the evolving paths of nationhood in Canada and the United States as reflected through painted and photographed landscapes.”²¹⁹ Three Baltzly photographs are placed under the theme of Nature Transcendent.²²⁰ Goldfarb explains this theme as presenting:

the spiritually infused idealization of landscape conjoined with the meticulous detailing embraced by the Hudson River School and its followers. The style and vision, which influenced painters in Canada, continued to inform landscape imagery in the United States to the end of the century, metamorphosing into

²¹⁸ Christopher Jackson, *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape 1845-1890* (Calgary, Alta.: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1989), 27.

²¹⁹ Hilliard T. Goldfarb, ed., *Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscape 1860-1918* (Montreal, Que.: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2009), 14.

²²⁰ The three Baltzly photographs included in the exhibition are listed in the catalogue as: *Selkirk Mountains as Seen from the Top of the Mountains near the Confluence of the Blue and North Thompson Rivers, 1871*; *Cascade on Hammond (Garnet) River, 1871*; and, *Forest Trees on the North Thompson River 165 Miles Above Kamloops, 1871*.

Luminism, which favoured less grandiloquent, more internalised evocation of spiritual experience before Nature.²²¹

The catalogue provides brief didactic captions for each of the Baltzly photographs. For example, accompanying *Lower Falls, Garnet River Cascade, near Mt. Cheadle, North Thompson River, BC*, titled by MMFA as *Cascade on Hammond (Garnet) River, 1871* [App. 5, Fig. 62], the caption reads, in part:

The presence of Baltzly on the team may reflect the impact of Timothy O'Sullivan and other photographers who had recently journeyed on similar surveys in the United States. Notman, who underwrote the costs for the presence of photographers on these arduous expeditions, appreciated picturesque compositions for his commercial public. Not surprisingly Baltzly prioritized stunning perspectives, even when obtaining them involved great difficulty, yet remained sensitive to the geological purposes of the trip. In his travel account, he singles out the Garnet River Cascade for its tremendous beauty, romantically inspired by the scenery with an explicit religious fervour.²²²

In the same vein as *With Lens and Brush*, in *Expanding Horizons* Baltzly's photographs are directly and formally compared to paintings of the same period. For example, discussing *Forest Trees on the North Thompson River* [App. 5, Fig 63], the catalogue states that the photograph,

makes a striking comparison with the aesthetic of [Aaron Allan] Edson [who] approaches his subject with a far more trenchant naturalistic sensibility than Whiteredge or the artists associated with that painting's style. The seemingly arbitrary cropping (the composition is actually carefully balanced by the wedge of the fallen trees and the central white birches) suggests the character of photography and the spontaneity of a watercolour sketch.²²³

Here Baltzly's photographs are being slotted into established movements and categories within Canadian and United States painting, such as the Hudson River School and Luminism. Both exhibitions work hard to fit Baltzly's topographical photographs into these artistic categories by making formal connections to painting – an indication that there is a contemporary desire

²²¹ Goldfarb, *Expanding Horizons*, 15.

²²² *Ibid.*, 54.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 69.

amongst curators and art historians to engage with topographical photographs. While such understandings take a significant step towards the inclusion of topographical photographs into an art historical discourse, they do so by minimizing the scientific nature of the photographs' origins and by downplaying the connections between progress, nationhood, and the landscape, which come together in photography at this point in history.

The pull between the discursive spaces of archive and art gallery, which was highlighted in the previous chapter, continues to exert itself in studies of Baltzly's photographs. I contend that to focus only on the documentary, or conversely, to push the photographs into aesthetic categories, ultimately drains Baltzly's photographs of their richness, which includes religious feeling and historical context, and their influence on visual production. This chapter develops Baltzly's photographic practice at an intersection of science, art, and religion; and considers Baltzly's photographs as a place of mediation between readings and functions of document, art, and the aesthetic and cultural impulses of their maker.

Appointing a Photographer

In 1871 the Colony of British Columbia entered into Canadian Confederation on the condition that a transcontinental railway be built. Its construction was hailed from the beginning as a practical necessity, bringing resources from British Columbia to the east and moving settlers westward. The railway was also considered to be a hallmark of Canadian expansion and progress; the enormous endeavour of constructing the railway was the foremost feat and a source of national aspiration. The excitement of this arrangement was palpable – “Today the confederation of British Columbia, Vancouver Island and the Dominion of Canada goes into

effect and everywhere we hear the people say ‘we are Canadian now.’ There seems to be a great deal of unanimity about it.”²²⁴ Despite popular excitement, the origins of the railway’s construction were mired in suspect business dealings. Suffice it to say, the project began with Montreal capitalist Hugh Allan (1810-1882), a steamship magnate, who with his Canada Pacific Railway Company, sought the contract for the railway project. The problem arose from the fact that Allan and then Prime Minister John A. Macdonald (1815-1891) were in talks with United States investors. An additional conflict was Allan, who in his bid for construction had made significant political donations to Macdonald.²²⁵ Despite these events, now known as the Pacific Scandal, the move for construction pressed on through Macdonald’s term to his successor Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie (1873-1878) and back to Macdonald in 1878 until the railway’s completion in 1885. The challenge to meet the ten-year time limit to complete construction was compounded by the need to pass the rail route through the mostly uncharted and treacherous Rocky Mountains. Planning and mapping began immediately with both geological and topographical surveys deployed for the task. The Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) was to work in tandem with the engineers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey (CPRS) already in British Columbia, in order to devise the most practicable route. Sandford Fleming (1827-1915), Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), ordered his railway crews to provide assistance to Selwyn, Director of the GSC, in conducting his geological work.²²⁶ This

²²⁴ Benjamin F. Baltzly, journal, N-1983.17, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que. (Wednesday, 19 July 1871), 36.

²²⁵ There are many works of Canadian history that investigate the history of the CPR and explore the details of the Pacific Scandal. I have relied on Leonard Bertram Irwin, *Pacific Railways and Nationalism in the Canadian-American Northwest, 1845-1873* (New York, N.Y.: Greenwood Press, 1963).

²²⁶ A comprehensive source on the history of the geological surveys in Canada is Morris Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks: The Story of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1842-1972* (Toronto, Ont.: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1975).

relationship between the two organizations offered mutual benefits through the sharing of provisions, trails, campsites, and, most importantly, information.

The decision to appoint a photographer to the survey remains without much documentation. In the papers of John Hammond (1843-1939), assigned as assistant to Baltzly, there is some clarification to the conditions of his and Baltzly's employment. He writes:

In the Spring of 1870 I was painting for Wm. Notman photographer in Montreal when application was made to my employer by the Canadian Government for a painter and a photographer to join Mr. Selwyn, head of the Geological Survey of Canada, and his associate Mr. Richardson.²²⁷

From Hammond's account, the Canadian government first approached William Notman (1826-1891). The approach was most certainly inspired by the Notman Studio's reputation. In an example that brings together progress, nationhood, photography, and popular interest therein, Notman was commissioned to create photographic series for James Hodges (1814-1879), engineer of the Victoria Bridge in Montreal, to document the bridge's construction. Not only did he satisfy the Hodges,²²⁸ but he went on to sell the photographs at his studio as commemorations of the bridge's inauguration on August 25, 1860. Notman also assembled a portfolio of stereographs from the series in two large albums, *Canada West* and *Canada East*, a copy which he gifted to the visiting Prince of Wales and another which he kept on display at his studio to showcase his photographic abilities. The decision to appoint a photographer may have also been based on Notman's own network of acquaintances and involvement with various societies and associations. For example, Selwyn and Notman had many overlapping involvements: Selwyn worked as an assistant to the Canadian Commissioners at world exhibitions such as the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia (1876), the Exposition Universelle in Paris

²²⁷ John Hammond, private papers, 2004.12.3.1, Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, N.B.

²²⁸ Reproductions of Notman photographs appear as engravings in: James Hodges, *Construction of the Great Victoria Bridge in Canada* (London, U.K.: John Weale, 1860).

(1878), and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London (1886),²²⁹ of which Notman, president of the Centennial Photographic Company, was granted exclusive rights to photograph the Philadelphia exhibition, as well as being involved in the Paris and London exhibitions.²³⁰ There was also Notman's involvement with the Royal Society of Canada to which Selwyn was elected as a fellow in 1874 and Notman created a publication about the society in 1891.²³¹ The most likely connection, however, was through William Edmond Logan (1798-1875), who was succeeded by Selwyn as Director of the GSC, and was also a founding member of the Art Association of Montreal (AAM), incorporated in 1863, where Notman was also a founding member.²³²

The events that brought Baltzly and Notman together are significantly more complicated. Baltzly was born the third eldest child of farmers John Everett Baltzly and Elizabeth P. Baltzly, in Sugar Creek, Ohio in 1835 and was raised in the state.²³³ At the age of 25, Baltzly was listed in the 1860 United States Federal Census as living in the East Half of Wooster, Ohio, married to Louisa Baltzly, and occupied as a grocer.²³⁴ Louisa Baltzly is important to this study, as it was to

²²⁹ A.E.B., "Dr. Alfred R.C. Selwyn, C.M.G., F.R.S., Director Geological Survey of Canada, 1869-1894," *The Ottawa Naturalist* 16, no. 9 (December 1902): 174.

²³⁰ Centennial Photographic Co., *Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Centennial Photographic Co., 1876).

²³¹ William Notman and Son, *The Royal Society of Canada, 1891* (Montreal, Que.: W. Notman & Son, 1891).

²³² Art Association of Montreal, *Act of Incorporation and the By-Laws* (Montreal, Que.: M. Longmoore & Co. Gazette Steam Press, Great St. James Street, 1864), 19. Andrew Birrell provides a different perspective based on a correspondence from Logan to E.J. Russell, suggesting that Logan, "found that the bulky equipment required by the wet collodion process slowed the progress of the surveys" and that "the benefits obtained from accurate illustrations were, in his opinion, outweighed by the difficulties created." Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly*, 17.

²³³ Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, National Archives Microfilm Publication M432, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Year: 1850; Census Place: Sugar Creek, Tuscarawas, Ohio; Roll: M432_734; Page: 204A; Image: 410, , Database Online, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://search.ancestry.ca/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1850usfedcenancestry&gss=sfs28_ms_db&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsln=baltzly&gsln_x=0&MSAV=1&uidh=000

²³⁴ 1860 U.S. census, population schedule, NARA Microfilm Publication M653, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Year: 1860; Census Place: Wooster, Wayne, Ohio; Roll: M653_1050; Page: 109;

her that the expedition letters and journal were addressed. Baltzly's young family stayed in Ohio until their departure for Montreal sometime between 1866 and 1869.²³⁵ While this means he was not included on the 1870 United States Federal Census, there are many indications that he operated a photographic studio in Ohio before he left for Montreal, not least the multitude of *cartes-de-visite* that exist with his Wooster, Ohio, studio stamp,²³⁶ and the range of self-promoting advertisements for Baltzly's "Palace of Art" as the place of choice to have one's photograph made.²³⁷ What prompted the Baltzly family to move to Montreal is not known, though it has been suggested that Baltzly encountered some financial hardships and was driven to steal photographic equipment from a competitor's studio.²³⁸ The move to Montreal may have

Image: 221; Family History Library Film: 805050, Database Online, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://search.ancestry.ca/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1860usfedcenancestry&gss=sfs28_ms_db&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsln=baltzly&gsln_x=0&MSAV=1&uidh=000

²³⁵ Irwin Reichstein, "Benjamin Baltzly and Early Carte-de-Visite," *History of Photography* 17 (1993): 218-219. The earliest listings found in a Canadian directory for Baltzly are: "Montreal. Baltzly, B. F., photographer, 372 Notre Dame." in: H. McEvoy, ed., *The Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory* (Toronto, Ont.: Robertson & Cook, 1869), 602; "Montreal, Quebec, Photographic Artists, Baltzly, B.F., 372 Notre Dame," *McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory, 1868-69* (Halifax, N.S.: David McAlpine, 1868), 1075.

²³⁶ The most comprehensive collection of photographs and clippings from Baltzly's early life in Ohio is in the private collection of Robert G. Wilson, a member of the Canadian Photographic Historical Society. Wilson was kind enough to meet with me and share his private collection of early Baltzly *cartes-de-visite* and promotional material. Wilson's work on Baltzly's early life in Ohio can be found in: Robert G. Wilson, *Secure the Shadow: The Life Of Benjamin Franklin Baltzly* (Toronto, Ont.: Photographic Historical Society of Canada Press, 2013).

²³⁷ The first advertisement for Baltzly's "Palace of Art" appears in the *Wooster Republican* (30 January 1862): 2. Three different advertisements are repeated in the *Wooster Republican* on a near weekly basis until December 31, 1863: "Questions and Answers," "Baltzly's Palace of Art," and "Photographs and Ambrotypes etc. etc. etc. Copying Old Pictures." The advertisements stop perhaps as a result of Baltzly's financial hardships and he does not appear in the *Wooster Republican* again until he is listed as charged with burglary in 1865 (see next note).

²³⁸ Wilson, *Secure the Shadow*, 22-25. In addition, I have tracked a series of articles from 1859 that were printed in a variety of major United States newspapers chronicling a missing persons "mystery." The figures involved were from Ohio, but living in the Cambridge, Massachusetts area, and named as Benjamin Franklin Baltzly, a physician, and his wife Mrs. L. G. [Louisa G.] Baltzly. In short, Mrs. Baltzly had claimed the accidental drowning of her husband in order to obtain the payout his insurance policy. Mr. Baltzly was not dead but was thought to be hiding in Canada. No criminal charges are mentioned. See: "Mysterious Disappearance of a Doctor – Subsequent History of His Wife," *New York Daily Tribune* (21 June 1859): 6; "Another Chapter in the Baltzly Mystery, New Developments," *The Evening Post, New York* (23 June 1859): n.p.; "The Baltzly Mystery Solved – A Dead Man wants to know his own whereabouts, doubts his responsibility, does not like his own character, and takes himself to Canada," *The Evening Post, New York* (29 June 1859): n.p.; "The Baltzly Mystery Cleared Up," *Louisville Daily Courier* (30 June 30 1859): 1. However, in a Cleveland, Ohio newspaper Baltzly is listed in a list of "Court of Common Pleas" charged with, but not guilty of, burglary. "Court of Common Pleas," *Plain Dealer* (18 May 1865): 3.

been to escape both his financial predicament and the law. Baltzly's intense re-engagement with religion after his move to Montreal was, perhaps, a way to hide his past, or more likely a genuine religious repentance and recovery.

Baltzly's renewed piety had its roots in his upbringing in Ohio. Religion played a central role in the cultural, social, and political development of nineteenth-century Ohio. George W. Knepper's scholarship on the state of Ohio investigates the impact of religion on social conventions and in public policy. Ohio, for example, was "the only state in which Congress set aside public land for the support of religion," a decision that suggests the intimately interwoven aspects of religion with state administration and politics.²³⁹ Ohio law and policy also demonstrates that the state was tolerant of the various religious denominations that coexisted in the state, including Jewish, Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, Anglican, and Lutheran (Pennsylvania Dutch) faiths, to name only a few. The best organized religious denomination in Ohio in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and arguably the most prominent and influential, was Presbyterianism. In the 1871 census of Montreal West, Baltzly is listed as Presbyterian.²⁴⁰ It is worthwhile to consider the religious, and particularly Presbyterian, dominance throughout the state of Ohio as an influence on Baltzly's personality and religious dedication, and on the conduct of the survey. Knepper describes the Presbyterians of nineteenth-century Ohio as particularly devout, stating that they "prohibited frivolous activities such as dancing and card playing. Sundays were reserved solely for rest and worship."²⁴¹ Baltzly's spats with other members of the survey over days of rest and Christian values during the survey, as we will see, are no doubt evidence of this Presbyterian influence.

²³⁹ George W. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, 3rd ed. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003), 162.

²⁴⁰ 1871 Census of Montreal West, Census Place: St. Laurent Ward, Montreal West, Quebec, Statistics Canada fonds RG31-C-1, Roll: C-10048, Page: 19, Family No.: 80. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

²⁴¹ Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, 163.

When Baltzly moved from Ohio to Montreal in the 1860s, he opened his own photographic studio. There are advertisements in the French-language publication *La lanterne* on January 7, 1869 and March 11, 1869, and notices for Baltzly's Photographic Rooms at 372 Rue Notre Dame in a self-published pamphlet by Baltzly titled *The Photographer* in 1868.²⁴² By 1871, Baltzly had formed a business relationship with the Notman studio.²⁴³ In assigning both Hammond and Baltzly to the expedition, Notman may have been influenced by their related work experience. Hammond had, in his youth, ventured to the gold fields of New Zealand in order to fund his art education in London.²⁴⁴ Having spent most of his money, he returned to Montreal in 1869 looking for employment. He found work painting miniatures at the Notman Studio.²⁴⁵ Baltzly also had what appeared to be an adventurous history. On May 13, 1864, Baltzly was drafted into the army.²⁴⁶ He joined the Union side of the United States Civil War as a Second Lieutenant to the E Company of the 169th Regiment of the Ohio National Guard Infantry.²⁴⁷ The regiment performed garrison duties, but was mustered out by September 4, 1864

²⁴² A. Buies, ed. "Atelier de photographie de Baltzly," *La lanterne* 1, no. 17 (7 January 1869): 287; A. Buies, ed. "Atelier de photographie de Baltzly," *La lanterne* 1, no. 26 (11 March 1869): 432; Benjamin F. Baltzly, "The Photographer," *The Photographer* 1, no. 2 (15 September 1868): 1–4.

²⁴³ The affiliation of Baltzly with the Notman studio during this period is unclear. I am in possession of a *carte-de-visite* dated to 1873 and stamped with Baltzly's 372 Notre Dame studio address. It is possible that Baltzly maintained his own studio while working occasionally for Notman. Furthermore, in an 1873 Montreal city directory Baltzly is listed as residing at "Baltzly, Benj. F., photographer, 194 St. George St." John Lovell, ed., *Montreal Directory for 1873-74* (Montreal, Que.: John Lovell, 1873), 240.

²⁴⁴ A comparison of Hammond's painting and Baltzly's photographs would have been interesting. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate any paintings or sketches by Hammond from the expedition, or even the early 1870s, at the McCord, LAC, NGC, or Owens Art Gallery in Sackville, N.B.

²⁴⁵ John Hammond, private papers, 2004.12.6, Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, N.B.

²⁴⁶ P. Hitchcock, "Roster of the 169th Regiment "National Guard" as it was in the United States service," in *Executive Documents Annual Reports for 1864 made to the General Assembly of Ohio*, vol. 2 (Columbus, Ohio: Richard Nevins State printer, 1865), 138.

²⁴⁷ U.S. Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. M552 roll 4, Database Online, Salt Lake City, Utah: FamilySearch.org, Intellectual Reserve, Inc., 2016. Accessed May 1, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FS6T-GJC>

due to the illness of many of its soldiers.²⁴⁸ Baltzly may not have been the tough military outdoorsman that Notman imagined.

The Journal

Baltzly's lack of hardened outdoor skills is revealed in his journal from the 1871 expedition.²⁴⁹ This 152-page leather-bound journal contains a series of letters addressed to Baltzly's wife, Louisa G. Baltzly, and ten-year-old daughter, Wilma L. Baltzly,²⁵⁰ written while on expedition between June 28 and December 26, 1871. The document is at once a letterbook and a journal. The first few entries begin with "Dear wife and daughter," however by page sixty-one on August 17, Baltzly heads his entry with the word "journal."²⁵¹ In addition to the original document, a significantly edited version of Baltzly's account of the expedition was published as a serial in Montreal's *Gazette* during the summer of 1872. This much condensed version was also published in Andrew Birrell's 1978 monograph *Benjamin Baltzly Photographs and Journal of an Expedition through British Columbia: 1871*. A comparison of the original and edited versions is revealing. The *Gazette* foregoes the personal nature of the journal in favour of a more official and objective account of events. For example, Baltzly writes in the journal on July 18, 1871, "I was really disappointed in Victoria." In the *Gazette* it has been changed to: "We were all more or

²⁴⁸ The Civil War – Regimental Details – Union Ohio Volunteers, Database Online, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-regiments-detail.htm?regiment_id=UOH0169RIN

²⁴⁹ A transcription of Baltzly's journal alongside the photographs produced during the expedition can be found in: Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, "The Journal of Benjamin F. Baltzly," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no. 1 (2014): 27-129.

²⁵⁰ 1871 Census of Montreal West, Census Place: St. Laurent Ward, Montreal West, Quebec, Statistics Canada fonds RG31-C-1, Roll: C-10048, Page: 19, Family No.: 80, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

²⁵¹ For simplicity, throughout this thesis the letterbook/journal will be referred to simply as a journal.

less disappointed in our expectations of Victoria.” Baltzly’s opinion of the city is extended to the whole party, suggesting that the blame for being let down by the city is placed on the team members’ expectations and not the city itself. The *Gazette* does not ascribe dates to the entries other than the day in which it was published. For example, Baltzly’s arrival in Victoria was on July 18, 1871. The *Gazette* entry is dated to June 27, 1872, making comparison to original journal difficult, but not impossible. While photographs did not accompany the *Gazette* publication, it has been possible to correlate Baltzly’s original journal entries with specific photographs based on Baltzly’s description of the landscape and his account of locations visited [App. 6, Table 2].

The original journal is the key to understanding both Baltzly and the photographs he took. One gets a sense from his writing in the journal that Baltzly was a deeply religious person; someone who was sensitive to the presence of God in his life, and who very often used moments alone in the wilderness as a way to think about and communicate with God. Many of Baltzly’s entries are presented as part homesick lament and part prayer. Take for example, his entry on Sunday, August 6, 1871:

Here far away from – I might say – civilisation, I long for the privileges of the Sabbaths I enjoyed at home. Each Sabbath I am in spirit at my Sabbath school and church. In the morning as I look at my watch and see it to be seven o’clock I say to myself, ‘Now it is 10 in Montreal. Now they are busily engaged in the Sunday school.’ It seems to me I can almost see each close, teacher, superintendent and librarian all at work. I can almost hear their harmonious voices as they chant the songs of Zion and among these I see my daughter Wilma. While in my little home at 194 St. George Street. I see my wife preparing herself for church. When our time is eight it corresponds to 11 at home. Then my eye follows my pastor Rev. Wells as he enters the side door and walks slowly upon the pulpit. I join with them in their praises to our heavenly Father. And I am glad that I have such a Father. One who will accept the humble worship of his children in any country, claims or place. In him our souls and thoughts centre though thousands of miles apart! When a feeling of loneliness comes over me I go to him and soon all these feelings of sadness disappear and in place of it joy and peace arrive in my heart.²⁵²

²⁵² Baltzly, journal, (Sunday, 6 August 1871), 52-53.

Baltzly's prayers for himself and for his family are sentimental. It is clear that he misses his family and his home. The sentimentality, however, loses any possible affectation and nostalgia as he frames his writing as a prayer made very much from his present moment. This type of dialogue not only stems from his yearning for home, but also from the environment and events around him. His religiosity is not superficial as it comes from a developed knowledge of Christian scripture. For example on Tuesday September 26, 1871 he writes:

It is a grand sight to see the clouds and rain chased and driven about on the mountain tops by wind while we are in almost a perfect calm. It puts mind of the Israelites in the land of Goshen in a perfect calm and sunshine, while yonder the Egyptians were engulfed in the most fearful storm of thunder, lighting, rain and hail that has ever been recorded in history.²⁵³

His feelings are genuine. His religiosity is genuine. If Baltzly brings such religious sentiments to his lifestyle, it is not unreasonable to link his Presbyterian background and his religious outlook to his photographic practice.

Baltzly's intense religiosity, however, was not always so thoughtful and sentimental, often placing him at odds with survey leader Selwyn over the course of the expedition. Resting on the Sabbath day was a necessity for Baltzly, who saw it as a day dedicated only to devotion to God, therefore free from any and all earthly pursuits. The persistence with which Baltzly demanded that the Sabbath be observed is confirmation that his religiosity was genuine. Things came to a head on Saturday September 2, 1871 when Baltzly confronted Selwyn about forcing the team's axemen to work cutting the trail on the Sabbath:

I told him that I saw the Sabbath day in great danger of being violated as a Christian and it was my duty to give a warning voice. By keeping myself perfectly calm his rage greatly subsided and for a time we argued the matter but through the whole he was so unreasonable and his arguments so inconsistent and contrary to the plain teaching of the Bible that there was but little use of speaking.

²⁵³ Ibid., (Tuesday, 26 September 1871), 98.

I finally said that if there should be a Christian among the men – which I did not know – but if there should be it would be not fair to compel such a one to work on the Sabbath against his convictions. Selwyn said that he was a Christian and he worked and would work. – Why I replied as I did I cannot say but after all I think it was for the best – I said that I was sorry that if he was a Christian to hear him swear so much. At this as quick as powder he flew into a fearful rage and I thought for a time that he was going to throw a stone or a stick at me. He cried out “What is that you say. What is that you say? I never swore and if you say I did you lie.” I said that in my estimation cursing and swearing are so near allied together that I could not distinguish the difference if he did not swear in the strict sense of the word cursing was of a daily occurrence. This he also denied and again said you lie. You lie. I was really surprised to hear him deny this as he damns very very frequently and to this others can bear testimony. In his rage he said that he did not bring me out here to preach to him or to advise him what to do. That if I was going to do that or was not satisfied with what he did I could turn and go home. Further he was the head of the party and would do as he liked. My calm answer and full recognition of his headship etc. soon calmed him again. I said that I felt that I had done my duty and a Christian I am always thankful if others tell me of my faults (which I have many) so that by a more perfect knowledge of them I may the more clearly correct them, by the spirits assistance and I did not see why he should become so excited if one of his faults is told him. Our conversation fell back to Sabbath labour and I finally told him that I should say no more but would leave the matter with him and his God and left.²⁵⁴

If Baltzly did have a criminal past in Ohio, albeit one of financial desperation, it is clear that he wanted to put it well behind him and claimed his religious morality wholeheartedly.

The frustration grew between the two men as the journey took the team across the continent by train to San Francisco, and north by boat to Victoria. From Victoria, the expedition was planned to travel along the North Thompson River with the hope of reaching Jasper House. Leaving with “12 horses carrying about 3600 lbs. of provisions and photographic equipment (the latter about 450 lbs.),”²⁵⁵ the team travelled from Victoria to Yale, then to Kamloops at the mouth of the North Thompson River where they intended to follow the river to Yellowhead Pass, also known as Leather Pass, and Tête Jaune Cache [App. 22, Map 2]. The party fell short of their

²⁵⁴ Ibid., (Saturday, 2 September 1871), 72-75.

²⁵⁵ Alfred R. C. Selwyn, notebook, Peace River District British Columbia 1871, Natural Resources Canada fonds, Geological Survey of Canada sous-fonds, RG 45, Vol. 71, File 2718, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (19 August 1871).

ambitions to reach Jasper House with their journey quickly taking a turn for the worse when it encountered impenetrable forests and underbrush, a lack of cut trails, insurmountable mountains, misguided guides, weakening horses, and the onset of winter ice and cold. The greatest impediment to the survey was the lack of suitable feed for horses and mules. During the last few weeks of the survey, any horses that remained alive had to be abandoned, which proved a particularly traumatic event for Baltzly who had formed an attachment to his horse. Even Selwyn remarked in his notebook that, “coming over the mountain Mr. B’s horse “Dick” [...] had to be left as he would not move even without saddle.”²⁵⁶ For the photographic team, there was a particularly close call that could have cost them a large portion of their work when the team’s guides had to manoeuvre a canoe through ice and difficult rapids:

They took one pair of blankets each for Hammond and I and also my large overcoat. One box with a lot of 8x10 negatives, alcohol and sulphates of iron. Saddle and bridle. Some axes and a bag of beans. All went well until they got to the lower end of the rapids where was the worst capsized. Away went our roll of blankets and my overcoat skipping over the foaming water like a feather, down went the saddle, axes and beans. W.P. swam to the shore and La Rue swam to the canoe and swam pushing it as well as he could till we threw him a rope and pulled him out. After both Indians were safe I began to fret about my negatives thinking they were lost. But when the canoe was turned up to my surprise and joy there was the box containing my negatives, alcohol etc. entangled under the cross pieces of the canoe so they did not fall out. It is a very strange occurrence that everything in the canoe should be lost except the one box which on account of my negatives I value even above my own baggage. [...] Hammond and I had quite a job drying our negatives and repacking them. I thought much of home today, thought of its Sabbath privileges and prayed that for long I might be there to enjoy them again.²⁵⁷

The arduous journey lasted six months, and though the members were lucky to have survived, they came away with a positive impression. Selwyn, in particular, wrote that “there can be scarcely a doubt in the mind of anyone who has visited the country, that a bright and prosperous

²⁵⁶ Selwyn, notebook, British Columbia 1871, 18.

²⁵⁷ Baltzly, journal, (Sunday, 5 November 1871), 128-129.

future is in store for the Alpine Province of the great Dominion; only to be realised, however, when the iron road shall have brought her in closer communication with her elder sisters in the east.²⁵⁸

A Servant of Two Masters

Over the course of the expedition, Baltzly's difficulties extended far beyond the strenuous physical hardships of the survey as on top of these he also felt the demands of both Selwyn and of Notman, and his own inspirations in producing photographs.²⁵⁹ It is clear that he was conscious of his obligations to his two masters where he writes on Monday August 14 that:

I felt that I could not do justice to either myself, Mr. Notman, or the Government by attempting to view when I am tired out by long marches on foot. Again while I stopped to take views I would retard the train. I felt the proper way is for Mr. Selwyn to furnish a horse each to Mr. Hammond and myself and a pack horse or mule to carry the necessary photo materials for the day, then when we stop to view the rest can pass on and we follow at our leisure and meet them in the evening. These facts I presented to Mr. Selwyn and he is quite agreeable to it, I will furnish us with horses, etc.²⁶⁰

Baltzly had to satisfy Selwyn who wanted accurate records of geographical features, and Notman who surely wanted exciting and beautiful photographs to sell. Baltzly managed to please both successfully, selling several hundred dollars' worth of prints on the return trip,²⁶¹ as well as

²⁵⁸ Alfred R. C. Selwyn, "Journal and Report of Preliminary Explorations in British Columbia," in *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress for 1871-72* (Montreal, Que., Dawson Bros., 1872), 17.

²⁵⁹ Birrell was the first to suggest that "Baltzly really was to serve two masters and two purposes." However, unlike this thesis, which argues that Baltzly satisfied both Selwyn and Notman's requirements through an examination of the photographs as they appear in private albums, Birrell writes that, "the fact that so few photographs from the expedition have survived outside the official government agencies for which they were taken is an indication that Notman's investment was not rewarded." Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly*, 18.

²⁶⁰ Baltzly, journal, (Monday, 14 August 1871), 59.

²⁶¹ Baltzly, journal, (Tuesday, 26 December 1871), 150.

having a set of his photographs submitted to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State, by Selwyn.²⁶² The result is that the same set of Baltzly's photographs were immediately disseminated in two different arenas, one of scientific recording and documentation, through Selwyn's reports, and the other of visual consumption, sold through the Notman studio as aesthetic vistas, voyeuristic and thrilling sights of unknown territory, and as new subjects for amateur and hobby scientists.²⁶³

Selwyn's mission to explore possible routes for the CPR was clearly laid out for him in a correspondence from Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, who wrote:

With a view to secure accurate illustrations of the physical features of the country and of other objects of interest which may be met with during the exploration, you are authorized to make arrangements with Mr. Notman, of Montreal, for a photographic artist to accompany the expedition, on the understanding that he is paid and equipped by Mr. Notman; his travelling expenses only being paid by the government. Of these, one half will in accordance with your arrangement with the Engineer-in-chief, Mr. Fleming, be made chargeable to the Pacific Railroad Exploration Fund, and the other to the appropriation for geological purposes in British Columbia. Considering the lengthened experience both of yourself and Mr. Richardson in explorations of the kind you are now undertaking, it is not thought necessary to instruct you more particularly as to the various subjects in addition to those appertaining especially to geology, to which your attention should be directed, such as the nature of the soil, the vegetation, the quality and kind of timber, the distribution of plants and animals, the character of the climate, &c., &c., on all of which interesting and valuable information may no doubt be gathered.²⁶⁴

Selwyn must have favoured the idea of taking a photographer as he agreed to pay for a portion of the expenses.

²⁶² In his report Selwyn states, "...a complete set of which, comprising 36 views 8x10 and 84 stereoscopic views, is transmitted herewith." Selwyn, "Journal and Report of Preliminary Explorations in British Columbia," 19. However, the only complete set of Baltzly photographs is held at the McCord Notman Photographic Archives by way of the Notman Studio. Library and Archives Canada does not contain a complete set of Baltzly photographs, which is where the photographs submitted with Selwyn's report would have likely ended up. This is confirmed in: Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly*, 20.

²⁶³ The photographs were advertised as "grand scenery" and sold at a cost of \$3.00 for a dozen stereoscopic views and \$1.00 for an 8x10 to be ordered directly through Baltzly before his departure from Victoria and would be "published by Wm. Notman, Photographer to the Queen, Montreal, and sent to any address postage pre-paid." Benjamin F. Baltzly, "Geological Survey," *The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle* 26, no. 149 (1 December 1871): 2. My many thanks to Joan Schwartz for sharing her discovery of this wonderful clipping.

²⁶⁴ Selwyn, "Journal and Report of Preliminary Explorations in British Columbia," 17.

As we have seen, in terms of making appropriate moral decisions, Selwyn and Baltzly did not work well together. This, compounded by terrible weather conditions, must have intensely frustrated Selwyn – a man who, from twenty-five years of experience, clearly understood the rigours of the expedition and the scientific demands placed on the team. Despite their conflicts over the Sabbath, Baltzly did come through for Selwyn in his obligations as a photographer and as a team member, taking over the allocation of provisions when the rigours of the survey became dire. Photographically, Baltzly met the expectations of Selwyn, who in his *Report of Progress* wrote:

To the zeal and perseverance, often under the most unfavourable circumstances, of Messrs. Baltzly and Hammond, of Mr. Notman's staff, are due the very beautiful and interesting photographic illustrations of the route from Yale to the Leather Pass, a complete set of which, comprising 36 views 8 x 10 and 84 stereoscopic views, is transmitted herewith.²⁶⁵

Selwyn makes it clear that it was well worth the hassle to have a photographer attached to the team. In addition to being “beautiful,” the photographs were “interesting,” providing their own layer of depth to the final results of the expedition.

Selwyn makes over forty direct references to the photographs in his official reports. The photographs are used to provide a visual description of his written observations and assessments. For example, he writes that the photographs “afford an excellent idea of the general aspect of this elevated region” and “afford a good representation of one of these cedar forests.”²⁶⁶ Selwyn gives credit to Baltzly for having contributed to the observations of the survey party. For example he writes that, “there are many fine examples of ice grooves and scratches on the rocky shores of the island, some of which, near Victoria, are well shown in the stereoscopic views

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 19.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 70.

taken by Mr. Baltzly during our stay there.”²⁶⁷ For Selwyn the photographs [App. 5, Fig. 64] are used to reinforce scientific observations, acting as didactic illustrations and also as visual documentary evidence. As with the photographs of ice-grooved rocks, a successful photograph was one that was used to corroborate his observations visually. That photography was understood to be inherently descriptive in its objectivity, the photographs provide an added assurance that Selwyn’s observations were both real and correct. Baltzly mentions the ice-grooved rocks photographs in his entry for Friday, July 21, 1871. About the day he writes:

Nothing special today. Took three views of some beautiful ice grooved rocks at Finlayson’s point about a mile and a half from here. Everything seems to be done in a strange way in Victoria. The post office is all out of gear. It is only open when the mail comes in and that is about two or three times a week. Even the eating is peculiar. If a person has plenty of time and any amount of patience, he may get bread by the yard. To me this is strange. While eating supper, or dinner as they call it, Mr. Moberly, chief engineer of the railroad survey, desired me to take their photograph in a group. So after finishing supper Messrs. Moberly, Selwyn, McLennan and myself went to Mr. McDonald’s residence to look for a specific place for to take the graph. Found a pretty good place and made an appointment for nine o’clock tomorrow.²⁶⁸

Baltzly makes no note of having been directed by Selwyn to photograph the rocks in this entry. However, Selwyn’s *Report of Progress* indicates that sometimes Baltzly was indeed directed. In Selwyn’s notebook there is only one other mention of Baltzly having taken any photographs. On Thursday October 19, Selwyn wrote: “B + H secured one or two views but the light was not favourable.”²⁶⁹ These photographs were of Moose Lake [App. 5, Fig. 65], about which Baltzly remarks in his journal, “I took a few views but the weather was very gloomy and a blue haze filled the atmosphere so some of them are not very good and then it was late in the evening.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 53.

²⁶⁸ Baltzly, journal, (Friday, 21 July 1871), 36-37.

²⁶⁹ Selwyn, notebook, British Columbia 1871, 16.

²⁷⁰ Baltzly, journal, (Thursday, 19 October 1871), 118.

Selwyn found the photographs useful in his scientific reports, however when Baltzly proposed setting up an official photographic department for the surveys, he was rebuffed for financial reasons: “It would doubtless be [...] useful [...] but I have great doubts as regards its success in a financial point of view. It has already been tried here under Sir W.E. Logan’s direction and was found not to work satisfactorily.”²⁷¹ This indicates that though there were benefits to having a photographer accompany an expedition, he was not considered an essential part of the team. In other words, the photographs, though useful, were somewhat superfluous to the actual scientific data required.²⁷²

Notman was no less invested than Selwyn in Baltzly’s photographs. Though Notman understood the value of the photograph in recording for scientific and engineering purposes, he must have also seen the potential for great profit to be made by selling the photographs to a public that was eager to consume interesting views of the farthest reaches of the country. Stanley Triggs explains Notman’s own photographs in this framework – as more than just document, but rather also an encapsulation of the essence of the achievements being photographed. Triggs writes of Notman’s photographs of the new and marvelous Victoria Bridge that “art and science are molded together in William Notman’s photographs just as in the stone and steel of the bridge [...] He forged his own bold new world imagery which best suited his expressive needs and the

²⁷¹ Letter from Alfred R. C. Selwyn to Benjamin F. Baltzly, 28 February 1873, RG 45, Vol. 76, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

²⁷² At the time of this correspondence, photography had only been used in specific instances on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploratory Expedition (1858), the North American Boundary Commission (1858-1862), and in the early stages of the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys (1871-1879). The benefits of survey photography as a scientific tool for mapping and photogrammetry were not being yet fully developed in the Canadian context. Andrew Birrell has written an excellent piece on survey photography in British Columbia in the nineteenth-century that charts the technical incorporation of the camera in surveys: “Survey Photography in British Columbia 1858-1900.” *BC Studies*, no. 52 (Winter 1981): 39–60. See also: I.S. MacLaren’s *Mapper of Mountains: M.P. Bridgeland in the Canadian Rockies 1902 – 1930* (Edmonton, Alta.: University of Alberta Press, 2005) explores the fruition of technical uses of the camera in the early twentieth century.

tempo of the time and place.”²⁷³ In addition to the melding of art and science, Notman was also exceptional at marketing and self-promotion. For example, after sending a portfolio of the Victoria Bridge photographs to the Prince of Wales, he touted himself as “Photographer to the Queen,” displaying a duplicate copy of the portfolio in his studio for customers to admire. This example is only one of the many ways Notman built up his reputation: creating and contributing to publications such as *North American Scenery* (1864), *Portraits of British North Americans* (1865), *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist’s Guide* (1866), *McGill College and Its Medals* (1872); his involvement with various associations such as the AAM; and his contribution and involvement with world fairs, for example the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876.

In addition to his reputation, what made Notman so prolific was his understanding of the consumer. Joan Schwartz questions what such a potential consumer would look for in purchasing the type of photographs Baltzly produced during the expedition by exploring the idea of the armchair traveler. She suggests armchair travel as a process of “virtual witnessing.” She writes that:

From the widely held maxims that “seeing is believing” and “the camera does not lie”, it was a short leap of the imagination that allowed armchair travelers to believe they could acquire knowledge through the visual immediacy of photographs. The act of virtual witnessing was made possible by the authority of visual “truth” derived in part from the photograph’s mechanical origins.²⁷⁴

Considering both Zeller’s and Berger’s emphases on the importance of natural science at this moment in Canadian history as acts of inventorying and possession, then the notion of the armchair traveler as outlined by Schwartz participates in this act. By viewing a location one can

²⁷³ Triggs, *William Notman*, 24.

²⁷⁴ Joan M. Schwartz, “The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996): 33.

lay claim to knowledge of that place. Relying on the accuracy of the camera, the armchair traveller is able to identify and categorize the characteristics of that place as well. The notion of the armchair traveler was made possible by the ease with which photography could be bought and circulated, allowing the viewer of the photograph and of the three-dimensional stereoscopic view to experience distant locales. The profile of such a visitor, however, must have been quite broad, ranging from the merely curious to the amateur naturalist, and considering the purposes of the survey itself, the professional geologist.

The photographs Baltzly produced were important to Notman as demonstrated in the attention paid by Notman to the project. Baltzly indicates that Notman was keeping tabs on his progress when he writes: “Mr. Notman desired me to send him a copy of my journal. But I think if you will let him read this, it will be sufficient. So after you have finished reading this you might give it to Mr. Notman and request him to return it to you after he has finished reading – or got tired of reading.”²⁷⁵ A week later Baltzly reinforces to his wife the importance of delivering the journal for Notman’s inspection: “As in the former, if Mr. Notman desires to read this journal you will have the kindness to let him have it to read. But I desire you to retain all the copies of the Journals I send you.”²⁷⁶ In regards to amassing photographs, generating sales, and recouping part of his own wages, Baltzly was successful in his obligations to Notman. At the end of his journal he writes that, “I have brought home with me 37 8x10 negatives and 88 stereo negatives. I took orders in British Columbia to the amount of \$400.00 cash.”²⁷⁷

A Study of Albums

²⁷⁵ Baltzly, journal, (Tuesday, 11 July 1871), 23.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., (Monday, 24 July 1871), 40.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., (Tuesday, 26 December 1871), 150.

There is no record of who ordered and purchased Baltzly's prints from the Notman studio. The most important remaining clues about the consumers of Baltzly's photographs are the photographs as they exist in albums. The Archives of Ontario (AO) holds three albums of interest to this study. The first is an album of seventy-nine albumen prints – though now taken apart page by page and without a cover or binding – titled by the archive as “Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson photographs.” The collection was donated to the archives by Mrs. Basil Eyre in October, 1972, having been initially compiled by Mrs. Eyre's mother during her visit to Canada from Dublin, Ireland.²⁷⁸ The album raises questions regarding the ways the photographs have been titled. A comparison of the archival finding aid, the title as written in the album by its original owner or compiler, the McCord archival name, the name in the Notman ledger and the name in the Notman Picture Book for the expedition exposes many variations [App. 8]. The Notman ledger is the filing and numbering system used for every negative made by a photographer employed by the Notman studio. Glass plates were inscribed with a number, as were any prints made from it, with the number then recorded in the ledger, and the plate placed and stored in a numbered envelope – useful should a customer come in and demand a reprint of a particular photograph. The Notman Picture Books were arranged and captioned albums that Notman had on display in his studio with the idea that customers would peruse the Picture Book and purchase prints. Baltzly's work on the GSC was arranged in such a picture book.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Descriptive Database, F 4357, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/762/1/4/14674?RECORD&DATABASE=DESCRIPTION_WEB_INT#findaid (10/19/2013)

²⁷⁹ Photographic archivist at the McCord Museum, Nora Hague, has written an insightful article describing the Notman Picture Books: Nora Hague, “The Notman Photographic Archives and You,” *Connections* 18 (March 1996).

In his essay, “Naming the View” in *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, Alan Trachtenberg suggests that the survey photographs of Timothy O’Sullivan have been narrated in several ways. While O’Sullivan was trying to fit them into a survey style, Clarence King, the survey leader was using them in personal, scientific and commercial arrangements. Trachtenberg states that, “with a change of title or caption the survey photographs were freely adapted to sundry uses. This flexibility confounds the question of their precise role within the surveys. The fact is that they probably did not have a precise scientific role. They served purposes as varied as the subjects they depict.”²⁸⁰ Trachtenberg frames his discussion of O’Sullivan’s photographs based on their varying original modes of presentation and in doing so, creates an hypothesis as to why the photographs were taken in the first place, and highlights the many ambiguities surrounding their various final presentations. The multiple titles for singular photographs and their use and arrangement within different contexts introduce, for Trachtenberg, a clue into the photograph’s purpose and function, arrangement and display.²⁸¹

Quebec Family History Society website. Accessed May 1, 2016. <http://www.quebecgenweb.com/~qcmtl-w/notman.htm>

²⁸⁰ Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images As History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1990), 127.

²⁸¹ There is another discussion that comes up when thinking about the Clarence King surveys and religion. Trachtenberg draws connections between naming the view and King’s belief in Catastrophism – that God created natural phenomena like the Grand Canyon over a short period of time in a God willed catastrophe. Catastrophism was understood by King as a legitimate scientific theory and appears not only in the naming of the photographs but also in his influence and direction of O’Sullivan. Keith Burich’s essay ““Something Newer and Nobler Is Called into Being”: Clarence King, Catastrophism, and California” in *California History* 72, no. 3 (1993) explores this influence and the impact of religion on United States scientific endeavor. Zeller points out that the ideas of Creationism and Catastrophism made their way into the Canadian context. Whether or not Baltzly was aware of these approaches to science I can’t be sure of, however there is a moment in his journal where he thinks about the actual creation of the geological features he is observing. On Tuesday October 17 he writes: “Soon we came to a very rocky side of a mountain flattening a little as it neared the river. The boulders of rock are scattered around thickly in every direction and in places piled up. It seems that in the age of the world a great earthquake rendered the mountain of rocks into fragments and scattered them as above described.” Baltzly, journal, 116. King would have attributed the earthquake to an act of God. But here, Baltzly makes no mention of God, and no attribution of the event of the earthquake to a sudden act of God.

A similar set of deductions can be made about the assortment of names given to the Baltzly views. The titles written by Mrs. Eyre's mother, the original compiler of the album, correspond most closely with the title in the Notman Picture Book. For example the photograph titled *Indian Camp and Scenery at Bonaparte, B.C.* in the album [App. 7, Fig. 75] is most similar to the Notman Picture Book title "Indian Camp and Mountain Scenery at Bonaparte B.C." as is the photograph titled *View at Great Bend of Thompson R. Clear Water B.C.* in the album [App. 7, Fig. 74] to the Notman Picture Book title "View at the Great Bend of the N. Thompson River 21 mls Above Clear Water, B.C." [App. 8, Table 3] This indicates that Mrs. Eyre's mother would have most likely selected the photographs from a Picture Book at the Notman Studio during her visit to Montreal. It is unlikely that she would have herself made it to the North Thompson River, or British Columbia. This suggests that the photographs she chose were based on their visual interest, such as cascades, cliffs and river bends [App. 7, Figs. 72, 73, 74], and on their intrigue as scenes of a distant and strange place, including photographs of Indigenous peoples' camps and canoe portages over snow and ice [App. 7, Figs. 75, 76]. It is also suggestive that Eyre, or the assistant at the Notman studio who assembled the album for Eyre if she did not do so herself, left out the more technical elements of the titles, as with measurements of height and distance. For example, Eyre's title *Forest Scene in British Columbia* [App. 7, Fig. 73] is listed as "Camp of the Geological Survey near the head of Mad River B.C. – Altitude of Camp 6000 ft." in the Notman Picture books [App. 8, Table 3]. The different titles given to Baltzly views indicates the multiple functions of the photographs – sometimes reflecting the more technical, scientific usage as with Selwyn's photographs of ice-grooved rocks, and in their renaming and simplification to views of scenery.

The second album containing Baltzly photographs at the AO is the Edward Wilkes Rathbun Album. The album contains 190 photographs, and is again ascribed entirely to Henderson and Notman. This album, due to its delicate condition, is only available to be viewed as “copyprints.” The archival descriptive database describes the album as:

An oversize album of photographs taken by William Notman and Alexander Henderson that was given to Edward Wilkes Rathbun from a group of employees as a Christmas gift in 1872. It contains views of Toronto, the Thousand Islands, Ottawa and Montreal, as well as locations in Quebec, Halifax and British Columbia. Also included are winter and hunting scenes and photographs of various waterfalls. The album was donated to the Archives of Ontario by H. V. Franklin in 1953.²⁸²

Rathbun was the son of Hastings County lumber entrepreneur Hugo B. Rathbun. He became General Manager of his father's Rathbun Industries around 1862, and was the Vice President of the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada.²⁸³ Unlike Mrs. Eyre’s mother, Rathbun was not a visitor to Canada, nor was he the compiler of the album.

In *Suspended Conversations*, Martha Langford makes the distinction between an album that is a memoir and an album that is a travelogue. A memoir is “a person’s account of the incidents in their life”²⁸⁴ and a travelogue “takes the form of an illustrated lecture.”²⁸⁵ Both of these types of albums are personal albums, and are reflective of the story the compiler wishes to create. The Eyre album is in some ways both. It is reflective of the places visited, Montreal for certain, and in this way an inventory or manifest of Mrs. Eyre’s mother’s travels. With the inclusion of Baltzly photographs, the album becomes an illustrated lecture on the wonders of the Canadian wilderness for those who have the album performed for them by Eyre. Conversely, the

²⁸² Edward Wilkes Rathbun fonds, Descriptive Database, F 4360, Archives of Ontario Descriptive Database, Archives of Ontario Toronto, Ontario. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/40/DESCRIPTION_WEB_INT/REFD/F~204360?JUMP (10/22/2013)

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Langford, 64.

²⁸⁵ Langford, 65.

Rathbun album, while also a private album, was not compiled by Rathbun, but rather by colleagues as a gift. This indicates that there was a demand for landscape views beyond one's own memoir or travelogue. Notman was surely keen to exploit this market. In addition to producing publications like his 1864 *North American Scenery*, there was a demand for customized albums drawn from the Notman Picture Books. Canadians were ready consumers of views of the Canadian landscape, so much so that an album of them was worthy of being a gift to such a notable person as Rathbun.

The third album held in the collection of the AO is in the William Notman fonds, which contains an album of seventy-two photographs of scenes in Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and British Columbia. The album is described by AO as having “originally belonged to the Rev. H. E. Maddock of St. Ann's Church, Toronto (1878).”²⁸⁶ Reverend Henry E. Maddock was a part of Toronto's intellectual community. In the *Clerical Guide and Churchman's Directory: An Annual Register for the Clergy and Laity of the Anglican Church in British North America* for 1877 he is listed as a professor of classics at Trinity College, Toronto.²⁸⁷ Maddock was at Trinity College until 1878.²⁸⁸ By 1884 he had taken an appointment at Clare College at the University of Cambridge.²⁸⁹ In the U.K., Maddock became a member of the Yorkshire Naturalist Union.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ William Notman fonds, Descriptive Database, F 4358, Archives of Ontario Descriptive Database, Archives of Ontario Toronto, Ontario. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/2690/1/2/8007?RECORD&DATABASE=DESCRIPTION_WEB_INT

²⁸⁷ C. V. Forster Bliss, ed., *Clerical Guide and Churchman's Directory: An Annual Register for the Clergy and Laity of the Anglican Church in British North America* (Ottawa, Ont.: J. Durie & Son, 1877), 209.

²⁸⁸ T. A. Reid, ed., *A History of the University of Trinity College Toronto, 1852-1952* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 80. “Dean Ambery, who had retired as Professor of Classics, was succeeded in 1875 by the Reverend William Jones as Dean and the Reverend Henry E. Maddock as Professor of Classics. The latter's occupancy was brief, he being followed in 1878 by the Reverend Algernon Boys.”

²⁸⁹ “The Master and Fellows of Clare College,” *The Illustrated London News* 85, no. 2361 (19 July 1884): 55; “The Rev. H. E. Maddock,” *Supplement to the Cambridge Review* (13 May 1885): 3.

²⁹⁰ John Gilber Baker, ed., *Transactions of the Yorkshire Naturalists Union; North Yorkshire: Studies of its Botany, Geology, Climate, and Physical Geography* (Leeds, U.K.: Taylor Brothers, 1892), 236. “Rev. H. E. Maddock [...] were added to the list of permanent members of the General Committee.”

The Union continues to exist today as an association for amateur and professional naturalists to study the nature and ecology of the Yorkshire area. As with the Rathbun album, this album was a gift to Maddock; on the final page it is inscribed with a handwritten note, “H. E. Maddock, With best wishes, and in grateful remembrance of services rendered to them. From the Incumbent, Churchwardens, and Parishioners of St. Ann’s, Toronto. June, 1878.” This album was likely assembled with selected photographs from the inventory of the Notman studio [App. 8, Table 4]. This is reinforced by the AO’s indication that Notman is the only photographer for the album. The album is similar to the Eyre album as a visual marker of time spent in Canada; it is not a travel album, but a souvenir album of Maddock’s time in Toronto, and Canada, before moving to the U.K. There are photographs of monuments and important Canadian buildings, including a photograph of Trinity College and five photographs of various buildings on the University of Toronto campus. This indicates that the album was assembled specifically for Maddock, a professor at Trinity College. However, in Maddock, we find another possible use for Baltzly’s photographs. If we take the album to reflect Maddock’s interests: there are ten photographs of staged hunting and camping scenes taken by William Notman; two photographs of a Pullman Palace train car; five photographs of winter activities including snowshoeing and tobogganing; a view of Montreal taken from the mountain top; and numerous photographs of waterfalls. Knowing that Maddock was involved in naturalist associations, the photographs in the album reflect his interest in the outdoors and in travel. The album is not organized geographically, and the five Baltzly photographs are found scattered throughout and placed on the same pages as photographs from Quebec, Ontario, and the Maritimes [App. 7, Figs. 77-80]. Four of the Baltzly photographs included are views of mountains and hillsides including Assiniboine Bluff, Savona

Ferry, and Hell's Gate.²⁹¹ The remaining photograph is *Forest Trees on the N. Thompson River, B.C.* [App. 7, Fig. 80]. Perhaps this photograph of large spruce trees, which fill the frame in its entirety, was chosen as a reflection of Maddock's naturalist interests. At the very least, the album brings together through photography the interests of the amateur scientist, the religious minister, and an assembly of the Canadian experience.

Though not an album proper, the Kamloops Museum and Archives (KMA) holds a significant collection of Baltzly photographs [App. 8, Table 5]. The photographs are mounted on card with an embossed Notman stamp underneath. They are "mostly rectangular 9½ x 7¼, with a few very slightly smaller and a few with the upper corners curved."²⁹² Robb Gilbert, Archivist at the KMA describes the photographs in the collection as:

24 x 19 cm albumen prints [...] Not in an album, rather individual prints with a 'Notman Photo' stamp on the lower right below the images. [...] The numbers 1453-78 and the Kamloops Museum Association stamp on the back of each of the prints, however, lead me to believe they were likely donated to the KMA in the mid-to-late 1960s.²⁹³

Gilbert kindly shared some of the detective work done by KMA curator Mary Balf through her correspondence with Stanley Triggs at the McCord. Little can be determined about the actual album, other than it may have come into the KMA collection during the chaos of the Second World War through J. A. MacLaren's son who was posted as an officer in Kamloops.²⁹⁴ Despite this, the series of Baltzly photographs offers some understanding of their original consumers. That the photographs have Notman stamps indicates that they were likely bought directly from the Notman studio. The titles of the photographs in the KMA records correspond precisely with

²⁹¹ For a clarification on the geographical and photographed location of Hell's Gate see note 613.

²⁹² Letter from Mary Balf to Stanley Triggs, 23 January 1963, Kamloops Museum and Archives, Kamloops, B.C.

²⁹³ Email from Robb Gilbert, archivist, to Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, Friday, 27 September 2013, Kamloops Museum and Archives, Kamloops Museum and Archives, Kamloops, B.C.

²⁹⁴ Baltzly does indicate, however, that he took several orders for photographs while in British Columbia. It is possible that such photographs arrived in Kamloops as part of one such order.

the titles in the Notman Picture Book. Unlike the albums from the AO, these photographs seem to have come together under a less personal circumstance. There is a J.A. MacLaren listed in the County of Simcoe records as the “former owner-publisher, *Barrie Examiner*.”²⁹⁵ MacLaren was editor of the *Barrie Examiner* until at least 1945.²⁹⁶ He also published a work describing his experience sailing through the West Indies.²⁹⁷ Though it is unclear how MacLaren acquired the Baltzly prints, it is possible that he bought them with the intention of publishing them in the newspaper, and purchased them directly from the Notman studio, which only closed its doors in 1935, or through the Associated Screen News, to which the collection was sold before its purchase by McGill University in 1956.²⁹⁸

Comparing the KMA photographs to the albums from the AO provides a synthesis of Schwartz’s armchair traveller, Langford’s memoirist, and Trachtenberg’s naming of the view. The Eyre album was an album in the truest sense of a place for the ordering of one’s personal memory and experience. This is reflected in her decision to include photographs of places that she didn’t personally visit, but that instead captured a feeling of the Canadian wilderness, and also in her modification of the titles of the photographs from specific place names to types of

²⁹⁵ Performance Management Committee – Archives Activity Report, PM 05-096, October 13, 2005, County of Simcoe Archives, Midhurst, Ont.

²⁹⁶ We can put a tentative date on MacLaren through the scarce existing records surrounding his career at the *Barrie Examiner*. Page 20 of the *Winnipeg Tribune* on August 13, 1937 writes about MacLaren “BARRIE EXAMINER WINS TROPHY FOR WEEKLY PAPERS HALIFAX, Aug. 13. Thursday's meeting of the 18th annual convention of the Canadian Weekly Newspapers' association here was presentation of the Mason trophy to J. A. MacLaren, of The Barrie, Ont., Examiner, for excellence in the field of papers having more than 2,000 circulation. The presentation was made by Clendenan Pierce, of the Simcoe Ont., Reformer.” The Simcoe County Archives have a record from 1945 for MacLaren’s Golden (fifty year) Anniversary as editor for the *Barrie Examiner*, suggesting that he would have held a position there since 1895. (Simcoe County Archives “MacLaren Luncheon Programme” 1945 Accession number 997-117) This places MacLaren at the end of his career at the *Barrie Examiner* around 1945, perhaps finding a home for his collection of Baltzly photographs at the KMA around the “end of the war” date that Mary Balf guesses the photographs had been acquired.

²⁹⁷ J.A. MacLaren, *A Vagabond Cruise to the West Indies* (Barrie, Ont.: Barrie Examiner, 1949).

²⁹⁸ Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds, and Stanley Triggs, *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens* (Toronto, Ont.: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993), 63-64.

scenes – *Forest Scene in British Columbia*, for example. The Eyre album stages a witnessing of both place and feeling. The MacLaren collection of Baltzly photographs at the KMA sits at the opposite end of the spectrum, with the Rathbun and Maddock albums sitting somewhere in the middle. In the MacLaren collection, the photographs, while not an album, do work as a series, an important consideration as they were in the hands of a newspaper publisher. MacLaren would have found value in the photographs as an adventure story. The titles of the photographs, which include mileages and distances, reinforce the documentary and descriptive aspect of the photographs.

The albums, with their various compilers, are examples of how people were using photography and the process of ordering to mediate land into experienced and imagined landscape. Take for example the photograph titled *Portage. Upper Gate of Murchison Rapids on North Thompson River, B. Columbia* [App. 7, Fig. 76], which occupies an entire page of the Eyre album to itself. It is certainly descriptive in its subject: a dense forest, rushing water, ice-frosted rocks, and the efforts of eleven individuals hauling a large canoe onto shore. These elements would have contributed to Eyre's mother's account of the hardships and adventure in exploring a rugged land. Visually, this operates in a similar way to Hime's photographs, and can be placed under the aesthetic category of the Picturesque in that it arranges and conveys information about land. As with Hime's photographs, parallels can be drawn to topographic watercolours such as John Flemming's "Beginning of Great Dog Portage" [App. 2, Fig. 55] and William Hind's "An Escape at fourth Rapid" [App. 2, Fig. 56], which were discussed in Chapter One. Both of the watercolours and Baltzly's photograph are compositionally similar: the canoe and the action of paddling or bringing it ashore are centrally placed; the dense forest surrounds and encroaches upon the action; and the rushing water whitecaps, in the watercolours, and blurs in the

photograph. Furthermore, just as “Beginning of Great Dog Portage” was discussed in Chapter One as a sketch that assembled various activities occurring across a span of time into a single scene, the Baltzly photograph is no less constructed. Baltzly needed time to set up his camera ahead of the action, and would have required the people in the photograph to be momentarily still in order to prevent their blurring as the rushing water behind them did. For all of its descriptive capabilities, both as survey document and in its use in private albums, this was a photograph carefully orchestrated by Baltzly. But there is more to this photograph than its descriptive qualities that capture the imagination. Why did Eyre’s mother choose this photograph? And why did Birrell, Wilson, and others such as geographers Cole Harris and John Warkentin choose this photograph to reproduce on the cover of their books?²⁹⁹ The answer is in the formal values contained in the photograph – the play of light and shadow between the branches of the trees, against the outcroppings of rock, across the water, and between the white canoe and nearly silhouetted people; the complexity of textures in the smooth rocks along the shore and the jagged and layered rocks of the escarpment, between the rough trees and smooth water; and, the extraordinary detail and depth of field of the photographic medium. Together these features create a photograph that is visually striking. The vantage of the photograph makes it easy for viewers to imagine themselves immersed in this scene – as part of the action, standing on the frosted rocks, feeling the cold air, smelling the water and damp trees as winter sets in. The immersive experience is Romantic in feeling, heightened by the sentiments of untamed nature associated with Canadian exploration. Not only has land been mediated into landscape through readings of the photograph, but it also brings together the Picturesque and the Romantic, description and feeling. It is this mediation that made the photograph so appealing to Eyre’s

²⁹⁹ Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly*; Wilson, *Secure the Shadow*; Cole Harris and John Warkentin, *Canada Before Confederation* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1977).

mother as she selected photographs for her album, to the contemporary scholars who have selected it to cover their publications, and to a collective imagination seeking both information and experience.

Meditations on Nature and God

Baltzly served the wishes of Selwyn and Notman, with inclusion of his photographs in reports and private albums, however, he was, perhaps foremost, a servant to God. His religious devotion is most apparent in his strict observation of religious practices, but also in his desire to photograph. The journal is rife with moments when Baltzly feels the presence of God in the landscape. For example on Saturday, July 1 Baltzly writes that, “the beauties of Echo Canyon are so many, so majestic, so awe inspiring in their sublime that I am led to think of the greatness, majesty and glory of the creator of all these wonders.”³⁰⁰ This tendency to wrap the land in religious grandeur is not an uncommon reaction in the nineteenth century. In *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape*, Susan Glickman explores this relationship in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Canadian poetry, providing close readings of several poetic works, including Susanna Moodie's "Enthusiasm," Charles G.D. Roberts's *Ave*, and Paulette Jiles's "Song to the Rising Sun." Glickman argues that the Canadian landscape has always contained a mysterious, wild and grand expectation from those who have explored and settled it, an inherent Sublime quality.³⁰¹ It is through the descriptive language of the Sublime, invoking God in the landscape through words such as ‘awe’ and ‘majesty’ that Baltzly expresses

³⁰⁰ Baltzly, journal, (Saturday, 1 July 1871), 9.

³⁰¹ Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), i.

the Sublime. In addition to poetry, this type of language is also found in British North American and early Canadian travel journals of both commissioned explorers and daring adventurers. Glickman's examination of Susanna Moodie offers an excellent example of this early writing, Moodie having produced both poetry and a journal. Travel journals were often published, as was Moodie's 1852 *Roughing it in the Bush*. Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle's *The Northwest Passage by Land*, which Baltzly read during the expedition, is another example.³⁰² Poets and writers were not the only ones to produce journals that connected the land with God. Carl Berger discusses the writings of several nineteenth-century Canadian scientists, for example John William Dawson (1820-1899), who saw natural science as a manifestation and confirmation of God's presence and work.³⁰³

Declarative statements in response to the landscape, such as Baltzly's on July 1, were common in the nineteenth century. Even Selwyn made the occasional comment on the landscape's beauty in his journal. However, far less common is the contemplation of the significance of those exclamations and an exploration of the relationship between God and the landscape. Baltzly meditated on this relationship. Through his journal, the photographs can be connected to the Romantic from the perspective of their maker. For example, on July 16, on his way from Monticello, near Portland, to Olympia, near Seattle, Baltzly considered the earthly landscape in relation to the heavenly one:

In my meditations on the way today I was led to blend together all the beauties of the earth – all that is majestic and grand – what I saw since I left home and compare them with the beauties and joys of Heaven. How quick all this earthly grandeur fades away, before the habitation where our God dwells. In imagination I thought I could almost see the glories of heaven. O! what joy must dwell there.³⁰⁴

³⁰² Ibid., (Wednesday, 13 September 1871), 85.

³⁰³ Berger *Science, God and Nature*, 39-40, 45-46.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., (16 July 1871), 30-31.

This connection made between what he sees and what he understands as heavenly or Godly is one that Baltzly dwells upon consistently. His use of the word ‘meditation’ brings an additional layer of religious understanding to his contemplation. Meditation is frequently used in the Bible to signal prayer or direct communication with God.³⁰⁵ By referring to his walks in nature as ‘meditations’ Baltzly is indicating that his contemplations were spiritual and prayerful in nature. His experience can be characterised as Romantic in his awe of the landscape but also in his understanding of the presence of God and as God as the land’s creator. In his journal writing, Baltzly comes to terms with the relationship between art, nature, God, and humanity. Take for example his entry on July 11; as he gazes upon Mount Hood in Oregon, he writes:

Here in my view I have art and nature blended together. Here and yonder I have the everlasting mountain, hills and plains below. In this valley like a broad silvery ribbon stretches the Willamette River. All these, works of God created by the power of his word, when he speaks and it was done. Here also I have art – the works of man. Stretched along the river there are the beautiful and well laid out struts, princely mansions, halls, churches with towering domes. Then in the river lay great ships which defy storms of the sea. All these may be great and grand, but after all it is only the works of frail man with the materials God gave him, to mould and transform them into art. After this transformation, however great almost sinks into oblivion when compared with the majestic works of God.³⁰⁶

Unfortunately, Baltzly did not make any views of the mountain, most likely saving his limited number of plates for the expedition through British Columbia or not wishing to unpack his gear.

However, the passage itself leaves us with some substantial unpacking to do. Here Baltzly

³⁰⁵ The *Book of Psalms*, a series of hymns or prayers that are often sung, contains many references to meditation. For example from the King James Version: “I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings” (*Psalms*, 77:12); “My meditation of him shall be sweet: I will be glad in the Lord” (*Psalms*, 104:34); and “I remember the days of old; I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the work of thy hands.” (*Psalms*, 143:5). While the idea of meditation is not unique to Presbyterianism, there are instances where the term is frequently used. Though nearly thirty years after Baltzly’s expedition, *The Presbyterian Standard* (1899-1931), a weekly magazine out of Charlotte, North Carolina, has in almost every issue a “Meditation” on a particular idea. For example, “Meditation on the new Year,” 55, no. 2 (14 January 1914); “The Signs of the Time – A Meditation,” 55, no. 28 (15 July 1916); or “Devotional: Quiet Meditation Rests Ragged Nerves,” 57, no. 27 (5 July 1916).

³⁰⁶ Baltzly, journal, (11 July 1871), 26.

contemplates the relationship of God to the landscape, works of art and works of man. The work of God is the majestic landscape. The work of man is art. The works of man are, no matter how grand, always lesser than the works of God because they are created using the materials that God provides. Baltzly has this discussion in relation to ships and architecture, which he calls art, and not in relation to art as fine art. His stance on art, landscape, and God is so precisely articulated that it is possible to situate art and photography within it. Painting is the work of man, and so while it may be grand, it is not the same as witnessing God's landscape in person. But, what about photography?³⁰⁷ The camera is a mechanical device conceived by man, making its output necessarily lesser than that of God. But, if we take the notion of the photograph's descriptive truthfulness at face value, then perhaps the photograph is closer to the work of God than painting. Armchair travel comes back into play as photography has the capacity to share God's landscape, or the sublime and awe which Baltzly sees as God, through the fidelity of the photograph. This explains, in part, the popular appeal of Baltzly's photographs, particularly when consumers understand the subject as unexplored and untouched wilderness.

Baltzly was coming to grips ideologically and religiously with the landscape that he was observing. But he also had to make sense of the landscape photographically. He certainly had an understanding of what makes a good photograph. Notman would not have hired him otherwise.

³⁰⁷ The nineteenth century was plentiful with writings, by practitioners and not, that attempted to come to grips with the new technology, or medium, of photography in relation to God. Take for example the writing of M.A. Root of Philadelphia who in 1864 contemplated photography in relation to art, man, and God. Root writes: "Holding, as I do, that Heliography is entitled to rank with the so-named Fine Arts, some remarks upon these arts, as a class, their basis in nature, and their various uses, may properly constitute the opening chapter of this volume. [...] Such being the fact, we can press the cultivation of the fine arts on the ground that such is the will of God. Since most of his gifts are bestowed in the germ, the mere fact of his conferring certain capacities should be evidence enough of our obligation to labour for their development. M.A. Root, *The Camera and the Pencil, or the Heliographic Art: Its Theory and practice in All Its Various Branches* (Philadelphia, Pa.: J.B. Lippincott & Co. and D. Appleton & Co., 1864), 19-20. It is difficult to assess what Baltzly, or even Notman, was exposed to. However, Notman published in and referenced *The Philadelphia Photographer* throughout his career (see note 308), as did Root. Further, both Root and Notman understood there to be a strong connection between photography and art, particularly painting. It is possible that Baltzly had read Root under Notman's employment and is here reflecting on these contemporaneous writings on photography, art, nature, and God in light of his own experiences.

In fact, Notman suggested that photographers should study art, particularly the works of old European masters, to gain an understanding of perspective, composition, and light, and nature for “the more you study it the more it will reveal itself and its true character.”³⁰⁸ Baltzly demonstrates this understanding in his writing and the photographs that he produced. He ventured into the wilderness with a limited amount of photographic supplies, and as such could only take photographs that were requested by Selwyn, such as *Ice-grooved Rocks, Victoria, BC* [App. 5, Fig. 64], or subjects he saw as an exceptional view. Aside from direction by Selwyn and Notman, there were two motives or deciding factors in his decision to take make a view: he was inspired by the landscape; or he experienced a particularly religious moment in or with the landscape.

There are several points in the journal where Baltzly describes the landscape, but is prevented by weather or distance from making the view. For example, when the expedition party arrives at Mount Cheadle, Baltzly writes:

We passed Mount Cheadle which is about 1½ miles below on the east of the Thompson. Through a large gorge on the mountain on this side of Mount Cheadle a large stream flows through into the Thompson from the east. As it rushes through this chasm it forms a grand cascade. It is very beautiful as seen from the trail on this side of the river, but if anything it is a little to far away to make an effective view. But I think it would look very well. When we passed the best view of it was four o'clock and very gloomy so that it was useless to take a view of either the cascade or Mount Cheadle. This is a great disappointment to me to pass such a beautiful and interesting scenes without getting a view.³⁰⁹

The description here is done carefully and systematically, following the path of the water, and describing the elements of the scene in a similar way a viewer's eye might look over the final

³⁰⁸ William Notman, “The Study of Art Recommended to Photographers,” *Photographic Mosaics, an Annual Record of Photographic Progress*, edited by Edward L. Wilson (Philadelphia, Pa.: Bennerman and Wilson Publishers, 1870), 44-46. See also: William Notman, *Photography: Things You Ought to Know* (Montreal, Que.: L. Perrault Printers, n.d.).

³⁰⁹ Baltzly, journal, (Tuesday, 26 September 1871), 98.

photograph, though no photograph of Mount Cheadle was made at this specific moment. However, Baltzly understood the limitations of the photographic medium in what it could effectively capture with regards to range and light. By examining a photograph that he was able to make alongside the writing in his journal we get an idea of the type of scene Baltzly wanted to photograph. For example, Baltzly describes the cascade on the Garnet River thusly:

The cascade as seen from the foot of the falls is grand beyond conception. It is by far the boldest and wildest scenery of the kind I ever witnessed. It made my heart throb with wonder and amazement as I stand for a few moments and looked upon this beautiful sheet of water as it descends and tumbles down over rocks with a thundering and roaring noise. The height of the falls is all together about 400 feet. Far above it runs down a narrow canyon in an angry foaming sheet and then makes a bold leap over a perpendicular rock for many feet down and dashes against a rock which turns its course a little to the right, again it makes another fearful leap, but is again slightly arrested by dashing onto another rock about 200 feet wide in front. Here the water is separated the most part running over a rocky precipice on the right side and on the left the water flows down over the brow in thin sheets 150 feet and before it reaches the rocks beneath it breaks into a white foam or mist and looks much like a white veil against the dark rocks over which it flows. In the centre the rocks boldly project and only two or three small stream of water flow over looking much like silver ribbons. The velocity of the falling waters keep up a continual hurricane at the brow and foot of the falls and for many yards around the foliage and trees are kept in continual motion with the wind and wet with the spray.³¹⁰

Baltzly's description demonstrates awareness of the compositional arrangement of what he is looking at: a sense of proportion and angle in describing the course of the water; a sense of light and dark in his description of the rocks; and a sense of the overall relationship between the elements he is seeing – water, foliage, and rock. Baltzly produced both 8x10 and stereograph plates of the cascade.³¹¹ The 8x10 photographs, one vertical and one horizontal are gripping, with both the cascade and rocks leading your gaze in an “s” from the top of the falls to the

³¹⁰ Ibid., (Thursday, 28 Sept 1871), 99.

³¹¹ While this thesis has used Canadian spellings and units, I use “8x10” here and throughout to indicate a standard size of photograph commonly used in both the United States and in Canada. However, for all figures dimensions have been given in centimeters: for example 20.3 x 25.4 cm., instead of 8 x 10 in.

rushing stream at the bottom. Baltzly was correct in describing the falls as “veils” of water – a rich contrast of light and dark as well as airiness and density [App. 5, Fig. 66 (L)]. The stereoscopic view provides a more complete picture of the scene, showing the cascade as it emerges from the forest that lines it on both sides, to the rocky stream at the bottom [App. 5, Fig. 66 (R)]. The stereograph, designed to be seen through a viewer to provide the illusion of depth, necessarily required a receding perspective. The trees on either side, becoming smaller and smaller towards the top of the cascade, guide this recession back into the picture plane. The result is that, unlike in the 8x10 where the falls appear vertical, the stereograph has depth. The 8x10, however, takes on a graphic quality of line and shade much closer to the description Baltzly provides in his writing. Both photographs are visually alluring, and this is perhaps why the Garnet River Cascade photograph appears in two out of the four private albums discussed above: in the Edward Wilkes Rathbun Album at the AO, and at the KMA. The stereoscopic version appears reproduced in the *Canadian Illustrated News* [App. 5, Fig. 67] with the accompanying paragraph:

LOWER FALLS OF GARNET RIVER CASCADE, NEAR MOUNT
CHEADLE, B.C. The illustration reproduced on page 133 is another of the series
of views of British Columbian scenery lately published by Messrs. Notman. The
situation of these falls is about 175 miles from Kamloops, on the Garnet River, a
small stream, tributary to the north branch of the Thompson River, into which it
runs in a south-easterly direction. The Falls, which are of the “Veil,” or “Rideau”
kind, are about 100 feet high. To the rear of them rises Mount Cheadle, named
after Viscount Milton’s companion in his exploratory tour.³¹²

The accompanying text, which is both descriptive of the scene and an advertisement for the Notman studio, appeals to a range of potential consumers. It is described as one of a series of “British Columbian scenery” thereby emphasising its visual interest. The scene is also described

³¹² “Lower Falls of Garnet River Cascade, Near Mount Cheadle, B.C.,” *The Canadian Illustrated News* 5, no. 9 (2 March 1872): 135.

in geographical detail and the falls themselves are categorized as a particular type of falls with height provided, appealing to the amateur naturalist, geologist, or geographer. The scene is related to popular exploration literature, Milton and Cheadle's *The Northwest Passage by Land*, for example, tapping into the growing interest in the Canadian interior as a place of adventure.

Baltzly's descriptions provide another layer of interest. His choice of words indicates that he was a keen observer of the topographical features and was able to describe and arrange them into a photograph. Take for example his description of Cranberry Lake:

The lake is about three miles long and one wide very shallow, so much so that the rushes can be seen all over the lake above the water. It has also several very pretty little islands and it is crowded with wild duck. I might say thousands of them. Upon the whole the lake is quite picturesque.³¹³

Baltzly wanted to produce a photograph of Cranberry Lake but had forgotten his plate holders and indicates that even if he had the plate holders the poor weather would have prevented him. His use of the word 'picturesque' here is most interesting. As with 'sublime,' picturesque was often used out of its aesthetic context as a descriptor of pleasant scenery. Both Henry Youle Hind, and Alfred Selwyn used the word in this way. However, there are signs that point to Baltzly's use of the term as an aesthetic concept, particularly in the ways he connects it to God. Hugh Honour discusses morality and God in the landscape.³¹⁴ He writes that "pictures owe their extraordinary power less to emblems than to their visual subtlety, a unique manner of seeing and representing, the strange intense polarity of closeness and distance, of precise detail and sublime

³¹³ Baltzly, journal, (Monday 16 October 1871), 114-5.

³¹⁴ Honour's book focuses on Romanticism as it develops in art, primarily painting, suggesting that painting began to explore nature in a way that sought not to find the order of it, but rather to find the "impenetrable depths of inexplicable mystery" that hid beneath it and that was best manifested in an emotional engagement and reflection on the subject. Honour discusses Delacroix, Turner, and Constable at length in his chapter on landscape, tracing out visual and stylistic techniques that these painters used in breaking away from the conventions of the history painting in what can only be called Romanticism – though Honour makes very clear that none of these artists would have labelled themselves or their work as Romantic.

aura.”³¹⁵ This turn to nature in finding God was the impetus for United States painters such as Thomas Cole (1801-1848). Honour notes that this kind of observation of the landscape is connected to the idea of topography. Honour discusses, very briefly, the work of Cole in this regard.³¹⁶ Honour mentions, however, that United States painters such as Cole, along with Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), Thomas Moran (1837-1926), Thomas Hill (1829-1908), Asher Brown Durand (1796-1886), and Frederic Edwin Church (1826-1900), “tended to seek out New World equivalents to the famous ‘beauty spots’ of Europe [...] and all too often fit them into time honoured European schemata.”³¹⁷ It is not surprising that Baltzly would use the word “picturesque” to describe Cranberry Lake. He had the ability to assess the features of the landscape and arrange them compositionally to make a photograph that Notman would be able to sell. However, Baltzly felt compelled to make a photograph during moments when he felt a religious connection to the landscape. This motivation, however, is more Romantic in characterisation than Picturesque, though to be clear the picturesque is not abandoned in favour of the Romantic but rather coexists. Baltzly’s moments alone in nature, as confided to his

³¹⁵ Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (New York, N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1979), 78.

³¹⁶ I should make mention of a link between Baltzly’s early life in Ohio and Thomas Cole. A United States art movement, the Hudson River School, found its way into Ohio when Cole, arguably the group’s most prolific member, moved to Steubenville, Ohio in the 1820s. See: Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, 192. The Hudson River School painted the landscape as an embodiment of specifically United States Romantic ideologies like discovery, exploration and the power of nature held together under the banner of what is referred to in 1845 formally as Manifest Destiny. See: Julius W. Pratt, “The Origin of Manifest Destiny,” *American Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (1927): 795. The Hudson River School artists believed that nature in the form of the landscape was an ineffable manifestation of God. Surely, the devoutly religious Ohioans, who had no artistic school of their own, embraced such a belief as well as a sense of pride in Cole’s connection of their landscape – the Ohio River Valley – to a God present in nature. Yet, for all that one can get wrapped up in the Romanticism of Hudson River School landscapes and the Sublime presence of God in the wilds of the United States, in a pre-photographic world, the paintings of the Hudson River School could not escape their function as descriptors of the landscape. Framed as breathtaking works of God, oddities and spectacular sights of the landscape were consciously topographically rendered – Cole’s 1836 painting *The Oxbow* is one such prominent example. Though the link between Baltzly and Cole is one of inference, it does work towards filling out the religious and artistic climate of the moment in which Baltzly was operating.

³¹⁷ Honour, *Romanticism*, 115.

journal, are his most spiritual and arguably his most photographically inspiring. Upon seeing the Spuzzum River Rapids on July 28 he writes:

Words cannot express the grandeur of the scenery along the Fraser River along the route we have travelled today. It is more like some grand panorama, at every step the scene changes and I can only feel majesty, sublimity and grandeur at all of these mighty mountains of rocks thousands of feet high while through a deep gorge between the two ranges of mountains the Fraser River with a thundering noise rushes in continuous rapids. It has a pleasing effect upon me when it occurs to me that the architect and builder of all these wonders is my Father. It is a coming of joy and gladness to me to know that I have such a father. I took 4 nice views today and travelled 3 miles and encamped at the suspension bridge.³¹⁸

In his photographs of the Spuzzum [App. 5, Fig. 68], Baltzly captures the walls of rock, the deep gorge and the rushing of the water, whose blurred movement creates a smooth passage through the extraordinarily detailed and textured rocks and trees. Baltzly use of the term ‘grand panorama’ is an indication that he is aware of composing the landscape. Sophie Thomas has suggested that, “the picturesque may be viewed as a prefiguration of the panorama, largely because of its overturning of classical regularity and perfection as a prominent aesthetic model, its consideration of the viewer within the landscape (who at the panorama is placed literally in the middle), and its emphasis on variety and unpredictability, on sensitivity to an apparently natural model.”³¹⁹ The origins of the panorama are rooted in the descriptive. Robert Baker (1739-1806), who coined the term in 1792, and later Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) sought to create immersive experiences indoors for the purposes of spectacle and theatre. Daguerre’s desire to bring the outdoors inside with greater fidelity ultimately led him, by way of the *camera obscura*, to the development of photography. Baltzly’s description of the scenery along the Fraser River is one that is, like the panorama, immersive. But, as the picturesque details, it is an experience that is composed from several natural features: the mountains of rocks,

³¹⁸ Baltzly, journal, (Friday, 28 July 1871), 43.

³¹⁹ Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History Spectacle* (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2007), 18.

the deep gorge, and the thundering rapids. The bringing together of these discrete natural elements into a whole, which is in essence how a panorama is composed, indicates that Baltzly was aware of such visual conventions. In fact, Baltzly made one panorama [App. 5, Fig. 69] and a series of three sequential photographs from left to right that can be aligned into a panorama [App. 5, Fig. 70] from the top of Indian Mission Hill in Victoria on July 19, 1871, though in his journal Baltzly does not describe his process in any detail.

The writing in his journal confirms Baltzly's own desire to photograph beyond serving the needs of Selwyn and Notman. It is at moments where Baltzly feels close to God through his contemplation or experience of nature that he is most inspired to make a photograph. Take his experience on September 10 where upon viewing the Selkirk Mountains where Baltzly writes:

The spot I selected in this wilderness for my reading and meditation is on the eastern side of a mountain some six miles below the junction of Blue and N. Thompson Rivers. From this rock looking eastward, N.E. and S.E. I have a grand view of the Selkirk range with its bold bluffs, pinnacles, boulders, and chasms. Much part covered with snow and a few places glaciers lying in the deep gorges of the mountains. Here and there small mountain streams can be seen rushing over the mountain side looking more like silver ribbons. Upon the whole, the scenery has a tendency to raise my thoughts and feelings from the created to creator. How grand! How sublime! are all these wonders. But the greatness and majesty of the Creator words cannot express, nor mind comprehend. I only know that with all his wonderful greatness power and majesty, He is Love and I can come to Him without fear, through Christ his only son, as a child to an earthly parent. Oh! What a great privilege is this we enjoy and yet how oft indifferent.³²⁰

Unlike his photographs of and writing on the Garnet River Cascade, in which he dissects and understands the lay of the land, here Baltzly's account provides less description, focusing instead on how he himself has been moved. The photographs of the Selkirk Range [App. 5, Fig. 71] that Baltzly took at this moment are less visually captivating than those taken at the Garnet River Cascade [App. 5, Fig. 66]. It is telling that his Selkirk Range appears in only one of the three

³²⁰ Baltzly, journal, (Sunday, 10 September 1871), 81-82.

albums discussed above, the MacLaren Album at the KMA. In the photograph, four bands stretch horizontally across the photograph: the rocky and barren foreground; the treed valley of the middle ground; the mountain range emerging from the valley in the background; and the hazy sky above them. The composition is far less intricate, the eye is not directed anywhere specifically, as with the winding “s” of the Garnet River Cascade. Even the Selkirk Range itself seems to have a diminished presence, the haze of the sky obscuring the details of the range that Baltzly describes, turning it instead into a flat and grey band in the photograph. There is something of a disconnect between Baltzly’s experience and the resulting photograph. Observing the range in person, especially on his own during a spiritual meditation, must have made the landscape vivid and inspiring for Baltzly – his prayer accentuating the experience. For the viewer of the resulting photograph, the subject may be interesting, but the spiritual intensity is not present.

The central question of this thesis is to examine what topographic photographs offer up to the art historical study of nineteenth-century Canadian image-making if we begin to look at them not just as raw documents, but also as examples of mediated landscapes. With Hime, the conventions of topographical sketching and of draughtsmanship that can be found in his photographs situates photography in conversation with established modes of landscape depiction – from architectural document, to portrait, to a naturalist’s specimen. The photographs were circulated in official reports and public literature and thereby became participants in the fostering of visual understandings of the landscape within Canada. Taken twelve years after those of Hime, the photographs produced by Baltzly on the 1871 GSC expedition demonstrate that photographers and photography were not only taking lessons from topographical traditions of painting and sketching, but were contributing in their own right to conceptions of the landscape

in the climate of Canadian Confederation and expansion. Indeed, Baltzly's photographs are descriptive documents that visually corroborate Selwyn's geological observations. From his journal, it becomes clear that Baltzly was both knowledgeable about visual conventions, for example the panorama, and of how to create photographs both technically proficient and compositionally effective; and understanding of his obligations to Selwyn and Notman. But the photographs present so much more than this. They are, firstly, a product of their maker's sensitivities towards God and religion as meditated upon in relation to nature and progress. Secondly, their circulation as descriptive documents in survey reports and as scenic vistas in private albums and popular publication indicates that the function of topographical photographs is of both documentary and of cultural significance. Lastly, when placed into the art historical study of image-making in Canada, the photographs bring together divergent histories of landscape depiction – the topographic, the Picturesque, and the Romantic.

Baltzly continued to practice photography in Montreal as late as 1878. There is a record of his application to both the United States and British patent offices for a new type of plate holder that he developed.³²¹ By 1880 Baltzly had returned to the United States, settling in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He is listed as a member and subscriber of the *Harvard Register*³²² and advertisements for his studio at 536 Main Street appear in the *Cambridge Chronicle*.³²³ An advertisement for his studio appearing in the Harvard University student paper *The Crimson* states that, "Having been with Mr. Notman over eight years, and Pach Bros. four and a half

³²¹ Benjamin F. Baltzly, "Photographic Plate Holders," in *Specifications and Drawings for Patents Issued from the United States Patent Office* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 798-799; "Photographic Plate Holders," *The Commissioners of Patents Journal* (London, U.K.: Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode Printers to the Queen, 1878), 1318.

³²² "Subscribers for 1880," *The Harvard Register* 2, no. 6 (December 1880): 250.

³²³ "B.F. Baltzly, Successor to Warren, Photographer, 563 Main Street, Cambridgeport, Mass," *Cambridge Chronicle* 38, no. 28 (14 July 1883): 3.

years, as their Manager and Operator in Cambridge, the public can be assured that they will receive the very best work. None other will be allowed to leave the studio.”³²⁴ Baltzly’s death on July 10, 1883 is marked with a notice in the *Cambridge Chronicle* on July 14, and the following issue contains a notice that insurance had been paid to Mrs. Baltzly.³²⁵ In September of 1883 his studio and its entire contents were placed for auction.³²⁶ Baltzly must have been important in the Cambridge community. Twenty-five years later, the anniversary of his death was remembered in the *Cambridge Chronicle*: “Benjamin F. Baltzly, a well known photographer dies at his home, 6 Sumner street, Tuesday morning. He had been employed by Notman & Pach Bros., and of late had been in business for himself.”³²⁷ Though he was born and died in the United States, it is in Canada that Baltzly left his greatest photographic imprint in the photographs he made during the 1871 GSC expedition. In their moment they served to document and inventory the physical land photographically and, in their circulation, worked to shape popular imaginings of the Canadian landscape. We are likewise fortunate that both Baltzly’s journal and an almost entirely complete set of photographs have survived. In them we find an important link between topographical photography and visual understandings of the Canadian landscape.

³²⁴ “B. F. Baltzly, Photographer,” *The Crimson* 21, no. 1 (17 February 1883): vii.

³²⁵ “Prompt Payment,” *Cambridge Chronicle* 38, no. 28 (14 July 1883): 8; “Deaths. Baltzly,” *Cambridge Chronicle* 38, no. 29 (21 July 1883): 5.

³²⁶ “Estate of B. F. Baltzly by S. F. Rugg, Auctioneer,” *Boston Herald* (18 September 1883): 3.

³²⁷ “Twenty-five Years Ago,” *Cambridge Chronicle* (11 July 1908): 10.

CHAPTER THREE: ALEXANDER HENDERSON'S RAILWAY COMMISSIONS

Beautiful weather here, makes one wish to be in the woods.³²⁸

Alexander Henderson

Alexander Henderson's *Spring Inundation, Bank of St Lawrence*, 1865, is a visually appealing photograph [App. 9, Fig. 81]. The horizon appears to recess infinitely, blending the water with the mists of the hazy sky, giving the impression of trees that sprout from nowhere and a boat that floats on air. The branches and their reflection in the still water are bare, thick, and twisted, and are at once graphic and organic. The stillness of the image, with not a ripple in sight, is inherently photographic – a frozen moment captured. At the time of its making, this image was recognized as a successful photograph by Henderson himself, who included it in his 1865 album *Canadian Views and Studies*, which, as we will see, was an album that was well received in its exhibition. Fascination with this photograph endures. *Spring Inundation* is often cited as an early moment of pictorial and aesthetic accomplishment in Canadian photographic history. For example, the photograph was included in the 1993 exhibition *Magicians of Light*, at the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) curated by James Borcoman. In the catalogue, Borcoman describes Henderson's work as being defined by "richness of texture, clarity of detail, and a fine sense of pictorial space"; *Spring Inundation* is "elegant, poetic, and pensive."³²⁹ The photograph was also included in the 1983 exhibition of the Public Archives of Canada (PAC), now Library and Archives Canada (LAC), titled *Private Realms of Light*, which sought to trace a history of the 'amateur' photographer in Canada, a figure opposed to the professional studio photographer and

³²⁸ Letter from Henderson to Robert Bell, 8 November 1887, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 61, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³²⁹ James Borcoman, *Magicians of Light: Photographs from the Collection of the National Gallery of Canada* (Ottawa, Ont.: National Gallery of Canada, 1993), 88.

the documentary photographer. In the Preface to the exhibition catalogue for *Private Realms of Light*, the work of the amateur is defined as “work done ‘for the love of it,’ with no eye for commercial use.”³³⁰ In contrast to the professional photographer, the amateur was free to explore subjects of personal interest and to develop photography as an expressive medium. The term ‘amateur,’ however, can be applied to two types of photographer that the catalogue describes as “the large mass of ‘snapshooters,’ who were interested only in keeping graphic record of their lives,” and a “small elite of “serious” amateurs, who attempted to create an aesthetically appealing piece of art.”³³¹ In the scholarship, Henderson falls into the second category, that of the serious amateur. *Spring Inundation* is described in the catalogue as having a “rare ethereal quality”³³² and Henderson himself is described as being “by far the most outstanding early Canadian amateur to practice the wet-plate method.”³³³ Joan Schwartz has reconciled the desire of both an art gallery and an archive to include *Spring Inundation* in major exhibitions with “the fact that research agendas are often circumscribed by institutional discourse, disciplinary perspectives, and media expertise. It also highlights the difference between ‘looking at’ this photograph for the aesthetic appreciation of its formal qualities and ‘looking through’ it for a factual record of this natural disaster.”³³⁴ Indeed, institutional contextualization of photography provides the framework from which meaning can be extracted – the discursive space – both in

³³⁰ Lilly Koltun, “Preface,” in *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*, ed. Lilly Koltun (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), x.

³³¹ Andrew C. Rodger, “So Few Earnest Workers / 1914-1930,” in *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*, ed. Lilly Koltun (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 77.

³³² Andrew Birrell, “The Early Years / 1839-1885,” in *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*, ed. Lilly Koltun (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 8.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 6.

³³⁴ Joan M. Schwartz, “Photographic Reflections: Nature, Landscape, and Environment,” *Environmental History* 12, no. 4 (October 2007): 972.

the period of creation and its photographic afterlives.³³⁵ In her essay, Schwartz suggests without elaborating the idea that the photographer too works within a variety of frameworks of understanding; she states that “Henderson wanted to do more than document a natural disaster: he sought to produce a work of art.”³³⁶

This chapter will examine the photographs Henderson produced on commission for the Intercolonial Railway (ICR), the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Occidental Railway (QMO&O), and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), working to navigate the frameworks that have shaped the creation, circulation, and reception of these photographs and that have claimed them for art or for documentary. Henderson is unique in this thesis in that he did not accompany a specific survey expedition. Nonetheless, many of the photographs that Henderson produced as part of these commissions, particularly for the ICR and the QMO&O, were used as descriptive documents. Where Hime, Baltzly, and Horetzky have been understood in recent scholarship predominantly as photographers whose photographs performed a descriptive function within the context of their respective surveys, Henderson has been principally examined for his artistic contributions to photography. This chapter will demonstrate that Henderson himself understood the divergent functions of his photographs: he produced photographs that satisfied the documentary nature of his railway commission, and that he could sell and exhibit artistic landscape views. Henderson’s own understandings of art and document as it influenced his photographic production is important in this thesis’s navigation of the idea that topographical photographs mediate between readings of art and document. In this chapter we will see that not

³³⁵ To borrow from Martha Langford’s *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal, Que.: McGill Queen’s University Press, 2001) in which she discusses photographic meaning making in albums, an idea that I broaden here to the institution as collector and compiler reading a particular meaning in a photograph.

³³⁶ Schwartz, “Photographic Reflections,” 972.

only is the context of the survey one that shapes visual production in art, but that the context of exhibition and nineteenth-century writing on art photography shapes visual production made as documentation.

Science, Art, and Adventure

Alexander Henderson, like many industrialists who took up residence in Montreal during the nineteenth century, came from a legacy of old world wealth. He was born July 9, 1831 in Saint Cuthberts, Edinburgh, to Elizabeth Mack and Thomas Henderson, a successful Scottish merchant,³³⁷ whose own father, Alexander Sr., was the first chairman of the National Bank of Scotland³³⁸ and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh – a figurative and ceremonial head akin to a mayor.³³⁹ His family had extensive landholdings with a residence in Edinburgh, along with the Press estate, a 260 hectare tract of farmland about 70 kilometres east of the city, renowned for its colonies of red squirrels.³⁴⁰ His family spent much of its time at Press Castle, a large manor on the northern extremity of the property, while the farmland and other buildings were leased to Henderson's uncle, Eagle Henderson. In the correspondence that exists at the McCord Museum Notman Photographic Archives (McCord), the most extensive collection of Henderson papers and documents, the division and sale of Press Castle would later become a burden of paperwork

³³⁷ Henderson Family Crest and Birth Note, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 44, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³³⁸ "New Scottish Bank Notes," newspaper clipping, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 42, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³³⁹ John Anderson, *A History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Period to the Completion of the Half Century 1850: With Brief Notices of Eminent Or Remarkable Individuals* (Edinburgh and London, U.K.: A. Fullarton & Company, 1856), 389.

³⁴⁰ Now, you can book a room at one of the many buildings at Press Castle for £375 a night and enjoy the golf courses that occupy the former farmlands of the Henderson family. "Press Castle Apartment One," accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.presscastle1.co.uk>

for Henderson. The bulk of the correspondence consists of legal documentation regarding the estate. Henderson must have been very close to Eagle, with much correspondence and mourning at the time of his passing. And it was no doubt his childhood on the grounds of the Press estate, where time was spent fishing and exploring the property with Eagle that instilled in Henderson his love of the outdoors. “Eagle Henderson, Esq. younger of Press,” was himself invested in the land, listed in 1822 as a member of the Caledonian Horticultural Society in Edinburgh.³⁴¹ Even after Henderson entered Merchiston Academy in 1841, he returned to Press on weekends. Henderson’s time at the Merchiston Academy was also influential.³⁴² Having only opened in 1833, originally in the former home of John Napier, the inventor of logarithms, the school placed great emphasis on mathematics and science – a strong scientific foundation that would later emerge in Henderson’s pursuit of advancements in photographic camera and printing technologies.³⁴³

The most important formative event of Henderson’s youth that I have traced in the archival record occurred in 1851 Eagle gave him money to visit The Great Exhibition in London. Henderson writes about his experience:

Dear me! How the time passes. I remember the first exhibition. I was about 19 and uncle Eagle gave me some money and told me I might go up to London to see it. I did and had a good time as long as the money lasted, about a fortnight and then I came back. It was a splendid thing, but there have been many since then and I doubt if any have been more successful.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ Royal Botanic Garden, *Memoirs of the Caledonian Horticultural Society*, vol. 4 (Edinburgh, U.K.: MacLachlan & Stewart; Simpkin & Marshall, 1829), 8.

³⁴² The archives of the Merchiston Academy are somewhat fractured. In e-mail correspondence with Amy McGoldrick, Club Secretary of the Merchistonian Club, on 24 September 2014, McGoldrick writes: “Merchiston changed location in the 1930s and much of the information we had of the pupils before this time have been lost or irreparably damaged. The only information we have on him [Henderson] is that he did attend the School from 1841. We don’t even know when he left!”

³⁴³ “About,” Merchiston, Edinburgh, 2013, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.merchiston.co.uk/>

³⁴⁴ Stanley Triggs Notes, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 62, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

It was the first in a series of world fairs that displayed a broad range of cultural and industrial feats from across the globe on a massive scale, including a large and varied array of photographs. The catalogue for the exhibition shows that there were numerous examples of talbotypes, calotypes, daguerreotypes, stereoscopes and various photographic apparatuses. In a stroll through the exhibition Henderson might have encountered the photographs of Hippolyte Bayard (1801-1887), David Octavius Hill (1802-1870), Gustave Le Gray (1820-1884), and Henri Le Secq (1818-1882).³⁴⁵ There was also a Canadian section of the exhibition, which could have precipitated the idea of moving to Canada, with a display of mostly agricultural and resource-based accomplishments. It is described in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue* as:

Represented in the exhibition by about two hundred and twenty exhibitors. The articles contributed by it are distributed among several Classes, but the raw materials preponderate; and of these a highly-instructive series is presented. The efforts which have been made by the government at home to develop the mineral wealth of this colony have been amply rewarded by the success which has attended the explorers, and the results which in some measure are brought to notice in the Exhibition.³⁴⁶

The section goes on to describe with great zest the landscape and its varied timber and mineral resources. Canada is framed as a place of great potential that has yet to be explored or fully tapped – an exciting prospect for any nineteen-year-old looking for an adventure.

Four years after his visit to the Great Exhibition, on October 4, 1855, Henderson married Agnes Elder Robertson in Edinburgh.³⁴⁷ By the end of the month they had settled in Montreal. Henderson arrived to Canada well-armed with letters of introduction to prominent businessmen

³⁴⁵ Robert Ellis, “Plastic Art, Mosaics, Enamels, &c.,” in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 2 (London, U.K: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 819-847.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 957.

³⁴⁷ Marriage Certificate, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 15, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

and bankers in Toronto and Montreal.³⁴⁸ He was well trained in the banking sector. In 1850-1851, Henderson attended lectures in law at the University of Edinburgh.³⁴⁹ In 1853 he began his training as an accountant, communicating this decision in a letter to a relative of Agnes, John Elder, perhaps in an attempt to convince his in-laws of his well-to-do status: “I have given up thoughts of changing my business and determined to follow out that of accountant.”³⁵⁰ For all of their accomplishments in business, Henderson’s relations were also invested in the arts – at least philanthropically. John Elder served as a legal representative of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.³⁵¹ Likewise, Henderson’s own father had been a financial supporter of the Society of Arts for Scotland³⁵² and was admitted as a member in 1838.³⁵³ It is perhaps through his father’s interests and memberships that Henderson was first exposed to photography. Just a year after his father was admitted to the Society of Arts for Scotland both Louis Daguerre (1787-1851) and Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) announced their discoveries of photography to the Académie des Sciences and the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and the Royal Society in London, respectively. Andrew Fyfe (1792-1861), a chemist and vice-president

³⁴⁸ Letters from: A. Mackenzie, secretary of the Commercial Bank of Scotland to Charles S. Ross, cashier of the Commercial Bank, Kingston; Thomas Anderson of the National Bank of Scotland to the Manager of the Bank of British North America, Montreal; D. Grahame of Craig House to William R. Grahame of Toronto; Kenneth Mackenzie to his cousin the Honourable John Hamilton in Toronto, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 49, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³⁴⁹ University of Edinburgh Certificate of Attendance 1850-51, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 48, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

³⁵⁰ Letter Henderson to John Elder, Esq., 11 January 1853, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 47, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

³⁵¹ Announcement of death to the members of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, 23 July 1869, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 22, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³⁵² Receipt of Donation to Society of Artists, 1837, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 6, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³⁵³ Thomas Henderson certificate of membership, Society of Arts for Scotland, 29 March 1838, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 4, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

of the Society of Arts for Scotland, gave lectures to the Society in Edinburgh on March 27, April 10, and 17, 1839 discussing photography and his attempts at Talbot's process.³⁵⁴

Henderson's education, well-to-do family, and arsenal of references made the move to Canada a secure one. Henderson is first listed as a resident of Montreal in the 1856-57 *Mackay's Montreal Directory* with an address at 3 Inkerman Terrace where he and his family remained for the next ten years.³⁵⁵ As for occupation, Henderson is listed the 1859-60 *Lovell's Directory* as a commission merchant in the Union Building on Saint Francis Xavier Street.³⁵⁶ In the 1864-65 directory he is listed as a clerk at 61 Wellington.³⁵⁷ Neither entry specifies precisely what kind of industry or product Henderson was specialized in. His first decade in Montreal working as a commission merchant and clerk provided him with a network of powerful and industrious friends – the Molsons, Redpaths, and Dawsons to name only a few. With his growing network, Henderson was invited on many excursions upon which his early interest in adventure as a child and youth at Press Castle was rekindled. Henderson's excitement for the outdoors was nurtured with visits to Quebec City, the ice cone at Montmorency, and summer fishing excursions along the Saguenay River. He even went so far as to plan complex canoeing excursions along the Blanche River with equally adventurous friends.³⁵⁸ Henderson may have wanted to know more

³⁵⁴ Andrew Fyfe, "On Photography," in *Transactions of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts*, vol.1 (Edinburgh, U.K.: Neill & Co., 1841), 319-330.

³⁵⁵ R.W. Stuart Mackay, *Mackay's Montreal Directory: New Edition, Corrected in May & June, 1856-7* (Montreal, Que.: Oowler and Stevenson, 1857), 126.

³⁵⁶ John Lovell, *Montreal Annual Directory 1859-1860* (Montreal, Que.: John Lovell and Sons, 1860), 81.

³⁵⁷ John Lovell, *Montreal Annual Directory 1864-1865* (Montreal, Que.: John Lovell and Sons, 1865), 234.

³⁵⁸ Letter from Francis Kelley to Alexander Henderson, 2 April 1866, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 55, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que. It appears Francis Kelly was quite the outdoorsman describing to Henderson a sail-making project and including detailed sketches of the canoe route in his correspondence.

about the land through which he was travelling when he attended classes and lectures at McGill College in engineering, natural science, and agriculture.³⁵⁹

Becoming a Photographer – *Canadian Views and Studies*

It is also during this first decade in Montreal that Henderson took up photography, moving from hobby to amateur to professional photographer in rapid time. Some of the earliest Henderson photographs in the archival record are held at LAC. There are several photographs by Henderson in an album titled “Canadian Scraps, No. 1.” The album was compiled by C. Theodore Hart (1816-1887), a prominent Montreal insurance agent and merchant, and contains a collection of stereo-halves, photographs, and drawings.³⁶⁰ One photograph, a paper positive albumen silver print, dated to 1858, is attributed to Henderson by LAC. The image is titled *Steamer "Magnet,"* found on page forty-five of the Canadian Scraps album. It also contains an image of the Victoria Bridge dated to 1858-1860 with the inscription “Photo about 1858/Henderson/Victoria Bridge Completed 1859.” There are three other photographs by Henderson in the LAC collection from this year that are not from this album: *Christ Church Cathedral* dated 1858-1860;³⁶¹ *Royal Insurance Company buildings (later Custom House) from the Wharf to Eastward*, 1858-1860;³⁶²

³⁵⁹ McGill College Class Ticket 1856-57, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 50, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

³⁶⁰ Canadian Scraps, No. 1, Descriptive, Database, Andrew Audubon Merrilees fonds, R5500-67-5-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=156871

³⁶¹ *Christ Church Cathedral*, photograph, 1858-1860, Acc. 1964-128 NPC, C-012295, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. This photograph is not linked to a specific file or fonds.

³⁶² *Royal Insurance Company buildings (later Custom House) from the Wharf to Eastward*, photograph, 1858-1860, Acc. 1964-128 NPC, C-012296, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. This photograph is not linked to a specific file or fonds.

and *Tanneries Village*, 1858, found in the Andrew Audubon Merrilees fonds [App. 9, Fig. 82].³⁶³ *Tanneries Village* is reproduced and discussed in the catalogue for *Private Realms of Light*³⁶⁴ and in Greenhill and Birrell's *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920*.³⁶⁵ Both publications discuss the image as an example of the paper negative process. *Private Realms* goes on to consider Henderson's interest in photographic processes, suggesting that the image is quite possibly the result of Henderson's turpentine wax paper process, which Henderson himself discusses in an 1859 issue of the *Photographic News*.³⁶⁶

By the late 1850s Henderson was rapidly getting to know photography in a technical way. In addition to his writing in *The Photographic News*, he is listed in 1859 and 1860 as a member of the *Stereoscopic Exchange Club*, a British organization where the membership, made up predominantly of amateur photographers, exchanged photographs with one another.³⁶⁷ By 1863, Henderson was steadily producing photographs; there is significant and consistent archival dating of Henderson's photographs. By 1867, after two address changes without occupation listed, Henderson appears in the 1867-68 *Lovell Directory* as a photographer located at 10 Phillips Square.³⁶⁸ The move to become a professional photographer, and listed as such in the city directory, was the outcome of two crucial steps into the artistic and photographic fabric of Montreal: the publication of his first collection of landscape photographs in 1865, and the

³⁶³ *Tanneries Village*, photograph, 1858, Andrew Audubon Merrilees fonds, PA-123822, R5500-0-6-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

³⁶⁴ Birrell, "The Early Years," 6.

³⁶⁵ Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1979), 51.

³⁶⁶ Alexander Henderson, "Notes on Dry Process – New Action of light – Handle for Glass Plates," *The Photographic News* 3, no. 59 (21 October 1859): 82-83.

³⁶⁷ "The Stereoscopic Exchange Club," *The Photographic News* 3, no. 53 (9 September 1859): 12; and Alexander Henderson, "The Stereoscopic Exchange Club," *The Photographic News* 4, no. 112 (26 October 1860): 311-312.

³⁶⁸ John Lovell, *Montreal Annual Directory 1867-1868* (Montreal, Que.: John Lovell and Sons, 1868), 171.

international exhibition of this publication. In its many iterations, the publication can be tricky to discuss: it is sometimes a single volume of twenty photographs, or a double volume of twenty photographs each; each iteration contains a slightly or drastically different set of photographs; though all the albums are ascribed to the year 1865, some of them are titled *Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur* while others are titled *Canadian Views and Studies* [App. 10, Table 6]. Stanley Triggs, Curator of the Notman Photographic Archives from 1965 to 1994, has identified five versions of *Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur*, one each at the McCord, LAC, Boston Public Library, Université de Montréal, and McGill University. He has identified six versions of *Canadian Views and Studies*: two at the Toronto Public Library (TPL), and one each at University of Toronto, NGC, LAC and at McGill University.³⁶⁹ I have found an additional version of *Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur* at the TPL, and an additional version of *Canadian Views and Studies* at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

The album in its many iterations has been much discussed in scholarship. The first person to bring attention to the album, and the scholar who remains the most prominent in any discussion of Henderson, is Triggs. In a 1977 essay he writes of the publication:

The work was probably a small limited edition and may have been made individually for each purchaser, which would explain variations among the five surviving copies. The importance of the publication is that it is the earliest body of photographs from which we can evaluate Henderson's work. Here is no struggling beginner, but rather a talented, serious amateur. Each print reveals exceptional technical and artistic skill. It must have been a personal milestone and may have encouraged him to devote his life to the art as a professional.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ Stanley G. Triggs, "Alexander Henderson: Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photographer," *Archivaria* 5 (Winter 1977-1978): 49.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-9.

In his 1979 *Our Own Country Canada*, Dennis Reid describes Triggs's essay on Henderson as "fine and sensitive."³⁷¹ Reid develops the idea of Henderson's artistic skill through a close formal analysis of several photographs from *Canadian Views and Studies*:

Looking through one of his albums, one gains a strong impression of a particular vision of landscape. It is what we might call "pastoral wilderness." *Inlet to Lake Inchbrakie, North of Ottawa River* is an example. It is a romantic view of nature, and of man's place in it, but it is the opposite of dramatic. There is rather, an intense awareness of actuality, even though it is a work which, as in the contemporary photographs of Notman, contrasts are played against one another. In *Bark Canoe, Lake Commandeau* there is a feeling of serenity that is unique to Henderson. But still and quiet as they are we do not feel that these pictures record moments frozen in time. Rather, we have a sense of the sustaining essence of place, of a mood or aura that could always be found there. Henderson was a genuine landscape artist, responding to his subjects with deep sensitivity and awareness. [...] Henderson heightens the mood he has caught by excluding everything extraneous to it. He is indeed a committed, skilled artist of great originality and force.³⁷²

Reid's strength in formal analysis is brought to bear here, providing an insight into the effect generated by the formal qualities of the photographs, as well as Triggs's interpretation. Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell in their 1979 monograph *Canadian Photography 1839-1920* echo Reid's approach. They describe the photographs in the album as "varied in quality, but continued to have a strong pictorialist element which made it unique for its period in Canada, and the best of his photographs give us a feeling of space and time that is rarely captured in the large, technically excellent, but somewhat dull views published by Notman."³⁷³

The use of descriptors such as "pastoral" and "technically excellent" make sense for Reid, an art historian, and Greenhill, a collector of photography and photographer in his own right, along with James Borcoman, a curator in an art museum. All three approach Henderson with

³⁷¹ Dennis Reid, "*Our Own Country Canada*": *Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890*, Exhibition catalogue (Ottawa, Ont.: National Gallery of Canada, 1979), 56.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 57-62.

³⁷³ Greenhill and Birrell, *Canadian Photography*, 51.

their own formal training and desire to situate photography in Canadian art history. Perhaps it was the strength of Reid's formal analysis that influenced the enduring reading of Henderson as an artist by the archivists of PAC, now LAC, in their 1983 exhibition catalogue, *Private Realms of Light*. In Birrell's chapter of the catalogue, "The Early Years" he writes of *Canadian Views and Studies*:

Here was a work of a serious, talented and confident artist. Even after more than a century the prints in the album retain the deep, rich tones characteristic of albumen paper toned in gold chloride. [...] A large proportion of Henderson's landscapes, like *The Trout Brook* for instance, are intimate, carefully composed views which he presents to the viewer like jewels discovered in some out-of-the-way place. Since it would have been easy to concentrate on the grander aspects of Canadian scenery this reveals the influence of the picturesque style on his work, a style common to both England and among Montreal artists with whom he was undoubtedly acquainted.³⁷⁴

In the context of this exhibition, Henderson moves from a photographer with technical and formal talent, to one whose work is asserted to be part of a trajectory of artistic developments in photography.³⁷⁵ This idea is bolstered in a major review of the exhibition titled "Reflections on an Exhibition" by Ann Thomas, who writes:

It is, however, also true that the richness of the material selected for this exhibition provides the viewer with an unparalleled opportunity to witness the range of work produced by many of Canada's major practitioners and to view the progression of pictorial conventions and the constantly changing syntax employed by the photographer in Canada over a period of a hundred years. The earliest example in the exhibition of an operative pictorialist aesthetic is Alexander Henderson's photograph, "The Trout Brook," 1860-65, which appears in the

³⁷⁴ Birrell, "The Early Years," 7. Here Reid is referring to the following version of *Canadian Views and Studies*, (R5500-66-3-E) Part of Photographic albums, ca.1858-1948 LAC (R5500-2-X-E) Accession no. 1980-149. See third Column of the table in Appendix 11.

³⁷⁵ To be clear, both Birrell and Thomas refer to Henderson's work as pictorial, not Pictorialist. Henderson did not explicitly participate in Pictorialism, which reached its stride in the 1890s as Henderson was nearing the end of his photography career. However, Henderson is, particularly in the Thomas quotation that follows, being placed in a trajectory of amateur and artistic photography with photographers like William Ide and C.E. Saunders, who are further in her review listed alongside Harold Mortimer-Lamb and Sidney Carter as central figures in the Pictorialist movement in Canada. To understand Henderson as a developmental point on photography's way towards modernism in Canada does work to establish an evolving narrative of the medium's artistic development, however it hinders our understanding of a truly multifaceted and complex photographer in his moment.

section, "The Early Years"; the studied composition and selection of subject matter are reminiscent of Barbizon school painting. While it can be viewed as a precursor to William Ide's "The Watering Place," c. 1896, and Beresford Pinkerton's "Forest Landscape," n.d., the former located in the "New Amateur" section and the latter appearing in "Art Ascendant," it relates strongly in its treatment of subject to the landscape aesthetic that emerges later in the work of practitioners such as C.E. Saunders. Linkages and tracings such as this, while not revelations in themselves, can be made on many levels, informing us of the manner in which pictorialist visual imagery was self-generating and self-referential.³⁷⁶

Indeed, Henderson's role in the Art Association of Montreal (AAM), his local and international exhibition, and, of course, his formally and technically striking photographs, mark Henderson as a key figure in Canadian photography history. However, here we have less of a statement about Henderson's intentions than we do a construction of the institutional contexts in which Henderson has been studied. As Schwartz has indicated in her discussion of *Spring Inundation*, "research agendas are often circumscribed by institutional discourse, disciplinary perspectives, and media expertise."³⁷⁷ Efforts to create an unbroken development of photography from Henderson to photographic Modernism can be seen during a period in the institutional history of photography in Canada when scholars and curators were trying to affirm and grow photography's value in the art market, particularly in light of their respective institutional collections. Ralph Greenhill's 1977 essay "Collecting Photography Now?" which opens with the image of Henderson's *Spring Inundation*, outlines the growth in institutional collecting of Canadian photography and the effect of the increasing value of nineteenth-century Canadian photography in the 1960s and 1970s.³⁷⁸ The foundation of photographic collections in institutional collecting of nineteenth-century photography goes hand in hand with those institutions making justifications for including such photographs in their collections. At PAC,

³⁷⁶ Ann Thomas, "Reflections on an Exhibition," *Archivaria* 17 (Winter 1983-1984): 143.

³⁷⁷ Schwartz, "Photographic Reflections," 972.

³⁷⁸ Ralph Greenhill, "Collecting Photography Now?," *Canadian Collector* 12, no. 2 (April 1977): 36-39.

now LAC, a Historical Photographs Section was created in 1964, then in 1975 it became the National Photography Collection and then in 1986, just after *Private Realms of Light*, it became the Documentary Art and Photography Division.³⁷⁹ At the NGC, James Borcoman became the first curator of the Photographs Collection, founded in 1967, developing the museum's collection of contemporary and historical photographs by drawing connections between Canadian and European photography.³⁸⁰

Pigeonholing Henderson into institutional collecting policies and mandates truncates our ability to see photographers such as Henderson outside of an artistic history. Few efforts have been made in this regard. Triggs remains central to any discussion of Henderson because of his dedication to reading the archival record that exists around Henderson alongside the photographs. And, Martha Langford has examined Henderson's photographs as they appear in private albums and amateur collections of photographs.³⁸¹ Likewise, the work of this chapter is not to remove Henderson from the art historical contexts in which he has been placed – quite the opposite. Art history is not about tracing a single line of development, but rather, considering the multitude of complexities that shape visual output. Doing so places Henderson in not one, but many lines of artistic, visual, cultural, and professional influence – a nexus of concerns that are mediated in his making of the photographs. This becomes clear with *Canadian Views and Studies*. The album takes on a variety of meanings. It certainly demonstrates Henderson's skill as a photographer and supports Henderson's decision to become a professional photographer. Though, if this was all that the album could demonstrate, it is surprising that the famed *Spring*

³⁷⁹ Joan M. Schwartz, "The National Archives of Canada," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 166.

³⁸⁰ Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne, "Writing Photography in Canada: A Historiography," in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, edited by Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 236.

³⁸¹ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 54-55.

Inundation only appears in two of the seven albums listed in Appendix 11. That Henderson customized and sold these albums to the public indicates a growing popular interest in the photographed landscape. The range of subjects contained in each album, from scenic landscapes to interesting natural forms, and logging camps to railway bridges, reflects a collective imagination interested as much by industrial feats and frontier living as by scenic landscapes. Henderson was not only capable of capturing this range of subjects, but also understood their varied appeal. The differing content from album to album indicates the possibility that Henderson was making each album in consultation with his clients.

Interestingly, the photograph that garnered the most attention, winning Henderson his first exhibition prize, was not a scenic landscape view, but rather a photograph of a steamboat. This image appears in three of the seven albums listed in Appendix 11, Table 6. At the 1863 Amateur Photographic Exhibition in London, Henderson won third prize for *The Mountain Maid (Canadian Steamboat Instantaneous)* [App. 9, Fig. 83] that was described as “a charming whole-plate vignetted picture of a steamer on a Canadian lake, with water, distant foliage, and clouds all well made out.”³⁸² This success must have contributed to his decision to submit a version of *Canadian Views and Studies* to the 1865 Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures. In the catalogue for the exhibition the album is listed under the category of “Class F. Fine Arts, Section 30, Painting, Drawing, Photography, &c.”³⁸³ For his entry, he won honourable mention.³⁸⁴ Realizing his skill as a landscape photographer, in the *Lovell Directory*

³⁸² Anon., “Prize Pictures by Members of the Photographic Association,” *The Photographic News* 7, no. 265 (31 July 1863): 886.

³⁸³ Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, *Catalogue of the Canadian Contributions to the Dublin Exhibition, 1865* (Ottawa, Ont.: s.n., 1865), 9.

³⁸⁴ “Dublin Exhibition: Report of the Jury, and the List of Awards,” *The Photographic Journal* 10, no. 162 (16 October 1865): 170.

for 1874-75 he had not only moved his studio to 237 Saint James Street with a residence at 49 Victoria, but also listed his occupation as “Landscape Photographer.”³⁸⁵

A Landscape Photographer

Henderson self-produced several other albums and publications. In the winter of 1868-69, Montreal received record amounts of snowfall with snow banks piling over nine feet high. When the snow melted the following spring the city was swept with floodwaters as the banks of the Saint Lawrence River spilled over. To mark the event, Henderson produced a delicate album titled *Snow and Flood After the Great Storms of 1869*.³⁸⁶ The album includes a table of contents with the location of each photograph; there are fourteen photographs of snow scenes, followed by four photographs of the flooding. Beyond the locations, there is no additional description or text included with the photographs. The photographs are bound together in a green leather cover delicately trimmed with gold leaf. The album as an object, very much a precious object, creates as much impact on the viewer as the photographs within. Elise Lassonde, in her essay “Le cas de *Snow and Flood After Great Storms of 1869* d’Alexander Henderson” approaches the album as an example of a book illustrated by original photographs. Lassonde reflects on the potential for narrative to exist without the presence of text to guide the images. She observes that,

La forme du livre permet au photographe de concevoir une « narration » en plusieurs tableaux, accompagnée ou non d’un propos écrit, présentée selon une séquence bien précise. Henderson a probablement choisi cette forme afin que le spectateur/lecteur tienne pour acquis que les images qu’il tient entre ses mains

³⁸⁵ John Lovell, *Lovell’s Montreal Directory 1874-1875* (Montreal, Que.: Lovell Printing and Publishing, 1875), 400.

³⁸⁶ The version of the album consulted is held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture Collection, Montreal, Que. Alexander Henderson, *Snow and Flood After the Great Storms of 1869*, PH1981:1285:016,

sont organisées chronologiquement et constituent un véritable récit des événements.³⁸⁷

This is unlike *Canadian Views and Studies*, which presents different arrangements of a variety of subjects. In *Snow and Flood* Henderson does indeed show the passage of time as a cause and effect – first snow, then flood. The narrative it creates gives us an insight into what Henderson thought his clients might respond to and want. The idea of a narrative is furthered when considering that the album, with its gold-leafed pages and delicate leather binding, was something that was not widely affordable. The few copies in existence reinforce this preciousness. It was, perhaps, something to be kept on the drawing room table of a Victorian parlour by a citizen wealthy enough not to have been too affected by the flood. Henderson does not provide photographs of working-class neighbourhoods affected by the flood, instead focusing on the business districts of Montreal. The people in his photographs are calm and composed as though the natural disaster that surrounds them is nothing that they can't handle. Business in Montreal continues as usual.

Lassonde is not the only scholar to assert that Henderson was consciously putting together these books with a particular narrative and clientele in mind. Triggs writes of Henderson's 1870 publication *Photographs of Montreal* that,

A sufficient market existed for these [landscape] scenes and others depicting the lumber trade, steamboats and railways to make it possible for a skilled photographer to make a living. There was little competing hobby or amateur photography prior to the 1880s because of the costs, cumbersome equipment and time-consuming techniques. Therefore a photographic souvenir of a trip or a gift for relations was usually bought from a professional photographer. In 1879, the nieces of John Molson, a prominent Montreal businessman, commissioned Henderson to prepare an elaborate album of several hundred prints for their uncle's birthday. Catering to this market, he published an album in 1870 of stereo

³⁸⁷ Élise Lassonde, "Le cas de *Snow and Flood After Great Storms of 1869* d'Alexander Henderson" *MOQDOC* 17, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 7.

halves titled "Photographs of Montreal." It was of simple format, containing a title page and list of contents, followed by twenty photographs, one to a page.³⁸⁸

This album was discussed as an example of a private album produced on commission by a professional photographer in Langford's *Suspended Conversations*. Similarly, University of Toronto Thomas Fisher Rare Books has in its collection an album of fifty-two photographs titled *Photographs of Scenes in the Province of Quebec, Chiefly in Montreal, and of a Few Scenes in Ontario*, dated by the library to 1877-1879; and to say that Henderson photographs appear frequently in private albums in collections such as the Archives of Ontario (AO) and LAC is an understatement. Lassonde and Triggs both indicate that Henderson, in addition to his raw skill as a photographer of landscapes, also understood what his Victorian viewers and well-heeled clientele wanted.³⁸⁹ This type of business acumen and the ability to produce content that people were eager to buy, beginning with *Views and Studies* and culminating in the almost ubiquitous presence of his photographs in private albums, suggests that Henderson was more than what Thomas has described as a "linkage" in "the progression of pictorial conventions" in Canada.³⁹⁰ He was this, as well as a mirror for the complex status of the photograph as at once scenic and descriptive and of the photographer as artist, scientist, and entrepreneur.

The criteria for what makes a photograph such as *Spring Inundation* art to a contemporary curator such as Borcoman or Thomas is made abundantly clear through their formal description of atmosphere and composition as found in Henderson's photographs. However, understanding the aesthetic criteria by which photographers were judged in their lifetimes is rather more complex. In her study of William Notman's photographs in

³⁸⁸ Triggs, "Alexander Henderson," 49.

³⁸⁹ Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, "Flood Watch: The Construction and Evaluation of Photographic Meaning in Alexander Henderson's *Snow and Flood After the Great Storms of 1869*" in *The Photograph and the Collection*, ed. Graeme Farnell (Edinburgh, U.K.: MuseumsEtc., 2013), 244-267.

³⁹⁰ Ann Thomas, "Reflections on an Exhibition," *Archivaria* 17 (Winter 1983-1984): 143.

Photographic Selections, published in 1863 and considered to be the first art book produced in Canada, Loren Lerner works to establish the criteria for a photograph to be considered art. The publication includes photographed reproductions of paintings, carefully selected by Notman, as well as two landscape photographs taken by Notman. The implication is not only that Notman is seen to be knowledgeable about what constitutes a good painting, but that he is able to produce photographs that meet the same aesthetic criteria. Lerner suggests that the criteria for *Photographic Selections* hinged on Notman's Scottish heritage: "Notman's admiration of the art and culture of Scotland seems to have motivated the book's references, set of presuppositions, and evaluative criteria for the choice of works reproduced."³⁹¹ Lerner points to the types of works selected for inclusion which reflect the Scottish landscape, as well as European interests in historical sites as exemplified in the "grand tour," and the inclusion of Dutch artists as "a covert reference to the historical relationship between Scotland and the Netherlands."³⁹² Lerner's study establishes that photographers such as Notman were not only aware of artistic movements within painting, but were actively situating their own photographs in relation to them. Furthermore, it seems that the photographer was consciously seeking the pictorial qualities that contemporary scholars have ascribed to Henderson's works.

Discussing *Photographic Selections* in her thesis "Agent of Sight, Site of Agency," Joan Schwartz cautions that, "original, unretouched, landscape photographs were made and marketed as art, although it must be pointed out that the term "art" was used rather loosely, and the concept of what constituted art was in flux."³⁹³ For criteria Schwartz looks to art exhibitions in which

³⁹¹ Loren Lerner, "William Notman's *Photographic Selections* (1863)," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 33, no. 1 (2012): 26.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁹³ Joan Schwartz, "Agent of Sight, Site of Agency: The Photograph and the Geographical Imagination" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 1998), 339.

photographs were judged as art. Indeed, Henderson's public popularity extended beyond his presence in private photographic albums to his inclusion in local and international exhibitions, which helps to situate the criteria by which his photographs were understood as art. Henderson frequently exhibited his photographs in Montreal and abroad, in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, New York, and Philadelphia, for which he often received special mentions. For example, he won a silver medal at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1878.³⁹⁴ His successes are evident in reviews of the exhibitions. In *The Photographic News* review of the Paris International Exhibition of 1867 it was noted that Henderson had on display "a very large collection of Canadian views, especially from the neighbourhood of Quebec and the Ottawa River. These photographs must convey a good idea of the splendour and picturesque character of the Canadian landscape. Some of them have been produced instantaneously."³⁹⁵ Upon viewing *Photographs of Canadian Scenery*, D. Winstanley, in an 1874 issue of the *British Journal of Photography*, described Henderson as an "eminent landscapeist."³⁹⁶ In a review of the Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition, Henderson once again received great praise. In his review of the various national representations in the Main Building and Photographic Hall, titled "Photographic Sketches from the Centennial Grounds," Herman Vogel (1834-1898) – a nineteenth-century German photochemist and photographer, discoverer of dye sensitization, teacher to Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), and writer of several scientific and review publications on photography – touched on the photographs of William Notman and Henderson. While stating that Notman's photographs stand ahead of all other Canadian photographers, he dislikes Notman's large painted composites in favour of smaller photographs of hunters and skaters. Vogel pays particular

³⁹⁴ Note from Paris Exhibition. Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 43, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

³⁹⁵ "England Possessions and Colonies," *The Photographic News* (18 October 1867): 504.

³⁹⁶ D. Winstanley, *British Journal of Photography* 21, no. 746 (21 August 1874): 395.

attention to Henderson as “distinguished in the landscape branch.” Vogel points out that Henderson’s landscapes have a distinctly British approach – a good thing as at the 1862 London Exhibition the Englishmen were “ahead of all other exhibitors in landscape photography, and to the present time they have retained this high position.”³⁹⁷ Vogel wrote extensively about photography and art, and it is useful to think about his criteria for an artistic photograph in relation to Henderson, particularly since Henderson would have been aware of Vogel, at the very least, through his reviews of his own photographs in exhibitions.

Take for example Vogel’s publication *Handbook of the Practice and Art of Photography*, one of the few Vogel publications translated into English from German, and “especially adapted for the United States.”³⁹⁸ In “Chapter VI. The Practice of Photography,” there is a section entitled “The Art of Photography, or Photographic Aesthetics” followed immediately by sections entitled: “Photography and Truth”; “On Light and Illumination”; “Of the Perspective”; “Distortion”; and “Arrangement of the Picture.” It is in this last section that Vogel provides guidelines of compositional approaches in making an artistic photograph. As his major example, Vogel uses an engraved reproduction of a Henry Peach Robinson landscape, a photographer Vogel states is “the unrivalled composition photographer.”³⁹⁹ Vogel’s primary concern in composing a landscape is attention to balance and asymmetry. For example a composition should contain something of interest on both sides – balance – but those things should be different from one another – asymmetry: “the shrubbery to the right finds its symmetrical opposite in the two

³⁹⁷ Hermann Vogel, “Photographic Sketches from the Centennial Grounds,” *The Philadelphia Photographer* (September 1876): 286.

³⁹⁸ Herman Vogel, *Handbook of the Practice and Art of Photography*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Benerman and Wilson Publishers, 1875).

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 341. Henry Peach Robinson also wrote extensively on compositional strategies in photography. For example his *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* (London, U.K.: Piper & Carter, 1869) in which he too looks to paintings by artists such as J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) in a discussion of compositional balance between light, shade, line and foliage along converging diagonal axes.

trees to the left.”⁴⁰⁰ Vogel also advises “the student to study with care the principal landscape pictures of our great masters, Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), [Johann Wilhelm] Schirmer (1807-1863), [Karl Friedrich] Lessing (1808-1880), [Theodor] Hildebrandt (1804-1874), and others.”⁴⁰¹ It is of note that with the exception of Claude Lorrain, the artists that Vogel points to are all associated with the German Romantic movement of the Düsseldorf School of painting.

Painting and Photography at the Art Association of Montreal

The Düsseldorf School is central to this study of Henderson in his relationship to painters. Henderson’s exhibition success embedded him in the artistic milieu of Montreal. Henderson was a personal friend and colleague of William Notman. The two men made a photographic excursion to Niagara Falls in 1860 and they cooperated on experiments with magnesium flares as a source of artificial light in 1865.⁴⁰² Most notably, both photographers were founding members of the Art Association of Montreal. Henderson is listed in the 1864 Act of Incorporation for the AAM⁴⁰³ and is listed in the roll of membership through to 1887.⁴⁰⁴ The first meeting was held in Notman’s studio on January 11, 1860 with Henderson as chairman.⁴⁰⁵ They were both members of the Young Men’s Christian Association, where Henderson delivered a talk on his experience

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 340.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 342.

⁴⁰² Stanley Triggs, “Alexander Henderson,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, University of Toronto and Université Laval, 2000. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7437

⁴⁰³ Art Association of Montreal, *The Act of Incorporation and the By-Laws* (Montreal, Que.: M. Longmoore & Co. Gazette Steam Press, Great St. James Street, 1864), 17.

⁴⁰⁴ Art Association of Montreal, *Report of the council to the Association* (Montreal, Que.: D. Bentley & C. Printers, 1887), 29.

⁴⁰⁵ This information was found in Triggs, “Alexander Henderson,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. However, the primary source from which Triggs drew this information is not referenced. I was only able to find *Bill: An Act to Incorporate the Art Association of Montreal* (Quebec, Que.: Thompson & Co., 1860), which makes no mention of the location or participation of the meeting.

as a photographer, presided over by Notman.⁴⁰⁶ In 1890, both were involved in the Montreal Camera Club, an association that would foster a photographic community in Montreal and appeal to photographic interests through demonstrations and exhibitions, of which Henderson remained president until 1892, member of the executive until 1895, and private member until 1899.⁴⁰⁷ It is through these involvements that Henderson becomes central to any discussion of the relationship between photography and art in nineteenth-century Canada.

The personal and professional relationship between Henderson and the painters of the AAM, specifically Otto Reinhold Jacobi (1812-1901), teases out the very fundamental relationship between photography and the fine arts in this moment of Canadian visual production. Jacobi's name appears frequently in the catalogues and records of the AAM. In a notice for a "Fine Art Conversazione" held on February 11, 1864, one in a series of exhibitions put on by the AAM, there is a reference to Jacobi's early involvement: "Mr. Jacobi also shows some clever water-color drawings, the first of his we have ever seen."⁴⁰⁸ The confluence of Canadian painting and photography can be located at the AAM. Jacobi, who was born in Prussia, attended the Düsseldorf Academy in Germany to study painting. The work of the Düsseldorf School, which grew out of and was a part of the German Romantic movement, is characterized by finely detailed yet still fanciful landscapes, often with religious or allegorical stories set in the landscape. This early training in the German Romantic tradition was certainly a lasting influence

⁴⁰⁶ "The YMCA Lectures," *Montreal Gazette*, Montreal, Que., (10 April 1889): 3.

⁴⁰⁷ "Montreal Camera Club," *The Canadian Photographic Journal* (Toronto, Ont.: G.W. Gilson, February 1892), 22; "Montreal Camera Club," *The Canadian Photographic Journal* (Toronto, Ont.: G.W. Gilson, October 1892), 214; "Montreal Camera Club," *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac* (New York, N.Y.: The Scovilt & Adams Company, 1892), 347; "Montreal Camera Club," *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac* (New York, N.Y.: The Scovilt & Adams Company, 1893), 374; Cole, A. W. "Montreal Camera Club," *The Canadian Photographic Journal* (Toronto, Ont.: G.W. Gilson, October 1894), 394; "Montreal Camera Club," *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac* (New York, N.Y.: The Scovilt & Adams Company, 1895), 389.

⁴⁰⁸ "Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Scrapbook 1864," Canadian Women Artists History Initiative website. 12 November 2012, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://cwahi.concordia.ca/sources/resources/MMFA-scrapbooks.php>

on Jacobi's work and resounds vividly in works such as *Laurentian Mountains (On the Gatineau)*, 1867, [App. 9, Fig. 84] with its atmospheric rendering of the Laurentian mountain range, and placement of the viewer centrally and above as surveyor of the vista. Scholars and biographers of Jacobi suspect that in 1855 he met the painter Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872), who had already become established in Lower Canada.⁴⁰⁹ For a young artist training in the Romantic tradition, the idea of a vast wilderness would have been a tempting proposition. Indeed, Jacobi relocated to Canada in the 1860s and quickly rose to prominence in Canada as a member of the AAM, an indication that the Romantic style of painting that Jacobi maintained was appreciated within Canadian artistic circles.

The Romantic remains prominent in his work; however, it did not remain pure to its Düsseldorf origins. A decisive stylistic influence in his work that became fully developed in the Canadian context was his relationship with photography. Through the AAM, Jacobi became close with artists John Fraser (1838-1898), Henry Sandham (1842-1910), and Charles J. Way (1834-1919), all of whom were at one point employed by William Notman. In addition to visiting the actual sites, Jacobi often used photographs to create paintings from his studio. *Falls of St Anne, Quebec*, 1865, appears to have been painted from a Notman photograph taken the same year [App. 9, Fig. 85].⁴¹⁰ Henderson also made a photograph of the falls, five years later in 1870, from the same vantage point as Jacobi and Notman [App. 9, Fig. 86]. This example is one of many that Thomas uses to develop the "photographic aesthetic" in the catalogue for her 1979 exhibition *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography 1860-1900*.⁴¹¹ Through the

⁴⁰⁹ Georg K. Weissenborn, "Otto Jacobi," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto, Ont.: university of Toronto Press, 1994), 503.

⁴¹⁰ Ann Thomas, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900* (Montreal, Que.: McCord Museum, 1979), 92.

⁴¹¹ This exhibition catalogue was produced to accompany an exhibition of the same title, organized by the McCord Museum on view from June 20 to August 12, 1979. The exhibition and catalogue were based on Thomas's earlier

“photographic aesthetic” – high detail, focal dominance of the middle ground, and a sense of a moment stopped in time – Thomas draws visual and stylistic comparisons between photographs and paintings, specifically within the group of artists and photographers of the AAM.⁴¹² But while her study makes this decisive link, she emphasizes the influence of photography on painters, while minimizing the influence of painting on photography. Hers is a study of influence, not shared visual style. The argument being made here is different: that Henderson was as much influenced by Jacobi, as Jacobi was influenced by photographers such as Henderson and Notman. Henderson, I am suggesting, followed Vogel’s advice: photographers were to study painting in order to foster an understanding of successful artistic compositional techniques.

Let us consider Vogel’s notions of balance and asymmetry, compositional qualities he viewed as central to a good landscape photograph, as well as the ideas that inspired him, Henry Peach Robinson’s ideas of balance between light, shade, line and foliage along converging diagonal axes, as evident in the works of Jacobi, Henderson and Notman. The three treatments of St. Anne’s Falls provide telling examples. In Jacobi’s painting [App. 9, Fig 85(L)] the composition is divided in half along a central axis from top to bottom, extending out from the vertical crack in the flat rock just behind the water. On the top right side of the axis, the falls begin, moving downward out of the shadow and are blocked from view at the bottom by the rock

thesis written in requirement for an M.F.A in Canadian Art History at Concordia University. This exhibition focuses predominantly on the photographs found in the collection at the McCord Museum’s Notman Photographic Archives, though lenders to the exhibition included archives, art galleries and private collectors. Using these collections Thomas explores the relationship between photography and painting through painted photographs, portraiture, composite photographs, and the influence of photography on landscape painting. Unlike Andrew Birrell and Richard Huyda who echoed Ralph Greenhill’s methodological format of historical narrative and interest in photographic technology, Thomas considers the photographs themselves as being part of a larger visual culture – this approach is most likely a result of Thomas’s own foundation with in art history. In the preface to her Master of Fine Arts thesis, Thomas describes her interest in this topic as one that was inspired by her study under art historian J. Russell Harper.

⁴¹² See discussion of Thomas in Introduction.

ledge upon which the viewers imagine themselves standing. The left side asymmetrically balances the right. The heavy trees at the top and the light reflecting off rock are a counterpoint to the falls and the shadow on the right; the light mist of the rushing water on the bottom left balances the heavy and dark rock to the right. Taken from a nearly identical angle, Notman's photograph [App. 9, Fig 85(R)] does not share the compositional balance of Jacobi's painting. The two white tree branches moving up the right side of the photograph, in addition to the falls, skew the balance in that direction. The play of reflecting light and shadow found in the Jacobi is not present in the photograph, though such a thing would be difficult to accomplish successfully in a photograph even with darkroom dodging and burning. Henderson's photograph [App. 9, Fig. 86] while at first glance is perhaps less visually striking than Notman's, is more compositionally successful in creating asymmetrical balance. In order to compensate for the trees to the right of the falls, which unlike painters photographers could not just remove, Henderson uses them to create balance. The tops of the trees bring visual interest to the right side, however in Henderson's composition the falls sit more to the left, balancing the visual interest diagonally across the photograph. In plays of light and dark, the dark mass of trees to the top left balance the dark mass of rock on the bottom right; and, the airy foliage of the trees in the top right balance the light and mist of the falls to the lower left. This attention to compositional balance characterizes almost all of Henderson's photographs – descriptive, documentary, scenic, and artistic. This is certainly why Vogel appreciated Henderson's landscape photographs in the context of art and in comparison to British landscape photographers and painters. Both Henderson's and Jacobi's versions of St. Anne's Falls bring together the Picturesque and the Romantic: the former in the careful selection and inclusion of elements of the land into a composed and balanced landscape; and, the latter in the choice of subject, the viewpoint of that

subject into which the viewer is placed, and the attached connotations of a uniquely Canadian landscape. As we will see, the balanced asymmetry in composition is something that Henderson consistently applies to his photographs, including his commissions to document the structures of the railways.

The descriptive emphasis in paintings and sketches is echoed in photography throughout this thesis. Take for example, the topographical sketches by William Armstrong as they influenced Hime's photographs taken during the 1858 expedition, juxtaposed with the topographical sketches and watercolour paintings of William Hind, and the documentary value ascribed to them by Henry Youle Hind. Here, the relationships between painting and photography come out of the art historical moment that Reid has developed with regard to the garrison painters of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and that I have demonstrated are linked to the Picturesque. Just over ten years later, Baltzly, continued to operate within the framework of the topographic and the Picturesque in his careful selection of compositional elements. However, through a close reading of his journal, which is replete with references to God, progress, and nature, his photographs take on a reading of the Romantic without letting go of the Picturesque. The same can be said for the paintings by Jacobi and the photographs by Henderson. The Romantic influence in Jacobi's painting and the compositional values of writers on art photography, such as Vogel and Robinson, informed Henderson's photographs. Likewise, the Picturesque detail of Henderson's photographs, and of topographical and descriptive photographs in Canada more broadly that were made in part to convey information, inspired Jacobi toward a realism in painting the land, which needs no further embellishment to become a Romantic landscape.

Commissions to Photograph the Railways

Thomas, Reid, Birrell, and Borcoman emphasize the aesthetic and pictorial aspects of Henderson's photographs. However, the photographs that have been held to this interpretation are landscapes such as *Spring Inundation*, where the both the subject and the formal qualities of the photograph fit within the paradigms of aesthetic movements occurring within painting. But, what about Henderson's photographs of steam ships and railway bridges? These photographs have been examined, but under a distinctly different lens. Topographic, descriptive, or technical in nature, they have been framed as being in the service of their commission. For example, the photographs Henderson made of the ICR function as a supplement to Sanford Fleming's work promoting the structural innovations along the route, and Henderson's photographs along the CPR are viewed as fulfilling Van Horne's desire to promote the railway as having aesthetic, touristic, and nationalist value.⁴¹³ Indeed, the photographs did serve the intentions of their commission and it is reasonable to see the outputs as distinct. Unlike Hime, Baltzly, and Horetzky, whose photographs were made specifically for documentary purposes, but also contain reflections of cultural and aesthetic values, Henderson's documentary photographs appear to be just that – schematic and informative. However, the photographs themselves were no less under the influence of a formal or compositional convention. When considering Henderson's multifaceted photographic interests, it is odd to separate the two outputs – aesthetic and documentary – from each other.

Henderson took on many commissions along the railway: the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR); the QMO&O; the ICR; and the CPR. His photographs are also featured in publications

⁴¹³ Lynda Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and "the business of becoming a nation"" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1992), 110-113.

about the railway, but not produced by the rail companies directly, for example in C.R. Chisholm's 1869 *All-round Route Guide* and Arthur Buies's 1889 *L'Outaouais supérieur*. The remainder of this chapter will examine the cultural and artistic impact of these photographs, in part as products of their commission, but also in terms of their public circulation and in light of Henderson's artistic side, as developed so far.

Henderson's adventurous spirit, his understanding of a composed and pleasing landscape, his technical knowledge of the photographic process, and his broader interest in natural science and engineering, come together with the railway. His desire to be outdoors took him around the Province of Quebec by train, particularly in the winter when canoe and boat excursions were less practical. One of Henderson's first experiences with photographing the railway came of his own volition and without commission along the GTR. Taken during the same snow storm in February 1869 that produced his *Snow and Flood After the Great Storms of 1869*, Henderson found himself and his photographic equipment on a train that was blocked on the tracks by snow. An account of these events, based on both archival material and storytelling, has been assembled by John Thompson, a member of the Canadian Railroad Historical Association, who recreates Henderson's process in taking photographs of the stuck train.⁴¹⁴ Between the McCord and LAC collections, there are at least five photographs taken of the GTR tracks and snow ploughs during this snowstorm [App. 9, Figs. 87-91]. A vertical cropping of *Four G. T. R. locomotives behind snowplough, Black River, near Quebec City* also appears as the first image in Henderson's 1869 *Snow and Flood* album, here titled as *Engines clearing the track, G.T.R.* [App. 9, Fig. 90]. Not only was the railway a relatively new sight, but also the innovations that went along with clearing that track of a massive snowfall must have been an impressive triumph of man over

⁴¹⁴ John Thompson, "Alex Henderson's Winter Trip," *Canadian Rail* 468 (January-February 1999): 3-13

nature – so impressive that Henderson included the image as the opener to his *Snow and Flood* series. Four photographs were reproduced as engravings in the January 15, 1870 issue of *The Illustrated London News* [App. 9, Fig. 92]. The images are captioned collectively as “Snow-plough on the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada” and are accompanied by enthusiastic explanation titled “The Railway Snow-plough”:

There is nothing in the ordinary phenomena of the seasons that is so apt to interrupt the traffic of railways as the accumulation of snow. The Mont Cenis summit-line, constructed by Mr. Fell, with its gradients, as steep as the old street of Holborn-hill, easily and safely climbed by the grip of the horizontal wheels upon the central rail, is yet subject to the loss of three or four days' working receipts almost every winter from this common accident of the Alpine heights. The Highland Railway of Scotland, and others in the northern parts of Britain, are frequently exposed, in winter, to very troublesome occurrences of the same nature. It may even be remembered that the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, and several other lines, including part of the London and North-Western Railway, near Manchester, were closed during two whole days, in a season of extraordinary severity, about eighteen years ago, by the masses of snow that filled the cuttings, so that both travelling and postal communication were stopped. The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, with its magnificent extent of 900 miles, comprising the branches, through a country which never fails to exhibit the effects of winter in full force, has of course had to contend with this enemy to locomotion. Its engineers have invented for that purpose a very powerful kind of snowplough, the form and use of which are shown in the Illustrations we have engraved, from photographs by Mr. A. Henderson, of Montreal. The shape of the mighty shield, carried in front of the engine, with its hollowed face, and with its cutting edge at each side, is well adapted to make its way through the deepest and densest snowdrifts. It is such an implement as the Canadian climate demands.⁴¹⁵

For Henderson, it was as much a photographic victory as an industrial triumph. Shortly after the photographs were taken, he placed an advertisement in the *Montreal Daily Witness* on March 4, 1869 that reads: “PHOTOGRAPHY in the SNOW. Private residences &c. photographed; new winter landscapes. Apply at ALEX HENDERSON’S Portrait Room, 10 Phillips Square.”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ “Snow Plough on the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada,” *The Illustrated London News* 56, no. 1576 (15 January 1870): 80.

⁴¹⁶ As reproduced in John Thompson, “Alex Henderson’s Winter Trip,” 9.

Henderson travelled much along the railways, venturing out several times along the St. Lawrence, travelling as far as Halifax. In a letter to his wife on May 3, 1872, Henderson wrote about how there were many business opportunities to be had for a photographer in Halifax: “The weather here is miserable, wet and foggy – like home [...] The place is a dirty, smoky place – with strong fortifications & soldiers etc. but it is very far away. [...] I believe if I were to settle here I would do well – but I do not see how.”⁴¹⁷ Henderson continued to make photographs on his trips, and it is important to note that the photographs he took along and of the ICR were made for the most part without formal commission. Reid suggests that Henderson did come to an arrangement with Fleming before his 1872 trip, however Reid provides no archival reference, and I have been unable to track down any substantiating correspondence. It is not until 1875 that Henderson reached out to Sanford Fleming who, along with his appointment as engineer-in-chief of the CPR from 1871, was the engineer-in-chief of the ICR between 1867 and 1876, with a proposal to photograph that railway. In this 1875 letter to the railway secretary, Ralph Jones, Fleming wrote:

Mr. A. Henderson of Montreal has made the proposal to go over the whole of the line of the Intercolonial Railway for the purpose of making photographs of the principal structures and natural scenery, for little more than the expenses which he may incur. I have consulted with the Minister [Prime Minister Alexander MacKenzie] on the subject, he approves of the proposal and has authorized me to engage Mr. Henderson for the purpose referred to.⁴¹⁸

Though Henderson kept the rights to the glass plates, and would have sold the photographs to customers at his studio, Fleming required that he would be allowed as many copies as needed at a reduced cost.

⁴¹⁷ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Agnes Henderson, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 25, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

⁴¹⁸ Letter from Sandford Fleming to Ralph Jones, 25 May 1875, Sandford Fleming fonds, vol. 829, 117-118, R7666-0-8-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

Two scholars have provided some interpretation of Henderson's work on the ICR. Lynda Jessup in her 1992 thesis *Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and the 'Business of Becoming a Nation'* posits that the ICR and CPR tried to develop a sense of nationhood and Canadian identity through the landscape. She correlates the creation of culture to the creation of nationhood writing that, "the idea that artists and tourists were mapping the aesthetic and recreational features of the national landscape was more than a conceit" and that railways and government were both taking advantage of "cultural advertising."⁴¹⁹ Jessup suggests that Henderson himself was not out to make money from the railway, but that as a professional photographer he had both artistic and commercial motivations for taking advantage of public interest in scenes of progress and the wilderness. Likewise, Fleming envisioned the same touristic value in the photographs, which could be used to promote the ICR as a national railway. Jessup discusses the effectiveness of the photographs as advertisements, functioning the same way as tourist and travel literature, suggesting that both the "pastoral" and the "veracity of the illustration" were at work in images such as *On Restigouche River* [App. 11, Fig. 112].⁴²⁰ However, she does not come to this assessment by examining Henderson's history or the photographs he produced in any detail. Jessup does bring up specific photographs, such as *On Restigouche River*, along with Henderson's ICR photographs as published in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, but there is little visual analysis of the images themselves or how they function.

Dennis Reid in his 1979 *Our Own Country Canada* had already picked up on the dual aspects of the photographs that Jessup would later develop. As mentioned above, Reid suggests that Henderson and Fleming worked together before 1875. He bases this on an album now in the LAC collection titled *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway*,

⁴¹⁹ Jessup, "Canadian Artists," 111-112.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 119.

composed of Henderson photographs that are meticulously dated between 1872 and 1874. The album was not published until 1876. While his arguments develop into a discussion of wet and dry plate technology, he writes of the aesthetic and documentary tensions in the *Miramichi Bridges* photographs that:

These are all documentary in intent, and although a good number are striking photos, many are only serviceable. Periodically, he turned his camera away from railroad works, however, and focused on the landscape through which the line ran. These too have a functional air about them: they are essentially topographical. But they also evince that innate sense of mood that Henderson could not hide if he had wanted to.⁴²¹

Reid also examines *On Restigouche River* [App. 11, Fig. 112] along with *Hellgate, Matapedia River* [App. 11, Fig. 105 (L)] as examples of images that are decidedly un-topographical. He describes *On Restigouche River* as a “remarkably moving picture.”⁴²² Indeed, it shares many of the same formal qualities that make *Spring Inundation* so visually captivating: the reflection of the trees in the mirror-like water; the curve of the canoe echoed in the curve of the shoreline and the small hill to the left; and a sense of stillness in the photograph’s ability to freeze a moment in time. Here Reid is setting up a contrast between Henderson’s photographs made with documentary intent and those that he sees as aesthetically moving. The artistic and the documentary are kept separate.⁴²³ However, if we understand the photograph as having the capacity to mediate between art and document, we can open up an exploration of the formal and connotative similarities between Henderson’s bridge photographs and his more aesthetically ‘moving’ photographs such as *On Restigouche River*; and, we can bring photographs that have

⁴²¹ Reid, *Our Own Country*, 163.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴²³ While Reid acknowledges that the photographs in Fleming and Henderson’s *Miramichi Bridges* are both topographical and visually relevant – “confirmed in the numerous paintings of the area that began to appear once the line was opened” (Reid, *Our Own Country*, 164) – those aspects, as done by the bulk of scholarship on Henderson outlined at the start of this chapter, are kept separate. In other words, Reid pushes aside the topographic in favour of the aesthetics of the landscape as harnessed in images such as *On Restigouche River*, which impacted painters.

previously been understood as serving a purely documentary and descriptive function into the fold of a discussion of visual influence and history.

Henderson brought artistic understandings of composition to his documentary photographs. To get a sense of this, it is interesting to look at the types of subjects Henderson was photographing along the ICR in the period between 1865 and 1875, before his formal partnership with Fleming, and those that were made after [App. 22, Map 3]. Unlike the other photographers examined in this thesis, there is no significant writing by Henderson on his own photographs or his experience. This leaves us without explicit insight into Henderson's motivations to take the photographs that he did. However, there exists a substantial archival collection of ICR photographs between the McCord and LAC so that it is not impossible to extrapolate from the visual data. The subjects range from very scenic images such as *Trout pool, Millstream, on the I. C. R.*, [App. 11, Fig. 109] dated by the McCord to about 1870, to the very industrial image as *Culvert, North end Intercolonial Railway works* [App. 11, Fig. 119 (R)] assigned to 1871-1872 by LAC.⁴²⁴ One can speculate that Henderson was planning to propose a partnership with Fleming and so he took the kinds of schematic photographs that he believed Fleming would desire, and it is equally as possible that Henderson took the more scenic photographs also with Fleming in mind, knowing that he would want to promote the views along the new railway. This would place Henderson's motivations nicely into Jessup's paradigm of patronage. However, it is as equally true that both Henderson and the broader Canadian public were visually attracted to views of railway structures like bridges and tunnels. Henderson did take courses at McGill University in engineering, and he did produce several photographs of bridges and steamships for his 1865 *Canadian Views and Studies*. Furthermore, people

⁴²⁴ It is worthwhile to note that the McCord Museum and LAC have provided rather broad and tenuous dates. The McCord seems to favour the year 1870, while LAC likes to provide date ranges of two to four years.

commissioned and purchased copies of *Canadian Views and Studies*; his photograph of the steamer Mountain Maid won an international prize; and the proliferation of images, not just photographic, of these kinds of industrial structures appeared everywhere from fine art to handkerchiefs to playing cards to dinner plates. The industrial structure was a subject of fascination as much as the landscape in which those structures were set.⁴²⁵ The schematic, technical, and topographical, then, had a profound impact on popular visual interest and understanding of the landscape. Painters produced scenes of tracks and bridges, such as Cornelius Krieghoff's *The Tubular Bridge at St. Henry's Falls*, 1858 [App. 9, Fig. 93] and Robert Whale's (1805-1887) *The Canadian Southern Railway at Niagara*, 1870 [App. 9, Fig. 94]. This also indicates that Thomas's "photographic aesthetic" was not something entirely directional in influence from photography to painting, but was rather a shared sensibility amongst painters and photographers in an era where the zeitgeist was characterized by strong interest in progress and technology. As with Baltzly, painters and photographers, such as Jacobi and Henderson, shared an outlook that blended the topographical qualities of the eighteenth-century Picturesque with the Romanticism of the nineteenth century.

The ties between the topographical, the Picturesque, the Romantic, and visual culture in Canada are reflected in the reproduction and circulation of Henderson's ICR photographs within a variety of types of publications. Take for example a publication Fleming produced in 1876 as a testament to his accomplishments during his tenure with the ICR titled *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch of the Inception, Location, Construction of the Line of Railway Uniting the Inland and Atlantic Provinces of the Dominion*. Fleming was innovative, seeking out ways to

⁴²⁵ Suzanne Zeller has suggested that during this moment in Canadian history, "Victorian Canadians, like Victorians elsewhere, marvelled at the technological signs of material progress and economic development – canals, railways, and electric telegraphs – and tended to identify these with science." Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 3-4.

improve and develop ideas. In his work with the ICR he insisted on moving away from wooden infrastructure to stone and iron. Despite the prevalent view that wooden infrastructure was a cheap and plentiful resource, Fleming appealed to Ottawa for the use of iron, particularly in the construction of bridges, as a much more durable – and fire resistant – medium for construction.⁴²⁶ Fleming produced *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* to drive home his points on the benefits of iron over wooden infrastructure. It was fortuitous that Henderson had approached Fleming for now he had photographs to illustrate his *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*, helping the reader to grasp what were often very technical descriptions of the construction of the bridges. For example, he includes much needed illustrations to help clarify descriptions such as the following:

Each raft was worked by three Indians and carried about two cubic yards of stone. The distance from the quarry on the Lake to the bridge is nearly 50 miles. Plates Nos. 12 and 13 are illustrative of the site and character of the structure. There are several cast iron pipe culverts, 3 feet in diameter, on the steep side-hill, for which they are peculiarly suitable, and prove highly satisfactory.⁴²⁷

“Plate 12. River Matapedia – Mill Stream Bridge in progress, in the distance” [App. 11, Fig. 107] and “Plate 13. Pier – Mill Stream Bridge, 3d crossing River Matapedia, in winter” [App. 11, Fig. 108] are highly schematic and follow a consistent method of displaying the elements of the bridge and its location found throughout the publication. There is no mention of photography or the photographer in *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* beyond the “List of Plates” included as part of the table of contents.

⁴²⁶ R. W. Scott and Sandford Fleming, *The Intercolonial Railway. The Genesis of its Bridges. With the Official Documents laid before Parliament* (Ottawa, Ont.: s.n., 1875).

⁴²⁷ Sandford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch of the Inception, Location, Construction and Completion of the Line of Railway Uniting the Inland and Atlantic provinces of the Dominion, with maps and numerous illustration* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 161.

It is telling to compare the selection of photographs Fleming chose to include as engravings in his *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*, with the numerous photographs that Henderson produced before and after his official ICR commission. In doing so, the line between the topographic and artistic as existing in mutually exclusive realms becomes increasingly blurred and the reciprocal stylistic influences between photography and painting become more apparent. We will proceed down two avenues of examination: reception and artistic aspiration. The first, reception, demonstrates that people were interested in scenes of industry as much as they were in scenic views as determined by looking at instances where technical photographs such as those in *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* were reproduced in cultural contexts. The second, artistic aspiration, contends that photographers were influenced by what was happening stylistically in painting and that they were indeed interested in creating artistic and aesthetic scenes. This will be demonstrated by looking at the photographs that Henderson submitted and sold to the *Canadian Illustrated News* and those that circulated within photographic exhibitions.

Turning to the photographs of *Rimouski Bridge* [App. 11, Fig. 101] and *Trois Pistoles Bridge* [App. 11, Fig. 98], we find similar visual constructions: a bridge central to the composition and a clear rendering of its piers, framework and expanse – a similar composition is seen in Hime's draughtsman-like photographs of churches and forts on his 1858 expedition. There is no doubt a technical bias to these formulaic photographs, perfect for inclusion in Fleming's sketch of the ICR from the vantage of its chief engineer. It is revealing that in the translation from photograph to engraving, as included in the *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*, there is very little alteration to the content of the image. This indicates that perhaps Fleming saw no need to reduce or enhance specific details in Henderson's photographs, except where unavoidable shrubbery covered a pier or its reflection [App. 11, Figs. 122, 130], and

conversely that Henderson was composing photographs that he knew would satisfy Fleming's requirements. It may also indicate that little, if anything, was changed from photograph to engraving in order to preserve the descriptive truthfulness that could only be afforded by the technology of the camera. Even in instances where figures and extensive landscape are included in the composition as with the photograph of the Amqui Bridge [App. 11, Fig. 103] or of the Mill Stream Bridge [App. 11, Fig. 107] there is almost no alteration, an indication that Henderson was aware of topographical techniques such as using a figure to provide scale. In doing so, however, there is no compromise in regards to techniques of artistic composition as set out by Vogel and Robinson above. In his starkly technical photographs such as *Rimouski Bridge* [App. 11, Fig. 101] balance is struck between the mass of land on the bottom left and the density of the piers up against the peninsula on the opposite side of the river to the right of the composition. Many of the photographs taken from this angle share a similar balance, often using the compression of space between the piers farther away to balance the land in the near foreground [App 12, Figs. 98, 102, 111, 116, 117, 122, 128].

It is interesting to note that these types of technical and schematic photographs also found their way into popular publication. For example, in C.R. Chisholm's 1869 guidebook for American tourists looking to travel the GTR, there are eleven different views from the "admirable camera of Mr. Henderson, of Montreal."⁴²⁸ The featured photographs are captioned, in order of appearance in the publication: Suspension Bridge over Niagara River; General View, Niagara Falls; Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River; Victoria Bridge, Montreal; Parliament Buildings, Ottawa; Quebec Custom House; Montreal Bank; Quebec from Point Levi; Montmorency Falls, near Quebec; L'Anse a L'Eau [*sic*], Saguenay; Tadousac [*sic*] and Mouth of

⁴²⁸ C.R. Chisholm, *The All Round Route Guide: the Hudson River, Trenton Falls, Niagara, Toronto, the Thousand Islands and the River St. Lawrence, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, the Lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay Rivers, the White Mountains, Boston, New York* (Montreal, Que.: Printing and Publish. Co., 1869), 4.

Saguenay River. While several editions were produced (1868, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 81), only the 1869 edition contains photographs by Henderson, or any photographs at all. Henderson's photograph of the Victoria Bridge [App. 9, Fig. 95] closely follows the structure of his schematic ICR bridge photographs. However, the nature of their publication, in a book that details wondrous sites, indicates that there was a popular demand for such photographs and that his view of the bridge was as impressive as a landscape. The preface makes the point of noting that because of the photographs, unlike most other tour books, this one will "still possess a charm which will entitle it to a place where more ponderous guides have no room."⁴²⁹ Similar photographs by Henderson also made frequent appearances in periodicals. Many photographers did this as a way to showcase their work and drive up their sales. For portrait photographers, having a portrait in a periodical would increase the demand for portraits made at their studio. For Henderson, as a landscape photographer, his studio became a place where customers could view and buy photographs that he had already taken, something more akin to a private gallery.

At the forefront of photographic reproduction in publication was George-Édouard (G.E.) Desbarats. From 1869 to 1883 he published the *Canadian Illustrated News*, using the printing expertise of William Augustus Leggo.⁴³⁰ In 1869 Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald offered Desbarats the role of being the first official printer of Canada.⁴³¹ In the inaugural issue of the *Canadian Illustrated News* Desbarats explains his vision for the publication. He writes,

The imagination is so closely linked to the perceptive faculties, that the speediest and surest way of reaching the mind and impressing thereon facts and objects, is to lay them vividly before the eye (that main feeder of the imagination,) either in their reality, or in the drama, or even through their image painted or engraved.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁴³⁰ See discussion of Leggotyping in "Chapter Four: Charles Horetzky."

⁴³¹ "William Augustus Leggo & George-Édouard Desbarats," *Made in Canada: Patents of Invention and the Story of Canadian Innovation*, Library and Archives Canada, May 11 2006, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/innovations/023020-3040-e.html>

[...] By picturing to our own people the broad dominion they possess, its resources and progress, its monuments and industry, its great men and great events, such a paper would teach them to know and love it better, and by it they would learn to feel still prouder of the proud Canadian name.⁴³²

Landscape photographs fit Desbarats's vision for the *Canadian Illustrated News* as a vehicle for showing Canada to Canadians, and indeed photographs by Henderson, and other photographers such as William Notman, were frequently reproduced in the publication, and even featured on the cover [App. 6, Fig.3]. Desbarats's likely first encounter with Henderson's photographs would have been through the 1865 Dublin Exhibition for which Desbarats published the *Catalogue of the Canadian Contribution to the Dublin Exhibition* to which Henderson had submitted twenty-three photographs of Canadian scenery. *Canadian Illustrated News* ceased publication in 1883, but Henderson's association with Desbarats continued in his next publication, *The Dominion Illustrated*, which had a print run from 1888 to 1891. In the *Canadian Illustrated News* I have identified thirty-five references to either the QMO&O or the ICR that are directly connected to images, twenty-six instances of which are to Henderson photographs [App. 12, Table 7]. In *The Dominion Illustrated* I have identified nineteen instances where Henderson photographs were published, often accompanied by a description of the scene, several of which are of bridges or industrial structures [App. 12, Table 8].

Henderson photographs of ICR bridges appeared in the *Canadian Illustrated News* as engravings. Fleming, who used them as a way to promote the railway, submitted many of these images directly.⁴³³ In this context, the images were assembled to create multiple image spreads of one or two pages. Between August 1877 and June 1878 there appear a number of features that are titled as views, scenes, or bridges on the ICR. Rarely are these spreads accompanied by text,

⁴³² G.E. Desbarats, "Prospectus," *Canadian Illustrated News* 1, no. 1 (30 October 1869): 16.

⁴³³ Correspondence from Sanford Fleming to G.E. Desbarats, Sanford Fleming fonds, MG29 B1, vol. 13, file 86, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

save for the May 11, 1878 issue, in which a two-page spread of three engravings from photographs by Henderson taken along the ICR [App. 13, Figs. 138 and 139] is accompanied by a report on Fleming's address to the Royal Colonial Institute in England. In this report, the correspondent summarizes Fleming's discussion on the importance of the railway, stating:

It was not until the railways were introduced that the progress of the provinces was so marked; and the greatest interior, to be prosperous, if colonized at all, must eventually be traversed not simply by one railway, but by many railways. [...] The Pacific Railway had been projected for the double purpose of connecting Atlantic and Pacific sides of Canada and the opening up of the interior for settlement. In the present condition of the country its construction was a very serious undertaking and required grave consideration.⁴³⁴

Fleming provided images to be included with the aim of reinforcing the message of progress through construction; demonstrating the importance of such an endeavour; and of enticing potential travellers to the business and adventure opportunities that lay within the reach of the railway. Surprisingly, the much more interesting features are the ones in which there is no accompanying story. In the August 18, 1877 issue, the images [App. 13, Fig. 136] are left to communicate on their own through their arrangement on the page. The nine-image spread of the engineering accomplishments of the railway, indicated to the reader as "From Photographs by Henderson, Montcal,," and many of which are found in Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*, are notably anchored in the centre by a very different scenic view with no industrial structures present. Compositionally the photographs of bridges are similar to one another with the bridge spanning across the centre and clearly displaying the piers and structure. They are situated in a landscape, but in each photograph the bridge dwarfs the trees, rocks, and even the hills and mountains of the background. The repetitive and orderly composition of the developed landscape contrasts with the untamed nature in the centre image. The trees on each side of the

⁴³⁴ G.E. Desbarats, *Canadian Illustrated News* 17, no. 19 (11 May 1878): 290.

stream crowd the sides of the image and act as a repoussoir that draw the viewer into the centre of an isolated and quiet scene. The function of this image, placed at the very centre of the feature story, is as if to say ‘the engineering of the railway can take you here.’ The arrangement of the images here is key, functioning as a whole to express the enticing promise that the railway can make accessible such beautiful views of nature. Desbarats’s expounding of the potential of illustrations to be read by the collective imagination as visions of nationhood indicates that there was a popular visual literacy that could read the connotations implied by the illustrations in his publication. The juxtaposition of views of bridges with the view of nature signals the interest in both progress and nature as well as an understanding that the illustrations were to both inform about the technological feats of the railway and to be visually enticing.

The inclusion of images of technological feats and industrial accomplishments was common in the *Canadian Illustrated News* and helps to measure the appeal of Henderson’s more technical photographs. Take for example the October 21, 1871, issue in which drawings of ICR bridges done by a “Miss. D.” [App. 13, Fig. 132] were featured alongside the following text:

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY BRIDGE In the present issue we give two illustrations of the works on the Intercolonial Railway; one the bridge at Rivière du Loup, and the other the piers of the bridge at Trois Pistoles. These two works embrace the most important bridging to be done on the great national line which is destined to cement the connection between the Eastern and Western Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and to form, at no distant day, an important link in the great chain of railway which will span the continent on British territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and give the old Empire an independent circuit from its eastern to its western possessions, at the same time that it will render the trade of many countries much more directly tributary to British commerce than it is at present. The sketches from which we copy were made by an accomplished young lady of Montreal.⁴³⁵

Illustrations and stories confirm that there was an interest among artists in picturing the railway for its scenic possibilities – works that also served to illustrate industrial accomplishment. The

⁴³⁵ G.E. Desbarats, *Canadian Illustrated News* 4, no. 17 (21 October 1871): 259.

commentary on Miss D.'s work suggests that women were susceptible to the aesthetic experience of progress. A railway bridge – specifically the structural features of a bridge like its piers – is seen as a suitable subject for a woman to sketch, in a period where women were often constrained to domestic subjects.⁴³⁶ Connected to Miss D.'s sketches are words such as “the great national line,” and “an important link in the great chain of railway which will span the continent.” Excitement over the physical symbols of nationhood is palpable. The cultural and symbolic investment of nationhood into industrial structures complicates the purely documentary and topographical status of Henderson's – and Hime, Baltzly and Horetzky's – photographs, and places bridges and piers into the visual imagination of amateur and professional artists alike.

The use of photographs by Fleming, Henderson's sale of photographs at his studio, and Desbarats's interest in including reproductions of the photographed landscapes in his publications, not only indicate a public desire for railway images, but also something about Henderson as a photographer and his own motivation in taking certain views. Interestingly, those submitted by Henderson, or purchased by Desbarats from Henderson's studio, were often scenic views and were rarely accompanied by descriptive text beyond a title. If the images were discussed, as was, for example, *Lumberman's Shanty* [App. 13, Fig. 133], published in the issue from December 5, 1874, the tendency was to expand upon the subject depicted. *Lumberman's Shanty* was captioned in the following way:

We present two sketches in connection with our backwoods. They are particularly intended for our foreign readers. One represents the shanty of the lumberman on the upper Ottawa, and the other the opening of a new settlement on the Free Grants of Ontario. Both are characteristic of primitive life in the forest, and form episodes of immigration.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ See: Loren Lerner, *Depicting Canada's Children* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2009).

⁴³⁷ G.E. Desbarats, *Canadian Illustrated News* 10, no. 24 (4 December 1874): 363.

The evidence that suggests Henderson submitted the image directly, comes from a subsequent issue that states:

In the number before last of this journal, there was published a sketch of “The Lumberman’s Shanty.” We are pleased to acknowledge that the photograph from which this sketch was taken came from the studio of Mr. Alex. Henderson, landscape photographer, several of whose views we have still in hands, and will shortly reproduce in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.⁴³⁸

Views such as *Lumberman’s Shanty*, *A Good Catch* or *Indian Fishing Camp* in title alone stand apart from images such as *Pier – Restigouche*, though all were taken during the same time frame of Henderson’s ICR work. These photographed scenes of outdoorsmanship and of the daily lives of Indigenous peoples function in the same way as the image at the centre of the nine-image spread, and found their way into private album of Canadians who were excited about views of the wilderness and eager to experience armchair adventure through photography.⁴³⁹ The images made of the Matapedia River provide another layer. Several of the photographs made in this location and included in Fleming’s *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*, were also included in Henderson’s album *Photographs of Canadian Scenery* which would have not only likely been displayed at his studio, but was submitted by Henderson to the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition under the classification of “Photographic Proofs and Apparatus.”⁴⁴⁰ In the same grouping were submissions from other photographic studios, such as Hunter & Co. of Toronto’s submission of cabinet cards of Canadian scenes, Notman & Sandham of Montreal and Notman & Fraser of Toronto with photographs of moose hunting, fancy dress carnivals, and portraits. Looking at *Scene on Intercolonial Rail Road* and *Hillgate [sic], Matapedia* which are listed in the 1878

⁴³⁸ G.E. Desbarats, *Canadian Illustrated News* 10, no. 25 (19 December 1874): 391.

⁴³⁹ See discussion of Joan Schwartz’s idea of the “armchair traveler” as discussed in “Chapter Two: Benjamin Baltzly.” Joan M. Schwartz, “The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (1996): 33.

⁴⁴⁰ “Class 12 – Photographic Proofs and Apparatus,” *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878 Catalogue of the British Colonies* (London, U.K.: Offices of the Royal Commission, Canada Building, 1878), 5.

catalogue, [App. 11, Fig. 104-08] there is a distinct change in subject from the engineered structures of the same location found in Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* [App. 11, Fig. 104]. Instead of the formulaic composition of bridge photographs, we find a more intimate scene of nature shaped by the landscape itself.

A comparison of two photographs taken at Bic River make this all the more apparent. Where one photograph is used to capture the engineering feat of a bridge over a high crossing within a single frame [App. 11, Fig. 99], in the other, the framing is used to create an entirely different type of scene – untouched nature with a winding river viewed from an intimate nook within the foliage [App. 11, Fig. 100]. Upon closer observation, one might also notice that one of the images has been horizontally flipped, becoming the mirror of the other. However, Henderson's writing on both images remains legible, indicating that Henderson would have flipped one of the glass plates before inscribing it. While it is doubtful that the engineers would have allowed a backwards version of their bridge to be published, and indeed in *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*, it appears in the correct orientation, Henderson must have thought the landscape would have been more compositionally successful this way. In cropping the flipped image from the top and right side, Henderson brings a horizontal balance that does not exist in the un-cropped version in which the left side (flipped right side) extends across over half of the picture plane. Removing that dominance shifts the viewer's focus from the rocks to the stream, which in the cropped version occupies the centre of the photograph. The result is a photograph that is balanced between left and right, and which situates the viewer more intimately in the scene. In our examination of reception and artistic aspiration, the two avenues of inquiry come together. Indeed people were interested in scenes of progress and industry, but Henderson's sensitivity to Fleming's request for descriptive documents together with his own

artistic sensitivities in composition produced photographs that were at once documentary and artistic – mediating the land into a landscape that was at once understood as tamed through the structures of progress and untamed in its scenic vistas.

Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, & Occidental Railway – A Mysterious Album

After his work for the ICR, Henderson's reputation as a photographer of railway views must have been well established. His next commission came from an American firm, the Phoenix Bridge Company. Established in 1855 in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, the Phoenix Bridge Company was a significant manufacturer of iron and related products during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, building over 4,200 bridges. Like Fleming, directors of the company recognized the usefulness of other forms of technology, notably photography. To celebrate their success and promote additional business, they produced three illustrated books between 1873 and 1885: *Album of Designs of the Phoenixville Bridge Works* (1873); *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges, Constructed & Erected, 1877-1878* (1878); and, *Album of Designs of the Phoenix Bridge Company* (1885). The first publication, *Album of Designs*, marks the formal takeover by the Bridge Works of the Phoenix Iron Company, a merger that would allow them to manufacture their iron products the entire way from smelting ore to erecting bridges. The result according to the company was "a uniform excellence of quality of iron and workmanship, which cannot be got from bridge builders who procure their iron from different makers, and generally at the cheapest rates."⁴⁴¹ The *Album of Designs* acts as a catalogue of specifications for bridges, viaducts and piers, along with details of their advanced understanding of things such as wind

⁴⁴¹ Clarke, Reeves & Co., *Album of Designs of the Phoenixville Bridge Works* (Philadelphia, Pa.: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1873), 1.

pressure, rolling loads, allowable stress and upset screw-ends. At a time when many bridges were still being built from timber, the Phoenixville Bridge Works was at the cutting edge of the field. So much so that twelve years later the company released a revised version of *Album of Designs* to trumpet their technological advancements. In their words “the rapid increase in the variety and amount of our business, in the design and manufacture of bridges and of all kinds of structures of iron and steel, renders it necessary for us to exhibit [...] the present state of constructive engineering as existing at the Phoenix Bridge Company.”⁴⁴² The 1885 version also contains a running list of structures erected, with photographic plates of the most impressive and unique, including numerous works for Canadian commissions by the City of Winnipeg, the Great Western Railway of Canada, the GTR, the ICR and, most notably, the QMO&O.

The first 55 kilometres of the QMO&O line between Montreal and St. Jerome in Quebec, Canada, had been in operation under that name since October 9, 1876.⁴⁴³ In the next several years, the line rapidly expanded, connecting Hull to Quebec City. The infrastructure to support this type of expansion was as important as the rails and trains. Bridges and stations along the line became points of architectural and engineering achievement and popular marvel – symbols of progress and modernity of the burgeoning iron industry; as well as the physical enablers of travel to scenic views. There were thirty commissions of the Phoenixville Bridge Company by the QMO&O that appear in the 1885 *Album of Designs*. This was followed by a publication documenting the bridges commissioned titled *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges, Constructed & Erected, 1877-1878: For the Government of the Dominion of Canada on the Line of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway*. The NGC holds the only copy in existence of *Wrought*

⁴⁴² Phoenix Bridge Works, *Album of Designs of the Phoenix Bridge Company: Successors to Clarke, Reeves & Co.* (Philadelphia, Pa.: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1885), 3.

⁴⁴³ Thomas McGreevy, *Contract Specifications and An Act Respecting the Construction of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway* (Quebec, Que., Le Canadien Steam Printing, 1876).

Iron Railroad Bridges, a publication featuring twenty-one albumen silver prints produced by Alexander Henderson and three attributed to Quebec photographer Jules Ernest Livernois [App. 14]. The photographs by Henderson have clear signatures and are stamped on the back [App. 14, Fig. 165], however, the three prints attributed to Livernois have no apparent signature and differ from the rest in print tone and shape.

This album has had almost no scholarly attention and has very little contextual information attached to it. It was acquired by the NGC from the Keith Douglas de Lellis Gallery in New York, a commercial gallery of predominantly early twentieth-century photography, but there is no date of purchase, or purchase justification, listed on the acquisition form.⁴⁴⁴ James Borcoman remarks about the album that it was a surprise to find it in the library's collection when first establishing the gallery's photographic collection, stating that how it got there "remains a mystery."⁴⁴⁵ I have not been unable to unearth any correspondence between Henderson, the QMO&O or the Phoenixville Bridge Company indicating the conditions of his employment, or who had approached whom about the project. While this leaves us at an impasse in the archival record, it does not mean that we are completely unable to make any discoveries or determinations about the album – particularly in light of Henderson's work for other railways. While its origins may remain a mystery, something can be said about its very presence in the collection of the NGC. First, there are determinations that can be made from the existence, or non-existence, of related photographs of this particular group of bridges. Apart from this album, the photographs in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* do not exist in the collections of the NGC, the LAC, or McCord collections, which are the most comprehensive holdings of Henderson

⁴⁴⁴ Acquisition of Alexander Henderson 22 Photographs of Canadian and American views, Wrought Iron Curatorial File, P71:003, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁴⁴⁵ Borcoman, *Magicians of Light*, 12.

photographs in Canada. Furthermore, only the McCord and NGC have photographs within a ten-year date range of *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* and that are expressly identified as being from the same locations, but only for Blanche River and Rouge River – that makes two out of fourteen locations in total. The photographs found outside the album but made at these locations are, as with the photographs from the ICR, different in subject and overall feeling [App. 14, Figs. 146 and 154].

Four photographs by Henderson of the QMO&O appear in the April 3, 1880 issue of the *Canadian Illustrated News* [App. 13, Fig. 140-141]. There is no accompanying or related text. Of the four photographs only the Lachute Bridge appears in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* [Appendix 15, Fig. 156]. Two of the remaining images are of bridges and the last an image of a station. This indicates that Henderson produced more than just the twenty-one photographs that appear in the *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* along the QMO&O line, some of which were published in the *Canadian Illustrated News*. This also indicates that Henderson was taking photographs as much for the QMO&O as he was for his own studio, and that there was a popular interest in the subject. Four years prior, a drawing marking the completion of the first section of the QMO&O appeared on the October 21, 1876 cover with a celebratory write up of the event of the inauguration of the line between Montreal and St. Jerome. There are also are illustrations from the Quebec area that may have been taken on the same excursion. For example an engraving of a Henderson photograph of the Falls of St. Pascal, Near Kamouraska, Quebec, made the cover of the August 21, 1875 issue [App. 13, Fig. 134]. Inside, however, there is no related story. Such an image, unlike those for the ICR would have been submitted by Henderson directly or purchased directly from Henderson's studio by Desbarats. While the only existing copy of *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* is unique as an album, it is not a unique piece of work

for Henderson. Its existence sheds light on the career of a photographer who is often discussed in light of his work as an artist and a maker of scenic views and opens up a discussion about the various representations of the railway and to who would have created and received those representations. It is for precisely these reasons that it is not so unusual that this album of very technical and descriptive photographs found its way into the library of the NGC, thus preserving not only the technical history of the construction of the railway but also marking its place in Canadian visual and photographic history.

The Science of Making Art and the Art of Making Science

As Henderson's involvement on the railways grew, so did his connections to scientists, engineers, and government officials. Surviving correspondence indicates that Henderson took on printing work from various notable surveyors, geologists and engineers – namely Sandford Fleming, Alfred R. C. Selwyn, John William Dawson and Robert Bell.⁴⁴⁶ This must have formed a substantial part of his income through the 1880s. On November 29, 1884 he wrote to Bell:

I will give you a set in a plain album (for yourself) mounted and all for 25.00. This is the lowest price – and any unmounted prints you may wish for yourself 30 cts. Mounted 40 cts., and if for others in the survey – but for outsiders or govt. purposes the usual price 50 cts. each.⁴⁴⁷

He certainly took a great amount of pride in his printing work, cautioning Bell against the cheaper, yet inferior, competition in a letter dated November 11, 1887:

⁴⁴⁶ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Robert Bell, May 1883, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 61, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que. "I thought I had no negatives here save Mr. Selwyn's last ones. I wrote Dr. Dawson, I have found four or five."

⁴⁴⁷ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Robert Bell, 29 November 1884, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 60, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

I am told that a man here does amateur work developing and giving a print for 40 cts. Of course, that does not pay, but I suppose is expected to draw other work. No printing in clouds from other negatives etc. in such. Perhaps Selwyn should be told – for fear they lose the difference!”⁴⁴⁸

These letters give us a sense of how Henderson approached the printing process. The clouds mentioned above, for example, were an important feature for Henderson. He added these clouds to photographs that he printed for Charles Horetzky and in a November 24, 1882 letter to Bell he writes:

I could not put in skies in many of them, at least none of those that I have, for the negatives were too thin, and if I had printed out all the skies the atmospheric effect would have been lost – and I think that is very nice in most of them.⁴⁴⁹

In much of his correspondence with Bell, Henderson urges him to keep detailed records of his photographs in order to facilitate the printing process, of which plate exposure was very much a concern. Indeed, Henderson was printing photographs using darkroom techniques, such as combination printing in order to make his photographs, and the photographs he was printing for others, more visually appealing. Considering the clients that Henderson was printing for – Fleming, Selwyn, Dawson, Bell – Henderson’s artful touches to the photographs – the addition of clouds or ‘atmospheric effects’ – are reflective of the blurred line between art and document in photography in the context of nineteenth-century Canadian science. Henderson did not conceal his alterations to the photographs, and they were not met with any objection from the engineers and scientists who were ordering the prints for “government purposes.” This indicates that the scientists and engineers working for the GSC and the CPRS understood the photographs to be visual corroborations, as Selwyn did with Baltzly’s *Ice Grooved Rocks*, or as technical

⁴⁴⁸ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Robert Bell, 11 November 1887, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 61, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

⁴⁴⁹ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Robert Bell, 24 November 1882, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 61, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

illustration, as Fleming did with Henderson's ICR bridge photographs, but that they did not see alterations to the image through darkroom processes and combination printing as a hindrance to the photograph's descriptive functions.

In these letters there is often discussion of travel plans, as both Henderson and Bell were keen outdoorsmen. In a letter to Bell dated November 24, 1885 Henderson writes:

I went away to the Rockies this summer past, and after being there for a month had to make a rush home, an attack of mountain fever having come over me – although I could not at the time make out what was the matter... I met Prof Macoun in the mountains and nearly came home with him. Please let me hear if there will be any work this year... Developed my last mountain view today – 10 weeks to be laid aside is no joke. I had a lot of work waiting too.⁴⁵⁰

The conditions of their adventurous travel often led to a discussion of photographic tips and tricks. In a letter to Bell on May 4, 1887, Henderson writes:

Now I think for all the negatives you take are generally without distant mountains I would get a roll holder for your camera and use the negative film or paper. You can get rolls to hold 48 exposures and get rid of glass entirely. And these negatives are as good. [...] Tis very pleasant to get rid of that fearful glass. The people who make the roll holders are the Eastman dry plate and film company, Rochester, New York. [...] I intend to use it a good deal this summer and if I go west I half think of getting and 11x14 roll holder. I tell you above to use as you like, but the glass has been my bane many a time. Dry plates are enough to turn a man's hair grey especially after they are exposed.⁴⁵¹

Working outdoors was a primary motivation for Henderson's interest in photographic technology and chemistry. In addition to correspondence with Bell, Henderson contributed ideas on photographic techniques to magazines. These writings indicate that Henderson was actively

⁴⁵⁰ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Robert Bell, 24 November 1885, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 60, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

⁴⁵¹ Letter from Alexander Henderson to Robert Bell, 4 May 1874, Alexander Henderson fonds, , P433-MP237, Box 2, File 60, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

experimenting with various photographic apparatuses and chemical combinations, and also indicate that he was part of a photographic community, responding to the ideas of others.⁴⁵²

Photographic journals such as *The Photographic News* and *The British Journal Photographic Almanac and Photographer's Daily Companion* were some of the first forums for discussion on the nascent medium, bringing photographic amateurs and professionals from various countries into conversation. Henderson was active in these forums providing both original insights and developments along with responses to others, as he does in his response and praise of Mr. M. Carey Lea's Chlorido-Bromide process.⁴⁵³ These technical writings not only demonstrate Henderson's interest in process, but also reveal why he was so interested in technological developments. This was something that Henderson was interested in from the outset of his career and particularly as a landscape photographer. For example in 1859 in "Notes on Dry Process – New Action of light – Handle for Glass Plates" in *The Photographic News* he writes:

After the second excursion, which was up to the "High Falls," on the Rivière aux Lievres, a branch of the Ottawa, and to some large lumbering establishments, I schemed a developing box, which answers famously; so much so that I feel

⁴⁵² It is important to keep in mind when sifting through publications attributed to Henderson, that there were several men with the name Alexander Henderson. Notably, there is an Alexander J. Henderson from the United States and an Alexander Henderson in London Ontario, both of whom were photographers, and sometimes were actually in dialogue with one another via editorial comments. Often, our Henderson is described as being from Montreal or Canada East. Examples of Henderson's contributions include: Alexander Henderson, "Notes on Dry Process – New Action of light – Handle for Glass Plates," *The Photographic News* 3, no. 59 (21 October 1859): 82-83; Alexander Henderson, "Directions for Mounting Photographs," *The Photographic World* 1, no. 6 (30 June 1871): 190; Alexander Henderson, "On Print Washing and Emulsion," in *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac* (New York, N.Y.: The Scovilt & Adams Company, 1876), 118-119; Alexander Henderson, "Notes on Mr. M. Carey Lea's Chlorido-Bromide Emulsion Process and Gelatine Prints," in *The British Journal Photographic Almanac and Photographer's Daily Companion*, ed., J. Traill Taylor (London U.K.: Henry Greenwood, 1877), 97-99; Alexander Henderson, "A Few Notes on Last Year's Experience with Dry Plates, Emulsions, &c.," in *The British Journal Photographic Almanac and Photographer's Daily Companion*, ed., J. Traill Taylor (London U.K.: Henry Greenwood, 1878), 57-58; Alexander Henderson, "Intensification with Mercury," in *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac* (New York: The Scovilt & Adams Company, 1892), 137-138.

⁴⁵³ Alexander Henderson, "Notes on Mr. M. Carey Lea's Chlorido-Bromide Emulsion Process and Gelatine Prints," in *The British Journal Photographic Almanac and Photographer's Daily Companion*, ed., J. Traill Taylor (London U.K.: Henry Greenwood, 1877), 97-99.

certain, as far as it is concerned, of getting a good negative, and you may fancy the pleasure I have now. I came home the other day after a visit to a place near St. Hilaire, C.E., with 24 stereographic negatives, and 15 turpentine wax paper ditto, 8 x 10. The box is some 20 lbs., with everything in it – glasses, water bottles, bath, &c., many of which I carry, or have carried, in a fishing basket if I wish to walk far. I very much doubt if I ever take a dry plate again, unless in winter.⁴⁵⁴

In addition to writing, Henderson was reading. There is a record in the McCord Henderson file from 1978 that suggests a purchase from bookseller William Wolfe in Montreal of three books that had come from the Douglas Library at Queen’s University, and from the library of Robert Bell, which had belonged at one point to Henderson: an inscribed copy of Jabez Hughes’s *The Principles and Practice of Photography; a Descriptive Price List of The “American Challenge” Cameras and Outfits* but out by Rochester optical Co. in 1883; and, a copy of Henry Clay Price’s *How to Make Pictures*.⁴⁵⁵ Both the Hughes and Price texts are directed at beginners looking to learn or improve basic photographic technique; in his introduction Price writes, “if the novice and the baffled student of art find it hard to delineate nature, or to make their fancies real, let them be wise and compare their pictures with those made by the servitor camera.”⁴⁵⁶ Price’s text is an effort to persuade art students of the value of photography to painting, suggesting that inexperienced artists use photographs to get things right, but also of photography’s value in its own right. Price’s statement that “there is room for both”⁴⁵⁷ echoes the notion of a reciprocal influence between painting and photography in this moment. While Henderson far surpassed the intended reader in skill it is likely he used them to guide his friends, such as Bell, who were interested in taking up photography. In his 1892 notebook of his travel from Chatham to Pictou

⁴⁵⁴ Alexander Henderson, “Notes on Dry Process – New Action of light – Handle for Glass Plates,” *The Photographic News* vol. 3 no. 59 (21 October 1859): 83.

⁴⁵⁵ Acquisition Note, 10 July 1978, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 3, File 84, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

⁴⁵⁶ Henry Clay Price, *How to Make Pictures: Easy Lessons for the Amateur Photographer* (New York, N.Y.: Scovill Manufacturing Company, 1882), 10.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

and on to Canso he remarks on Newfoundland dogs, a lobster factory, anchors, and piles of cod. From there he travelled to Saint John and on to New York, Rochester, Philadelphia, and Boston making notes of his photographic research and expenses: “Eastman is going to bring out a new [chloride] paper. The prints I saw were not as good as Ilford,”⁴⁵⁸ in Rochester he picked up an “8x10 camera for \$40.00 and a 5x4 hand camera for \$100.00,”⁴⁵⁹ and “asked about long glass dishes for panoramic camera about 16x45 and printing frames.”⁴⁶⁰

The 1892 notebook also marks Henderson’s involvement with the CPR, in which he tracks expenses to be billed to them. In the notebook, he began to make sketches for a photographic railway car, writing:

Car – Water tank 300 gal. Sink 4 x 2 ½, 5 or 6 inches deep. Lined with -? Shelves with straps for bottles. Racks for drying negs. A set of divisions below sink for dishes – or shelves will be better.⁴⁶¹

These notes would eventually result in Photographic Car No. 1, which would serve as a mobile darkroom to photographers such as William McFarlane Notman and Oliver Buell. This car would be a fundamental part of the artist’s pass program set up by William Van Horne, who oversaw the completion of the CPR as general manager from 1882, and as president in 1888. An important part of Van Horne’s success with the CPR was that he understood the need for and potential of illustrated promotional material about the railway in attracting both tourists and settlers westwards. Van Horne had a fondness for the arts, a collector and himself an amateur painter, bequeathing much of his collection to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA), and leaving behind copious notebooks on his collections of painting and Japanese ceramics to the Art

⁴⁵⁸ Alexander Henderson, Notebook of the Maritimes and CPR, 44, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 2, File 62, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Que.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 40.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 122.

Gallery of Ontario (AGO).⁴⁶² He was also a savvy businessman, creating a policy that would offer free transportation to selected, yet not formally commissioned, artists along the rails in return for rights to use their work. As Allan Pringle writes in his examination of Van Horne's role as Art Director of the CPR and his implementation of the artists' pass program, the program allowed Van Horne to enhance his collection while at the same time "publicly, he attempted to justify the CPR's substantial expenditures in the area of fine art patronage by claiming that the works of art served as part of the Company's advertising campaign to promote immigration to the North West."⁴⁶³

Photography, along with painting, played an important role in Van Horne's vision. In 1892 Henderson accepted a full-time position with the CPR as manager of a photographic department that he was to set up and administer. In a letter from January 29, 1892, from D. McNicholl in the Office of the General Passenger Agent to Henderson, McNicholl writes:

It is understood that commencing 1st April 1892 you will take care of and properly manage as required the Photographic establishment of this Company, spending about one-third of the time in active out-door photography on the line of the Railway &c. and the balance in general supervision of their indoor work. Salary \$166.67 per month.⁴⁶⁴

There are some correspondence and letters of introduction that can be used to place Henderson in certain areas of the Rockies at various times, but not enough to chart his continuous movement in performing his CPR duties. For example, a letter from April 18, 1892 reads:

Office of the General Passenger Agent, April 18th 1892
Rev. Father Lacombe

⁴⁶² William Cornelius van Horne, Notebooks, Van Horne Family fonds, CA OTAG SC065, Art Gallery of Ontario Archives, Toronto, Ont.

⁴⁶³ Allan Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 8 (1984): 52. In this essay Pringle talks primarily about academicians, namely John Fraser and Lucius O'Brien, and Van Horne's total control over art programs.

⁴⁶⁴ Letter from D. McNicholl to Alexander Henderson, 29 January 1892, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 30, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

Calgary Alb.

My Dear Sir,

This will introduce you to Mr. Alex Henderson, Superintendent of our Photographic Department.

I am very desirous of getting some good Indian views and I thought in connection with your gathering at Kamloops we might be able to obtain these if you would kindly lend us your assistance. Anything you can do for Mr. Henderson will be much appreciated by.

Yours truly,

D. McNicholl⁴⁶⁵

Another reads:

Office of the General Passenger Agent, April 22nd 1892

My dear Christie,

This will introduce you to Mr. Alex. Henderson, Superintendent of our Photographic Department.

Should he desire to go down the Kootenay to do some photographing may I ask if you will kindly give him transportation down to Robson?

Yours truly,

D. McNicholl

F. Christie Esq.

Manager Columbia & Kootenay Nav. Co.

Revelstoke, B.C.⁴⁶⁶

And yet another:

Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Western and Pacific Division. Vancouver B.C. 16th May 189-

F.G. Christie, Esqr.,

Secretary, Col. & Koot. S. N. Co.,

Revelstoke B.C.

Dear Sir,

This will introduce you to Mr. Alexander Henderson our Company's Photographer.

Mr. Henderson will require to go into the Kootenay country before returning east to take some views of the scenery in that section, and I would feel obliged if you would kindly furnish him with transportation between Revelstoke and Robson.

Yours truly,

D. E. Brown

Ass't Gen'l Pass. Agent.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁵ Letter from D. McNicholl to Rev. Father Lacombe, 18 April 1892, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 30, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

⁴⁶⁶ Letter from D. McNicholl to F. Christie, 22 April 22 1892, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 30, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

The photographs that remain from this period are disappointingly few. The McCord holds the most complete set of Henderson's CPR photographs, thirteen in total. Four of the photographs are dated to 1885 and the remainder to 1892 [App. 15, Figs. 166-170]. There is no scholarly discussion of how the photographs were used by Van Horne, and I have not found any specific archival documentation of this. Of the photographs that remain, however, it is apparent that Henderson's photographic interests and style remains unchanged. He continued to experiment with photographic technologies, working with large mammoth-plate cameras and prints along with panoramas such as his photograph *The Great Glacier, BC*, 1892 [App. 15, Fig. 167]. While the peaks of the Rocky Mountains are much higher and the Pacific coast trees much darker than those in Quebec or the Maritimes, the photographs are still identifiably Henderson's. His *Mount Rundle, Canadian National Park, Banff, AB*, 1892 [App. 15, Fig. 169] features the towering mountaintop in the distance; it is otherwise not much different compositionally than *Trout pool, Millstream, on the I. C. R.* [App. 11, Fig. 109] taken twenty years prior. The difference that is common to all of the CPR photographs, however, is that there is little, if any, rail infrastructure to be seen. This may be a result of Van Horne's desire for scenic vistas.⁴⁶⁸ Or it may be that all of the railway infrastructure photographs needed had already been taken by photographers such as Oliver Buell and Charles Horetzky.⁴⁶⁹ It may also be indicative of a decline of popular interest in the 1890s for such subjects. It is likely combination of all of the above.

⁴⁶⁷ Letter from D.E. Brown to F. Christie, 16 May 189-, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 30, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

⁴⁶⁸ Roger Boulet and Terry Fenton, *Vistas: Artists on the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Calgary, Alta.: Glenbow Museum, 2009); E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The Era and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff, Alta.: Altitude Publishing, 1983).

⁴⁶⁹ David W. Monaghan, *Professor Oliver Buell (1844-1910), Photographer* (Montreal, Que.: Concordia Art Gallery and Canadian Railway Museum, 1984).

Henderson continued at this post with the CPR until 1897, when he retired completely from photography. He attempted to sell his collection to *The Standard*, an illustrated weekly publication based in Montreal. In 1909 the managing editor responded to Henderson: “With reference to the examination I made of your negatives yesterday I may say that after mature consideration I am of the opinion that the pictures of the Winter Carnival which you have in your possession are not sufficiently numerous to warrant us purchasing your whole collection.”⁴⁷⁰ The editor was interested in images of celebration and of people having fun at the Winter Carnival. Certainly there were images of this kind in Henderson’s collection, however by Henderson’s own admission, he understood himself to be a landscape photographer. The quality of Henderson’s photographs was not the basis of their rejection by the editor, but rather that the subject was not precisely what was being sought. By the time of his death in 1913, photography was entirely erased from his life. So much so that his obituary makes no mention of it – referring to him foremost as a prominent golfer and as a businessman.⁴⁷¹ Henderson’s glass plate negatives met an unworthy fate. They were literally put out with the trash. The collection that exists at the McCord has been assembled from prints in the collection of David Ross McCord and those found in “junk shops” by Triggs.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ Letter from The Montreal Standard to Alexander Henderson, 21 January 1909, Alexander Henderson fonds, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 38, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

⁴⁷¹ Henderson Obituary, *The Gazette* of Montreal, 4 April 1913, P433-MP237, Box 1, File 40, Alexander Henderson fonds, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec.

“PROMINENT GOLFER AND BUISNESS MAN DIED ON SATURDAY The funeral of Mr. Alexander Henderson, one of Montreal’s oldest business men, took place to-day from his house, 631 Belmont Avenue, Westmount. The deceased, who had been in good health up to Easter Sunday, had a stroke on that day and gradually sank until he passed away last Saturday. Mr. Henderson, who was 83 years of age, was the son of Mr. Thomas Henderson, of “Press,” Berwickshire, Scotland, and came to Canada when he was 25 years of age. He was one of the first officers enrolled in the Victoria Rifles, and was very well known as a member of the Royal Montreal Golf Club, being an ardent player for years. He married Agnes Elder, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Robertson, of Gorgie Lodge, Edinbzurgh [*sic*], who pre-deceased him eighteen years ago. He leaves two sons, T.R. Henderson, of Tofield, Alta.; G.W.S. Henderson of Montreal, and three daughters, Mrs. Percy Scott, and the Misses A.C. and M.E. Henderson of Montreal.”

⁴⁷² Triggs, “Alexander Henderson,” 51-52.

From the photographs that survive in private and published albums, as well as the prints that have been collected by the McCord, NGC, and LAC, contemporary scholarship has understood Henderson foremost as an artist. This is not unfounded. Henderson's photographs were well received in exhibitions during his lifetime; contemporaneous writings, notably by Vogel, draw him into art circles. Henderson's photographs employed compositional strategies which were understood to make for an artistic photograph. This being said, Henderson made a significant body of documentary and descriptive work as part of his various railway commissions. He did a competent job in meeting the descriptive needs of those commissions, as evidenced by their smooth and virtually unaltered translation into engraving for Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*. We also know that Henderson was repeatedly commissioned for his services in this capacity. But we can also see that Henderson brought his artistic sensibilities to his documentary work. The photographs Henderson produced for the ICR and the QMO&O are more than raw documents, they are landscapes mediated by Henderson's understanding of artistic principals of composition in which the context of exhibition and nineteenth-century writing on art photography shapes visual production made as documentation. Circulation by Fleming and Henderson through popular illustrated magazines and in albums, the photographs perform a mediation of land into a landscape, reflecting and encouraging the increasing interest in Canadian scenes of and along the rails.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHARLES GEORGE HORETZKY ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY SURVEYS, 1871-1877

Some of them sketched the interesting scenery, but did not thereby lose their professional reputation as surveyors or engineers – in like manner did I photograph.⁴⁷³

Charles George Horetzky

Humphrey Lloyd Hime and Benjamin Baltzly each established reputations as survey photographers on the basis of one expedition. During their respective expeditions, each photographer produced a single set of photographs, which has here been traced from making to circulation. The photographic career of Charles George Horetzky, however, spans five separate expeditions, each with smaller and tangential expeditions therein, occurring throughout the 1870s. Though Horetzky produced numerous photographs during each of his survey expeditions, his reputation as a survey photographer, and the impact of his photographs on the output of documentation from the survey and in their circulation in publications and in albums, is less secure in both his moment and in contemporary scholarship.

Horetzky was affiliated with the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey (CPRS) expedition of 1871-1872 under Frank Moberly (1845-1928) through the Rocky Mountains to Jasper House; 1872-1873 with Sandford Fleming (1827-1915) to explore the Peace River region; 1874-1875 on his own but under the direction of Marcus Smith (1815-1903) to the Kitimat and Kemano region; 1875-1876 again on his own to explore the Homathco River; and, 1877 leading a party to survey the existing railway line in the French River region of northern Ontario [App. 22, Map 4]. The corpus of photographs produced over the period of his involvement with the CPRS is extensive and somewhat complicated compared to the tidy bodies of survey work produced by Hime,

⁴⁷³ George McKenzie Clark, Samuel Keefer, Edward Miall, chairs, "Testimony of Charles Horetzky. Ottawa, Wednesday, 1st December, 1880," in *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission. Volume II. Evidence* (Ottawa, Ont.: Stephenson & Co., 1882), 1705.

Baltzly, and Henderson. While it is clear which photographs were produced on each expedition, the albums and collections of photographs that were compiled from the photographs only loosely follow the chronology of his expeditions, featuring photographs from various expeditions in order to serve a particular purpose, which was typically outside of Horetzky's purview. Horetzky not only took on a number of surveys, he also took on a variety of roles within them – photographer, observer, engineer, and leader – that complicate his relationship to the photographs he produced.

The great number of albums, private, governmental, or possibly assembled by Horetzky as gifts, have been dispersed across archival collections. This makes it difficult to discuss Horetzky's photographic output in the same way as that of Hime, Baltzly, or Henderson. The photographs were made by an individual who rarely discussed his own photographic practice, and who, in his lifetime, completely refuted the notion of being known only as a photographer – he thought of himself as an engineer. As such, Horetzky acknowledged no cultural influences, and enjoyed no artistic affiliations, unlike the other photographers examined to this point. At the same time, he was at odds with the engineers of the CPRS who dismissed Horetzky as unqualified to be a surveyor because of his lack of formal scientific training. This predicament earned Horetzky the label of “misfit” by Andrew Birrell, the only contemporary scholar to publish research on Horetzky – two substantial articles.⁴⁷⁴ While organizing and tracing the history of the photographs themselves is difficult, the history of Horetzky's involvement with the survey, the routes he explored, and the findings he generated are well documented in official government progress reports, in letters of employment and other correspondence, in Horetzky's own published writings, and in the evidence and conclusions of the Canadian Pacific Railway

⁴⁷⁴ Andrew Birrell, “100 Years Ago: Horetzky, the First CPR Photographer,” *Canadian Photography* 5, no. 3 (March 1974): 41–46; Andrew J. Birrell, “Fortunes of a Misfit Charles Horetzky,” *Alberta Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (Winter 1971): 9–25.

Royal Commission which took place in 1880 and had proceedings published in 1882. This chapter focuses principally on the photographs produced by Horetzky before his 1874 expedition to the Kitimat and Kemano region. The 1874 expedition marks a turning point in Horetzky's affiliation with the CPRS in which relationships with his superiors turned sour. However, an examination will be made of two albums following this period, one from his 1874-1875 expedition to the Kitimat and Kemano region, and, the other from his 1875-1876 explorations along the Homathco River, in order to assess the changes in Horetzky's taking, and subsequent use, of photographs towards the end of his career with the CPRS.

Treating the photographs as tied to the singular experience of their maker necessitates a different approach with Horetzky than the other photographers in this study. While Hime, Baltzly, and Henderson all expressed certain understandings of the land and the photographed landscape, Horetzky serves effectively as their foil. Horetzky wanted to be taken seriously as an engineer; he understood and used photography as a scientific aid. The photographs made by Hime, Baltzly, and Henderson were used by survey officials such as Hind, Selwyn and Fleming, for scientific, or at the very least schematic and descriptive, purposes. However, with Horetzky's photographs we have those same engineers and scientists downplaying the scientific potential of photography, and of the photographer in their employ participating in the generation of survey findings. Instead both Horetzky and the photographs he took are pushed towards the artistic – Horetzky as the maker of scenic views. Developing this dynamic again grounds us in a discussion of Canadian survey photography emerging from the eighteenth-century “garrison” sketches and watercolours, which Hime's work, in particular, exemplifies, and to the complex relationship that exists between the Picturesque, the Romantic, and science in early survey photography. In fact, as we will see, Horetzky himself explores these complexities in one of the

rare instances of written record in which he discusses his role as a photographer.

The lack of documentation surrounding the photographs, despite the great number of surveys in which Horetzky participated, five in total, makes it hardly surprising that scholarship on Horetzky has been limited. It is also perhaps because of the great scope of albums compiled from Horetzky photographs that scholars have been hesitant to assess Horetzky's corpus as a whole and in light of the historical context of the survey and Horetzky's writing. For example, Dennis Reid has provided a formal analysis of a selection of Horetzky photographs. In his *Our Own Country Canada* he writes:

Horetzky's landscapes are usually panoramic. There is no evidence of the interest in geological forms that we notice in Baltzly's work. Nor is there any attempt to document the trials of the journey, and Horetzky shows no feeling for his fellow-travellers. His views are raw, more austere than Baltzly's (which has something to do with the nature of the country through which he was passing), and display a singular concern with the pervasive mood or atmosphere of each place he chose to record. We sense the climate – the cold and the wet – immediately, but the topography often only in a general way. Although detail and texture are important, these are not so pointedly contrasted with smooth or massive forms, but tend to pervade an image reinforcing its general character and emotional tone, in a fashion that approaches that seen in the work of Alexander Henderson.⁴⁷⁵

Reid discusses the photographs in formal isolation and without considering the context of Horetzky's experience working for the CPRS – the terms of his employment, his relationship to his superiors, his responsibilities on expeditions beyond photographing, and his own opinions on the practicalities of selecting a route for the railway based on his observations and measurements in the field. In Reid's formal analysis, the photographs are compared stylistically and affectively to those of Baltzly and Henderson. In his observations on a Horetzky photograph from his 1872 trip to the Peace River region of British Columbia, Reid writes that the final photograph "has been heavily re-worked [...] All of this reinforces the artistic intent of the photograph, as well as

⁴⁷⁵ Dennis Reid, *"Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* (Ottawa, Ont.: National Gallery of Canada, 1979), 159.

clarifying certain aspects of the information Horetzky wished to transmit.”⁴⁷⁶ Without the CPRS context, Reid’s art historical formal analysis is left searching for artistic intent in photographs where there was no such intent, at least none that has been made evident by Horetzky’s own written record. Conversely, the archival and historical nature of Birrell’s detailing of Horetzky’s involvement with the CPRS and his relationship with his superiors as found in the written record of reports, correspondence, and publications, avoids bringing together the history he uncovers with a reading of the photographs. Both studies provide crucial components toward an understanding of Horetzky and his photographs, however, to rely solely on a reading of artistic intent, or to rely strictly on a reading of only the existing written record, leaves one unable to connect the historical context of the CPRS with the visual value of Horetzky’s photographs.

Attempts to bring Horetzky’s photographs into art exhibitions have been equally problematic. Curator Christopher Jackson included Horetzky in his 1989-1990 exhibition *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape 1845-1890*. Jackson addresses the Reid quote from above, stating:

These are not terms ordinarily used to describe a survey photographer’s work. In many of Horetzky’s photographs one can detect a feeling for “the effect” with its massing of dark and light forms to create mood. Despite the nature of the task, Horetzky was making his photographs with a painterly model in mind. His work easily meets many artistic criteria that would have been expected in a landscape painting of his time.⁴⁷⁷

Here Jackson attempts to bring together the formal style of the photographs with the tensions between art and document. While there are no documents to suggest that Horetzky kept a “painterly model in mind,” it is clear, as we will see, that Horetzky was influenced by a network of hobbyist photographers during his early years working as a clerk for the HBC, and later by

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Christopher E. Jackson, *With Lens and Brush: Images of Western Canadian Landscape, 1845-1890* (Calgary, Alta.: Glenbow Museum, 1989), 39.

professional and amateur photographers such as Alexander Henderson. Whereas in previous chapters, we have photographers openly engaged with the production of landscapes, here Horetzky provides a disavowal of artistic inclinations, though he is no less affected by these ideas. This chapter develops the notion of the mediating photograph and its value in Canadian art history by using Horetzky's practice as a foil. It traces Horetzky's involvement with the CPRS as fundamentally influencing his disimpassioned stance on photography and suggests ways in which survey photographs take on meaning beyond their making – scientific, scenic and nationalist in scope.

The HBC Clerk Picks up a Camera

A lively and tumultuous early life set the course for Charles Horetzky's career as a photographer and engineer. Horetzky's parents, Felix Horetzky and Sophia Robertson, were married in Glasgow, Lanark, Scotland on 8 June 1835.⁴⁷⁸ Felix was an accomplished classical guitarist whose pieces still appear as staples in the cannon of classical guitar.⁴⁷⁹ Alexander Royick, professor of Slavic Studies at the University of Saskatchewan, has written an unpublished paper that explores Horetzky's Ukrainian heritage. Royick traces the life of Felix, who was born in Ukraine to a family of landed nobility, and made his musical career in Vienna

⁴⁷⁸ Scotland, Select Marriages, 1561-1910, Database Online. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://search.ancestry.ca/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=FS1ScotlandMarriages&gss=sfs28_ms_db&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsln=horetzky&gsln_x=0&MSAV=0&uidh=000

⁴⁷⁹ Simon Wynberg, ed., *First Repertoire For Guitar Solo, Book One* (s.l.: Faber Music, 2014). This book of sheet music contains three pieces by Felix Horetzky: Amusement Op.18 No.10; Amusement Op.18 No.8; and, Amusement Op.18 No.9.

before leaving for Scotland.⁴⁸⁰ Proving oneself, and being misunderstood as a “misfit,” seems to be a hereditary characteristic within the Horetzky family. Upon leaving the city of Frankfurt in the mid-1820s to pursue his musical interests in the U.K., Horetzky’s father endured significant criticism:

The departure from Frankfurt a.M. [am Main] of the guitar player Mr. Felix Horetzky is much regretted, as the desire of so many people for him to prove his skills in a public concert before his departure was not fulfilled. Alas, one feels induced to say against this artist, that he is burdening a handsome and lovely city like this – to which he, as a foreigner, is fully indebted in gratitude – inside their walls Mr. Horetzky has been hosted so amicably, which he needed so much – with the accusation, that the city would not appreciate the artist’s talent to an adequate extent, while the city usually recognizes everyone, particularly the educated artist, with the most lively attention. He should wander into another country, in which we wish that his merits, misjudged in Frankfurt, would be more respected.⁴⁸¹

By the 1841 Scotland Census, Charles Horetzky, then 3 and born “abt. 1838,” is listed with his father, Felice Horetzky [*sic*], who was born in “foreign parts” and listed as “teacher music,” his mother, Sophia, 25, and a live-in help, Mary Fisher, 20, on Scotland Street in Edinburgh.⁴⁸² His parents remained at this address for at least the next twenty years with a “Monsieur Horetzky, teacher of music, 7 Scotland Street” listed in the Post Office Edinburgh and Leith Directory of 1862-63.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ Alexander Royick, “Horetzky’s Contribution to Canadian History,” unpublished manuscript, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Man., 1968. Royick’s manuscript provides many facts about Horetzky’s life, however, few of these facts are referenced. I have used Royick as a guide to where primary source materials might exist.

⁴⁸¹ *Didaskalia* 354 (December 20, 1825) from “Digital Guitar Archive” trans. Stefan Hackl, February 8, 2012. Accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.digitalguitararchive.com/2012/02/horetzky-soundboard/>

⁴⁸² 1841 Scotland Census. Parish Edinburgh St. Mary, Database Online. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://search.ancestry.ca/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1841Scotland&gss=sfs28_ms_db&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsln=horetzky&gsln_x=0&MSAV=0&uidh=000

⁴⁸³ Francis Abbott, Secretary General to the Post Office for Scotland, *Post Office Edinburgh and Leith Directory of 1862-63* (Edinburgh, U.K.: Ballantyne and Company, n.d.), 182.

Charles Horetzky is listed in the Edinburgh Baptismal Register as “Charles George Lawful Son of Felix Horetzky and Sophia Robertson Born 10 June 1838 was baptised by me on 6th June 1839. Sponsors C. Hargitt and Mrs. Griffin. Signed John Malcolm.”⁴⁸⁴ He is later found in the registry rolls of Blairs College, a Roman Catholic junior seminary school, near Aberdeen. He is listed as entering the College on July 15, 1848 and departing July 4, 1850. He did not complete his ordination into the priesthood at Blairs College and no reason for this is recorded – others are listed as falling ill or giving up.⁴⁸⁵ The details of Horetzky’s life between his departure from Blairs College and his arrival in Canada are hazy. Royick suggests that he travelled to Kortrijk, Belgium.⁴⁸⁶ Horetzky himself mentions he was a gold digger during this period, stating: “I had been in different occupations before that; I had been a Golddigger. [...] I can conscientiously say I had no scientific training before that. Of course I had been fond of that kind of thing and read it up, but I had but I never had a chance to put it in practice”⁴⁸⁷ Royick has also suggested that Horetzky found himself in Victoria, Australia, around 1854, as letters addressed to Horetzky are found in the Dead Letter Boxes of the Australian Postal Service.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ Horetzky Baptismal Certificate CB/5/6/3 and Horetzky in the General Register CB/4/1/379. Database Online. Scottish Catholic Archives, 16 Drummond Place, Edinburgh. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/people/_horetzky_1513_2014

⁴⁸⁵ Horetzky in the Aquhorties and Blairs 1799 to 1858 Register, CB/4/3. Database Online. Scottish Catholic Archives, 16 Drummond Place, Edinburgh. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/people/_horetzky_1513_2014

⁴⁸⁶ Royick, “Horetzky’s Contribution,” 1. Though Royick suggests this information can be found in Horetzky’s obituary, he does not specify which one. Neither the obituary in the *Ottawa Free Press* (4 May 1900), nor the *Globe* (May 1, 1900), makes mention of this.

⁴⁸⁷ George McKenzie Clark, et. al., *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, 1718.

⁴⁸⁸ Royick, “Horetzky’s Contribution,” 2. I have been in email correspondence with the Australian Postal Service and the National Archives of Australia in search of the Dead Letter Boxes. On March 10, 2015, Reference Officer Fiona Burn responded to my request for information stating: “I have examined these files but I have been unable to identify any specific references to a Charles Horetzky. I would note that the file C3898 221/5/1 “Mail and mail matters- Dead Letter Office [General Post Office history file] record instructions that a list of dead letters were to be published in the NSW Colonial Government Gazettes. There are copies of some examples of Gazette listings on the file but not relating to Charles Horetzky. I would therefore suggest you seek copies of the NSW Colonial Government Gazettes for the 1854-1858 period. State Records NSW (The NSW State Government Archival Authority) hold NSW Colonial Government Gazettes from 1832.”

In the Canadian *Census of 1861*, a single, 23-year-old Horetzky is listed as a clerk with a religious affiliation to the Church of Scotland.⁴⁸⁹ However, the earliest record of Horetzky in Canada is a letter dated December 3, 1858 to Sir George Simpson (1786-1860), governor of the HBC, from George Simpson McTavish (1834-1893), clerk and chief trader of the HBC between 1858 and 1860 at the Hudson Bay Company's Fort William, Quebec where he writes: "Mr. Charles Horetzky arrived here yesterday and is undergoing his initiation in the business of this place."⁴⁹⁰ Horetzky is listed as a clerk from 1858 to 1864 in the Records of Appointments and Service for Fort William (Lac des Allumettes).⁴⁹¹ Between 1864 and 1869 Horetzky is listed as a clerk in the Records of Appointments and Service for Moose Factory.⁴⁹² It was at Moose Factory that Horetzky married his wife, Mary Jane Ryan, with Chief Factor James Anderson (1812-1867) requesting formal permission from Alexander Grant Dallas (1816-1832), HBC administrator, for Horetzky to do so in a letter dated July 15, 1864 in which he writes:

Mr. Horetzky has spoken to me about, and, has requested me to write to you on a subject of some importance to him. Mr. Horetzky wishes to get married and requests your permission to do so. I would feel much obliged on his account if you would give me an answer on this subject as soon as possible, so that Mr. Horetzky may have time to make his arrangements for the young lady's coming here next Spring.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ Census of 1861 (Canada East, Canada West, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), Database Online. Ottawa, Ont., Library and Archives Canada, 2013. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1861/pages/results.aspx?k=cnsSurname%3a%22horet*%22

⁴⁹⁰ Outward correspondence book kept by Simpson, D.11/1, fo. 783, Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

⁴⁹¹ Appointments and Service, B.135/g/47; D.5/47, fo. 675, Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

⁴⁹² Appointments and Service, B.135/g/47-51; B.134/b/21, fo. 642-3, Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

⁴⁹³ Letter from James Anderson to Alexander Grant Dallas, 15 July 1864, Governor and Committee minute books and related records, A.11/46, fo. 457-457d, Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

Horetzky remained at Moose Factory until 1869. In a letter from James Anderson to W. G. Smith, secretary of the HBC, on August 9, 1869 he writes: “Mr. Horetzky, accountant here, is also about to proceed to Red River where his services are required.”⁴⁹⁴ Horetzky was present when Louis Riel (1844-1885) seized Fort Garry in November of 1869. Records indicate that he stayed at Fort Garry until he was informed that his “services will not be required by this department during the coming outfit” on 16 April 1870.⁴⁹⁵ His obituary also marks this as an important moment in Horetzky’s life, stating: “In 1869 Mr. Horetzky was sent to Fort Garry now Winnipeg, to fill a higher position and was in the fort when Riel took possession.”⁴⁹⁶

It was during his time at the HBC post in Moose Factory that Horetzky produced his first photographs, at least those that exist in the archival record. There are several scholars who indicate that it was during this period that Horetzky may have learned about photography from Bernard Rogan Ross (1827-1874). Andrea Kunard in her entry “Canada” in the *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* has suggested that,

In the 1860s, Bernard Rogan Ross, a Fellow of the Anthropological Society of London, photographed the aboriginal peoples of the Mackenzie River District and the inhabitants and activities at Rupert House, a Hudson’s Bay Co. trading post near James Bay. Moose Factory, located on the opposite side of the bay, also saw much amateur activity. From 1864 to 1869, Charles Horetzky produced a number of views of the area, perhaps learning the medium from Ross.⁴⁹⁷

Likewise, Andrew Birrell in his chapter “The Early Years” in *Private Realms of Light* writes:

Ross’s name also appears on the four photographs by Charles George Horetzky, accountant at Moose Factory from 1864 to 1869. Three of these carefully indicate in Ross’s hand that Horetzky took the photograph but that Ross printed it. We

⁴⁹⁴ Letter from James Anderson to W. G. Smith, 9 August 1869, Governor and Committee minute books and related records A.11/46, fo. 650, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

⁴⁹⁵ Letter to Charles Horetzky from McTavish, 16 April 1870, Outward correspondence book, kept by Simpson, D.11/1, fo. 783, 787, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

⁴⁹⁶ “The Late Charles Horetzky,” *Ottawa Free Press* (4 May 1900): 3.

⁴⁹⁷ Andrea Kunard, “Canada,” in *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2008), 264.

may suppose that Horetzky was simply learning at this point. One of Horetzky's prints, *Moose Factory: From the Flats* [App. 16, Fig. 180], is not unlike the series he later took at the Elbow of the North Saskatchewan River in 1871, though the best of that series is far more powerful.⁴⁹⁸

The Archives of Ontario, Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, contains a series of photographs of the HBC post at Moose Factory by Ross and Horetzky [App. 16]. The collection is described as consisting of,

Photographs acquired by Captain Traill Smith of South Africa while visiting Hudson's Bay area of Ontario. The photographs document Moose Factory and Rupert's House as well as other unidentified regions of northern Ontario. The photographs largely depict the homes, activities and people of Moose Factory and Rupert's House. Many of the photographs in this collection were taken B. R. Ross and Charles Horetzky. Both Horetzky and Ross were amateur photographers who spent time in northern Ontario during the course of their work with the Hudson's Bay Company. [...] Series consists of photographs of Moose Factory, Ontario. The series includes photographs of Moose Factory's waterfront and port, the Moose River, the old Fort and other buildings, and a Native village.⁴⁹⁹

The Archives of Manitoba's Hudson's Bay Company Archives contains approximately 130,000 photographs produced for the company and indicates that, "many of the amateur photographs were taken by HBC staff employed at the various company establishments. [...] The photographs range in date from the 1860s to the 1980s."⁵⁰⁰ Birrell writes that Horetzky "was one of a little group of amateur photographers in the Company's [HBC's] service in the sixties."⁵⁰¹ Indeed, this flurry of photographic activity led Horetzky to be included as one of the members of what Birrell refers to as the "Moose Factory Group" in *Private Realms of Light*, and again by Cath

⁴⁹⁸ Andrew Birrell, "The Early Years," in *Private Realms Of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada 1839-1940*, ed. Lilly Koltun (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 11-12.

⁴⁹⁹ Traill Smith Photograph Collection, Descriptive Database, F 2179, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/ARCH_DESCRIPTIVE/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%203150?SESSIONSEARCH

⁵⁰⁰ HBCA Holdings, Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/holdings/special_media.html

⁵⁰¹ Birrell, "Fortunes of a Misfit," 52. See also: W. Gillies Ross, "The Use and Misuse of Historical Photographs: A Case Study from Hudson Bay, Canada," *Arctic Anthropology* 27, no. 2 (1990): 93-112.

Oberholtzer, scholar of Cree material culture in her essay on the group in its connection to the McCord..⁵⁰²

The Moose Factory Photographs in the Traill Smith collection are at once cohesive and ambiguous. The photographs are all dated in the range between 1865 and 1869, and take the settlement of and around Moose Factory as their subject. However, they are attributed by AO to a variety of photographers and printers. As Oberholtzer confirms, “it was not a common practice to sign photographic prints and there was much sharing of prints, attribution for many of the photographs remains unclear.”⁵⁰³ Sixteen photographs in the Traill Smith collection are attributed by AO to Horetzky. The subjects of these photographs are ones that we will see appear again in Horetzky’s photographs: forts, dog teams, boats, canoes, rivers, and tepees. If Ross was Horetzky’s teacher, what then can we say that Horetzky might have learned from this initial engagement with the medium? In addition to having studied surveying with the HBC and the Royal Navy,⁵⁰⁴ and his role as a trader at the HBC, Ross was an accomplished naturalist and anthropologist. Over the course of his career at the HBC, Ross submitted writings and contributed specimens to the collections of the Smithsonian, the Industrial Museum of Scotland, the British Museum, the Geological Survey of Canada, and the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.⁵⁰⁵ Ross identified and collected a great many specimens of flora and fauna in

⁵⁰² Birrell, *Private Realms*, 320; Cath Oberholtzer, “The Legacy of William Bell Malloch, M.D.: The McGill, Moose Factory and McCord Connection,” *Fontanus* 11 (2003): 61-95.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁰⁴ Keir Brooks Sterling et. al, eds., “Ross, Bernard Rogan” in *Biographical Dictionary of American and Canadian Naturalists and Environmentalists* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997), 686.

⁵⁰⁵ Theodore Binnema, *Enlightened Zeal: The Hudson's Bay Company and Scientific Networks, 1670-1870* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 297.

Canada during his lifetime, for example the Ross's goose taking its name from Bernard Rogan Ross, and his work as a naturalist was fully recognized by the HBC publication *The Beaver*.⁵⁰⁶

The collecting and inventorying that were so fundamental to the work of a naturalist is echoed in Ross's photography, though I have not found any instance in which he discusses this connection explicitly. Ross produced many photographs of Cree people and ways of life, which in the ethnographic drive of the nineteenth century were often classified according to a naturalist's system of types and specimen.⁵⁰⁷ The use of photography to organize and inventory is found in the photographs of the Trail Smith collection as well. For example, photographs of the same location taken in different seasons [App. 16, Fig. 177 and 179], photographs of Indigenous people and their camps [App. 16, Fig. 187], fur traders and their dog teams [App. 16, Fig. 176], and architectural photographs of settler structures taken at three-quarter [App. 16, Figs. 172, 183, 185, 188, 192] or face on perspectives [App. 16, Figs. 175, 191], can readily be understood as documentation. Horetzky photographed many of the same subjects as Ross and in a similar formal composition. For example Birrell writes, "*Moose Factory: From the Flats* [App. 16, Fig. 180], is not unlike the series he later took at the Elbow of the North Saskatchewan River in 1871 [App. 17, Fig. 195], though the best of that series is far more powerful."⁵⁰⁸ Whether or not one is more "powerful" or visually moving should not be the major point in a comparison of HBC photographs to Horetzky's later work. Rather, that the two photographs have a similar subject – an encampment; figures from either the HBC or survey party; and a unique aspect of

⁵⁰⁶ J. M. Sherk, "HBC pioneer Bernard Rogan Ross," *The Beaver* 257 (December 1926): 25; B. W. Cartwright and Angus Gavin, "Where the Ross' Geese nest," *The Beaver* 271 (December 1940): 6; Robert Kerr, "For the Royal Scottish Museum," *Beaver* 284 (June 1953): 32; "Fur trade gossip sheet," *The Beaver* 285 (Spring 1955): 52.

⁵⁰⁷ Though not discussed at length, Ross's photographs of Indigenous people and ways of life are found in: Edward Cavell, *Classic Images of Canada's First Nations: 1850-1920* (Victoria, B.C.: Heritage House Publishing Co., 2011), 22-23.

⁵⁰⁸ Birrell, "The Early Years," 11-12.

the landscape, like a river bend or a fork – indicates that Horetzky was learning from Ross what to include in a photograph and how to arrange those subjects. There are a many compositionally similar photographs between the HBC and his later photographs: *Fur Traders with Huskies* [App. 16, Fig. 176] is echoed in *Dog train, Fort Garry* [App. 17, Fig. 194]; the composition of *View on the Moose River with encampments on the side* [App. 16, Fig. 182] is found again in *Fort Edmonton, Summer* [App. 17, Fig. 202] with the camp replaced by a fort; and the three-quarter view of *Church Moose Factory* [App. 16, Fig. 183] is found in Horetzky's *Jasper House* [App. 17, Fig. 207]. A comparison of Horetzky's HBC and CRPS photographs based on their photographic qualities – that one picture is better than the other – also occurs in Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell's *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920*. They write that: "His photographs taken at Moose Factory [...] are interesting historically, though they are not particularly exciting as pictures. Much the same can be said of the photographs taken at Rupert's House and Moose River by Bernard Rogan Ross, F.R.G.S., chief trader and an outstanding naturalist and anthropologist."⁵⁰⁹ The drive to judge photographs for their pictorial qualities – as being more or less exciting than others – overlooks the value of "not particularly exciting" photographs as visual and cultural understandings of science and naturalism. Indeed, these early photographs are exciting. Horetzky was learning from Ross, a scientist and naturalist, how photography could be a tool in the scientific pursuit of knowledge, capable of organizing and documenting the observable world.

Employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey

⁵⁰⁹ Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1979), 86.

When Horetzky's work with the HBC came to an end, he soon found employment with the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Sir Charles Tupper (1821-1915) persuaded Sir Sandford Fleming to attach Horetzky to one of the several expeditions that were making their way across the country with the CPRS in the wake of British Columbia's 1871 entry into Confederation. In June 1871 Horetzky was assigned to a party led by Frank Moberly to explore the area between Fort Garry and the Howse and Leather, now known as Yellowhead, passes. The party left Fort Garry on August 4, 1871, following the Assiniboine River to Fort Pelly and then west across the South Saskatchewan River, arriving at Edmonton on October 16, 1871. November and December were spent exploring the Kootenay Plain towards Rocky Mountain House and then finally they went to Jasper House in January 1872. The party returned to Fort Garry by March 1872.⁵¹⁰ Moberly must have had a great deal of confidence in Horetzky as he put him in charge of a smaller exploration to Jasper House: "On the 20th December after dividing the party and sending part in charge of Mr. Horetzki [*sic*], to make the necessary examinations to Jasper House, I again started for the mouth of Brazeau river."⁵¹¹ In his report to Sandford Fleming, Moberly includes a long excerpt from Horetzky's report detailing the region between Lake St. Ann and Jasper House in which approximate widths and distances of feature are given. At the end of his report, Moberly writes, "I must thank Mr. Nichol, Mr. Horetzki [*sic*], and Mr. Ermatinger for their able assistance in carrying out your instructions, and for the willing and cheerful manner in which they endured the many hardships we had to encounter."⁵¹² Indeed, Horetzky was a useful connection to have on the expedition. There are several letters from this

⁵¹⁰ Frank Moberly, "Appendix No. 5 Report on the examinations made between Fort Garry and the Rocky Mountains" in *Progress Report on the Canadian Pacific Railway: Exploratory Survey. Addressed to the Hon. H.L. Langevin*, ed. Sandford Fleming (Ottawa, Ont.: Queen's Printer, 1872), 50-57.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 57.

period in which Horetzky was in contact with Chief Factor of the HBC, Richard Hardisty, for supplies and guides to be acquired from HBC outposts.⁵¹³

There is no mention of photography in Moberly or Horetzky's reports. However, it was during this expedition that Horetzky produced his first series of photographs to be used in connection with the CPRS. As they find no mention in the reports, the photographs seem incidental to and disconnected from the rest of the survey outputs. Horetzky's primary purpose was not to photograph; rather, it was to liaise with HBC outposts and to assist in acquiring observations and information on the suitability of the area for the proposed railway. There are several photographs dated between September 1871 and February 1872. LAC holds approximately thirty-four photographs from this expedition.⁵¹⁴ Most notably, the photographs have been assembled into an album titled *Fort Garry to Jasper House*, which is held in the Sir Sandford Fleming fonds at LAC.⁵¹⁵ The album contains forty-two photographs, predominantly by Horetzky, with at least two attributed to Alexander Henderson, one to James L. Cotter (1839-1889), and at least fourteen unattributed. The most recent photograph in the album is dated to 1912, indicating that the album was likely assembled long after Horetzky's 1871-1872 expedition, and from various sources since, in addition to photographs of the area between Fort Garry and Jasper House, it contains photographs of Moose Factory and the Abitibi region of

⁵¹³ List of supplies given to Mr. Horetzky at Lac St. Ann's Post. 23 December 1871, Series 7-13 Canadian Pacific Railway, M-477-132; Letter from C. Adams, St. Ann's, regarding the Horetzky party, 29 December 1871; Series 7-13 Canadian Pacific Railway, M-477-132; Letter from Horetzky to Richard Hardisty regarding government horses and guide and trip to Edmonton, 21 April 1872, Series 11-21 Canadian Pacific Railway, M-477-262; Letter from Horetzky to Richard Hardisty, regarding request for flour, tea and sugar, 17 October 1872, Series 11-21 Canadian Pacific Railway, M-477-265, Richard C. Hardisty fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alta.

⁵¹⁴ It is difficult to precisely pin down the number of Horetzky photographs at Library and Archives Canada as the photographs exist scattered and in multiples across numerous collections including the Sir Hector Langevin collection, the Sir Sandford Fleming collection, the William James Topley collection, the Duncan Eberts MacIntyre collection, and the D.M. Beech collection.

⁵¹⁵ Fort Garry to Jasper House album, Sandford Fleming fonds, R7666-0-8-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

Quebec. The Glenbow Museum has an album of twenty-nine photographs exclusively from the survey. The album belonged to William James O'Brien Bouchier (1854-1923), a member of the 1871-1872 survey with Horetzky. Seventeen photographs from the 1871-1872 survey are used in the Department of the Interior fonds, *Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, Album 7* (hereafter *Album 7*), at LAC [App. 17, Figs 194 – 209, 223].

Horetzky photographed a range of subjects on this trip: the landscape around Fort Edmonton both in the summer and upon their return in the winter, then covered over in snow; the buildings of Fort Carleton and its inhabitants; the survey camp and its members; a Cree encampment of tepees; Piegan people at Rocky Mountain House; and Jasper House with the Roche Miette peaks of the Rock mountains in the background. The photographs are a piecemeal account of the journey and echo very little of the description Horetzky provides in his report to Moberly. As these are the first photographs produced in the field by Horetzky without the support of his HBC colleagues it seems likely that Horetzky was experimenting with photography – different subjects and different conditions. For example, Horetzky photographed Fort Edmonton in both the fall and winter [App. 17, Figs. 202 and 203]. Unlike the photographs Horetzky produced on subsequent expeditions, the photographs produced during this period almost always include figures. The human figure has been used throughout topographic visual production as an indication of size and distance. It seems likely that Horetzky was using figures in a similar way, adding a measure of scale to his images. While this may have been a strategy learned from his naturalist tutelage under Ross, the figures that appear in Horetzky's first independent photographs are somewhat playful. The figures recline lazily on precipices [App. 17, Fig. 202]; crouch almost imperceptibly on objects [App. 17, Fig. 203]; or are arranged in groups that either address the camera directly or stare distantly into the horizon [App. 17, Figs.

198, 206]. Horetzky's photographs from the 1871-1872 expedition visually echo the HBC photographs with regards to composition and subject, in that they apply strategies of documentation such as three-quarter perspective, human scale, and seasonal changes. But, was Horetzky making photographs to supplement the report, to demonstrate their potential usefulness to surveyors, or was he simply practicing what he had learned? The fact that no one in the party makes mention of the photographs in the official reports sets them apart from the survey work. There is no evidence that they were commissioned in advance. While there is a possibility that Horetzky saw potential in photography to contribute to the collection of data for the survey, I believe that photography was, at this moment, something of a hobby for Horetzky. But while the motivation may have been personal, or at least unconnected officially to the survey documentation, these photographs were to have a lasting impact on the nature of Horetzky's involvement with the CPRS. The photographs themselves would eventually be entirely absorbed by the survey and used for varied purposes, which will surface throughout this chapter.

Horetzky shared his photographs with Moberly and Fleming after the 1871 expedition.⁵¹⁶ I have not been able to find listings of Horetzky's photographic equipment in the correspondence surrounding of any of Horetzky's expeditions, however during the 1880 Canadian Pacific Railway Commission Horetzky states that:

Previous to the setting out of the expedition, I told Mr. Fleming that I had already done something in that way as an amateur, and he said: by all means procure a small camera and photograph whatever you can. [...] I may here state that a camera was not amongst our paraphernalia of travel between Winnipeg and

⁵¹⁶ Sandford Fleming, "Letter to the Secretary of State, Canada, in Reference to the Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Royal Commission," in *Sessional Papers. Volume 9. Fourth session of the fourth parliament of the Dominion of Canada. Session 1882* (Ottawa, Ont.: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1882) 52-53. "From our want of knowledge of the country, his services could be rendered, useful as a photographer, and he was accordingly engaged and attached as a supernumerary to an exploring party, "for the purpose of taking photographic views of objects of interest, illustrative of the physical features of the country, more especially to the west of the Forks of the Saskatchewan." The quotation is from my instructions to the engineer in charge of the party, dated 20th June 1871. The service was creditably performed by Mr. Horetzky. The following winter he returned with a portfolio of photographs of natural scenery from the Saskatchewan westward to Jasper House in the Rocky Mountains."

Edmonton when I diverged from the chief engineers party. It is true that upon our arrival at Edmonton where I had left the camera on my former journey I did, at the request of Mr. Fleming [...] to photograph the party in picturesque pose. [...] It is also true that in my branch expedition from Peace River into the Pacific Coast, and upon all subsequent voyages, I carried with me a small camera and a few dry plates.”⁵¹⁷

As for printing the photographs, Andrew Birrell has suggested that both William Topley and Alexander Henderson provided storage for Horetzky’s plates as well as sometimes producing sets of prints.⁵¹⁸ Dennis Reid, in *Our Own Country Canada*, suggests that, “Fleming must have been impressed with Horetzky’s general ability in the field as well as with his photography, for he almost immediately engaged him to arrange the western portion of his trip, and to act as his guide.”⁵¹⁹ Indeed, Horetzky proved himself useful and competent to Moberly, which made him a favourable choice for Fleming in assembling a party for his own expedition to Peace River. However, it is likely that the photographs were secondary to Horetzky’s skill as an observer in the field, if they were even considered at all. In the instructions for the Branch Expedition from Edmonton, via Peace River, to the Pacific Coast set to begin in August 1872, Fleming writes to Horetzky:

It is important that as much information as possible be obtained respecting the country extending from the waters of the North Saskatchewan, Northerly and Westerly by the Valley of Peace River to British Columbia, and thence to the coast line in the latitude indicated. Having every confidence in your energy and ability, I have to request that you will at once proceed to make an exploration through the country, and obtain by personal observation and enquiry as much information as it is possible to acquire within the present year. I have associated with you as Botanist Mr. John Macoun, who will specially attend to the collection of specimens illustrative of the flora of the district to be traversed, and information bearing on the agricultural capabilities of the country. With the above objects in view, you will proceed by the speediest route to Dunvegan, and thence ascend by the Valley of

⁵¹⁷ “Testimony of Charles Horetzky. Ottawa, Wednesday, 1st December, 1880,” in *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission. Volume II. Evidence*, chairs, George McKenzie Clark et al. (Ottawa, Ont.: Stephenson & Co., 1882), 1708.

⁵¹⁸ Birrell, “Fortunes of a Misfit,” 10.

⁵¹⁹ Reid, “*Our Own Country Canada*,” 155.

Peace River across the Rocky Mountain range to the Omineca district in British Columbia. You will there learn as to the practicability of passing down the Skeena River to Port Essington, and if circumstances will admit of this route being taken, you will proceed this way to Victoria, unless it appear to you more advisable to take the Frazer [*sic*] River route. In addition to information obtained from personal observation, you will make full enquiries of parties who may have travelled in the country, respecting its mineral resources (especially coal and iron), the climate, depth of snow at different points, the extent of land suitable for settlement, quality of soil, etc., etc. You will report to me as full information as possible respecting the topographical features of the district you will traverse, having in view the opening up of the country by a trunk line or other lines of communication.⁵²⁰

There is no discussion of photography. Horetzky was hired to assess the area for its practicability as a possible route for the railway. Similarly, Horetzky's report in a letter dated to March 15, 1873, in which he provides a detailed account of his route, men employed, descriptions of terrain and climate, measurements of distance, height and pressure, includes no mention of the photographs he had taken.⁵²¹

Photographs and Canadian Expansionism

That there is no correspondence or report indicating an obligation to produce photographs for the CPRS is curious, particularly in light of a major publication of photographs that came out of the Peace River expedition. In addition to Horetzky, John Macoun (1831-1920), and Fleming, the 1872 expedition party was accompanied by George Monroe Grant (1835-1902), a Presbyterian minister from Halifax, who served in title as "Secretary to the Expedition." In 1873, Grant published *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872, Being a Diary Kept During a Journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the Expedition of the*

⁵²⁰ Charles Horetzky, "APPENDIX B. Instructions and Report respecting the Branch Expedition from Edmonton, via Peace River, to the Pacific Coast," in *Report of Progress on the Explorations and Surveys Up to January 1874*, ed. Sandford Fleming (Ottawa, Ont.: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1874), 45.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 46-55.

Engineer-in-Chief of the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways in 1873.⁵²² The publication is a polished version of Grant's diary and notes kept while on the expedition, accompanied by an introduction and conclusion. The first edition of *Ocean to Ocean* contains sixty-one illustrations, of which twenty-seven are based on photographs.⁵²³ It was printed by George E. Desbarats (1838-1893), the publisher of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, who, like Grant, understood the informative potential of images in publications.⁵²⁴ The inclusion of illustrations in *Ocean to Ocean* adds a layer to the conception and representation of the railway within the socio-historic context of Canadian expansion and settlement. The changing uses of the illustrations, from the original contexts of Horetzky's photographs to their adaptation, inclusion, and circulation in Grant's volume as photolithographs and woodcuts, indicates that the photographs held within them a confluence of functions and meanings.

Unlike the publication itself, which was planned from the outset with Grant's participation in the survey, the inclusion of prints based on the photographs seems to have been an afterthought. It was, perhaps, because photography was relatively new and not very successful in the field of topography that it was not initially considered as a source for illustrations in *Ocean to Ocean*: Hime had lost a selection of glass plates on his 1858 expedition, and on the 1871 GSC

⁵²² George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872, Being a Diary Kept During a Journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the Expedition of the Engineer-in-Chief of the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son, 1873)

⁵²³ An asterisk next to the title in the list of illustrations identifies these as being from photographs. They appear as plates except for two woodcuts that are printed on text pages. Eleven of the plates are maps, and of the remaining twenty-three, Grant thanks only two sources: "Professor Daniel Wilson for his sketches of Nepigon Bay" and Mrs. Hopkins "for her wonderful painting of 'Running a Rapid'" (Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, i). The printmakers have not been recorded, although there are often initials, presumably identifying them, on the images themselves.

⁵²⁴ Desbarats's interest in reproducing photographs in print publications culminated in his work with William Augustus Leggo. Together they developed the leggotype, a halftone printing process that enlarged, reduced, or reversed halftone photographs in a way that would simulate a continuous gradation of tone. Desbarats published his first leggotype in *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1869. See Teresa McIntosh, "W.A. Leggo and G.E. Desbarats: Canadian Pioneers in Photomechanical Reproduction," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 146. Grant does not specify the reproduction method of the prints in *Ocean to Ocean* (apart from two woodcuts), but it is likely that they are photolithographs. For this invaluable information, I thank Michelle Macleod, Christian Vachon, and Ery Contogouris.

expedition Baltzly's plates had had to be salvaged from a capsized canoe into icy waters.

Fleming himself was only beginning to see the benefits of photography, having made contact with Henderson in 1872 before officially hiring him to photograph the Intercolonial Railway in 1875. For Grant, it was fortuitous that Horetzky was attached to the survey. When Horetzky was questioned about his role on the 1872 survey during the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission nearly ten years later, he responded,

Regarding the statement that I went out as a photographer, I can only say that it is utterly untrue, and so absurd as to scarcely require a denial. It is perfectly true that I took many photographic views during my numerous journeys, but I did so at first merely to please Mr. Fleming's taste for fine scenery and to help embellish his [*sic*] book "Ocean to Ocean." When United States officers of the Army Engineer Corps surveyed the route for the Union Pacific Railroad, some of them sketched the interesting scenery, but did not thereby lose their professional reputation as surveyors or engineers – in like manner did I photograph when the opportunity presented itself; but I did so merely to add to the general store of knowledge and may here say that I never received one cent for my trouble. On one occasion, however, in 1875 owing to some official misunderstanding, and some conflict of opinion between Messrs. [Marcus] Smith and Fleming, and particularly to a piece of bungling entirely beyond any control, I was sent to photograph the salient features of the Bute Inlet route, but that journey only occupied six weeks.⁵²⁵

Horetzky considered himself a keen topographical observer, able to make precise measurements and thorough descriptions and assessments of the land. He did acknowledge, however, that his own photographs had multiple uses: corroborate his observations, record "fine scenery" for Fleming's benefit, or "add to the general store of knowledge." He did not want it to minimize his role as an objective observer. Horetzky's words bring us full circle to Hime. For all that has been said in Horetzky's moment and ours about photography as mechanical and objective, here photography and its practitioners are regarded by Fleming and Smith as something less than scientific. Horetzky's argument places photography in the same category of work as the sketches

⁵²⁵ George McKenzie Clark, Samuel Keefer, Edward Miall, chairs, "Testimony of Charles Horetzky," 1705.

produced by military surveyors – as with Hime’s photographs, they are emerging from and participating in Dennis Reid’s school of “garrison” artists. Though Horetzky would recoil at the idea of himself being anything but an engineer, he does acknowledge photography’s multiple uses. Indeed, under Grant, his photographs came to be imbued with nationalist, expansionist sentiments when framed by *Ocean to Ocean*.

This discrepancy between the photographer’s stated intention and subsequent uses of the photographs, both historic and contemporary, is compounded by the tensions between art and document that are inherent in the photographic medium. The illustrations inspired by photographs in *Ocean to Ocean* have been invested with meaning by the context in which they are presented and they provide an additional, valuable visual layer to Grant’s narrative. Grant produced several publications in his lifetime, mainly based on sermons and lectures. He is perhaps best known for *Ocean to Ocean* and his subsequent *Picturesque Canada: The Country as it Was and Is*, first published in 1875 by Art Publishing Company and distributed in serial form by subscription, then republished by Belden Bros. in 1882 as two volumes.⁵²⁶ Both publications have received scholarly attention for the readings they provide of nationalism and the formation of an early Canadian identity.⁵²⁷ However, while the heavily illustrated *Picturesque Canada* has been examined for its visual information, the illustrations in *Ocean to Ocean* have been almost completely overlooked.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ George Monro Grant, *Picturesque Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: Art Pub. Co. 1875); George Monro Grant, *Picturesque Canada: The Country as It was and is* (Toronto, Ont.: Belden Bros., 1882).

⁵²⁷ See David Jackel, “*Ocean to Ocean*: G.M. Grant’s ‘round unvarnish’d tale,’” *Canadian Literature* 81 (1979): 7–23; Allan Smith, “Conservatism, Nationalism and Imperialism: The Thought of George Monro Grant,” *Canadian Literature* 83 (1979): 90–116; Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

⁵²⁸ For examinations of illustrations in *Picturesque Canada* see Dennis Reid, “*Our Own Country Canada*”; J.I. Little, “Scenic Tourism on the Northeastern Borderland: Lake Memphremagog’s Steamboat Excursions and Resort Hotels, 1850–1900,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 716–42.

The physical book is hardbound and small in size, 371 pages in length, and easily held in one hand. The large amount of visual and textual information contained in such a small format is indicative of the intended audience of *Ocean to Ocean*. In his preface Grant addresses his reader directly as “the public.” This was not a publication intended as simply a record of the journey but rather something that would be widely read and perhaps even used as a guide for travellers and settlers. The inclusion of many illustrations would have heightened popular interest. In his preface Grant writes, “The illustrations are mainly from photographs and on this account may be considered of special interest.”⁵²⁹ Even though photography may have been deemed risky as a topographical tool, Grant’s emphasis on photographs as a source taps into a growing popular interest in photography. *Ocean to Ocean* contains prints based on eleven photographs by Horetzky, five of which were taken on his previous expedition in 1871 under Moberly. Of the remaining fourteen source photographs, I have identified through comparison to archival photographs that: nine are by Benjamin Baltzly, taken during his 1871 trip with the Geological Survey of Canada; three by Frederick Dally (1838-1914); and a still life can be attributed to Robert Bell (1841-1917). There are also as-yet two unidentified still lifes that are indicated to be from photographs but, unlike the other twenty-five illustrations from photographs, are described as woodcuts in the publication’s list of illustrations; and one landscape that remains unattributed [App. 18]. The recognition that fewer than half of these are based on Horetzky’s photographs – even though he is the only photographer credited within the publication – and nearly half of those are from a different surveying expedition, reinforces the notion that photographs are

⁵²⁹ Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, i.

considered “flexible illustrations”:⁵³⁰ Grant carefully selected photographs from a variety of sources that could be used to reflect the particular message he was shaping in *Ocean to Ocean*.

While none of the illustrations inspired from photographs are specifically addressed by the text in *Ocean to Ocean*, they are nonetheless placed within it and therefore derive meaning from and add meaning to it. Like Fleming, who was not shy about advocating for Canadian expansion in his writings in *The Canadian Journal* of The Canadian Institute, of which he was a founding member, Grant too was set on the benefits of expansion and settlement of the West.⁵³¹ During the late 1860s, he had been a strong advocate for Confederation in Nova Scotia, believing that a national Presbyterian Church would be established as a direct outcome of unification.⁵³² In his conclusion to *Ocean to Ocean*, he prayed God would give Canadians the characteristics they needed to settle the interior and the West: “A great future beckons us as a people onward. To reach it, God grant to us purity and faith, deliverance from the lust of personal aggrandizement, unity, and invincible steadfastness of purpose.”⁵³³ For Grant, the push for expansion and settlement was tied to religious motivations.

Suzanne Zeller, a historian of nineteenth-century Canadian science and culture, has suggested that in order “to deal with the perceived preeminent tasks of the Victorian age,”⁵³⁴ expansionism and the unification of Canada relied strongly on both human and natural resources.

⁵³⁰ James C. A. Kaufmann, “Photographs & History: Flexible Illustrations,” in *Reading Into Photography. Selected Essays, 1959- 1980*, Thomas F. Barrow, Shelley Annitage, William E. Tydeman, eds. (Albuquerque, N.M: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 193-199.

⁵³¹ For more on the Canadian Institute see discussion of Henry Youle Hind’s involvement in Chapter One: Humphrey Lloyd Hime.

⁵³² D. Barry Mack, “George Monro Grant,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, ed. Ramsay Cook, vol. 13 (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 405.

⁵³³ Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 358.

⁵³⁴ Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), 9. In her “Notes on Sources” Zeller identifies Douglas Owram’s *Promise of Eden* as a key intellectual history of Victorian Canada. Zeller’s understanding of expansionism aligns with Owram’s, and centres on many of the same figures, namely Sandford Fleming and John Macoun.

Zeller argues that the task of inventorying was definitive in the formation of Victorian Canada and of the “natural theology” that she sees as characteristic of Victorian science.⁵³⁵ This observation resonates with Grant’s thinking and his decision to include prints inspired by photographs in *Ocean to Ocean*. Photography was central to the processes of classification of types, and therefore of the inventorying of those visible types. It allowed surveyors to keep visual records of elements ranging from the smallest botanical specimen to the largest mountain range with unparalleled fidelity. To empirically and visually organize the landscape asserts a perceived control and dominance over it. Grant’s emphasis that certain plates were from photographs, as indicated in his list of illustrations, taps into this understanding of photography as a tool for inventorying and for claiming place. The making and circulation of photographs participated in the activation of human resources that Zeller explains was necessary in the process of Canadian expansion and unification. Grant’s emphasis that “the illustrations are mainly from photographs and on this account may be considered of special interest,” brings together his awareness of a growing popular interest in photography and of the medium’s potential to carry a particular message about the importance of people in the process of settlement. This is reaffirmed in his conclusion, in which he writes, “It is not our poverty of land, or sea, of wood or mine that shall ever urge us to be traitors. But the destiny of a country depends not on its material resources. It depends on the character of its people.”⁵³⁶ This reading of Grant’s *Ocean to Ocean* offers an alternative to the US notion of Manifest Destiny. In the United States, Manifest Destiny meant a belief that the land was given by God to people for the taking. In Canada, however, as Grant saw it, the land was already there, and the gift from God to the

⁵³⁵ Suzanne Zeller, *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada* (Ottawa, Ont.: The Canadian Historical Association, 1996), 5.

⁵³⁶ Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 366.

Canadian people was the fortitude and strength of character to settle the land. This makes sense in the timeline and context of Confederation, which was essentially the coming together and connection of already established centres – this is the Metropolitan thesis developed by Canadian historians such as Harold Innis, Donald Creighton, and J.M.S. Careless.⁵³⁷ If there was a driving message for the Canadian people during this moment, it was not that of a westward push as in the United States, but of settlement in the spaces between centres.

The use of photographs, then, can be seen as embedded within Grant's understanding of God and settlement. In nearly all instances, the plates in the publication show some aspect of human intervention on the landscape. For example, the engraved frontispiece of the book, *Salmon Cover, Nasse River, British Columbia* [App. 18, Fig. 293], is based on a Horetzky photograph. However, in *Ocean to Ocean*, four figures that do not appear in the original photograph have been added, revealing how the translation to engraving allowed for the inclusion or editing out of resonant details. With these figures, the focus shifts from the land to people, from landscape to scene of industry and settlement. Cart trails, fishing, campsites, forts, and settlements are prominent in *Ocean to Ocean* as signposts of human presence in the landscape. There are prints in which there are no human figures, such as *Mount Cheadle* from a Baltzly photograph [App. 18, Fig. 279], or in which human structures are minimized, particularly by the land in which they are situated, such as *Forks of Skeena River* from a Horetzky photograph [App. 18, Fig. 291]. Both depict large and impressive mountain peaks. However, these sites also symbolized human presence, endeavour, and fortitude. Mount Cheadle had already been explored and mapped, and while not explicitly mentioned in the text, the Rocher Déboulé range near Hazelton, pictured in *Forks of Skeena River* was set to become the site of

⁵³⁷ See Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Library, 1927); Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760–1850* (Toronto, Ont.: Ryerson Press, 1937); J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 35 (March 1954): 1–21.

large mining operations. Throughout *Ocean to Ocean*, Grant recounts Milton and Cheadle's descriptions of their explorations, and the expedition team makes use of pre-existing campsites on Mount Cheadle. Discussions of mining and natural resources are also central to Grant's writing. For example, in an overall assessment of British Columbia, using the Skeena, along with the Fraser and Homathco Rivers as his examples, Grant writes that, "the Province will have to depend mainly on its [the Skeena River region's] rich grazing resources, its valuable timber, its fisheries, and minerals."⁵³⁸ Placed within *Ocean to Ocean*, both plates would have carried such connotations. Baltzly's and Horetzky's original photographs may have appealed to Fleming's "taste for fine scenery," but in their mediated forms, as selected and shaped, they also spoke to Fleming's and Grant's expansionist ideas of settlement.

Grant does not speak directly to the illustrations in the book. However, there is one passage in which he addresses the photogenic qualities of a view. Grant discusses at length the location of Roche à Miette, which is also illustrated in *Ocean to Ocean* as *Jasper House (looking towards Roche à Miette)* [App. 18, Fig. 274]. To be clear, he is describing the location, not the original photograph nor the plate. Grant writes,

A good photographer would certainly make a name and perhaps a fortune, if he came up here and took views. At every step we longed for a camera. [...] The most wonderful object was Roche à Myette [*sic*], right above us on our left.... Mighty must have been the forces that upreared and shaped such a monument. Vertical strata were piled on horizontal, and horizontal again on the vertical, as if nature had determined to build a tower that would reach to the skies.⁵³⁹

There are two key points to be made here. The first is that Horetzky took the photograph not during the 1872 expedition with Fleming and Grant, but rather on his 1871 trip with Moberly. This explains why Grant would be longing for a camera, since a photographer, Horetzky,

⁵³⁸ Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 392-3.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 228-29.

accompanied the 1872 expedition. Second, Grant's discussion of the formation of the range is significant. Unlike the ideas of Catastrophism that shaped perspectives on the formation of geological features in the Clarence King (1842-1901) surveys in the United States for instance, and, to a lesser extent in the thinking of Canadian figures such as J.W. Dawson (1820-1899), Grant believed that the mountain had been formed by natural, not divine, forces. This reinforces the suggestion that, for Grant, the land was already there, to be settled by humans whose strength and ambition had been given by God. This reading also indicates that Grant believed in the human capacity to explore, conquer, and settle even the most vast and mighty mountain ranges. Indeed, Grant's contemplative and awe-inspired tone is quite different from Moberly's, who had been at Roche à Miette the previous year. In his account, Moberly detailed the hardship experienced by his team when exploring the range. Historian I.S. MacLaren notes, "To read his [Moberly's] unpublished account of the toil involved in the survey disabuses one of any romantic illusions of the beauty of mountainous terrain to a surveyor."⁵⁴⁰

The impact of *Ocean to Ocean* on the broader Canadian consciousness echoes Grant's ideas of settlement and can be assessed through contemporaneous reviews of the book, found in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, and *The Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Adjoining Provinces*. For example, *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* reads,

The writer is enthusiastic with regard to the capacities of Manitoba for farming, and treats hostile Indians, mosquitoes and locusts as myths, and the winter, if not as a myth, yet as pleasanter, according to universal testimony, than that of Ontario, Quebec or the Maritime Provinces.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ I.S. MacLaren et al., *Mapper of Mountains: M.P. Bridgland in the Canadian Rockies, 1902–1930* (Edmonton, Alta.: University of Alberta Press 2005), 19.

⁵⁴¹ "Book Reviews. Ocean to Ocean," *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* 4, no. 1 (July 1873): 84.

A reviewer in *The Monthly Record*, a publication to which Grant was a regular contributor, writes,

It may be the result of our idiosyncrasy, but we cannot help owning that deeply as “Ocean to Ocean” has interested us in its character as containing a revelation of a country hitherto unknown to us, – it has interested us still more deeply as containing a revelation of the character of its author. It is much to know that the new Dominion has in Manitoba and “The great Lone Land” room boundless in extent for the reception of emigrants; a fertile soil in some parts, amazing mineral wealth in others, *inexhaustible* forest or fishing resources in others, and desirable homes for one or other description of people in nearly all; and that its varying capabilities in these respects are so described in this volume that the traveller can fix upon his destination beforehand, and shape his course accordingly with unhesitating confidence in the veracity of his informant.⁵⁴²

As both these excerpts indicate, peopling the Canadian interior was a central concern.

And the illustrations based on photographs came to serve as visual corroborations of the expansionist narrative in which Grant had placed them. However, this is not the only framework in which Horetzky’s photographs have been used. His photograph of Roche à Miette, for instance, is currently found in a number of important photographic collections: in the Glenbow Museum collection of Horetzky photographs; in the *Fort Garry to Jasper House Album*, part of the Sandford Fleming fonds at Library and Archives Canada; in the *Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement*, part of the Department of the Interior fonds, also at Library and Archives Canada; and in the *Peace River Album* held at Vancouver Public Library. These are collections and albums that served purposes private, public, and government interests that were quite different than Grant’s. That the photographs were not made specifically for *Ocean to Ocean* is perhaps the greatest reflection of the way in which the photograph can mediate meaning. This quality has made them a powerful tool, allowing Grant, in this instance, to adapt the image to communicate a specific conception of Canadian settlement. Perhaps, though, this can be traced

⁵⁴² “Reviews. ‘Ocean to Ocean,’ by Rev. G.M. Grant,” *The Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Adjoining Provinces* 19, no. 9 (September 1873): 216.

back to Horetzky himself, in the disimpassioned stance he took toward his own photographic practice: after all, he did suggest that he took photographs “merely to add to the general store of knowledge” – however that knowledge came to be shaped.

Horetzky Publishes his Findings

In contrast to the vision that Grant presents in *Ocean to Ocean*, Horetzky produced publications that were coloured by his own understandings of the land that he was travelling and photographing. By 1874, Horetzky had produced three major pieces of writing based on his observations on the 1871 and 1872 expeditions: *The North-West of Canada: Being a Brief Sketch of the North-Western Regions, and a Treatise on the Further Resources of the Country* published in 1873; *Canada on the Pacific: Being and Account of a Journey from Edmonton to the Pacific by the Peace River Valley; and of a Winter Voyage along the Western Coast of the Dominion; with Remarks on the Physical Features of the Pacific Railway Route and Notices of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia* published in 1874, and which also appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* on October 24, 1873; and an unpublished report dated to 1873 submitted to the Department of the Interior titled *Some Remarks upon the Indians of the “North West.”*⁵⁴³ None of these publications contain illustrations from photographs or otherwise, though *Canada on the Pacific* does contain a map of Horetzky’s proposed Peace River route through British Columbia and a diagram of terrain elevation. However, they do provide insight into the work that Horetzky did in

⁵⁴³ See Charles Horetzky, *The North-West of Canada: Being a Brief Sketch of the North-Western Regions, and a Treatise on the Further Resources of the Country* (Ottawa, Ont.: The Office of A. S. Woodburn, 1873); *Canada on the Pacific: Being and Account of a Journey from Edmonton to the Pacific by the Peace River Valley; and of a Winter Voyage along the Western Coast of the Dominion; with Remarks on the Physical Features of the Pacific Railway Route and Notices of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers 1874); and “Some Remarks upon the Indians of the North West,” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, RG10, volume 3605, file 2912, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

the field, as well as his opinions on the railway and settlement. *Canada on the Pacific* is also notable in that Horetzky makes several small references to the photographs he took during his time in the field.

Horetzky's *The North-West* is a thirty-page pamphlet-like publication wherein he discusses the benefits of the Peace River region and the Pine River pass through the Rocky Mountains as the most suitable route for the railway and subsequent settlement. This view is in opposition to Fleming's that supported the Yellowhead Pass as the correct choice. To strengthen his efforts, and in strategically vying for support, Horetzky dedicated his more extensive follow-up to *The North-West*, titled *Canada on the Pacific*, to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie (1822-1892), who had recently taken over as head of government after Sir John A. Macdonald (1815-1891) stepped down from power in light of the emerging Pacific Scandal. From both publications, it is clear that Horetzky believed he was doing strong observational work worthy of significant attention and consideration. In the introduction to *The North-West*, he writes: "Now that the subject of emigration is beginning to attract the attention it deserves, a brief but comprehensive description of the immense territories inhabited at present by a comparatively few nomadic Indian tribes, will not be out of place, and may assist the efforts of our Emigration Agents in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe."⁵⁴⁴ Horetzky's descriptions are organized and dense. He catalogues topography, resources, and inhabitants in order to buttress his opinions regarding the suitability, advantages, and challenges of particular routes.

Public reviews of *The North-West* and *Canada on the Pacific* were favourable and commended Horetzky's thoroughness. A review of *The North-west* in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* reads:

⁵⁴⁴ Horetzky, *The North-West*, 3.

The reading of this brief sketch of the North-West has impressed us very favourably. The author has brought together in a few pages a great deal of valuable information. Having been attached to the Pacific surveying party, he does not favour the route of the Tête Jaune Cache, but inclines to the opinion that the Peace River Valley will afford the best crossing. [...] The author contemplates the publication of a larger work on the same subject, which can hardly fail to be interesting and valuable.⁵⁴⁵

In their moment, Horetzky's publications were seen as important contributions to the literature on the Canadian West, and placed in the same field as works by explorers, such as Milton and Cheadle, whose writing was read by Baltzly during his expedition.⁵⁴⁶ A subsequent review of *Canada on the Pacific* is even more convinced by Horetzky's efforts to promote the Peace River Pass and Pine River Pass:

Mr. Horetzky is of opinion that a point of crossing may be found at less than two thousand feet elevation, either by the Pine Summit River Lake Pass or the Peace River Valley. This opinion is apparently founded on the fact that the highest point crossed in this exploration was between four and five hundred feet higher than the true watershed separating the affluents of the Peace from those of the Frazer [*sic*] River.⁵⁴⁷

Canada on the Pacific was taken seriously by many and was frequently referenced in subsequent studies of western Canada. For example, minister and educator Daniel M. Gordon (1845-1925)

⁵⁴⁵ "Book Review. The North-West of Canada. By Charles Horetzky," *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* 5, no. 3 (March, 1874): 270.

⁵⁴⁶ "The history of Manitoba as a province is scattered through various works – those of Milton and Cheadle, Hargrave, Huyshe, Butler, Watkins, Horetzky, Hamilton, Bryce, Gunn and Tuttle, with the multitude of books and pamphlets called forth by the second Riel rising and the opening of the Canadian Pacific, of which I may mention those of Major Boulton and Mr. G. Mercer Adam." "Canadian Histories. Part III," *Canadiana: A Collection of Canadian Notes* 1, no. 3 (March 1889): 42; "The following books have been received in the library since the 24th ult.: "Canada on the Pacific, etc." By C. Horetzky." 273 Along with "The Lenape and their Legends." By D. J. Linton. "Life of Abraham Lincoln." By I. N. Arnold. "Mountain and Prairie." By D. M. Gordon. "Editor's Table," *The Varsity: A Weekly Review of Education, University Politics and Events* 5, no. 24. (11 April 1885): 273; In an advertisement for Adam, Stevenson & Co., Publishers and Wholesale Booksellers, Horetzky's *Canada on the Pacific* finds a place on the list of "Important Historical Publications" along side: *Parliamentary Debates on Confederation, Quebec, 1865*; John Mercier McMullen's *History of Canada to Confederation* (1855); Goldwin Smith's *Lectures on the Study of History* (1861); and Susanna Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush* (1852). "Advertisement. Adam, Stevenson & Co., Publishers and Wholesale Booksellers" *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* 7, no. 4 (April, 1875): 344.

⁵⁴⁷ "Book Reviews. Canada on the Pacific. By Charles Horetzky," *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* 5, no. 5 (May 1874): 459.

in his 1880 *Mountain and Prairie: A Journey from Victoria to Winnipeg via Peace River Pass* quotes large passages from *Canada on the Pacific* and indicates that “Horetzky’s *Canada on the Pacific*, containing narratives of journeys by way of Peace River to the western sea, are familiarly known to many readers.”⁵⁴⁸ Gordon’s publication also contains eight reproductions of photographs as photolithographs: five by George Mercer Dawson (1849-1901); two by Alfred Selwyn; and one by Horetzky captioned “Peace River.”⁵⁴⁹ This same photograph was also reproduced in Grant’s *Ocean to Ocean* [App. 18, Fig. 292]. These two publications, printed seven years apart, also share a publisher. Gordon was also a Presbyterian minister from Nova Scotia; was educated at the University of Glasgow in preparation for joining the ministry as was Grant; accompanied a survey expedition as secretary, the 1879 GSC expedition under Dawson, in order to write *Mountain and Prairie*; and was urged by Sandford Fleming to act as Grant’s replacement as chancellor of Queen’s College. Both Grant and Gordon proposed that their publications be used as aids to settlement. However, their respective reproductions of the Horetzky photograph are slightly different from the original and from each other. In *Ocean to Ocean*, the number of figures has been reduced, in *Mountain and Prairie* figures have been added to the boat that floats down the river. The plate is not discussed directly by Gordon, but perhaps the small boat on calm waters works to reassure the reader, or potential settler, that while the Cañon is described as “the only obstruction to the navigation of the river for several hundreds of miles,”⁵⁵⁰ the Peace River is navigable even by small boat. That Horetzky’s photograph is in the company of those by geologists Dawson and Selwyn gives all of the photographs reproduced a reading of accuracy and credibility, though it is clear the photographs have been altered in their

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 161.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 162.

translation to photolithograph. Even so, Horetzky's work was well regarded as a primary source of research on the Canadian west coast, and continued to be well into the twentieth-century. For example, *Canada on the Pacific* is listed in the bibliography of historian Archie Bell's 1918 *Sunset Canada: British Columbia and Beyond*, which describes the settlement and early history of British Columbia.

There is evidence that Horetzky did use the photographs to his own ends. An example is the *Peace River Album* at the Vancouver Public Library, which is comprised of forty-seven photographs, all taken by Horetzky between 1871 and 1874 [App. 17, Figs. 194-199, 202-209, 219-221, 223, 225-228, 256, 257]. The dates of the photographs in the album indicate that it was contemporaneous with Horetzky's publications *The North-West* and *Canada on the Pacific*. The VPL records indicate that the album belonged to Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, the son of Sir Charles Tupper, Prime Minister of Canada in 1896. Included in the album is a letter dated December 23, 1912 by Hibbert Tupper suggesting "with reference to the photographs of the Peace River District they were made by Mr. Horetzky [*sic*] somewhere about 1881 and 1882 in connection with the survey. I hope to be able to send to you a report from the Public Documents which refer to them." No such report exists with the VPL today, and it is likely that the son acquired the album from his father. However, Horetzky did have a personal relationship with Tupper who, as we have seen in the correspondence around his employment, urged Moberly, Fleming, and Smith to employ Horetzky in survey work. It is possible that Horetzky produced the album specifically for Tupper as a gift. This is reinforced by the care taken in the album's leather binding; the careful and extensive captioning of each photograph; and the small touch-

ups of details in ink that were added to several of the photographs [App. 17, Fig. 199]. It is also possible that Horetzky had the photographs printed and bound by either Topley or Henderson.⁵⁵¹

Horetzky wrote prolifically regarding his observations, his photographs were reproduced as illustrations in publication, and they were perhaps used by Horetzky to produce albums. Only rarely did Horetzky write about the photographs or the act of photographing. Interspersed throughout *Canada on the Pacific* are several instances in which Horetzky mentions that he took a photograph. For example, on Sunday, October 20, upon entering the Peace River from the north he writes: “During the interval I photographed the river, which struck me as being very beautiful at this place. On our right, high sandstone bluffs, hidden by a superficial layer of soil, rose to a great altitude, their summits being fully one thousand feet above the river.”⁵⁵²

Describing a canyon encountered along the banks of the Wotsonqua, Horetzky describes a photograph he would have liked to taken, if not for the snow: “The scenery was of the very wildest, and, but for the constant fall of snow would have furnished some fine photographs.”⁵⁵³

His description of scenery is minimal, especially when compared with Hime’s accounts of encounters with marauders and his adventures hunting game, and with Baltzly’s rich descriptions of the landscape in terms of its compositional elements. Instead, Horetzky’s descriptions move quickly from a qualitative to quantitative assessment – from being “lovely” or “gloomy” to being discussed in terms of climate and measurement. For example, of a photograph taken at Salmon Cove Horetzky writes: “I got out my photographic apparatus, and succeeded in getting a negative of the bay, which must be lovely in the summer season, but at this time (21st January) was cold

⁵⁵¹ Birrell, “Fortunes of a Misfit,” 10.

⁵⁵² Horetzky, *Canada on the Pacific*, 56.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

and gloomy, snow lying on the ground to a depth of three feet.”⁵⁵⁴ Horetzky’s encounters with Indigenous groups adopt a similar tone. For example where he writes: “When I last visited the rocky Mountain House, in the November of 1871, there were twenty-five lodges of Piegan Indians from the plains, who thronged the courtyard inside, and required very careful supervision to prevent the exercise of their thieving propensities, which are strong. On this occasion I photographed a group of the principal men amongst them.”⁵⁵⁵ The information Horetzky provides is strictly observational, without the romanticization that inflected Hime’s writing, and certainly prejudiced.

“Some Remarks upon the Indians” – The *Indian Industrial Schools Album* and *Album 7*

Observation, both first- and second-hand, is central in Horetzky’s writing. Horetzky was accruing information from a range of sources and was also distributing reports to various branches of government. In 1872, Horetzky procured a report from an Oblate missionary named Christophe Tissier (no life dates available) who had established the St. Charles Mission church at Dunvegan. The letter from Tissier to Horetzky is dated to October 2, 1872, and indicates that it is a response to Horetzky’s request for “quelques notions sur le pays que j’ai été appelé à évangéliser.”⁵⁵⁶ This type of work would have been above and beyond the duties of a photographer, and is more in line with Horetzky’s work as an observer. It is likely that Horetzky used Tissier’s description of the yearly changes in climate in his *The North-West*.⁵⁵⁷ Horetzky’s

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 140.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 226.

⁵⁵⁶ Letter from Christophe Tissier to Charles Horetzky, 2 October 1872, Charles Horetzky fonds, MG29 C32, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵⁵⁷ Horetzky, *The North-West*, 16-19.

contributions to the data amassed by the survey parties extended beyond photography, and even beyond the particular survey of which he was a part. In addition to *The North-West and Canada on the Pacific*, the other major publication that Horetzky produced from his 1871-1872 surveys was an unpublished report of 1873 submitted to the Department of the Interior's Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), and entitled *Some Remarks upon the Indians of the "North West"* [App. 19].⁵⁵⁸ In this report, Horetzky discussed the effect of American traders, particularly those venturing northward from Montana, on the Hudson's Bay Company posts at Carleton, Fort Pitt and Edmonton. The traders were selling not only provisions but also liquor to the populations of Indigenous peoples in those areas and therefore, according to Horetzky "young 'braves' perambulate the camp and, excited by liquor, throwing down the gage of battle to their nearest and dearest friends. Deadly weapons are freely exhibited and the bloody quarrels which then arise usually end in murder."⁵⁵⁹ Horetzky lists in great detail the various nations and tribes of the Northwest and the relationship between them, along with the hierarchies between Indigenous groups and Métis. Horetzky recommends that "establishments of fifty mounted men at each of the posts indicated would amply suffice for the maintenance of law and order throughout the Saskatchewan Country"⁵⁶⁰ and that "the maintenance of friendly relations between police and Half-Breed would not be attended with difficulty especially if a portion of the force sent up consisted of French Canadians speaking the same language as the Half-Breeds, and I believe that, if at the beginning of a friendly but determined attitude were taken, no collision or misunderstanding would ever occur."⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ Charles Horetzky, *Some Remarks upon the Indians of the "North West,"* Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, RG10, volume 3605, file 2912, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

Horetzky's work for the DIA went beyond a single report. Just as his photographs were used by Grant to perpetuate a certain conception of expansionism, the photographs were also used to meet the needs of the DIA. There are two albums, both at LAC, containing Horetzky photographs that were concerned explicitly with Indigenous subjects and issues. The first album is the *Indian Industrial Schools album* in the David Ewans collection (hereafter *IIS album*). The *IIS album* is dated by LAC between 1871 and 1896. It contains forty-one photographs of "various Indian Industrial Schools in Canada as well as of individual Indian leaders" taken by Horetzky, Oliver Buell (1844-1910), John Allan Brock (no life dates available), and the studio of Boorne & May (studio active from 1886-1993). Two photographs can be credited to Horetzky: "Winter prairie scene- Dogsled team. 187-" also often titled "Dog train," which also appears in both the Glenbow collection and in the LAC album *Fort Garry to Jasper House* [App. 17, Fig. 194]; and "Stoneys at Morley-Alta ca. 1885" which is inscribed "42 miles west of Calgary Horetzky [sic] C.P.R.S." The second album is *Album 7* in the Immigration Branch Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement in the Department of the Interior fonds [App. 17]. *Album 7* is one of a series of albums compiled by the Department of the Interior between 1892 and 1917, and later maintained by the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources from 1936 to 1939, before being moved to LAC.⁵⁶² There are forty-seven albums in the collection of Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, which are composed primarily of photographs by John Woodruff (1859-1914) and Horatio N. Topley (1849-1909), the latter being the younger brother of Ottawa photographer William James Topley (1845-1930) who worked for William Notman and then for the Topley studio in the 1870s. Within the collection is *Album 7*, containing

⁵⁶² Department of the Interior fonds, Descriptive Database, R190-0-3-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=15914

sixty-seven photographs entirely by Horetzky. On the initial page of the album is written:

"Horetzky views (See Topley 8 Fort Garry to Jasper House, Fleming Portfolios)." The original negatives for a number of the photographs in the album are found in the Topley Studio fonds.⁵⁶³

Album 7 contains many of the photographs that have been reproduced in *Ocean to Ocean*, the *Fort Garry to Jasper House* album at LAC, and the *Peace River Album* at VPL. The photographs in the album range in date from 1871 to 1876 and therefore include photographs taken on several distinct survey expeditions to various geographical regions. The captions are brief and repetitive, often shortened versions of captions that appear more fully developed in other albums. These factors – the mixture of expeditions and the lack of descriptive captions – suggest that it is unlikely that Horetzky assembled the album. One might also conjecture that, because Horetzky used Topley, as well as Henderson, to print and store his photographs and plates, the album was compiled by the DIA from Horetzky photographs contained in the Topley collection. Indeed, read as a group they forcefully convey a story of settlement and colonial expansion – camp scenes, forts, towns, infrastructure, and a subdued population of Indigenous people. *Album 7* is an interesting instance in which the potential for naturalist inventorying in Horetzky's photographs is revealed. Particularly during the 1871-1872 expedition, Horetzky may have been making photographs as a hobby; however, in their arrangement into *Album 7*, the photographs' latent potential to document, describe, and categorize, instilled in Horetzky by Ross, is revealed. While the captions are lean, the grouping of photographs, by location and by subject, is telling. *Album 7* begins with photographs of camps both of survey parties and of Indigenous groups [App. 17, Figs. 194-199]; photographs of forts and settlements, namely Fort

⁵⁶³ Topley Studio fonds, Descriptive Database, R639-0-5-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=138219&rec_nbr_list=138219,159437

Edmonton, Jasper House, and Victoria [App. 17, Figs. 200-210]; photographs of the Homathco, Fraser, and Thompson rivers [App. 17, Figs. 211-215]; the settlements at Comox and Fort Simpson [App. 17, Figs. 215-220]; Indigenous people, structures, and activities [App. 17, Figs. 221-224]; the Peace River and Fort Dunvegan regions [App. 17, Figs. 225-228]; canyon and river views of the Fraser and Homathco rivers [App. 17, Figs. 229-255]; and the Skeena River, Gardner Canal, and Bute Inlet regions [App. 17, Figs. 256-265]. That the album is arranged by place and subject, as opposed to arranged chronologically by Horetzky's travels, indicates that the album is an attempt by the Department of the Interior to visually order the places and people of British Columbia. The juxtaposition of photographs from across a five-year period reveals something about Horetzky's development as a photographer as well. Formally, his photographs of structures are compositionally similar to those taken with Ross at the HBC. For example his photographs of Victoria from 1875 [App. 17, Fig. 210] are similar to those of Moose Factory [App. 16, Figs. 172, 175, 185, 188, 192] where the photograph is taken at an angle and the architecture is in three-quarter view. Photographs of settlements as a whole are photographed nearly face on and from across a large distance as in his photographs of settlements along the Skeena River [App. 17, Fig. 256], Comox [App. 17, Figs. 217], or Fort Simpson [App. 17, Fig. 218], similar to those of Moose Factory [App. 16, Figs. 181, 184, 186]. The same is true of Horetzky's photographs of campsites. These compositional strategies, whether consciously applied by Horetzky or not, would have made Horetzky's photographs important visual descriptive documents for the compilers of *Album 7*. It is also apparent that Horetzky's technical proficiency improved over this period, with his later photographs being much sharper and with greater depth of field than his earlier photographs. As we will see later in this chapter, the

improvement in technical and compositional skill may have been a result of Horetzky's connection to Alexander Henderson.

Horetzky's photographs of Indigenous subjects have received much attention from contemporary scholars. Like Hime, Horetzky is often credited with a first in Canadian photography. Brock Silversides in his 1994 monograph *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939* writes that "Horetzky produced the first photographs of Native people taken in that part of the North-West Territories from which the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were later carved."⁵⁶⁴ Silversides includes two photographs from Horetzky's 1871 trip in his section "First Contact": *A group portrait of Piegan Indians with missionary, Rocky Mountain House, AB* [App. 17, Fig. 223] and *An encampment of Cree Indians near present day Vermillion, AB* [App. 17, Fig. 195]. Silversides suggests that these photographs had appeal in their moment for a white society that was "genuinely curious about Native lifestyle and appearance. They wanted to explore and record their dress, hairstyles, homes, methods of travel, and their modes of worship."⁵⁶⁵ Indeed, this is why Horetzky's photographs, along with reports like his *Some Remarks upon the Indians of the "North West"* were produced for the DIA.⁵⁶⁶

Perhaps the most suggestive photograph, if not the most curious, found reproduced in *The Face Pullers*, and as an albumen print in *Album 7* and the *Peace River Album*, is the photograph of the group of Piegan people at Rocky Mountain House [App. 17, Fig. 223]. The photograph as it is found in the *Peace River Album*, which is inscribed "Piegan Indians. Rocky Mt. House," and reproduced in *The Face Pullers*, shows eight sitting figures and one standing alongside one wall

⁵⁶⁴ Brock V. Silversides, *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians, 1871-1939* (Saskatoon, Sask.: Fifth House Publishers, 1994), 2.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁶⁶ Keri Cronin aptly describes this as a "sense of curiosity is manifested through the countless photographs and stereographs made on the Canadian prairies in the second half of the nineteenth century" Keri Cronin, "Changing Perspectives: Photography and First Nations Identity" (MA thesis, Queen's University, 2000), 10-12.

of the Rocky Mountain House. The *Album 7* version, however, is quite different. The photograph in *Album 7* shows eight figures seated on the ground against a completely white background. In addition to the background, the standing figure, a missionary in a long black robe holding a book in his right hand, has also been whited out. The unaltered photograph can be read as a group of Piegan people sitting orderly and complaisant under the care of the missionary. The photograph provides a similar reading to William Armstrong's *Numbering the Indians* [App. 2, Figs. 50 and 51], discussed in Chapter One. Such visual arrangements were frequent, and would have been used to communicate ideas of colonial success and to alleviate any concerns over safety for settlers. But why, then, has the photograph in *Album 7* been altered? Eliminating background was a common strategy in topographical drawing and photography to better outline a specific geographical feature. For example in Horetzky's "Skeena River" [App. 17, Fig. 257] the sky is made white to better highlight the ridges of the Rocher Deboulé range in the background.⁵⁶⁷ The effect of applying this strategy to the group of Piegan people is visual isolation. They are no longer people who are being colonized under religion and government, as the missionary and fort would imply, but rather they become isolated specimens, scrutinized and inventoried along other collected natural and geological specimens from a particular geographical region. This is similar to Hime's portraits of Wigwam, Letitia, and the mother and child presented as types in Hind's *Narrative*. In the Hime study, the Indigenous figures were embedded in the landscape in a way that made the person as much a part of it as the trees and rocks around them. In Horetzky's photograph as it has been altered for *Album 7*, the treatment of the Indigenous figures equates

⁵⁶⁷ There are a great many volumes on topographical and architectural drawing produced in the nineteenth century. Similar strategies are outlined in Henry Albert Reed's (1844-1930) *Topographical Drawing and Sketching, Including Applications of Photography* (New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1886). For example in the section "Photography Applied to Topographical Sketching" Reed writes "the objective should be of sufficient size to give clear definition on the outer edges of the largest plate suited to the camera." (119)

them to the natural and geological figures being inventoried and studied, like the Rocher Deboulé range, for example.⁵⁶⁸

It is difficult to assess why the Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior decided to assemble *Album 7* with the content they did, and even more difficult to say who assembled it. Archivist and historian Terry Cook in his essay “The Canadian West: An Archival Odyssey through the Records of the Department of the Interior,” writes that the mandate of the Department was,

To explore the western region; remove the natives from the open plains; settle outstanding grievances with the Métis; survey and subdivide the area; establish land reserves for natives, schools, the Hudson's Bay Company, railways, towns and swamp lands; grant or sell millions of acres of homestead lands; encourage immigration; lease lands for timber, grazing, mining and water rights; create the national park system; protect wildlife; and administer and conduct scientific research on a whole range of natural resources.”⁵⁶⁹

Cook goes on to outline the complexities that exist for archivists in tracing the history and use of this particular fonds as it was organized and reorganized in the formation of Government offices.

Given the prolific nature of Horetzky’s photographic corpus and its circulation in albums, publications, and government documentation, it seems likely that Horetzky willingly gave the CPRS and the Department of the Interior the rights to use his photographs however they saw fit.

I have not found any correspondence indicating this was the case or that discusses control over the photographs more generally.

⁵⁶⁸ As observed in Chapter One: Humphrey Lloyd Hime, there has been recent scholarly interest in how the Indigenous subjects of historical photographs understood photography. Hime’s diary writing on his failed attempt to photograph Indigenous women and children was re-shaped and re-contextualized first by Hind and then by NGC curator James Borcoman to caption photographs made on a separate occasion. The result was that a photograph that was never actually taken has left an enduring imprint on the understanding of the photographs that came out of the survey. This is not so with Horetzky. Horetzky’s writings were published relatively unedited in official reports, and through Horetzky’s own publications. Margaret B. Blackman has given a close examination of a passage from Horetzky’s *Canada on the Pacific* in which she develops a reading of the way Horetzky’s relationships with his Indigenous guides reveals attitudes towards photography. ““Copying People”: Northwest Coast Native Response to Early Photography,” *BC Studies* 52 (Winter 1981): 86-112.

⁵⁶⁹ Terry Cook, “The Canadian West: An Archival Odyssey through the Records of the Department of the Interior” *The Archivist* 12, no. 4 (July/August 1885): 1-4.

A Toxic Relationship

Horetzky's work – be it official survey work, self-published pamphlets, or the various circulations of his photographs – garnered him much attention and esteem. He was invited to return to the Pacific coast under Marcus Smith, deputy engineer under Fleming, to explore the Kitimat and Kimano River and the Cascade Mountains. In a letter dated May 25, 1874, from Smith to Fleming, Smith seems excited about the prospect of having Horetzky take measurements and make photographs of the region:

On the possible pass through the Cascade mountains it will be well to be able to show this from actual survey (by aneroid) and Mr. Horetzky's photographs and descriptions will show the character of the country. I shall be glad at least when he is employed for he is so impracticable he is a terrible bore. His instruments have now arrived and he starts on the 20th inst.⁵⁷⁰

For the 1874 trip, Smith's instructions to Horetzky were lengthy. Among them Smith indicates:

You will make a rough traverse of the pays as you proceed, using [...] portable instruments to take the angles or bearings and an aneroid barometer for the altitudes – which should be taken frequently enough so that an approximate profile could be made from them. [...] Mr. Fleming also desires that you should take some views looking up the chasm that would give a general outline of the Cascade Mountains in the distance, and any other remarkable views that you think interesting.⁵⁷¹

Horetzky was hired to gather information in order to assess the viability of a particular route.

Photographs of the area were requested for two reasons: to add to Fleming and Smith's descriptive efforts of the Cascade Range; and to produce content that was interesting. Horetzky departed in May 1874 and returned to Ottawa in February 1875. He produced a report that was read and edited by Smith before being submitted to Fleming for inclusion in the official report,

⁵⁷⁰ Letter from Marcus Smith to Sandford Fleming, 25 May 1874, Sandford Fleming fonds, MG29 B1, Volume 47, Folder 323, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵⁷¹ Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 3 June 1874, CPR, British Columbia Surveys Letters, Reports, Transcripts, 1862-1874, Marcus Smith fonds, MG29 B6, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

which would be published two years later in 1877.⁵⁷² Smith, though at first praising Horetzky, quickly points out that Horetzky was making assessments that he was not qualified to give. In a letter to Fleming on March 24, 1875, Smith outlines sections of Horetzky's report that would need to be cut, as they were unfounded or conjecture:

I have carefully looked over Mr. Horetzky's report, which is very good so far as he confines it to a description of what he saw, and gives heights and distances (approximately) such as are usually ascertained on track surveys, by aneroid, compass or other portable instruments. But at several places he gives engineering opinions and descriptions of grades, tunnels and other engineering works, for which there is no reliable data and for which he is not qualified, as he has no engineering knowledge whatever – does not even know how to use a level. It has been observed as a rule in all the reports of myself and staff, that no engineering opinions or descriptions of engineering works, are given on mere track surveys. These are confined to lines of which a complete instrumental survey has been made, and even then the descriptions are not given by the assistants or even the Division Engineer, who only make the plans and profiles and put all the information they possess on these, from which the descriptions are made by myself and submitted for your approval. You will have to explain this to Mr. Horetzky, for he is such a crazy, conceited fellow, he will think (and publish) that his genius is being repressed, if he has not his say, although, I may inform you that, except his photographs, his work is altogether worthless and cannot be laid down on the general map. He says it is Vancouver who is wrong; that in his chart the relative positions of Dean and Gardner Channels are wrong, over 20 miles out of true position. To save you time I have marked in pencil on the margin those portions of the report which I think should be omitted.⁵⁷³

Smith was right. Horetzky took great offence at his report being edited before its official printing in 1877. In the 1882 *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, Horetzky suggests that it was “suppressed” and that in doing so, both Smith and Fleming caused unnecessary

⁵⁷² Charles Horetzky, “Appendix G. Report on Explorations from Douglas, Gardner, and Dean Inlets, Eastward in the Cascade Mountains,” in *Report on Surveys and Preliminary Operations of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, edited by Sandford Fleming (Ottawa, Ont.: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1877), 137-144.

⁵⁷³ George McKenzie Clark, Samuel Keefer, Edward Miall, *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, 23-25.

additional spending in having to re-survey a route that Horetzky had already examined.⁵⁷⁴ In order to control Horetzky's anger, Smith sent him a strongly worded letter on May 29, 1875:

I have to inform you that a good deal of agitation and misconception has been caused in the public mind by persons engaged on the exploratory surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway, writing to the newspapers and their friends and even to members of the Canadian Government, giving their opinions in regard to the route of the railway and other matters connected with the same. I therefore caution you that the knowledge gained on the surveys by any member of the staff is the property of the Dominion Government and must only be communicated to the same through the Engineers in charge of the surveys and to no one else. I may add that the Chief Engineer alone has all the data necessary to enable him to form a correct opinion regarding the route of the railway and what is required of each member engaged on the surveys is that he shall as well as he is able give faithful description with approximate plum levels etc. of that part of the country which is allotted to him to explore or survey. As I am the Deputy of the Chief Engineer for this Division of the surveys I have to request that you will address all reports, correspondence, plans, sketches, levels or other matters connected with the work on which you are employed to me and it will be submitted in due course to the Chief Engineer. Should you fail to do this it may be productive of delay, as well as embarrassment to the Government.⁵⁷⁵

In May of 1875 Horetzky was again hired by the CPRS to assess the Homathko River region. In a letter to Horetzky, Smith writes with explicit instructions of what to photograph:

You will photograph views at the head of the inlet, at the foot of, and various points in the Grand Cañon and at such other points in the valley as you may think worth taking. There are some very grand views of snow peaked mountains etc. in crossing the high spur at the Grand Cañon.⁵⁷⁶

The instructions once again imply a double objective: to add to his descriptive efforts and to produce photographs that were visually interesting. Three months later, it first appeared that

⁵⁷⁴ During the commission Horetzky testifies: "In fact, the last seven pages of my report were completely suppressed, and to this most extraordinary circumstance, Mr. Gamsby's trying, expensive, and abortive expedition of February, 1876, up the River Kitlope, in search of a route to Lake Tochquonyala, is, doubtless in great part due. For had the officer responsible for that expedition been in possession of the facts detailed in the suppressed portions of my report, it would have been seen that the search in question was a needless one, its utter uselessness being plainly pointed out at page 30 of my original manuscript." George McKenzie Clark, Samuel Keefer, Edward Miall, *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, 1243.

⁵⁷⁵ Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 29 May 1875, CPR British Columbia Surveys Letters, Reports, Transcripts, 1862-1874, Marcus Smith fonds, MG29 B6, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵⁷⁶ Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 31 May 1875, CPR, British Columbia Surveys Letters, Reports, Transcripts, 1862-1874, Marcus Smith fonds, MG29 B6, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

Horetzky had completed the work; however, Smith found that the job was not done and that Horetzky had abandoned his work. Smith complained to Fleming about his experience with Horetzky in the field after Horetzky missed a rendezvous and left Smith alone in the woods for several days:

They utterly failed to accomplish anything and Horetzky whom only five miles above the canoe landing at the foot of the cañon on a good horse trail voluntarily left ten days before I reached that place taking the canoe with him by which I had calculated to reach Gamsby's camp thereby entailing great hardships and risk to life from the swollen mountain streams. I found him afterwards on the head of Bute inlet where he had been over ten days waiting for the steamer to go by her to Victoria. On my asking him why he had left his work and disobeyed my instructions he flew at me like a tiger and in the presence of a number of Indians said did not care a damn for my instructions and set me at defiance. He has done very little and of the most important work nothing at all. He appears insane and insists on going to Ottawa. Nobody interfered with him or gave him any cause to be angry, he appears to have quarrelled with himself. But I really think he was afraid of the Chilicotin Indians.⁵⁷⁷

In a letter to John Robson (1824-1892), paymaster for the CPRS and later Premier of British Columbia from 1889 to 1892, Smith takes retaliation:

I have received a rambling letter dated 28th inst. from Mr. Horetzky threatening to do me damages with the Dominion Govt. if he returns to Ottawa now and asking me to employ him to take photographs on the line of Vancouver Island. I have neither the time nor desire to enter into a lengthened correspondence with a man so vacillating that he does not know his own mind from day to day. He appears to think that the surveys should be conducted for his pleasure and convenience although he has been more than once distinctly informed by the highest authority that I have the complete charge of the surveys on the Pacific coast, that he came out here as a member of my staff and must obey my instructions. [He lists the times Horetzky has not followed instructions]. I have no other work at present in which he could be of any service and if ever he desired to return to the most important work on the Homathco route which he has scarcely begin, I do not feel justified incurring the expense of sending a special steamer to Bute Inlet or a special train of mules. [...] Nor do I know where the guide is now to be found. Who alone could lead Mr. Horetzky to the point from which I wish photographs to be taken as he is probably himself in the mountains and there is every probability that even if he were to incur all the expense of a special service to get

⁵⁷⁷ Letter from Marcus Smith to Sandford Fleming, 27 July 1875, Sandford Fleming fonds, MG29 B1, Volume 47, Folder 323, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

Horetzky conveyed back to his work he voluntarily deserted he is so self willed and so utterly ignorant of everything connecting with railway engineering that he would refuse to photograph the points most essential and would follow some whim of his own.⁵⁷⁸

Horetzky was increasingly testing the patience of Smith and others. In a letter dated to September 5, 1875, from Henry John Cambie (1836-1928), a chief surveyor for the CPR, to Marcus Smith he writes:

I have made up my mind that there is very little hope of M. Horetzky going through to Bute Inlet by the Homathco and as I know that you will be much disappointed I wish to explain that I have offered him every facility which was possible without crippling my own party. Unfortunately he came at a time when I had allowed my supplies to run pretty low and it was impossible to obtain relief. [...] He would not send back his packers as I suggested. And now ten days after his arrival at my camp (seven of which have been fine) he is camped at foot of lake 3 miles from me and gives as an excuse for delay that he wants to take some views there. He has a lot of Indians under pay and is feeding them. [...] I might mention that M. H. has never seen fit to show me your letter of instructions.⁵⁷⁹

The flurry of correspondence continued⁵⁸⁰ until Horetzky was suspended from work at the end of 1876.⁵⁸¹ Despite the tensions, it appears that Smith and Fleming did see value in Horetzky's

⁵⁷⁸ Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 30 July 1875, CPR, British Columbia Surveys Letters, Reports, Transcripts, 1862-1874, Marcus Smith fonds, MG29 B6, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. In a letter the following day, a very agitated Smith writes: "I have another letter from mr. Horetzky proposing to do certain work "cut out for him." I have never had a complaint from any member of my staff that I have used him badly, though many of them have had hard work and dangers to undergo. But this man Horetzky seems to have determined from the first to be trouble and he is continuously threatening before myself and others to "squelch" me (as he terms it) with the Dominion Govt. unless I will honour him in all his whims [...] at the country's expense. I cannot afford to waste more time on this matter. I have so much important business to attend. Please read this to Mr. Horetzky." Letter from Marcus Smith to John Robson (paymaster), 31 July 1875, CPR, British Columbia Surveys Letters, Reports, Transcripts, 1862-1874, Marcus Smith fonds, MG29 B6, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵⁷⁹ Letter from H.J. Cambie to Marcus Smith, 5 September 1875, Sandford Fleming fonds, MG29 B1, Volume 47, Folder 47, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

⁵⁸⁰ Letter from Marcus Smith to Sandford Fleming, 23 October 1875, Sandford Fleming fonds, MG29 B1, Volume 47, Folder 323, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. "Reiterating the Bute inlet occurrence "he spoke as being in the confidence of the government and threatens to report my misdoings – what these were he did not vouchsafe to tell me – He refused to go back to work though I offered him the guide and if necessary the Indians who had come through with me with whom he could have completed the work required and returned to Bute inlet in time to go north with me a month later. But he said "I discharge myself and wait to return to Victoria" which he did. [...] I have also information that Horetzky endeavoured to induce Tideman to leave his work and disregard my orders, telling him that they were appointed in spite of me". After Horetzky received your telegram (about 23rd June) and I had refused to sanction the payment of his expense to Ottawa as he had done scarcely any work, he wrote to

capabilities as an observer. Horetzky was hired back in 1877 by Smith to perform survey work in the Lake Huron and Lake Nipissing regions of northern Ontario. In the letter from Smith to Horetzky assigning him to this expedition, there is no mention of photographic duties. However, Horetzky was put in charge of selecting an assistant and was told to perform a “track survey” which involved “taking the courses with a pocket compass and estimating the distances by the time occupied in travelling from station to station. The heights will be ascertained approximately by a pocket android or other barometer.”⁵⁸² An official letter of employment was again sent to

me asking to be employed again. After due consideration I thought it might be worth the cost of sending him in by steamboat and stage to Soda creek thence to the head of the Homathco river by horses as it is very desirable to have all the necessary information respecting that route this season so as to save the expense and delay of having to go there again. Besides I did not want to crush the man as I have always endeavoured to get along with anyone willing to work. [...] All this is so petty that I am almost ashamed to trouble you about it but it creates mischief and delays and discourages the course of the surveys. [...] I cannot conjecture Horetzky’s motives but he evidently left Ottawa with malicious intention as he has even refused to work in harmony with the rest of the staff or to acknowledge that his labours form but a link in the chain of means to obtain the desired information respecting the country and that he cannot go here or there at his own convenience.”

Letter from Marcus Smith to Sandford Fleming, 30 November 1875, Sandford Fleming fonds, MG29 B1, Volume 47, Folder 323, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont. “There is a pressed copy of a letter in this office, which I have just seen, written by Mr. Horetzky which is full of misrepresentation and absolute flasehard that can easily be proven to be so. I will only at present allude to the explorations he was explicitly to do near the sources of the Kitilope that there was ample time to do this after taking the photographs on the Homathco had gone through to meet me as instructed.”

⁵⁸¹ Birrell, “Fortunes of a Misfit,” 20.

⁵⁸² Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 18 May 1876, as reproduced in George McKenzie Clark, Samuel Keefer, Edward Miall, *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, 1703. “Sir,— the Minister of Public Works has determined to have a leg of country examined as direct as practicable between the west end of Lake Nipissing and a point on the shore of Lake Superior, a little to the north of the mouth of the River Pic, as shown on the tracing herewith. The immediate object of the exploration is to ascertain how far it may appear feasible to construct a line of railway between these two points, and two enable the Government to judge if it would justify the cost of an instrumental survey. The examination of the country in the vicinity of the French River and Lake Nipissing, as far to the northwest as White Fish River or to the Vermillion River – as may be found expedient – will be under the direct supervision of Mr. M. Smith, the deputy to the Engineer-in-Chief. Thence to Lake superior, the line will be in two divisions – the south-easterly and then north-westerly. You are appointed to take charge of the exploration of the (1702) former– commencing at the White Fish or Vermilion River and extending to the south end of Lake Wenebagon, about the latitude of 47°30’ north and longitude 83°10’ west, as shown on the tracing, and as much farther as may be necessary to meet the party exploring the other division from Lake Superior. Should you find that it would be futile to continue your examination in the direct course, on account of insuperable intervening obstacles, you will not abandon the exploration, but make every possible exertion to endeavour to find a more feasible route by deviating to the north or to the south; bearing in mind that the general direction should be tolerably uniform, avoiding zigzags as far as practicable, so as not to lengthen the line where it can be avoided. You may possibly be led to the north or south of the point suggested on Lake Wenebagon, but that will be a convenient rendezvous for the two parties to meet and consult as to the joining of the surveys. You will make what is known as a track survey, taking the courses with a pocket compass and estimating the distances by the time occupied in

Horetzky for 1877 in which Smith demonstrates a certain amount of trust in Horetzky, writing “I need not enter into any details respecting supplies and mode of getting these transported onto the work, as you have had experience to guide you in these matters.”⁵⁸³ Again, there is no mention of the photographs.

In the correspondence, the angry words, and the dispute over Horetzky’s status as an engineer, the photographs produced on the 1874 and 1875 surveys are often overlooked in scholarship.⁵⁸⁴ However, the photographs that Horetzky produced are occasionally mentioned between insults. It is clear that Horetzky was instructed to take views both observational for the planning of the route and as “grand views.”⁵⁸⁵ It is also clear that in this period where Horetzky was attempting to assert himself as an engineer, he avoids any discussion of photography.

travelling from station to station. The heights will be ascertained approximately by a pocket android or other barometer, and they should be taken at short intervals so that a profile of the country could be plotted from them. You will be allowed one assistant to accompany you who has a knowledge of surveying, and you will be able to render you every assistance. As the service is special, the Minister concurs in your nominating the assistant to accompany you subject to my approval. His salary will not exceed \$80 per month. The department will furnish you with funds and the supplies you may require to carry out, in a satisfactory manner, during the present season, the important service placed in your hands. So soon as the service is complete, you will be good enough to report to me the results, and place in my hands all plans and other documents which you may have prepared.”

⁵⁸³ Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 22 May 1877, as reproduced in George McKenzie Clark, Samuel Keefer, Edward Miall, *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, 1703. “Sir,— It gives me great pleasure to inform you that you have been appointed to continue the explorations on the north of Lake Huron, on which you were engaged last season, south-easterly as near as practicable on the direct line, from the point near the mouth of the River Pic, Lake Superior, to a point on French River, as drawn on the general map, till you reach the Vermillion River, where you will connect with Mr. T. Ridout’s survey (and you should take a tracing of that portion of his plan). It is possible that you may not succeed in getting a practical line from Lac au Sables to the point on Vermilion River, where Mr. Ridout’s line intersects it. It will be your duty to explore a considerable breath of country to the north of your line, more especially the eastern portion of it; and you may probably find it necessary to deviate from the line you followed last season, but a point some distance back, so as to get a good line to connect with Mr. Ridout, or you may possibly find the west line will reach Vermilion River, at some distance below the point where Mr. Ridout’s line intersects it, in which case you will have to continue your line eastward till you can make the junction in an easy flowing line. I need not enter into any details respecting supplies and mode of getting these transported onto the work, as you have had experience to guide you in these matters. I only enjoin that the strictest economy consistent with efficiency shall be observed. Your party will consist of: Horetzky in charge, salary \$160 per month, A. J. McNeil \$35 per month, – Inglis \$30 per month.”

⁵⁸⁴ For example, in his comprehensive discussion of the 1874 and 1875 surveys in “Fortunes of a Misfit,” Birrell makes no mention of the photographs or albums that were produced during this period.

⁵⁸⁵ Letter from Marcus Smith to Charles Horetzky, 31 May 1875, CPR, British Columbia Surveys Letters, Reports, Transcripts, 1862-1874, Marcus Smith fonds, MG29 B6, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

Perhaps it was the feeling of obligation to fulfil the requests of his employers that led him to produce numerous views on these later surveys. Take for example, an album of Horetzky photographs from the 1874 survey titled, *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874* [App. 20]. There are several versions of the *View in the Cascade Mountains* album, each slightly different. The Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs at the University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections holds one version of the album described in the catalogue record as “an album mainly of landscape photographs of the Cascade Mountains near Kitimat B.C. Taken by surveyor and photographer Charles Horetzky, who was surveying the land in search of a route for the Canadian Pacific Railway. In a large and heavy book with the photos glued to the page.” The album contains thirty-two photographs, including one two-print composite photograph. There is little record of the album’s provenance beyond that it was part of the 18,000-photograph collection of Uno and Dianne Langmann that was subsequently donated to UBC.⁵⁸⁶ Another version of the album exists in the collection of the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (AEAC) at Queen's University. This album contains thirty-five photographs, including one two-print composite. The photographs are in a slightly different than the UBC album. Furthermore, the photographs in the AEAC version are surrounded by a decorative border [App. 20, Fig. 295].

A similar set of albums was produced from Horetzky’s 1875 expedition to the Homathko River. The VPL collection holds an album titled by hand on the spine *Homathko River* and inscribed on the first page “--- Tupper, With complements of the author. Ottawa. 10th Feb. 1877.” [App. 21, Fig. 379] The album is comprised of forty-five photographs. The Uno Langmann Family Collection at UBC contains a similar album titled *Photographs Pacific*

⁵⁸⁶ Uno Langman Collection at the UBC Library, Descriptive Database, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. Accessed May 1, 2016, <http://langmann.library.ubc.ca/featured-collections/langmann/about-langmann>

Railway Survey British Columbia 1875 [App. 21]. The album is comprised of fifty-one photographs and is described by the UBC collection catalogue as,

An album of photographs by Charles Horetzky taken during a Pacific Railway survey between June and September of 1875, looking for a Northern route for the railway. The photos are predominantly along the Homathko River (spelled Homathco here) starting from the mouth of the Bute Inlet. There is also one photo of Victoria from the same period. The photographs are numbered and have captions indicating their location. Both the album and the photos are in very good condition.⁵⁸⁷

As with the VPL *Peace River Album*, it is likely that Horetzky was gifting photographic albums in order to curry favour with Sir Charles Tupper. After the 1875 expedition the motivation for Horetzky doing so is twofold. The first reason was to gain Tupper's support in his fight with Sandford Fleming for payment at the level of engineer. In a letter to Fleming dated to May 14, 1880, Horetzky writes:

I close to your address this morning and account for arrears of salary. I know not whether you will deign to consider the ground I take for making this demand, as given in my letter to you of 21st March, significant weight. You will perhaps, think that as I have now signified to the Minister my intention to take up the history of the Pacific Railway survey exhaustively, it would be impolite on your part to admit (which its payment would imply) the validity of my claim. I shall, notwithstanding, take the liberty of reminding you that the work of the Peace River party (Messrs. Cambie and MacLeod) and mine were similar in character, the greater difficulties being my perquisite, and, as Messrs. Cambie and MacLeod have never been allow to remain idle, the former having been kept on continuously during the winter and spring of 1879, although upon the sick list, and last winter in British Colombia, in illness, I think that, waving the last mentioned consideration entirely, and merely judging our respective labours by their intrinsic merits, I have excellent ground for preferring a claim for salary while in the field, at least equal to that paid to Mr. McLeod. I mentioned Mr. MacLeod merely in contradistinction to Mr. Cambie, who was nominally in charge.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁷ Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875, Descriptive Database, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. Accessed May 1, 2016, <http://rbsearchives.library.ubc.ca/index.php/photographs-pacific-railway-survey-british-columbia-1875>

⁵⁸⁸ George McKenzie Clark et al., *Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission*, 1706.

With regard to his pay, Horetzky suggested to the 1880 Canadian Pacific Railway Commission that there was a misuse of funds in the surveying – that Fleming did not trust his initial measurements, that the route was re-surveyed, and that Horetzky’s results were confirmed as accurate.

The second reason was to gain Tupper’s support in Horetzky’s assessment for the preferable pass through the Rockies. In response to doubts around his abilities as an engineer, and the suppression of his findings in Smith’s reports, Horetzky published his recommendations in 1880 in a pamphlet titled *Some Startling Facts Relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway and the North-west Land, Also a Brief Discussion Regarding the Route, The Western Terminus and the Lands Available for Settlement*. Public opinion was divided. For example James Douglas Jr. wrote in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* that,

Mr. Horetzky skirted it in the autumn of 1872, in running from Edmonton to Fort Dunvegan, on the Peace River; but while the accounts we possess are too ambiguous to carry conviction of the desirability of the route, the evidence both as to fertility and salubrity of the country east of the mountains, and as to the facility the Peace River offers of reaching the Pacific, is so strong that it would be folly in the face of it to decide on a southern route till the northern has received the amplest exploration.⁵⁸⁹

However, a review in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, a publication with which Fleming had a long relationship, states:

The object of this pamphlet, the time chosen to put it out, and the sending of large numbers to England, have patriotic object to hamper the operations of the Ministers now in England. Mr. Horetzky’s title to give an opinion on this large question may fairly, as a preliminary, be inquired into. The questions discussed are those of engineering, yet Mr. Horetzky is not an engineer. He was attached to the Survey in the capacity of a photographer, and being a good walker, came to be employed as an explorer [...] He tells us the result of all will be a right of way and “two streaks of rust” as the monuments of Canadian folly. But surely this is very midsummer madness.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁹ James Douglas Jr., “Present Condition of the Survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway,” *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* 6, no. 3 (September 1874): 238.

⁵⁹⁰ “Pacific Railway Routes,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 22, no. 6 (7 August 1880): 82.

Fleming's choice of the more southern Yellowhead Pass was at first selected, however by 1879 exploration and research demonstrated that Horetzky's suggestion of a northern route through Pine River Pass or Peace River Pass was more tenable.⁵⁹¹ Shortly thereafter, however, an even more southerly and feasible route in the Kicking Horse Pass was decided upon. In the end, Horetzky was vindicated, however briefly, not through his photographs, but through his capabilities in observation and collection of data.

But, what about the photographs? Both the *View in the Cascade Mountains* album and the *Homathko River Album* were circulated either by Horetzky himself as gift, or by Henderson or Topley through their studios, however Fleming did not use the photographs in any official publications as he and Grant did with Horetzky's 1871 and 1872 photographs of the Peace River region of British Columbia. Looking at the photographs, Horetzky certainly satisfied Fleming's request for scenic views. In the *View in the Cascade Mountains* album nearly all of the photographs are taken from an elevated vantage in which the resulting photographs offers an extraordinary depth of field with mountains both towering over and recessing deep into the picture plane [App. 20, Figs. 295, 297, 298, 300, 304, 308, 316, 317, 319]. As with the photograph captioned "Dean Canal. From King Island" [App. 20, Fig 304], many of the photographs in the album place the viewer directly into the scene through a meeting of rocky and expansive shoreline in the foreground, with the calm waters of the middle ground, and the mountain forms of the background, drawing the viewer into the depth of the photograph. The subjects of the photographs are, by every convention, Sublime – large mountains, deep canyons, and other awe-inspiring features of the land. It is possible that because Horetzky supported a

⁵⁹¹ For the full story of Horetzky's involvement in the surveying and selection of the pass as told vibrantly through archival documents see Andrew Birrell, "Fortunes of a Misfit," 14-25.

northern route for the railway that he was purposefully making photographs he believed were visually appealing and subsequently assembling them into large leather-bound albums like the *View in the Cascade Mountains* album and the *Homathko River Album* in order to promote his perspective. The two-photograph composite, such as the photograph captioned “Gardener Canal. Looking up, from rocks above Green Point” [App. 20, Fig. 294], which begins the album, can be read as Horetzky’s attempt to play into popular interest in the larger format and as a way to heighten visual appeal. His inclusion of photographs of boats on calm water, such as the photograph captioned “Dean Canal. From King Island” [App. 20, Fig. 305], echoes Grant’s inclusion of reproductions of similar photographs in his *Ocean to Ocean* used to convey the idea that the land and water was easily navigable [App. 18, Figs. 292, 293]. The careful and specific titles of the photograph, which often include an orientation for the viewer such as “looking up” or “looking down,” reinforce the suggestion that Horetzky was using the albums to promote his opinions in support of the northern route. These were not albums intended to encapsulate the adventure of the compiler; rather, by firmly rooting the photographs into a location they take on a practicality of description in addition to their appealing, even Sublime, visual qualities.

The album *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875* in the Uno Langmann Family Collection at UBC, along with a nearly identical album titled *Homathko River Album* at the VPL may have had a similar intended purpose as the *View in the Cascade Mountains* album. The photographs are again sometimes in two-photograph composite [App. 21, Fig. 326] taken from a high vantage, provide a great depth of field, and are captioned with detailed descriptions of place. In the two albums of the Homathko River region, the captions, while nearly identical in content, are distinctly unique in handwriting. In the VPL version of the album, the one inscribed to Tupper from the author, the captions and the inscriptions are in a

similar script, suggesting that perhaps Horetzky captioned the photographs himself [App. 21, Fig. 379] The change in script from one album to the next might indicate that Horetzky had assistance in the printing process. I am inclined to agree with Birrell and Reid that Horetzky leaned on Topley and Henderson for storage of his plates and for printing. If there were also an exchange of ideas between these studio photographers and Horetzky, the Homathko River albums would be the most suggestive. At the point where Horetzky was at odds with his survey leaders, and refuting any notion of his role as a photographer in order to heighten his function as observer and surveyor, it is possible that the continuation of his photographic practice was reverting back to its origins as a hobby under Ross. Horetzky plainly enjoyed photography when he first came to it as the correspondence indicates that he made photographs on his 1871 survey without being required to do so. Perhaps this renewal of his amateur practice was inspired by his involvement with Henderson. The photographs in the Homathko River region albums are different in composition from those in previous albums. There is a distinct awareness of framing within his compositions that is not seen consistently in his previous work. For example the photograph inscribed “No. 4 River Homathco. From west side of located bridge crossing. 1¼ mile from mouth. July 1875” frames the river scene with foliage [App. 21, Fig. 329]. The use of repoussoir in this composition is not unlike many of the photographs Henderson produced along the ICR [App. 11, Figs. 100 and 105]. In addition to foliage and trees, Horetzky’s photographs use logs, branches, and even boats to frame the rivers and mountains that are the central subjects of his photographs [App. 21, Figs. 330, 322, 335]. As well as providing a visual description of a location, the use of these framing elements situates the viewer of the photographs within a landscape scene. As Horetzky’s relationship with the CPRS became increasing fraught, and his conduct on the surveys became, according to Smith, more like that of a madman, Horetzky’s

photographs take on an attention to composition beyond their descriptive function, perhaps as a result of the growing distance between what Horetzky saw as his function on the survey, that of observer, and his hobby, photography.

The Photographer becomes an Engineer

Towards the end of his career with the CPRS photography disappears from Horetzky's work almost entirely. In the *Ottawa Directory for 1874-75* Horetzky is listed as residing on the south side of Albert Street between Bay and Concession Line.⁵⁹² In this directory he is also down as working in the offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway, listed, among others, as "engineers in charge of parties."⁵⁹³ In the *Ottawa Directory and Dominion Guide 1875* Horetzky, is listed as residing at 470 Albert Street⁵⁹⁴ and again as working in the offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway as one of the "engineers in charge of parties."⁵⁹⁵ By the 1881 Census of Canada, Horetzky, then 42, his wife Mary Jane, 35, daughter Sophia, 14 and sons Roderick F. and George, 7 and 2, are listed as living in the Wellington Ward of Ottawa.⁵⁹⁶ Horetzky is listed as

⁵⁹² A.S. Woodburn, *Ottawa Directory for 1874-75* (Ottawa, Ont.: A.S. Woodburn, 1874-75), 18.

⁵⁹³ Woodburn, *Ottawa Directory*, 1874-75, 195.

⁵⁹⁴ A.S. Woodburn, *Ottawa Directory and Dominion Guide 1875* (Ottawa, Ont.: A.S. Woodburn, 1875), 111.

⁵⁹⁵ Woodburn, *Ottawa Directory*, 1875, 231.

⁵⁹⁶ In her later years, Mary Jane travelled extensively. In 1891 she is listed aboard the passenger manifest of the Allan Line ship *Polynesian* bound from Montreal to Liverpool, England. (UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960); Board of Trade: Commercial and statistical Department and successors: Inwards Passenger lists. (Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK. Class BT26, Piece, 13, Item 36.) The voyage was most likely to visit Horetzky's mother, Sophia just after her death at the age of 78 in 1891 in Fulham near London. Mary Jane is listed as returning aboard the Dominion Line ship *Vancouver* from Liverpool to Montreal in 1891. (UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960. Board of trade: Commercial and statistical Department and successors: Inwards Passenger lists. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK. Class BT27) Interestingly, Mary Jane would stay in England. She is found on the 1901 England Census living as a boarder at 3 Edinburgh Terrace in the Kensington district of London. She is listed as "living on own means." (Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK. Class RG13, Piece 19, Folio 51, Page 40) Their son Roderick must have accompanied or visited his mother as he is listed in the Allan Line passenger manifest for the ship the *Sardinian*, travelling from Liverpool to Quebec in 1894. (UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960. Board

being of Polish origin, Scottish birth, Catholic religion, no doubt having converted from the Church of Scotland for his Irish wife, and occupied as an engineer. Sophia is listed as born in “H.B.” or Hudson’s Bay.⁵⁹⁷ In the 1891 Census of Canada, the family, without George who had at this time passed away, is again listed this time residing in the St. Paul’s and St. Mathew’s Ward of York East, now Toronto. Oddly the ages are listed as 50, 40, 19 and 15, respectively, which certainly raises claims as to the accuracy and consistency of the census.⁵⁹⁸ Horetzky is listed as a Civil Engineer. The birthplace of Sophia is now listed as Kewatin.⁵⁹⁹

Horetzky’s steadfast belief in his capabilities as an engineer were realized in his later years in Toronto as an engineer for the Public Works Department.⁶⁰⁰ In 1889 Horetzky was involved in the sewage disposal system for the Asylum for the Insane in London, Ontario.⁶⁰¹ In

of trade: Commercial and statistical Department and successors: Inwards Passenger lists. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK. Class BT27). Database Online. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?gl=allgs&gss=sfs28_ms_f-2_s&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Mary&gsfn_x=1&gsln=Horetzky&gsln_x=1&MSAV=2&MS_AdvCB=1&cp=0&catbucket=rstp&uidh=000

⁵⁹⁷ Census of 1881, Database Online. Ottawa, Ont., Library and Archives Canada, 2013. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1881/pages/results.aspx?k=cnsSurname%3a%22horet*%22; Horetzky is also listed at the same address of 470 Albert with the occupation of “engineer c s.” in A.S. Woodburn, *The Ottawa Directory* (Ottawa, Ont.: A.S. Woodburn, 1881), 14.

⁵⁹⁸ Such inaccuracies in the census are well documented. See: Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

⁵⁹⁹ Kewatin may refer to present day Keewatin near Kenora, Ontario.

⁶⁰⁰ “Contracts Open,” *Canadian Contract Record* 6, no. 40 (7 November 1895): 2. “Mr. C. G. Horetzky, engineer of the Public Works Department, Toronto, was in the City on Tuesday last for the purpose of advising Dr. C. I. T. Campbell, Chairman of the Board of Health, with reference to the solution of the sewerage problem.”

⁶⁰¹ “Sewage Disposal at the Asylum for the Insane, London, Ontario,” *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1, no. 8 (August 1889): 94. “Forty thousand gallons of sewage were pumped on to the land in the presence of the visitors, and the practical and successful working of the whole system shown. The sewage was almost odourless, and, having been thoroughly beaten in its passage through the pump, nothing but very small fragments of solid matter was visible. The soil of the field is mostly a light gravel, and absorption, therefore, is very rapid, as was shown by the entire disappearance of the 40,000 gallons of liquid in less than one hour. The work has been done by the Department of Public Works of Ontario, under the general direction of Kivas Tully, Esq., Architect-in-Chief, and under the inspection of C. G. Horetzky. The entire execution of the work has been directly controlled by F. W. Farquhar of the firm of Waring, Chapman & Farquhar, civil engineers, New Port, R. I.”

1895 Horetzky was an advisor on the construction of the Rockwood Hospital in Kingston.⁶⁰²

Horetzky produced a report in 1898 assessing methods of sewage management and disposal.⁶⁰³

The report received many commendations from the public and engineers.⁶⁰⁴ For example, the

1898 report of the Executive Health Officers' Association Meeting states:

The first business of the session was the reading of a paper by Mr. C. Horetzky, Public Works Department of Ontario, on "Treatment of Sewage." He presented the subject in a very masterly way and discussed the straining of sewage by coke filters as used at Reading, Pa. In the discussion which followed Mr. Horetzky answered a number of questions bearing on the matter, and said that he considered this system far superior to that which he recommended to London three years ago. He did not recommend filtration through coal, which is used at Hamilton, and said that nothing better than coke could be utilized for the removal of sludge.⁶⁰⁵

Surprisingly, for all of his accomplishment, Horetzky was not included Graeme Mercer Adam's

publication *Toronto Old and New* that featured profiles on all of the prominent citizens in

Toronto including Hime.⁶⁰⁶ Horetzky's obituary in the *Ottawa Free Press* describes Horetzky's

⁶⁰² "Local Items," *The Rockwood Review* 2, no. 3 (1 May 1895): 1. "At last the Sanitary Works are finished, and Messrs. Horetzky and Wilson are wearing happy smiles, although like Othello their occupation's gone. We have reason to believe that the contractors regard these gentlemen as thorough and painstaking officials, who know exactly what they want and how to get it."

"Municipal Department. Sewage Disposal," *Canadian Contract Record* 7, no. 5 (5 March 1896): 7. "Lauded for recent achievements "The finest plan yet constructed by the Provincial Government from Mr. Horetzky's plans, and which has, during the summer of 1895, been completed by him, is that of the Rockwood Hospital at Kingston."

⁶⁰³ Charles Horetzky, "On the most recent methods of sewage disposal now in operation in the United States, being, to some extent, the outcome of experiments made by the Massachusetts State Board of Health, with remarks upon their adaptability (in whole or in part) to cities in Canada" in *Public Health Papers and Reports*, Volume 24 (Columbus, Ohio: The Berlin Printing Company, 1898), 51-59.

⁶⁰⁴ "Gesta Medicorum," *The Montreal Medical Journal* 27, no. 10 (October 1898): 803. "Filtration through coke was advocated by Mr. C. G. Horetzky; this, lie maintained removed all organic waste. A million gallons of sewage could be strained, he estimated, at an expenditure of \$5.43 on coke. The coke was then burned and its value as fuel was unimpaired."

J.J. Cassidy, "Proceedings of Societies," *The Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 5, no. 2 (February 1899): 112. "'The most Recent Methods of Sewage Disposal, and their Application to certain Cities in Ontario" was the title of a paper read by Mr. C. G. Horetzky, C.E. This paper was 'the same as read at the Ontario Health Officers' Convention.'"

⁶⁰⁵ "Executive Health Officers' Association Meeting," *The Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 4, no. 5 (November 1898): 321.

⁶⁰⁶ Graeme Mercer Adam, *Toronto Old and New: A Memorial Volume, Historical, Descriptive and Pictorial, Designed to Mark the Hundredth Anniversary of the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, which Set Apart the*

involvement with the HBC, the CPRS, and his work as an engineer for the Public Works Department in Ontario.⁶⁰⁷ There is, as in almost all of the written records from Horetzky's career, no mention of photographs. However, it is his work as a photographer that is crucial to any understanding of how survey photography was perceived and deployed by the CPRS. For all of Horetzky's efforts to produce scientific contributions, his employers did not consider him a trained scientist or engineer. Likewise, the function of Horetzky's photographs was primarily understood as scenic views instead of as a scientific and observational component of a given survey expedition – an important reminder that while Hind, Selwyn and Fleming used Hime, Baltzly, and Henderson's photographs respectively to corroborate observations in the field and document progress, the photographers were not considered to be practitioners of science and their photographs not a true science.⁶⁰⁸ As this study indicates, the value of Horetzky's photographs, both then and now, is as a reflection of the way photographs facilitate the mediation of land into landscape. For example, Grant had a specific vision for Horetzky's photographs, carefully selecting them and altering them to show human presence and industriousness on the landscape as markers of God's desire for settlement of the Canadian interior. The photographs serve to mediate between text and image, vision and meaning – a quality has made them a powerful cultural tool, allowing Grant, in this instance, to adapt Horetzky's photographs to communicate a specific conception of Canadian settlement.

Province of Upper Canada and Gave Birth to York (now Toronto) with Some Sketches of the Men who Have Made Or are Making the Provincial Capital (Toronto, Ont.: The Mail Printing Company, 1891), 198.

⁶⁰⁷ "The Late Charles Horetzky," *Ottawa Free Press* (4 May 1900): 3.

⁶⁰⁸ It wasn't until the 1890s in Canada that the use of photography as a scientific tool would be fully explored, namely in the work of Edouard G. D. Deville, the Surveyor General of Canada from 1885 to 1924. See: Edouard G. D. Deville, *Photographic Surveying Including the Elements of Descriptive Geometry and Perspective* (Ottawa, Ont.: Government Printing Bureau, 1895); Don W. Thomson, "DeVilleville and the Survey Camera in Canada," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 72, no. 1 (January 1966): 52–57; K.B. Atkinson, "Deville and Photographic Surveying," *Photogrammetric Record* 15, no. 86 (October 1995): 189–195.

CONCLUSION: MEDIATED LANDSCAPE / MEDIATING PHOTOGRAPHS

In the introduction to this thesis I pose the question: what can photographs produced as part of topographic surveys offer up to the art historical study of nineteenth-century Canadian image-making if we begin to look at them not just as raw documents, and not just as works of art, but as examples of mediated landscapes? The notion of a mediated landscape, as it resonates throughout the four case studies of this thesis, posits that all encounters with land are both ideologically and culturally shaped thereby transforming the raw elements of land into a landscape invested with meaning by the collective imaginary. Topographical photographs, though made under the pretence of science and objective documentation, are also pictures that pictorial convention mediates as a transformation of land into landscape.

This is not a new understanding of topographical photographs, or of photography broadly, where the visual information contained in photographs is used to gain an understanding of historical and cultural context. What this thesis has demonstrated, however, is that there is as much to be learned about the visual context in which the photographs were produced as there is about the historical and cultural contexts, and that, in fact, these contexts influence the visual. Moving beyond formal comparison of painting to photography, I have demonstrated that painting and photography, art and science, popular print and schematic document, were enmeshed in a shared visual context via networks of social and professional connections, conventions of representation, circulation across various arenas, and the individual sensibilities of their makers. In this way, not only are the photographs a place where land is mediated landscape, but they extend this process of mediation. To mediate is to create an understanding or agreement between opposing sides. Photographs have this capacity, acting as a nexus where

seemingly contradictory ideas can co-exist. Not just to assert, but to fully understand both the effects and the ramifications of the mediated landscape has motivated this thesis.

The unique context presented by each of the four case studies has been developed as through the archival record – journals, correspondence, networks of people and associations, publications, and circulation in albums, magazines, and reports. This in-depth analysis required the organization that I adopted – treating each photographer separately – and this structure demonstrates the different circumstances that produced their bodies of work. It is now time to bring Hime, Baltzly, Henderson, and Horetzky back together, and to ask whether they actually form a group, and how their work might be treated, going forward.

The case studies have demonstrated the elasticity of these works: the function of the photograph, specifically the topographical landscape photograph, to the nineteenth-century Canadian collective imagination was as a mediating tool for what were often opposing desires or mediations of the landscape. The examples that this conclusion brings together are themselves disparate: by four unique photographers; taken over the span of sixteen years; diverse in subject; and, taking multiple forms of circulation. However, the photographs are intimately connected in function and in their potential to reveal something about how the Canadian landscape was visually perceived in this historical moment.

The photograph as a nexus of co-existing tensions begins where my study began, with Hime. Hime's training as an architectural draughtsman invests his photographs with well-established visual strategies and pictorial conventions as they are found in visual representations of architecture. The central isolation of the primary architectural subject, the maximization of visible surfaces and surroundings depicted through the three-quarter view, and the use of figures for scale are all visual strategies consistently deployed by Hime in his architectural photographs

made during the 1858 expedition. These visual characteristics, learned from his time with Napier and Armstrong, are present in almost every photograph taken by Hime. It was a familiar and well understood set of visual strategies, by both architectural draughtsmen and the public, which existed long before the invention of photography. Two-point perspective was mathematically developed as a means for accurately representing pictorial space during the Renaissance, the situation of architecture within the spatial representations of a map was used by European explorers in the sixteenth century, and the popularization of the Grand Tour in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasized the importance of architecture as landmarks of place and the situation of architecture within the landscape.⁶⁰⁹ The tensions between art and document are already revealing themselves through the history of an increasing desire for accurate representation and popular mediations of architecture in the landscape. When Hime encountered a familiar architectural subject during his journey, he photographed it as he had been trained to do. This is most notable in his photographs at Fort Pelly and Fort Garry in which the architectural structures are ones that conform to typical understandings of what a building should look like – churches, shops, farmhouses, dwellings [App. 1, Figs. 11-14, 17-27, 34-35, 45-48]. Twenty-one out of the forty-nine photographs that remain from the expedition meet this criterion. Out of these twenty-one photographs, only two were included as reproductions in Henry Youle Hind’s *Narrative*: the first titled *View of Red River, from St Andrew’s Church, four miles above the Stone Fort*, captioned “Red River From St. Andrew’s Church, four miles above the Stone Fort” in Hind’s publication [App. 1, Fig. 14]; and the second titled, *Dog Carioles; Expedition returning to Crow Wing, by Winter Road*, captioned “Dog Carioles” in Hind [App. 1,

⁶⁰⁹ For a history of strategies and conventions within architectural depiction both artistic and commercial see: Thomas Wells Schaller, *Architecture in Watercolour* (New York, N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990).

Fig. 48]. Why only these two? And, what is distinct about the photographs that Hind did chose to reproduce for his publication?

The churches and forts presented familiar structures, in a visually familiar manner, in a then unfamiliar landscape. However, they did not satisfy the thirst of the collective imagination for unfamiliar and adventuresome views of the Canadian interior. Consider for example, Hime's *Farm-houses and windmills, Middle Settlement. A vast expanse of level prairie lying to the west in the rear of the dwellings* [App. 1, Fig. 26]. Hind did not select this photograph for inclusion in his *Narrative*. However, in its descriptive capacities, it conveys a great deal about the Red River settlement area known as Middle Settlement. The organized tracts of farmland that stretch across the photograph and the orderly fences that contain them, the machinery in the bottom left corner, and the windmills and farmhouses that line the horizon clearly indicate the presence of settlement and of substantial agricultural development. The formal arrangement of the picture with a farmhouse nearly cut off on each side of the photograph and the bands of farmed land uninterrupted from edge to edge imply that this scene extends infinitely beyond the photograph's boundaries. The windmills, which, though in the distance, tower over the horizon line, signal the dominance of human presence and accomplishment on the land. In fact, the earliest windmill was built at the Red River settlement in 1826 by Mennonite settlers, countering the dominant understanding of the Canadian interior in this moment as untouched by European settlement.⁶¹⁰ It seems unusual that Hind would not choose to use this photograph to reinforce his discussion of the possibilities for agriculture in the prairies. Surely potential settlers and the Canadian government would understand such a photograph as representing the prairies as a place of agricultural promise and as a place in which territorial claim and order was already being

⁶¹⁰ Jake E. Peters, "Windmills in Early Manitoba Communities, 1876-1924," *Mennonite Historian* 12, no. 2 (June 1986): 1-3.

exerted. Instead, Hind chose to include *The Prairie looking west* [App. 1, Fig. 44], a photograph that contains nothing except the flat and expansive earth and sky, and a single human skull. Joan Schwartz suggests that this photograph can be seen as a reflection of political and cultural ideas about Canadian expansionism, and of changing attitudes toward the prairie – from a place that is hostile, arid, and empty to one that is understood as being safe, fertile, and suitable for settlement by proposing that it should be read beyond its subject: in an examination of context the photograph can be understood as both a “form of visual representation” and an “act of visual communication” in which meaning is both invested in it and generated by it.⁶¹¹ Indeed! But why then would Hind not choose to include *Farm-houses and windmills*? Does it not signal the change in attitude just as well, if not better than *The Prairie looking west*? My assertion is that the collective imagination desired photographs that were simultaneously reassuring and alarming – familiar and unfamiliar. *Farm-houses and windmills* was too safe and orderly to be appealing. It lacked the prospect of adventure.

In addition to serving as an informative and descriptive report, Hind’s *Narrative* provided a lively account of the expedition in its environmental hardships and in encounters with Indigenous peoples. It was widely circulated and praised in popular review for its adventuresome qualities. In it, the desire for plain description is served, along with the desire for thrilling stories of adventure. The photographs selected for inclusion in his *Narrative* mirror this. The subjects are unfamiliar ones: tepees, canoes, freighter boats, Indigenous gravesites, portraits of Indigenous figures, and, of course, the unfamiliar expanse of the empty prairie landscape. These are the subjects that captured the imagination of Canadians. Take, for example, *Dog Carioles; Expedition returning to Crow Wing, by Winter Road*. The photograph presents

⁶¹¹ Joan M. Schwartz, “More Than ‘Competent Description of an Intractably Empty Landscape’: A Strategy for Critical Engagement with Historical Photographs,” *Historical Geography* 31 (2003), 105.

architectural structures at three-quarter view, in their entirety, sitting in the very centre of the picture plane's horizontal and vertical axes, familiar visual strategies. The dog cariole, however, would likely have been unfamiliar to the citizens of the growing cities of central Canada.⁶¹²

Horetzky produced similar photographs. For example, *Dog train, Fort Garry* [App. 17, Fig. 194] and *Jasper House* [App. 17, Fig. 206], both images appearing in *Album 7* and the *Peace River Album*. These subjects not only offer a description of the practicalities of winter travel in the Canadian interior and west, but also offer up a subject exciting in its difference and unfamiliarity.

The visual strategies used by Hime are found in the photographs of Baltzly, Henderson, and Horetzky, though the direct link to topographical sketching as it exists in Hime through his career as draughtsman and his associations with Napier and Armstrong, does not. My research suggests that such visual strategies were by then firmly established in the greater collective understanding of how to read a descriptive image, be it sketch, watercolour, oil, or photograph. Taken twelve years after Hime's, the photographs produced by Baltzly on the 1871 GSC expedition demonstrate that photographers were not only continuing to follow the visual strategies found in topographical traditions of painting and sketching, but were consciously contributing to a re-conceptualization of the landscape in the climate of Canadian Confederation and expansion. Baltzly's journal proves that he was both knowledgeable of visual conventions, for example of the panorama, and clear in his understanding of his obligations to Selwyn and Notman. But what made his photographs so attractive to those that purchased them from the Notman picture books to include in private albums? Some future researcher may unearth

⁶¹² It was not until the 1870s that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police began to use dog teams, and not until the beginning of the twentieth century that dog sled races would be held for sport in both Canada and the United States among European settlers. See: Samuel G. Chapman, *Police Dogs in North America* (Springfield, Il.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1990); Bruce D. Heald, *A History of Dog Sledding in New England* (Charleston, S.C.: The history Press, 2011).

evidence of religious feelings in those customers; we know that Baltzly was frequently overwhelmed with such feelings when taking photographs that served Selwyn's descriptive needs. We are left with the striking beauty of his photographs, a coupling of the collective desire to both know and be moved with fear and awe by the landscape that made his photographs doubly appealing.

In Baltzly's photographs, the antithetical elements of art and document, description and feeling, intent and reception, and Picturesque and Romantic is precisely what made them interesting to consumers. Take for example his photograph of Hell's Gate. This photograph is found in two private albums discussed in this thesis: in the Eyre album at AO [App. 7, Fig. 72], and in the Rev. Henry E. Maddock album, also at AO [App. 7, Fig. 77].⁶¹³ Neither album is

⁶¹³ The titling of this photograph provides its own interesting mediation of place. The true geographic location of the subject in the photograph is along the Thompson River and is named Great Bluff. However, there is a location along the Fraser River called Hell's Gate where the river narrows between two sharp escarpments, which is not the location shown in the photograph. It is puzzling, then, why the photograph is titled "Hell's Gate." Tracing the various names ascribed to this photograph is revealing. The photograph is captioned "Hell's Gate, B.C." in both the Eyre and Maddock albums. The photograph in the McCord Museum collection is inscribed "Hell's Gate on the Thompson River." In the McCord database, the photograph is listed as "Hell's Gate on the Thompson River, B.C." In Baltzly's journal he indicates that he is along the Fraser River when he arrives at Hell's Gate and his descriptions appear to fit the photograph: "At some point the wagon road is cut in the sides of almost perpendicular rocks, the rocks projecting over the roads some 10 feet. About 50 feet above this is the old mule trail also cut along the ledge of the mountain." In his journal Baltzly does not describe any location named "Great Bluff." In the list of illustrations to *Ocean to Ocean*, George Monro Grant lists Plate 49 as "View near Hell's Gate Fraser River." The reproduction of the Frederick Dally photograph that is Plate 49, however, is captioned "The Great Bluff on the Thompson River." In his discussion of "Hell Gate" Grant is discussing a location which is on the Thompson River. Grant does not describe any location named "Great Bluff" in his *Ocean to Ocean*. In the LAC collection the Dally photograph is captioned "Cariboo Road along the Fraser River canyon" (Lady Dufferin album R4493-1-4-E, C-008077). In the British Columbia Archives the Dally photograph was initially inscribed "The great bluff at the 80 mile post, the Fraser River, B.C." however the archive notes in the descriptive database that "Dally's title is incorrect - this is actually on the Thompson River" (Frederick Dally fonds, A-00350). Baltzly, Grant, and Dally all seem to conflate the Fraser River and its tributary the Thompson River, perhaps still believing they were on the Fraser when in fact they were on the Thompson. This would explain why the photographed Hell's Gate is located on the Fraser River in some of the captions. That neither Baltzly nor Grant mentions a location named "Great Bluff" suggests that it is extremely likely that in their discussions of "Hell's Gate" they were referring to the photographed location on the Thompson River, and not to the location on the Fraser River. While the photograph may have been misnamed, the placement and function of the photograph in the Eyre and Maddock albums remains of central concern in the development of my argument on familiar and unfamiliar photographed subjects. Perhaps the name of "Hell's Gate," with its Christian connotations of danger, fear, and punishment, though geographically incorrect, accentuates the feelings of the unfamiliar and of unease that I argue such a photograph would have elicited from its viewer.

organized geographically, though both albums were assembled as mementos of a Canadian experience – Eyre’s mother’s travels and Maddock’s time in Canada before departing for the U.K. The photographs are grouped for their formal cohesiveness. The page in the Eyre Album on which Baltzly’s photograph of Hell’s Gate is found [App. 7, Fig. 72] includes five photographs that contain a feature which curves from the bottom right foreground up towards the left middle ground: a pathway, shoreline, or in Baltzly’s photograph, a cart trail. On the page containing Baltzly’s views of the Fraser River and the Thompson River [App. 7, Fig. 74], all five photographs share similar subjects and compositional strategies. In each photograph the respective body of water is framed by a diagonal line of land – cart trail, grassy knoll, dock, beach, treed wilderness – which cuts across either the bottom left or right corner of the picture plane. The effect is one in which viewers can imagine themselves standing within the scene. Such an effect is Romantic in compositional strategy, but the descriptive nature of the photograph along with the repetitive arrangement of the features of the landscape, be it pathway or shoreline, is Picturesque. This pictorial strategy is found in Henderson and Horetzky photographs as well. Because this album contains predominantly Notman and Henderson photographs, and the relationships between Baltzly, Notman, Henderson, and Horetzky has been demonstrated throughout the chapters, it is not unreasonable to assert that there was a shared stylistic approach amongst them which was influenced by both topographic sketching and the paintings of artists such as Otto Jacobi.

It is important to maintain the idea of familiar/unfamiliar subjects represented in a familiar visual strategy, which emerged with Hime’s photographs. The Eyre album presents both familiar and unfamiliar subjects side by side: the campus of University of Toronto, with its Gothic revival architecture a familiar sight even to visitors from Europe, is compositionally

arranged in the same manner as Baltzly's photograph of the Hell's Gate cart trail in British Columbia, which would have been known to only the few traders, explorers and settlers who made the journey into the Rocky Mountains. The thin cart trail along the rocky precipice appears dangerous in the photograph, a perception heightened by the shadows emphasizing the jagged cliff face as it drops steeply away from the trail, the precariously placed horse team, and the small gap in the rocks rising above that make it appear as though the trail narrows sharply and that boulders from above could come tumbling downward at any moment. Baltzly describes the treacherous pass thusly:

The most majestic and grand is what is known as Hells Gate. At some point the wagon road is cut in the sides of almost perpendicular rocks, the rocks projecting over the roads some 10 feet. About 50 feet above this is the old mule trail also cut along the ledge of the mountain. I went around and got up to it and found it to be only 5 feet inside. Along the dangerous path the mule train used to pull carrying 300 or 400 pounds each. If any of them should stumble, death awaited them as the perpendicular height from the Mule Trail to the rocks beneath is about 500 feet and above the rocks rises averaging a bleak to the enormous height of about 4000 feet. It is simply something fearful. Hells Gate seems to be the climax of boldness and grandeur. It is by far the most fearful rapids, on either side the rocks rise in regular blocks like a vast piece of masonry. Between this narrow chasm the water tumbles and tosses with a great roar.⁶¹⁴

The element of danger is reinforced by this description, and for Baltzly it is a danger that is no doubt mediated through his religious thoughts and feelings, sustained by words such as 'majestic' and 'grandeur.' The experience of Hell's Gate as something to be feared was not unique to Baltzly. In his *Ocean to Ocean* George Monro Grant describes Hell's Gate similarly:

The great point of danger is reached at 'Hell Gate.' A huge arch had once stretched across the present channel, and had been rifted asunder, leaving a passage for the river not more than thirty feet wide. The rock looked as if it had recently parted, a depression on the one side exactly fitting into an overhanging rock opposite, as if it were possible for a counter convulsion to groove and

⁶¹⁴ Benjamin F. Baltzly. *Letterbook, Baltzly's western trip with the Geological Survey, 1871-1872* (Saturday, 29 July 1871), 43-44.

tongue the two together again. Through this passage the river raged, and the whole force of the current ran under the overhanging black rock, so near its roof that at high water the river is forced back. From this point the Canyon continues for six or seven miles down, at one point the opposing rocks being only fifteen feet apart. The river there boils and spurts up as if ejected from beneath out of an hydraulic pipe.⁶¹⁵

The publication includes a photolithograph of Hell's Gate captioned "Plate 49. View Near Hell's Gate, Fraser River" [App.19, Fig. 287 (L)]. The photograph is nearly identical in location to the Baltzly photograph, though the vantage is much closer to the cart trail and thereby loses the sense of precariousness along the precipice and of the impossibly narrow trail. The plate serves to balance to his description of difficult and fearsome terrain. Between text and image, Grant holds together fear and safety, the unfamiliar and the familiar. In subject and composition, the Baltzly photograph does the same and reinforces the notion that the collective imagination desired photographs of the hardships and adventure of exploration, but that it also needed those depictions to conform to familiar pictorial modes.

A similar mediation between text and image occurs with Horetzky's photograph of a bridge over the Wotsonqua River [App. 17, Fig. 221 (TL)]. Horetzky does not mention the location in any of his writings, and while Fleming does reference the Wotsonqua River in several of his reports, he includes neither reproduction, nor mention of, the photograph. However, the photograph did find its way into the Immigration Branch Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement *Album 7*, and into Horetzky's *Peace River Album*. It also found its way into the photographic collection of the Marquis of Lorne (1845-1914), the fourth Governor General of Canada, a supporter of both arts and science through his involvement in the founding of the

⁶¹⁵ George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872, Being a Diary Kept During a Journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the Expedition of the Engineer-in-Chief of the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son, 1873), 277-278.

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and of the Royal Society of Canada, respectively.⁶¹⁶ In 1885 the Marquis of Lorne published a work titled *Canadian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil*, which contains an engraved reproduction of Horetzky's photograph of the bridge over the Wotsonqua River [App. 17, Fig. 221 (TR)]. Accompanying the photograph is the following text:

Who would have thought that one of the latest inventions of civil engineering is an old Chinook idea? We have seen that the "aesthete's" dado in house decoration is the ancient adornment of a Blackfoot's lodge; but ought not our respect for the Pacific slope aboriginal to increase when we find that he had suspension bridges long before such viaducts were known in Europe? The illustration of such a bridge is taken from a photograph, and therefore may be trusted. In this case the supports on each side of the chasm to be crossed are big firs, and from these depends the rest of the structure.⁶¹⁷

The unfamiliar becomes the familiar through the text, which suggests that Indigenous bridge-building technology is as old and advanced as European. The author implies that as the engraving is derived from a photograph such a statement, in addition to the image, should be taken as fact. This conflicts with the visual image of the bridge, which as a physical structure, and as it is photographed, is precariously perched between two cliffs. Its wavy undulation and unbalanced construction furthers the connotation of precariousness. The danger is again amplified by the icy conditions of the waters below and of the bridge itself. The haze of the snow in the air situates the bridge in an unknowable landscape, in part unknowable because it is in the wilderness of the British Columbian north, but also unknowable because it is visually obscured. In the engraved reproduction the haze has been eliminated and branches have been added to the foreground to the effect that they echo the natural origins of the bridge's

⁶¹⁶ P. B. Waite, "Campbell, John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland, Marquess of Lorne and 9th Duke of Argyll," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. University of Toronto and Université Laval, 2003. Accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/campbell_john_george_edward_henry_douglas_sutherland_14E.html

⁶¹⁷ Marquis of Lorne, *Canadian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London, U.K.: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), 204-205

construction placing it into a harmony with its surroundings. Knowledge of engineering and safety concerns are mediated and moderated by the image.

It is interesting to note that this was not the only photograph of the bridge over the Wotsonqua River made by Horetzky. There is another photograph made on the same day, December 28, 1872, from a different vantage [App. 17, Fig. 221 (B)]. This photograph was not included in *Album 7* or in the *Peace River Album*, and was not selected by the Marquis of Lorne for his publication. It is instead found as part of the Sandford Fleming fonds at LAC, listed in the descriptive database as an item unattached to a specific album.⁶¹⁸ The vantage point of this version is significantly further away from the bridge, revealing that it is not only much lower to the ground than it appears in the other photograph, but that it sits along side a row of cabins. In this version, the isolation of the bridge as a nostalgic and Romantic feature of a perceived to be vanishing yet noble Indigenous population, and at once embedded in and constructed from the landscape, is lost. Compared to the first, and widely circulated version, it frames the bridge as a functional structure in an established settlement. The inclusion of the cabins provides the viewer with scale and perspective. Together, both photographs work to inform the viewer of the bridge's location, size, and construction. However, only the version with the close vantage has been used in official descriptive albums, such as *Album 7*, or in popular publication, such as *Canadian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil*. As a singular photograph, it holds a balance of description and Romantic feeling, though privileging neither. One may deduce that this is the reason that the version containing the closer vantage was more widely circulated: it satisfied the collective desire for fact and feeling.

⁶¹⁸ I note that the photograph is unattached simply to indicate that it is not currently understood to be part of a specific album or collection. If it were, the image could take on an additional reading based on its context.

This is similar to how Henderson's photographs of Bic River function – the balancing of familiar and unfamiliar. Two photographs exist of the bridge at Bic River: the first which was reproduced by Fleming in his publication *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* [App. 11, Fig. 99] and reproduced again in the *Canadian Illustrated News* as part of a twenty-one image spread [App. 13, Fig. 135]; and, as a cropped and horizontally flipped photograph as part of the Sandford Fleming fonds at LAC, listed in the descriptive database as an item unattached to a specific album [App. 11, Fig. 100]. The first version of the photograph was used to capture the engineering feat of a bridge over a high crossing within a single frame, and in the second, cropped version the framing is used to create an entirely different type of scene of delicate and seemingly untouched nature. It was Henderson's decision to crop the photograph in this way, and one can understand this desire for compositional balance as influenced by Herman Vogel and Henry Clay Price. However, this version of the photograph was not the one circulated. While compositionally adept in following the prescribed pictorial conventions of his European counterparts, the cropped photograph did not have connotations of progress or untamed nature that satisfied the collective imagination of nineteenth-century Canadians.

The notion of familiar pictorial modes is hinged on understandings of the Picturesque and Romantic as they have been applied by Canadian art historians such as Dennis Reid and Ann Thomas. In the introduction I explain that the Picturesque is commonly ascribed to the military topographers of eighteenth-century British North America, a group Reid refers to as “garrison artists,” but by the nineteenth-century art historians have set aside the Picturesque in painting in favour of the Romantic where the intersection of awe and apprehension, the prospect of nationhood, and a land so striking that no further embellishment is needed to reach the Sublime. As an alternative to an art history that separates the Picturesque and the Romantic, my research

has shown that the survey photograph contains both. It is a mediator of antithetical ideas, revealing the co-existence of the Picturesque and of the Romantic in the minds of makers and consumers. Through the photograph, the pictorial conventions of the Picturesque, inherently descriptive in its connection to the topographic, and those of the Romantic, which sought to capture the experience of their maker and elicit feeling from their viewer, both nourish the collective imagination around Canadian expansionism and nationhood. This mode of thought not only accommodates both the artistic and the documentary, it requires it, and makes room for other forms of imaginative experience. These we have seen through the close study of each photographer – adventure, religion, and nationalism.

So what were the pictorial conventions or modes that made for a successful photograph? The answer cannot be summarized in a checklist of features, for it is filled with tensions both formal and conceptual. As mediated landscapes, the photographs are opened up to popular ideas of adventure (Hime), religion (Baltzly), commodity (Notman), and complicate any understanding of the photographs as being purely artistic (Henderson) or documentary (Horetzky). The single example of Hell's Gate, shows that Baltzly, Eyre, Maddock, Notman, and Grant all exerted a distinct type of agency or experience over a singular geographic location, thereby mediating that land into landscape through the photograph. Photographers understood the potential of the photograph to appeal to divergent readings. Baltzly, Henderson, and Horetzky were acutely aware of the needs – or demands – of those commissioning and employing them. This, however, did not stop each photographer from bringing their own training and sensibilities to the photographs, nor did it choke off new meanings in their subsequent circulation. While each set of photographs emerged from a particular context, what made them both useful and appealing, and what determined their popular circulation, was a combination of antithetical ideas held in balance

– untamed nature understandable only through God or science; tamed nature obtained by adventure, and inventoried and communicated by photography; and pictorial convention in the repoussoir, the balance of elements, the passageway, and the figure. The photograph becomes a meeting place for these antithetical elements – it brings them together in nuanced mediation.

I came to this study of topographical photographs unable to reconcile how photographs that are so visually striking, beautiful in their qualities of light and form, could have been made and used as scientific documents, a problem that was, for me, compounded by the reluctance of archive and gallery to acknowledge the other side of the coin. But it was precisely in that tension that I found the answer. The two patterns of thought that have held topographic photographs as either art or document at the expense of the other, should be replaced by a third that understands the photographs as both mediated and mediating in their ability to bridge and accommodate a nexus of antithetical readings – maker and viewer, authorial intent and collective imagination, art and document, subjective and objective, land and landscape. It is not just a matter of acknowledging that a photograph could be understood as descriptive document by one user and imagined as a symbol of Canadian expansionism by another, or taken as a scene of awe and majesty by a third. The nature of the topographic photograph, produced in the context of science and technology, reflective of the training and sentiments of the photographer, and responsive to the collective imaginary, makes it the perfect subject for this type of examination. But this is not to say that all illustrative photographs and other representational media are less suited to these same considerations.

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Inventory of the forty-nine existing and known photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime during the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. In this appendix the complete Hime collection at the McCord Museum, thirty-two photographs in total, is supplemented with the images as reproduced in Richard Huyda's *Camera in the Interior*. Figures are presented in the same order as in *Camera in the Interior*. Also included are images as they have been reproduced in *The Illustrated London News* and in Henry Youle Hind's *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857*.

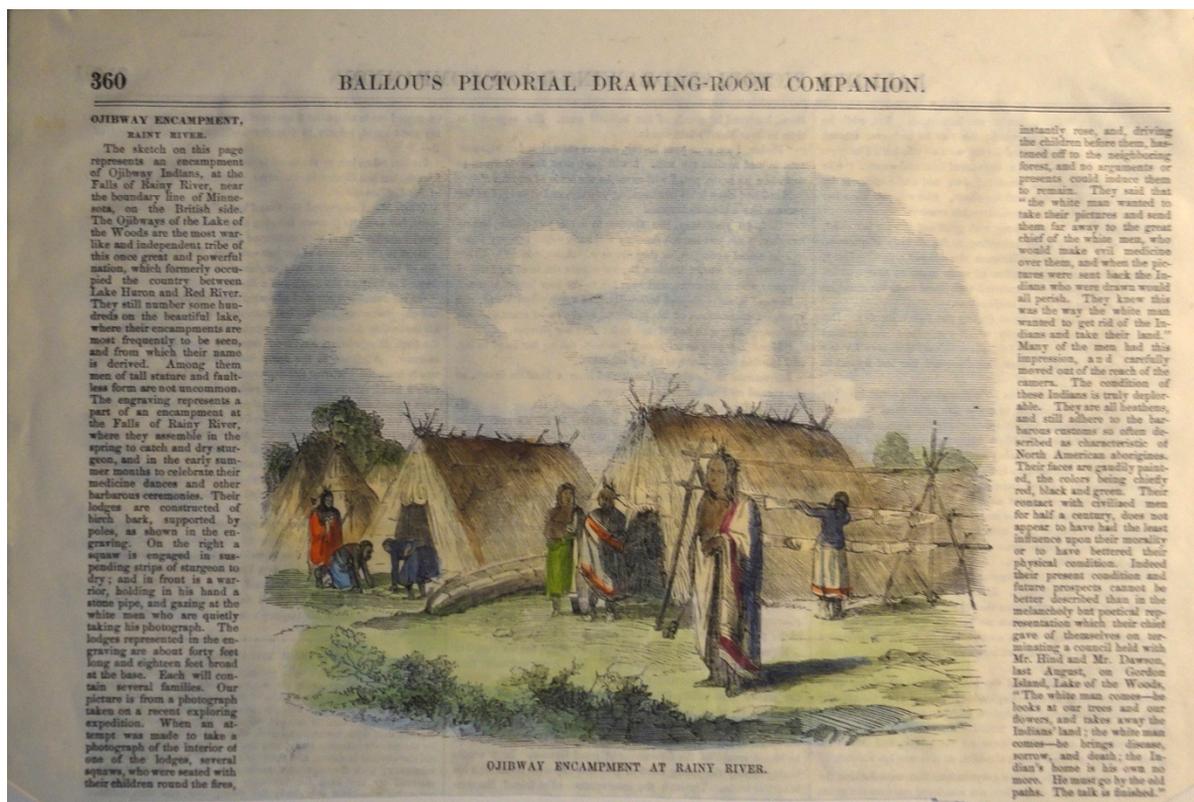


Figure 1. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Ojibway Encampment at Rainy River," *The Illustrated London News* 33, no. 941 (16 October 1858): 366. Hime Collection, MP1453, McCord. Also titled *Ojibway Encampment near the Falls of the Rainy River, May 24, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 2.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime



Figure 2. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Ojibways at Fort Frances, May 24, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 1.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Ojibways at Fort Frances, Rainy River." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 83.



Figure 3. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Encampment on the Red River, Members of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, June 1, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 3.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime



Figure 4. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Making a portage. Voyageurs and canoe men of the Expedition, June 2, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 4. **(R)** Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Portaging a Canoe and Baggage," *The Illustrated London News* 33, no. 941 (16 October 1858), 366.



Figure 5. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Valley of the Souris, July 3, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 5. **(R)** Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Valley of the Souris." Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind (attrib.), *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 293. It is possible that the reproduction in *Narrative* has been horizontally flipped; it is also possible that it is a reproduction of a sketch by John Fleming. The "List of Illustrations" does not specify.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime

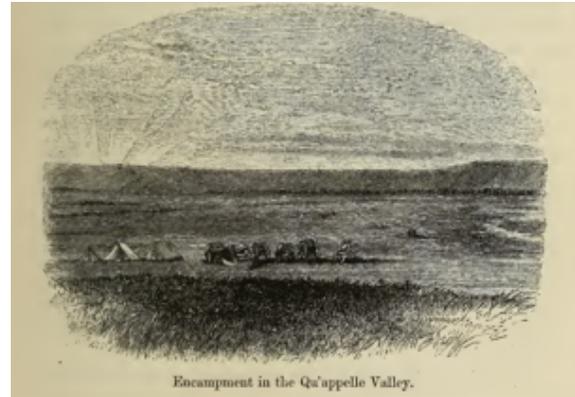
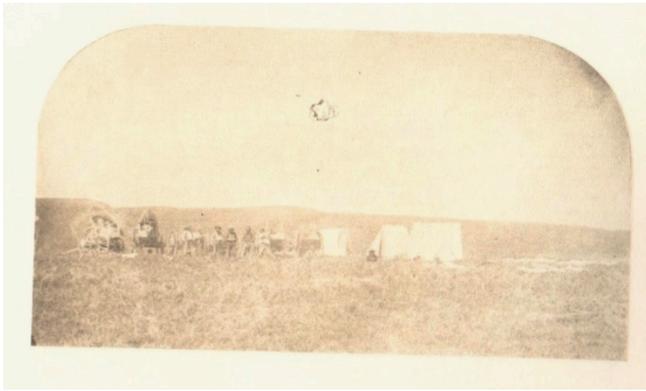


Figure 6. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Encampment – Little Souris, July 3, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 6.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime (attrib.), “Encampment in the Qu’appele Valley.” Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 323.

It is possible that the reproduction in *Narrative* has been horizontally flipped; it is also possible that it is a reproduction of a sketch by John Fleming. The “List of Illustrations” does not specify.



Figure 7. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fort Ellice – Beaver Creek, July 11, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 7.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, “Fort Ellice, Beaver Creek.” Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 310.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime

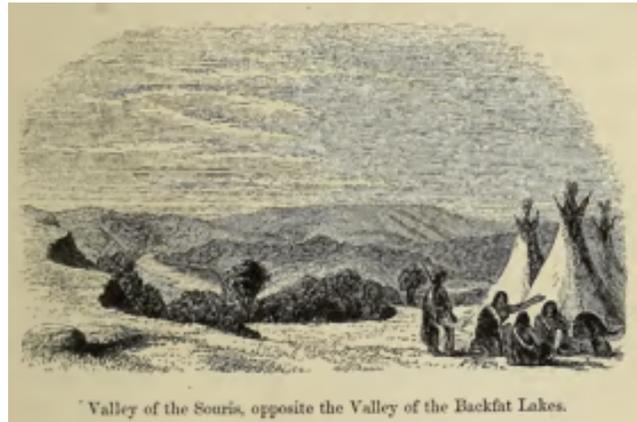
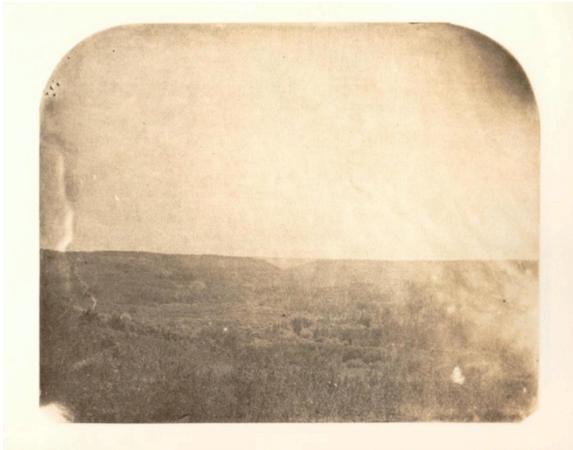


Figure 8. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Valley of the Calling River (Qu'Appelle Valley)*, July 18, 1858. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 8.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Valley of the Souris, opposite the Valley of the Backfat Lake." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 291.

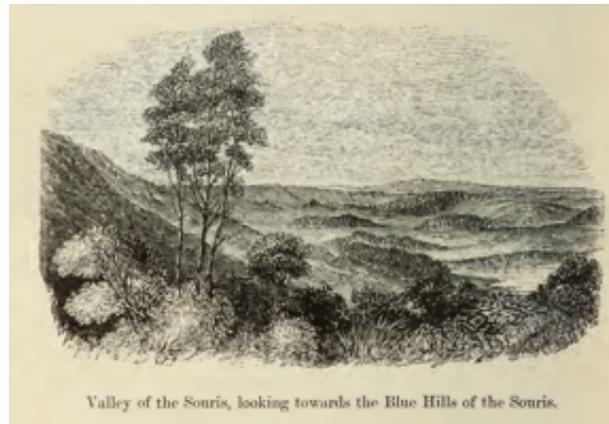


Figure 9. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *View of a valley (probably Qu'Appelle Valley)*, July 18, 1858. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 9.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Valley of the Souris, looking towards the Blue Hills of the Souris." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 290.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime

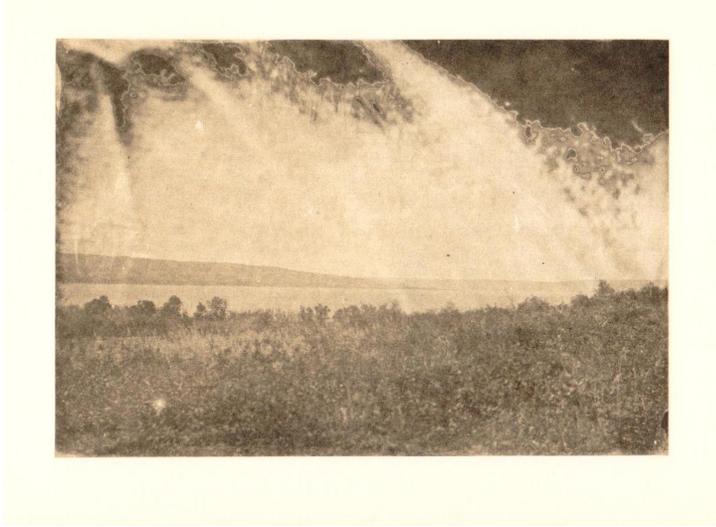


Figure 10. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Qu'Appelle Lakes*, July 18, 1858. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 10.



Figure 11. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fort Pelly*, July 27-August 3, 1858. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 11.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime



Figure 12. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fort Pelly, July 27-August 3, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 12.



Figure 13. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *View of Red River from Stone Fort*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24885.5, McCord.

Also titled *View of Red River, from the Stone Fort, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 13.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime



Figure 14. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *View of Red River, from St Andrew's Church, four miles above the Stone Fort, September-October, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 14. Also titled *View of Red River from St. Andrew's Church four miles above the Stone Fort*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453.2, McCord.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Red River From St. Andrew's Church, four miles above the Stone Fort." Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 128.



Figure 15. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Red River; Middle Settlement, 8 miles below Fort Garry*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453.3, McCord.

Also titled *Red River; Middle Settlement, eight miles below Fort Garry, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 15.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime

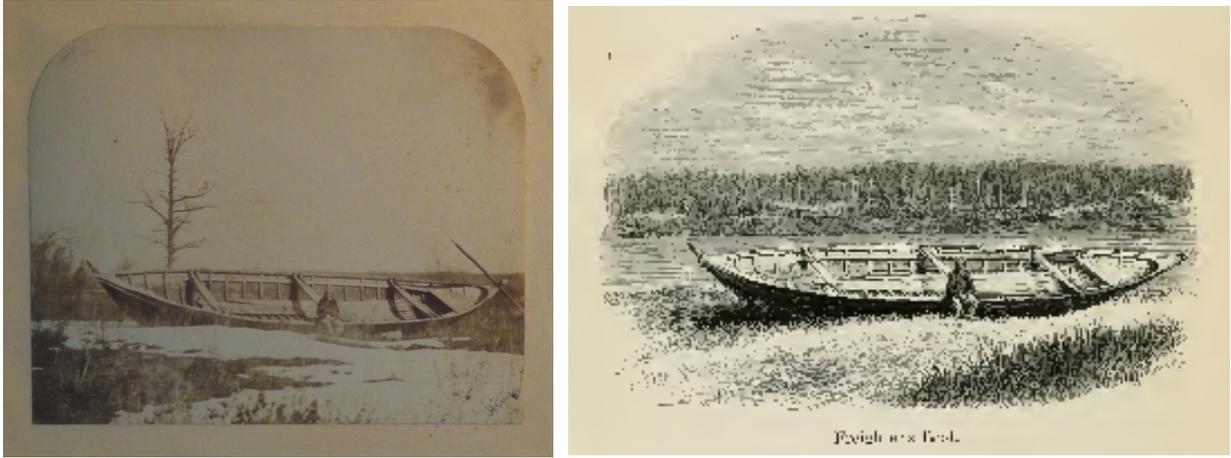


Figure 16. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Red River Freighter's Boat*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.32, McCord.

Also titled *Freighter's Boat on the banks of Red River, seven miles below Fort Garry, (the white patch in the foreground is snow), September- October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 16.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Freighter's Boat." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 4.



Figure 17. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Bishop's Court (the residence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land) on the banks of Red River, September-October, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 17.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime

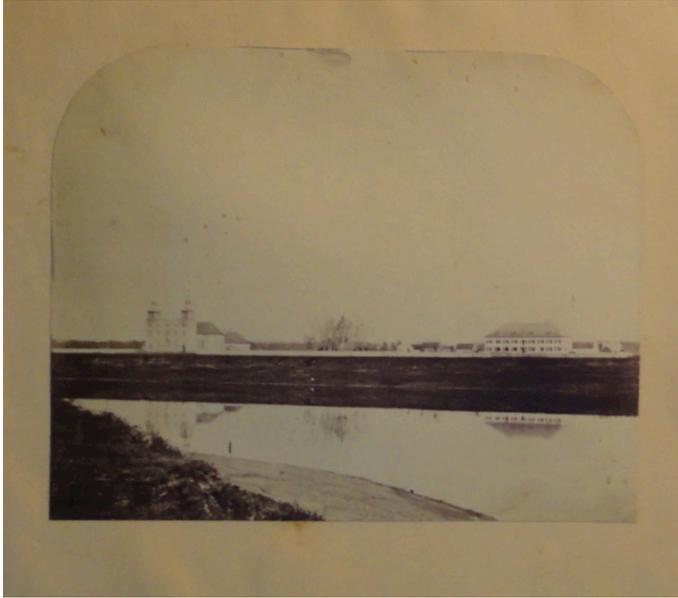


Figure 18. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *The Roman Catholic Church of St Boniface*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.6, McCord.

Also titled *Cathedral of St Boniface (Roman Catholic) and Nunnery, on the banks of Red River, opposite Fort Garry, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 18.



Figure 19. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *St. John's Church*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.7, McCord.

Also titled *St John's Church, two miles below Fort Garry (Church of England), September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 19.

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Figure 20. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *The Presbyterian Church and Manse*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.8, McCord.

Also titled *Presbyterian Church and Parsonage, seven miles below Fort Garry, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 20.



Figure 21. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *St. Paul's Church*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.9, McCord.

Also titled *St Paul's Church, Parsonage, and School House, eight and a half miles below Fort Garry (Church of England), September – October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 21.

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Figure 22. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *St. Andrew's Church*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.10, McCord. Also titled *St Andrew's Church (Rapids Church), sixteen miles below Fort Garry (Church of England), September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 22.



Figure 23. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *The Parsonage of St. Andrews Church is in every respect fitted for the severities of the winter climate of the country. It was built by the Church Missionary Society at a cost of £700. O. O. in the 1852 and during the same year the people built the new school house at a cost of £120*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.11, McCord. Also titled *St Andrew's Parsonage, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 23.

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Figure 24. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Residence of Mr. Ballantyne, near Fort Garry*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/M24588.13, McCord.

Also titled *Residence of Mr. Bannatyne, a general trader near Fort Garry, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 24.



Figure 25. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *McDermot's Store, near Fort Garry*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.14, McCord.

Also titled *Mr. McDermot's Store, near Fort Garry. One of the first houses erected at Red River, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 25.

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Figure 26. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Farm-houses and windmills, Middle Settlement*. A vast expanse of level prairie lying to the west in the rear of the dwellings, September-October, 1858. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 26.



Figure 27. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Mr. Inkster's House and Farm buildings*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.16, McCord.

Also titled *Mr Hingster's (Inkster) house and farm buildings, September- October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 27.

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Figure 28. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Birch Bark Tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.19, McCord. Also titled *Ojibway tents on the banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 28.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Birch-bark Tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 200.



Figure 29. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Birch Bark Tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.17, McCord. Also titled *Birch-bark tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 29.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Ojibway tents on the banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 202.

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Figure 30. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Indian graves covered with split sticks*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.7, McCord.

Also titled *Indian graves, covered with split sticks. An enemy's scalp is usually suspended from the thin poles overhanging the grave, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 30.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Indian Graves covered with Split Sticks." Woodcut. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 164.



Figure 31. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Indian graves, covered with birch bark (the patch of white in the foreground is snow), September-October, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 31.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Indian Graves." Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 166.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime

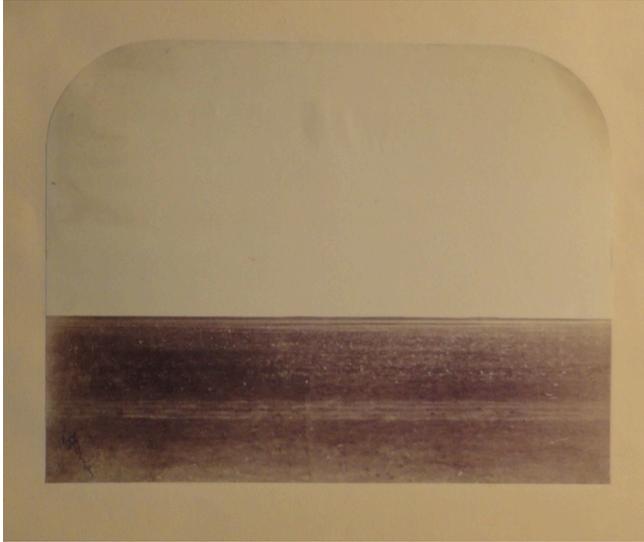


Figure 32. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *The Prairie on the Banks of the Red River Looking South*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.23, McCord. The McCord has this photograph titled *The Prairie looking west* which is the incorrect title as confirmed by Huyda (1975), Schwartz (2003) and LAC. Also titled *The Prairie, on the banks of Red River, looking south, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 32.



Figure 33. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fort Garry; at the confluence of Red River and the Assiniboine, September-October, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 33.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime (attrib.), “Fort Garry.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 83.

It is possible that the reproduction in *Narrative* has been horizontally flipped, it is also possible that it is a reproduction of a sketch by John Fleming. The “List of Illustrations” does not specify.

APPENDIX 1: Inventory of photographs made by Humphrey Lloyd Hime



Figure 34. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Hudson's Bay Company's Officer's, Quarters, Lower or Stone Fort*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.25, McCord.
Also titled *Hon. Hudson's Bay Company's Officers' quarters: Lower or Stone Fort, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 34.



Figure 35. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fur Store, Interior of Lower or Stone Fort*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.26, McCord.
Also titled *Fur Store: interior of Lower or Stone Fort, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 35.



Figure 36. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *John McKay, Mr. Hind's Guide, a Cree Half-breed*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 17 x 13 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/M24588.27, McCord.

Also titled *John McKay; a Plain-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1885*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 36.



Figure 37. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Letitia, a Cree Half-breed*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.28, McCord.

Also titled *Letitia: a Plain-Cree half-breed, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 37.

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Figure 38. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Susan, a Swampy Half-breed*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 17 x 13 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.29, McCord.

Also titled *Jane L'Adamar* (sometimes captioned '*Susan: a Swampy-Cree half-breed*'). In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 38.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Susan, a Swampy Half-breed." Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 27.

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Figure 39. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Wigwam – an ojibway half-breed*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 17 x 13 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.30, McCord.

Also titled *Wigwam: an Ojibway half-breed, Lake Superior, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 39. **(R)** Humphrey Lloyd Hime, ““Wigwam,” an Ojibway Half-breed.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 52.

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Figure 40. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Chippewa Squaw. Papoose*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 17 x 13 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.31, McCord.

Also titled *An Ojibway Squaw with Papoose, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 40.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "An Ojibway Squaw, with Papoose." Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), frontispiece.

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Figure 41. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *A Blackfoot Warrior's Robe, containing a history of his wars, and buffalo hunts, and showing the number of scalps he has taken from his enemies*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 17 x 13 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588, McCord.

Also titled *A Blackfoot Warrior's Robe, containing a history of his wars, and buffalo hunts, and showing the number of scalps he has taken from his enemies, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 41.



Figure 42. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Tents on the Prairie, west of the Settlement*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.18, McCord.

Also titled *Tents on the prairie, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 42.

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Figure 43. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Freighter's boat on the banks of Red River 7 miles below Fort Garry*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.4, McCord.

Also titled *Red River Freighter's boat, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 43.



Figure 44. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *The Prairie looking west*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.22, McCord. The McCord has this photograph titled *The Prairie on the Banks of the Red River Looking South* which is the incorrect title as confirmed by Huyda (1975), Schwartz (2003) and *The Canadian Illustrated News*.

Also titled *The Prairie looking west, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 44.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "The Prairie Looking West." Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 135.

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Figure 45. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Residence of the Chief Factor (Mr. Bird) Middle Settlement*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.12, McCord.

Also titled *Residence of Chief Factor (the late Mr. Bird), September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 45.



Figure 46. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Quarters of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, Middle Settlement*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.15, McCord.

Also titled *Quarters of the Expedition at Red River, September-October, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 46.

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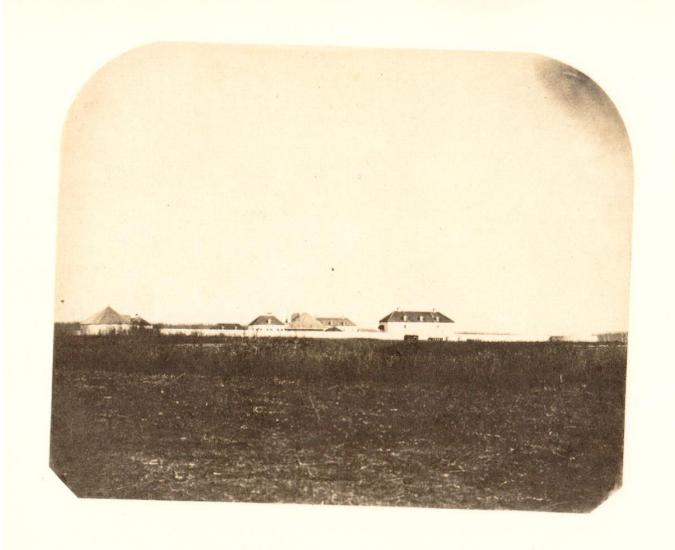


Figure 47. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Stone Fort, Lower Fort Garry, September-October, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 47.



Figure 48. (L) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Dog Carioles; Expedition returning to Crow Wing, by Winter Road*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 13 x 17 cm. Hime Collection, MP1453/ M24588.33, McCord.

Also titled *Dog Carioles; part of the Expedition returning to Crow Wing, by the winter road, Tuesday, November 30, 1858*. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 48.

(R) Humphrey Lloyd Hime, "Dog Carioles. Woodcut." In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 86.

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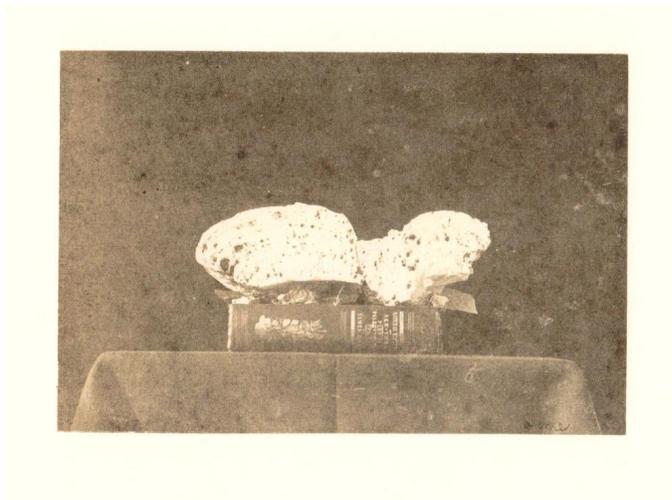


Figure 49. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *Fossil resting on book entitled Natural History of New York, September-November, 1858*. Micrograin duotone offset reproduction of original photograph. In Richard Huyda, *Camera in the Interior* (Toronto, Ont.: The Coach House Press, 1975), Plate 49.

Supplemental Images to Chapter One: Humphrey Lloyd Hime.



Figure 50. William Armstrong, *Numbering the Indians, Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island (Ontario), 16 August 1856*. Watercolour, 24.7 x 35.6 cm. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana, JRR 2422 Cab IV, TPL.



Figure 51. William Armstrong, *The numbering of the Indians at Wequamikoong, lake Huron by Captain Ironsides, Indian superintendent and Francis Assikinach, chief of 24 tribes Aug. 16th 1856*. Watercolour, 69.5 x 53.2 cm. William Armstrong fonds, C333-0-0-5, AO.



Figure 52. Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *View of Grand Trunk Railway engines including station buildings and people*. 1858-1860. Positive paper silver salt paper, 21.8 x 34.2 cm. Thomas Evans Blackwell album, p. 165. PA-205566, LAC.



Figure 53. Armstrong, Beere & Hime, *Bank of British North America: north-east corner of Wellington and Yonge streets*. 1856. Positive paper silver salt paper, 23 x 29 cm. Armstrong, Beere and Hime fonds, Fonds 1498, Item 3, CTA.



Figure 54. Paul Kane, “Portrait of a Half-Breed Cree Girl.” In Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America: From Canada to Vancouver Island and Oregon through the Hudson’s Bay Company Territory and Back Again* (London, U.K.: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859), frontispiece. FC 3205.1 K16 1859, A.C. Rutherford Collection, University of Alberta.



Figure 55. John Fleming, “Beginning of Great Dog Portage.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 40.

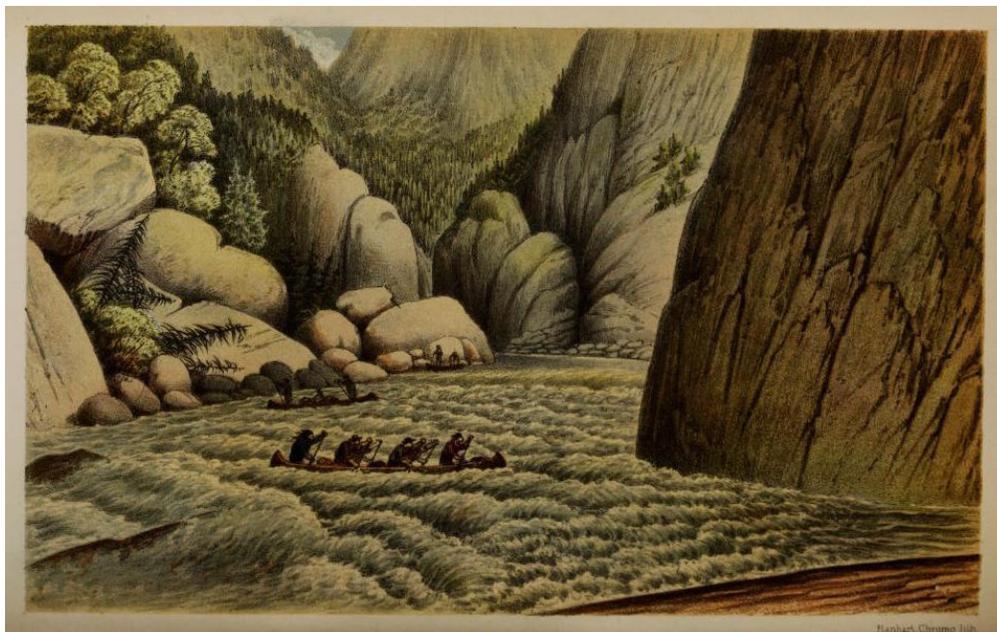


Figure 56. William Hind, “An Escape at Fourth Rapid.” Chromo-lithograph printed by Hanhart Chromolith. In Henry Youle Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula: The Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1863), 289.

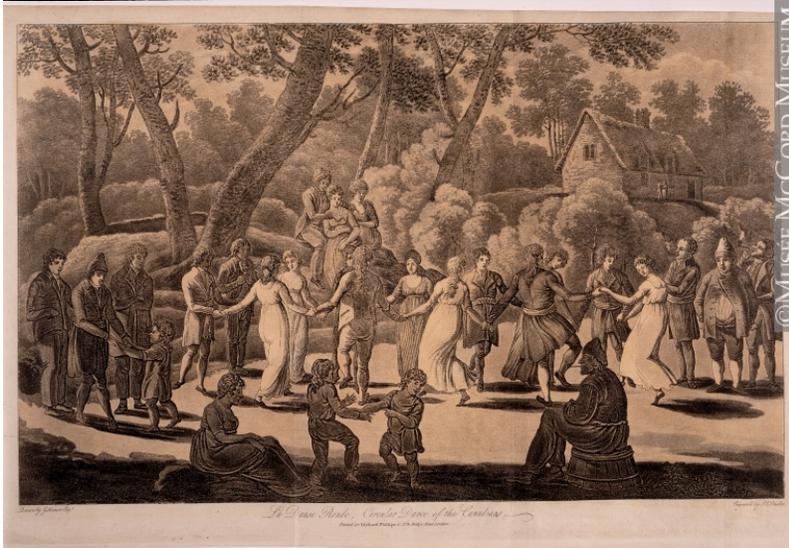


Figure 57. George Heriot, *La Danse Ronde, Circular Dance of the Canadians*. 1807. Print, 40.3 x 26 cm. M999.27.24, McCord.



Figure 58. John Fleming, ““The Fox.” – Chief of the plain Crees.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 2 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 126.

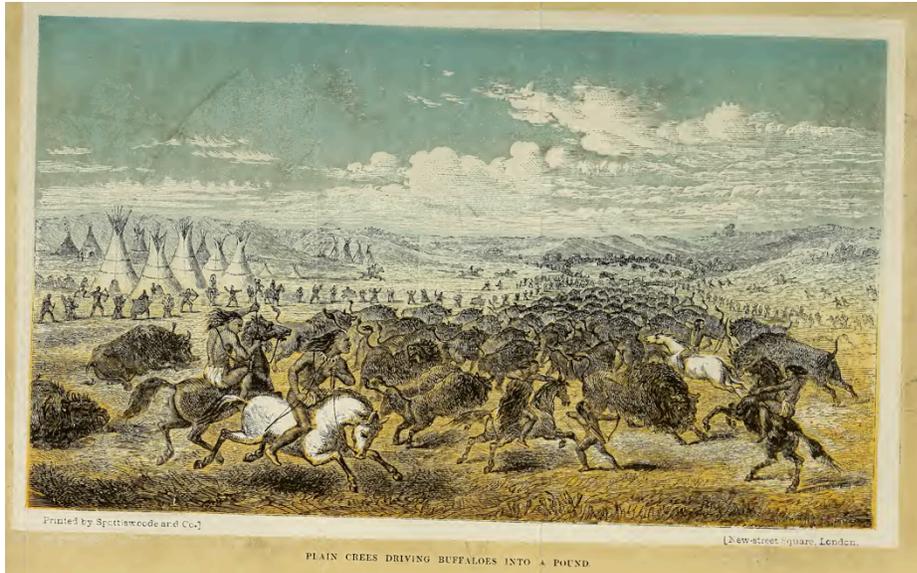


Figure 59. John Fleming, “Plain Crees Driving Buffaloes into a Pound.” Chromoxylograph printed by Spottiswoode and Co. In Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol. 1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 358.



Figure 60. Paul Kane, *Mau-Za-Pau-Kan*. 1845. Oil on paper, 31.3 x 22.9 cm. No. 6457, NGC.



Figure 61. Paul Kane, *Flat Head Woman and Child, Caw-wacham, Cowlitz*. c. 1849-1852. Oil on canvas, 75.9 x 63.4 cm. ROM.

APPENDIX 3

Transcribed diary of Humphrey Lloyd Hime. Humphrey Lloyd Hime Fonds, R3859-0-X-E, LAC. Current place names are provided in addition to province or state. Names of HBC employees obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in the Archives of Manitoba. Other names are as found in Henry Youle Hind's *Narrative*. Definitions of period terminology also explained where able. Page numbers of original diary indicated in brackets.

(1) April 29th 1858

Left Toronto at 1 O.C. P.M. with 14 Indians and about 3½ tons baggage provisions etc. arrived at Windsor [Ontario] at 12 O.C. A.M. Thunder storm in evening.

April 30th

About ½ past 3 left Windsor in steamer Illinois, got through Sinclair Flats [along the St. Clair River that connects Lake St. Clair at Windsor to Lake Huron] before dark, passengers all men except about 4 female cabin passengers. One of them an old woman wearing enormous spectacles, and on the whole bearing a remarkable similarity to a boiled owl. Fresh breeze most of the women and a few of the men feeding the fish. In the evening the Captain (2) tied to get up a bale. Three niggers acting as orchestra, one of the bawling out in a stentorian voice and mutilated language, the figures of the quadrille, and hearing but not seeing them one would imagine that a trip of cavalry were being put through their drill: I was rather alarmed at one order of "Ladies grand change!" and looked on mouth and eyes wide open expecting a complete transmogrification and that the ladies would turn inside out like umbrellas in a storm, but happily nothing extraordinary took place, notwithstanding the exceptions of the Captain and the niggers, the ball rolled heavily and stopped altogether about 9 O.C.

(3) May 1st

Fine day. Nothing worthy of note took place except that one of our Indians on leaving the room after dinner commenced brushing his hair diligently before a larger pier glass with the crumb brush to the intense horror and amazement of the waiters. I heard at the bar one of our passengers renting an imitation opal broach to be worn all next day for the sum of ½ a dollar. In the evening a boat put off from shore was stopped and delivered the steamer of 2 or 3 boxes, 1 man, two squally female children with their mother and the Boiled owl.

(4) May 2nd

At ½ past 9 O.C. A.M. arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie [Ontario], saw large flocks of duck, although Sunday remained over two hours at the wharf discharging cargo, got our canoes aboard two new ones and one old. After going through the docks got into lake Superior. Snow and ice along the edges of the lake. Sharp air and hot sun.

May 3rd

APPENDIX 3: Transcribed diary of Humphrey Lloyd Hime

Still steaming away, glorious fine day, in evening arrived at Copper Harbour [Michigan], difficult place to get out of especially in the dark, saw splendid specimens of almost pure copper on wharf. Left about 9 O.C. P.M.

(5) May 4th

In morning arrived at Ontonagon [Michigan] at 8.30 A.M. the largest place we have come to yet. Saw several immense lumps of copper from the mines, one marked over 800lbs. Stopped about 3 hours discharging cargo. Rainy cold day. Fine evening. Stopped at La Point one of the Apostles [Apostle Islands, Wisconsin]. Remained till ten O.C. P.M.

May 5th

Splendid morning. About 9 O.C. A.M. cast anchor in Grand Portage Bay [Minnesota], got baggage ashore in boats and canoes. Took observation with wet bulb. Repaired canoes etc. etc.

(6) May 6th

Hired two more men. Commenced portaging. Splendid day.

May 7th

Hired two more men. Continued portaging, moved camp over half way, road very bad and wet patches of ice and snow. Drizzling rain. Got about 3 miles to Poplar Brook.

May 8th

Warm still morning. Hired another man who followed us. Struck tents and proceeded on our way about 9. O.C. A.M Got as far as Meadow Brook and camped.

May 9th

All through Sunday continued portaging. Frost last night and snow showers almost all day.

(7) May 10th

Frost last night, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch of ice on water this morning. Struck tents at 7.20 A.M. and proceeded on our way. Found road much improved by frost. About 4 O.C. P.M. arrived at Pigeon River [forms the boarder between Minnesota and Ontario] with baggage pretty safe all heartily glad at having got over the Grand Portage which we found a bad road very wet and muddy over poor rocky land timbered with Balsam and Spruce. One or two of the men had their shoulders badly skinned with the canoes. Bright sunny day.

May 11th

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Started about 8 O.C. A.M. M. H_d and F_g [Messrs. Henry Yule Hind and John Fleming] in one canoe, D_n [James Austen Dickinson] and myself being each in one of the others. After proceeding about 1½ miles up the river we came to Partridge Portage (8) 445 yds. long. There are very fine falls here about 80 or 100 ft. high. During the day we made two half portages of about ¼ mile each and at 5 O.C. P.M. we came to Fowl Portage and camped. River so far very uninteresting. Splendid day.

May 12

Blowing a gale from west. Very cold. Carried baggage across portage to lower Fowl Lake [South Fowl Lake]. Found winds too high to cross at the N.E. end of lake. Cliff rising almost perpendicular about 600 feet At 4½ O.C. P.M. wind moderating crossed lake and after passing through short narrow channel came into upper Fowl Lake [North Fowl Lake] where we found an encampment of Indians and tried to get one but would not. In going up river got hole made in bottom (9) of my canoe by stone. Luckily near Moose Portage, got all things out safe onshore and mended canoe. Crossed over portage and camped on Moose Lake which we found apparently fall of ice. Fine evening, but cold.

May 13th

Froze last night, nearly half an inch of new ice on water. Walked towards upper end of lake, found it clear of ice. Got back to camp, thermometer standing at 80 in the tent. At 12½ O.C. got canoes in water and started. After breaking through about ½ a mile of ice got into clear water and proceeded to head of lake. On our way met the chief of the Indians camped below. He refused to let us have any of his men. On the shores of lake found some pine (chiefly yellow) the first we have seen. We now come (10) to great Cherry Portage after crossing which we came to a small shallow muddy lake then to Small Cherry Portage [possibly Fan Lake] into another lake similar to last. Then on to Mud Portage in the middle of which we camped at 6 O.C. P.M. Fine warm day.

May 14th

Started this morning at 8:00 AM at Mountain Lake. Hard blow from West. Crossed Watab Portage into the lake of the same name [Watab Lake]. After getting over which camped on great New Portage ¼7 O.C. P.M. The scenery on these two lakes is very wild and bold with high rocky cliffs. Rain, sleet and heavy gale all day.

(11) May 15th

Struck tents at 6 O.C. A.M. and finished portaging. Showers of hail and wind from W.N.N. blowing hard. Crossed Rose Lake then portage of a few yards into Mud Lake, then portage of about ¼ mile into the last lake which empties itself into Lake Superior, thence having crossed the height of land portage, we camped at ¼ to 8 O.C. P.M. on the shore of the first lake the waters of which flow westward. At 12 O.C. today weather cleared up and we had a fine afternoon.

May 16th Sunday

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Awfully cold morning. $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch of ice. Struck tents and were off at 7 O.C. A.M. Went through Gunflint Lake. Crossed Little Rock portage, Mill Fall portage (12) and two others one of which we ran. We afterwards passed through a great many small lakes connected by small rivers and rapids leading into Seiganagah Lake [Saganaga Lake]. Some of these small lakes appear very deep. Shores granite rock. Camped at 7.30 P.M. Fine day but showing signs of wet morrow. Today I found a wild violet in blossom on Rock Pg [portage]. It is the first spring flower I have seen in these regions and it is my favourite flower and appeared like a good omen.

May 17th

Struck tents at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 O.C. A.M. and proceeded through a succession of small winding lakes into Lake Seiganagah [Saganaga Lake] which name signifies (13) lake full of islands. We crossed two portages and camped at 6 O.C. P.M. on Cypress Lake. Threatening rain all morning, in afternoon cam down heavy.

May 18th

Started at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 O.C. A.M. went through Cypress Lake, crossed portage into Knife Lake after traversing which crossed portage into Birch Lake at the end of which camped on a portage at 7.30 O.C. P.M. Showers of hail in forenoon with northeast wind. Fine evening.

May 19th

Started at 7.30 O.C. A.M. Crossed portage into Basswood Lake. Why so called it is hard to say, the French name Bois Blanc is much more appropriate, as its shores are timbered with poplar and small pine. The water 3 ft. below (14) high water mark. After crossing lake, made 3 portages and camped at 7.30 O.C. P.M. Cold N.W. wind came with showers of sleet.

May 20

Started at 6.30 O.C. A.M. made a portage and got into Crooked Lake. The water about 4 ft. below high water mark. At lower end of lake crossed Curtain Falls portage. The falls are very fins, about 25 ft. high. We then proceeded through Iron Lake and camped on Bottle Portage. Saw first black flies. White poplar coming into leaf. Camped at 7.15 O.C. PM. Cold N.W. wind with showers of rain. Fine evening.

(15) May 21st

Started at 5 O.C. A.M. through Requaw-quon Lake [Lac la Croix]. It is Indian for pine which timbers the shores. Water very low, about 5 ft., below high water mark, in consequence of which we were obliged to go round by Indian Narrows in order to avoid the Great Nameawkan Rapids [Namakan Rapids]. Very hot day, plenty of flies and insects of every description. We made 3 portages today and went 45 miles when we camped at 8 O.C. P.M. at head of Sand Point Lake.

May 22nd

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Off at 5 O.C. P.M. Got sail on canoes for first time. At 7 O.C. thunder storm from N.W. with heavy rain. Got through Nameawkan Lake [Namakan Lake] and after making two portages into Rainy Lake (16) where we camped on an island about 8 miles from head of lake at 7 O.C. P.M. While camping Waugouch [this is a dog that Hind becomes incredibly fond of] found a sawbill duck sitting on her nest in a hollow stump. One of the men killed her and found a dozen eggs under her some of which we had for supper, they were excellent. Rain cleared off at 5 O.C. P.M. Fine evening.

May 23rd Sunday

Started at 5.15 O.C. A.M. Went through Rainy Lake and got to Ft. Francis at 6 O.C. P.M. after a hard day's paddling. Here we were received by the Indians with a firing of guns. Found every one living on sturgeon and nothing else to be had. Camped inside the fort and had a host of dogs howling and growling round our tents all night. Fine day.

(17) May 24th

Repairing canoes and finishing new one. Took first photographs of Indians and canoes. Tried to get the interior of a wigwam, but the inhabitants were out hurrying their children into the bath and could not be induced to remain inside at any price. They imagined that the photographs were great medicine and that by their means we would take their land and destroy themselves and their children. Last night we saw a skull dance. One or two men sat down with a drum and the squaws forms a circle round and keeping their feet close together jumped sideways two or three inches at a time, first to one side and then the other singing all the time. It appears that some of the tribe killed a Sioux in the spring and they had just heard of it, the skull being at the (18) next encampment down the river and on its way up when it arrives they will have a great dance and rejoicing. At 6.30 P.M. started down the Rainy River and camped at 7.30 P.M. Fine day.

May 25th

Started at 4.30 A.M. Passed two large encampments of Indians on the British side and one on the Yankee side. Some of the Indians from the first camp came out with nothing on but their blankets and horribly painted. We got some sturgeon from them in exchange for flour. From the other camps they came out also horribly painted and stopped us until we gave them tobacco. Their canoes followed us down till we went ashore to dine when they waited patiently for the (19) remains. In one canoe a squaw had a young silver fox with a bell round its neck. Saw plenty of sturgeon jumping in the river which teems with them. Passed near Long Rapids [Kay-Nah-Chi-Wah-Nung] through three large mounds of earth on the north side of river looking like burying places built by tradition among the Indians said to contain houses made as places of refuge when the Sioux invaded the country. They are jealous of any inspection being made of them and will not allow it. Camped at 7.15 P.M. Fine day, small patches of snow and ice along banks of river.

Yesterday. Hired 2 Indians at Ft. Francis. One of them however brought back the money he got in advance saying he had got a lousy foot and could not go. So got a (entry is continued at

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bottom of page 20) halfbreed instead who went in Mr. Hind's canoe and the Indian came in mine which was a great relief as I had to paddle hitherto in order to keep up with the other canoes.

(20) May 26th

Started at ¼ to 4 A.M. and breakfasted at mouth of river. It is a splendid river, low loamy banks on each side beautifully wooded with mixed timber and here and there a small patch of prairie. The Indians say the good land extends inward on the British side from an hour's to a days journey the navigation is only obstructed by three easy rapids and the falls at Ft. Francis. Sailed almost all day through the Lake of the Woods and camped at an island at 7.30 P.M. Fine day fresh breeze from S.S.E. rain squall in evening.

(21) May 27th

Started at 4 P.M. Continued along the north shore of the Lake among numerous small low rocky islands. Scenery very beautiful but water very muddy. Saw 4 wild geese with three little goslings swimming after them. After making Rat Portage camped at small post of the H.B. Co. at 7.15 P.M. Fine day breeze from N.W. Indians a wretched looking set, nothing but filth here. Remained up to watch baggage.

May 28th

At 1 O.C. P.M. Called up to Dickenson to take his turn on watch. At 2 A.M. thunder storm from S.E. with heavy rain. Tents blown down. Started down Winnipeg River at 6 A.M. Blowing a gale from S.E. with rain squalls. Set small sail and went (22) at a tremendous rate. Les Dalles Rapids and Charette Decharge made half portage at Grand Decharge and made Terre Jaune Portage and Terre Blanche Portage. At the former portage where we stopped for dinner Hind found that the keys of the boxes and canteens were lost, supposed to have been left some 30 miles behind where we breakfasted. Having spoken rather sharply to the cook he sulked and loitered. When the canoes were going off he said he would follow in an Indian canoe which was coming. When we got to next portage the Indian canoe came on but no cook. Went to Islington Mission where we camped at 7.30 P.M. and sent back two Indians to look for the cook whom they found and brought back. This mission is a small Indian settlement on the north bank of the river and contains about 8 huts besides (23) the clergyman's. It was first settled 15 or 20 years ago by a Roman Catholic priest but the Indians fired at him and drove him away. The present clergyman we did not see as he was away at his birthplace, [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba], he is a halfbreed and lives here with a sister. Heavy gale from S.E. S. and S.W. with showers of rain.

May 29th

Off at 4 O.C. A.M. Ran the De l'Isle Rapids which are the worst we have as yet run. During the day made the Chute a Jacques portage at the bottom of this a stiffish rapid which we ran during a thunder storm. We then made the 3 Pts du Bois [Point des Bois] portages. At the middle one there is a fine fall more than a ¼ of a mile wide and 20 ft. high. We have found a little Indian dog

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or pup about 9 weeks old. It had been (24) here about a day and was almost dead with cold. We brought it along to Slave Falls portage where we camped at 8.15 P.M. Here we found an encampment of Indians some of whom, while our backs were turned, took the pup, which I suppose belonged to them. Sat watch at night which the chief observing he seemed highly indignant and said we need not fret as none of the things would be touched. Thunder storm flying round all day heavy squalls with rain.

May 30th Sunday

Struck tents at 4 O.C. A.M. and having crossed the portage proceeded on our way. Made the Barrier Falls portage and ran the Otter Falls. We then took the Penawa River [Pinawa Channel] in order to avoid the grand Rapids and the Seven Portages on the Winnipeg, which so far is a (25) bad river full of rapids and rocky sterile barren shores. In some places its width is only a few yards and in others perhaps 1 mile. We made 5 portages, 3 decharges [unloadings] and 1 semi-decharge on the Penawa [Pinawa] today and camped at 8.30 P.M. Hot day. S.W. breeze. Heavy thunder storm in afternoon.

May 31st

Started at 4.30 A.M. and went down the river into Bonnet Lake [Lac du Bonnet] and again took the Winnipeg. Made three Bonnet portages: Petite Roche, White Mud and the 2 Silver Fall portages. On the last of which we camped at 7.30 P.M. These falls are the finest we (26) have yet seen. They are close together one and the other 15½ ft. high. A great body of water comes down and the waves at the bottom are tremendous. Very cold day. Strong S.W. wind with showers of rain.

June 1st

Started at 5 O.C. A.M. Very cold morning. Strong N. wind with showers of snow. Ran one rapid and made Pine portage. The river down to this point has rocky shores and is full of bad rapids, falls and eddies. Below this its shores are sandy clay benches of which covered with trees keep slipping into the river so that its shores are a complete network of fallen timber which is mostly small white poplar. We arrived at Ft. Alexander at 10 O.C. A.M. Mr. Sinclair who was in charge received us very kindly and gave us first rate (27) breakfast. We here overtook the batteaux [a flat-bottomed boat] which had come down before us from Ft. Francis. Mr. [blank space] the gentleman in charge of them said he never wished to come this route again as it was the worst he had seen in the country. We also met North wind the Indian who brought Hind down the river last year on which occasion he ran the canoe straight down the centre of the Otter Falls and nearly swamped it. When Mr. Sinclair asked him why he did so, telling him he might have drowned the gentlemen he boldly replied he didn't care if he had. He is a fine looking wild Indian and a first rate canoe man. The wind subsiding we proceeded on our way about 12 O.C. The river widens out but in other respects is the same as before. Camped on E. side of Grand Traverse Bay in Lake Winnipeg at 9.30 P.M. Fine eve.

(28) June 2

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Started at 4.30 A.M. Frost last night. Fine morning. N.E. breeze. Made Grand Traverse and entered the Red River at 10.30 A.M. The south shore of Lake Winnipeg is low sand and clay flats with the exception of a few clay bluffs. At the mouth of the river there are large sand flats full of snags. Here we found 2 ducks nests and got the eggs for breakfast. For about 8 miles the river, which is from 150 to 200 yards wide, flows sluggishly along through a large marsh the water very muddy. From thence up to Indian Village the banks are low and swampy. Here they rise from 20 to 30 ft. and the good land begins. We saw a couple of pigs which my Indian thought were (29) some new and peculiar kind of boar as he had never seen one before. At Indian Village there is a very neat stone church surrounded by a low stone wall. As we proceeded we were saluted by shots as they thought it was Sir G. [George] Simpson. Straggling settlement on each side of river. Arrived at Stone Fort [Lower Fort Garry] at 9 P.M. and camped. Were welcomed by Mr. Lilly in charge. This fort is a very fine one built of good stone and mortar and surrounded by a high stone wall pierced for guns. Learned that [Simon James] Dawson had gone up the Saskatchewan and that [W.H.E.] Napier, Seymour and Campbell had gone home. Fine day.

(30) June 3rd

Left at 10 A.M. What they call the rapids, strong stream, boulders and shingle beach. Visited Archdeacon [Jameson] Hunter who has a nice stone church and house. Wheat looking well. Soil splendid alluvial deposit. Settlers houses all thatched. Very like an English hamlet. Arrived at our head quarter house [at Middle Settlement about 8 miles below Ft. Garry] at 3 P.M. and were warmly welcomed by Mr. Russell who had been left in charge by Mr. Dawson.

June 4th to 13 Sunday

Handed over all the men except 2 to Russell with canoes. Hired French men. Bought horses and carts and saddle horses, wagon and two small canoes. Shot Russell's bear which as Mr. --- [name is illegible] said had eaten the saddle, Francis's boots and the clothes, horse all but the hinges. (31) Indians wanted to sell us two young bears for 2 dollars. Saw Indians with scalp on the end of stick. Heard dance in the night. Fine weather.

14th

Started at 11 A.M. with 10 men, 13 horses, 5 carts and 1 wagon and two canoes to go up to the Assiniboine. At Fr. Garry in came Captain [Arthur] Briscoe, Messrs. Adshead, [William Roland] Mitchell and Louch [members of Captain John Palliser's British North American Exploring Expedition] all just arrived in a canoe and small light bateaux. They left a day after us from Toronto. Had a hard time of it on the route which they came by Superior and Red River. Got letter. Commenced levels at Ft. Garry. Camped on prairie at 6 O.C. P.M. Lots of pigeons. Fine day N.E. breeze.

(32) 15th

Struck tents at 4 A.M. Continued levels up to first ridge. Here Dickenson, Hind and 2 men and a cart struck off to the right along ridge intending to join us at Prairie Portage. We continued up

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right bank of river. Fine undulating prairie broken by clumps of small white poplar and low willows. Crossed Sturgeon Creek. Bought ox and cart. Camped at Lane's Post at 6 P.M. Fine day. N. breeze.

16th

Struck tents at 4.30 A.M. Got canoe into water, found it would take so long to go up river on account of stream and immense windings that we gave it up after an hours trial and joined the carts which we found a long way off. I never saw any place (33) so infested with grass snakes as the banks of the river. One was found in belly of large catfish caught near Lane's Post this morning. Swarms of mosquitoes in swampy ground near river. Saw white deposits where rain had lain tasting very much of salts and Epson salts. Large flocks of small sea gulls flying north. Camped at 5.30 P.M. Wind from N.E. Thunder storm in night.

17th

Struck tents at 5 A.M. Myriads of young grass hoppers along route destroying everything green. Plenty of ground squirrels. Men shot ducks in old bend of river and a crane. Arrived at Prairie Portage [Portage la Prairie] at 1 P.M. Hind and Dickenson not yet arrived. Camped about 1½ miles up river found an (34) encampment of Chippewas. About ten tents some birch bark others buffalo skin. They had built a fish weir across river. It is made of poles stuck in close together and bound together by horizontal over laid on top. On these the Indians sit all day and gaff sturgeon as they try to get through down river. Met a young man walking across prairie with rifle and blankets. Said he had come from Ft. Union [near Brandon, Manitoba] via Ft. Ellice [now St-Lazare, Manitoba] from which he had walked in 8 days hunting for his grub on his way. He got plenty of buffalos, rabbits and ducks. He was going to St. Paul's. Mr. Hind and Dickenson arrived in afternoon had discovered nothing important. In evening Archdeacon [William] Cochrane came to see us and gave us a great deal of information about the country. (35) This settlement has about 200 inhabitants. It is built on an old bed of river full of mud rushes and decayed vegetation which makes the water very bad. Nevertheless they say the place is healthy. Rainy evening. Wind from N.N.E.

18th

Rainy morning. Took a walk through houses to church. Frame-log steeple. Biers left on graves. Archdeacon's frame house close to very snug. Dickenson tried river and found speed to be 2 miles with a fall of 14 inches per mile. Rainy day. Thunderstorm in evening.

19th

Misty wet morning. Hired an old man as guide and bought another horse which makes our number of cattle 14 horses, a mule and an ox. Our men 11. Fine day about 9.30 and we left this the most western (36) settlement and proceeded on our way up the north side of the river. Our road lay through scrubby poplar and oak scattered over sand hills covered with juniper. Swamps and sandy prairies which are about 100 feet above river which runs in a valley from 1 to 2 miles wide. Camped at 6.15.

20th Sunday

Started at 6.10 A.M. Traveled through same kind of country as yesterday. Stopped on bank of river which we found to be 150 ft. above water. Took sun latitude 49.46 N. Hind read prayers to which the men listened attentively and respectfully. Saw elk swimming down river. Proceeded till ¼ past 7 P.M. when we camped. Flies very bad. Close hot day. Thunder storm in evening. Splendid lightning.

(37) 21st

Started at 4 A.M. Lost about an hour looking for ox. Through sand hill country [south of Carberry, Manitoba on western edge of Spruce Woods Provincial Park]. At noon N.W. thunderstorm with hail stones the size of pigeon eggs. They came with such force that they broke through our canoes in several places and knocked almost all the gum off. At 6 P.M. another thunder storm. Camped close to little lake. The most magnificent sunset I ever saw. Perfect rainbow in the east backed by masses of thunder cloud red with reflected light; water of lake same hue and the poplar leaves a green of unearthly brightness. The smooth sand hills thickly covered with juniper look like rolling waves. And when the whole scene was lit up by lurid flashes of lightning it looked unearthly. Such a scene I never saw before.

(38) 22nd

Struck tents at 4.15 A.M. Still sand hills. Very heavy thunder storm from S.W. at 3.50 P.M. One continued peal of thunder lasted an hour and a half. Lightning intensely vivid. Heavy rain. Camped. Fine evening.

23rd

Struck tents at 3.15 A.M. Swarms of mosquitoes. Sand hills with clumps of white and Ontario poplar, aspens and spruce. Balsam. Passed through small prairie saw several buffalo skulls. Arrived at Pine Creek [based on location according to the map in Hind's *Narrative* this is likely the currently named Epinette Creek, though there is a Pine Creek in the vicinity it does not appear to be the Pine creek on Hind's map] at 8 A.M. at 7 P.M. got out of sand hills and camped on plain about a mile from the junction of the Assiniboine and Little Souris River [according to the map in Hind's *Narrative* they were traveling down the currently named Souris River, not the Little Souris River which is a small river near Brandon, Manitoba]. Fine day.

(39) 24th

Started at 3.30 A.m. Hind went ahead but soon came back and reported having seen two fires ahead. [John] Spence [described in Hind's *Narrative* as "a Cree half-breed of great experience in Rupert's Land" 143] our guide thought it must be the enemy so ordered us to draw our shot and put in ball, which we accordingly did also got out revolvers ready. We then proceeded cautiously down to bank of river opposite Little Souris [Souris River]. This bank is about 100 feet high sandy loam. The other low and wooded with willow bushes and a few poplar trees. Width of

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river about 250 ft. The Little Souris [Souris River] is a smaller river, low banks mudded on both sides. The fires Hind saw were about ½ a mile on other side of river among trees. Of course there is nothing to be seen now. Stopped for breakfast and saw a jumping deer and two wolves on the side, afterwards crossed river which occupied greater part of day (40) as we had to bring all the baggage over in the canoes, drag the carts over with a rope and swim the horses etc. across. The grasshoppers swarming where we breakfasted. They eat through the saddles, quilts, canvas and leather bags, tents, coats, and everything that was not made of iron. Tried to take a photo. [photograph] but failed, very vexing. We proceeded about 3 miles along N.W. bank of Little Souris [Souris River] through open plain. The banks of the valley of river very high. Valley wooded. About ¼ mile wide. Camped at 7.30 P.M. Fine day. Put down fires and set 2 men to watch to be relieved by 2 men in the morning.

(41) 25th

Thunder storm this morning. Struck tents at 7 A.M. and proceeded on our route over undulating prairie. Saw two jumping deer and wolf in attendance. Valley of river deepening as we go. Camped at 7 P.M. at the beginning of a ridge of mountains through which river flows in a deep valley wooded on both sides. River very shallow rippling over stones. Scenery fine. One of men shot Canada goose. Fine day. Heavy thunder storm in evening.

26th

Up at 7 A.M. Fine morning westerly breeze. Stopped to work. Took photo. [photograph] of valley. Spence went about 3 miles ahead and on his return reported having seen the tracks of 3 Sioux about 2 days old. At 4 P.M. proceeded on our way and camped on beautiful bend of river at 7.30 P.M. Fine day.

(42) 27th Sunday

Thunder storm. Cleared up about noon. Saw 7 red deer passing into wood in bend of river. Got several shots among us but killed nothing. At 3.30 proceeded and camped at 7.30 P.M. Fine day. Cold N. wind.

28th

Started at 5.30 A.M. Stopped after breakfast to examine cliffs on river. Thunder storm. Offa gain at 4.30 P.M. and camped at 7.30. Found in bed of river a lump of Tertiary Coal. Cold N. E. wind.

29th

Started at 7.30 A.M. Found a skull close to grave on prairie. It was all pulled about by the wolves. Kept the skull which was apparently that of a squaw, perhaps the victim of a savage husband. They treat their squaws brutally, for the slightest offence knocking them (43) down with an axe or any weapon they happen to have in their hand or taking a knife and gashing them horribly. The banks of the river gradually becoming lower and more devoid of wood. At 1 P.M. crossed Plumb Creek [Plum Creek near Souris, Manitoba] which flows into the Little Souris

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[Souris River]. Stopped for dinner and to look for coal, which by digging we found but only in boulders and pebbles lying in a bed of drift sand over blue clay. The Lignite burns well with little flame or smoke and makes a hot fire. In one or two of the boulders we found small pieces of Amber. Cold misty day wind from N.E.

30th

Thunder storm. Mosquitos horrible. Made an excavation in bank but discovered nothing further. 3 of the men went off hunting to a small lake about 4 miles distant and brought back 3 pelicans (44) one of which measures 4 ft. long and 7 ft. 6 in. from tip to tip of wings. They also brought a lot of ducks and curlew. The hunters have lately passed this way so we will not see much game for some time as they live on what they kill along the route. Fine evening. W. breeze.

July 1st

Started at 5.15 A.M. Passed through a few sand hills among which is an H.B. Post, [Sand Hills Post, Formerly Ash House near Hartney, Manitoba] occupied during the winter and abandoned in the spring on account of the Sioux who then come here. Two of the huts were lately burnt. Afternoon got into level prairie and lost ten shillings to [John] McKay [described in Hind's *Narrative* as "a Scotch half-breed" 302] horse racing. Camped at 7.45 P.M. Fine day S.W. breeze. Saw several ant-lions the large kind about the size (45) of a bean with a small black head. They eat into the flesh of man or beast and when pulled out either bring a piece of flesh with them or break in two.

2nd

Started at 4.15 A.M. Open prairie. Light sandy soil. Thousands of grass hoppers on ground and tens of thousands in the air going with the wind in a N.E. direction. On looking up to the sky one would imagine, but for the heat, that there was a snow storm. Plenty of fresh buffalo tracks. Camped at 7.45 P.M. on Red Deer's Head River, a tributary of the Little Souris [Souris River]. Beautiful day. S.W. breeze.

3rd

Just at day break McKay reports having seen what he thought to be a man sitting on the top of the bank of valley watching us. Went (46) up in day light to look for tracks but the ground being bare and hard could see nothing. At 2 A.M. Dickinson took North Star and wolves howled horribly. Stopped to take sun found out position to be two miles north of the boundary line. Bathed in river although there were plenty of leeches. Grasshoppers flying as thick as every. Took pho. [photograph] of camp. Started at 4.30 P.M. and proceeded in a S.W. direction until we struck the Red Deer's Head River again at 8 P.M. Camped in bend of river which is now only about 20 ft. wide. Spence thought he smelt fire. While we were sitting at supper beside a blazing fire we were alarmed by a stampede of the horses. The men instantly dropped their knives and forks and rushed to head the horses to the camp which they effected, at the same time I heard a horse neigh behind a clump (47) of bush across the river about 200 yards off. Men counted our horses and found we had them all. We now heard a horse neigh again from a great distance in the

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same direction. Tethered the horses. Drew our small shot and loaded with buck shot and ball and looked to our revolvers. Put 6 men to watch myself among the number. McKay and I stationed ourselves on the side from which the neigh came. Dark night. Flashes of lightning. Thought I heard a crackling in the bush. Fine day S.W. breeze.

4th Sunday

At 12.30 A.M. was relieved by next watch and rolling myself in my blanket lay down armed beside the carts. At 3 A.M. thunder storm. When it was daylight McKay went to look for tracks. Found footmarks crossing river and the mark where a man lay in the grass not 20 yds. From where (48) we were watching. The mark of his bare foot in the mud was exactly 12 inches long so he must have been a big man and no doubt a spy. Started at 10 A.M. in a northerly direction for Beaver Creek over a sandy soiled prairie. Camped on small marshy lake at 7.15 P.M. very hot day S. wind.

I forgot to mention that yesterday we saw several Mandrill [Mandan] Indian houses. They are mounds of earth about 50 ft. wide and 15 ft. high underneath which these Indians had their houses. These were all fallen in and filled up many years since. The Indians now live South with the Pawinees [likely Pawnee]. The men also shot two turkey-buzzards several of which we had seen before flying and thought them to be eagles. They stink horribly. Today the grass hoppers were flying as thick as ever.

(49) 5th

Struck tents at 4 A.M. proceeded over rolling light soiled prairie. Saw a few caprie [Hind calls these "cabri," they are a kind of goat], but very hard to get near. However McKay shot one. Grass hoppers making the light of the sun dim. Had a first rate bathe in a little pond. Camped at 7.15 P.M. Fine warm day S.W. wind.

6th

Struck tents at 4 A.M. and passed over the same kind of land as yesterday. Found the deer which McKay shot very tender and good. Saw a heard of about 20 today but they saw the carts and we soon saw nothing but their tails as they disappeared over the horizon. Came to the first wood we have seen for three days, during which time we were obliged to carry wood for cooking. Crossed Pipe Stone Creek and (50) and camped at 5.30 P.M. Fine day. W. by N. breeze. Plenty of grasshoppers on ground but few flying. At night wolves.

7th

Struck tents at 4.50 A.M. Went over sandy prairie with a few clumps of poplar brush scattered here and there over it. After breakfast I strolled off by myself before the carts. Soon the men at the carts saw a man whom they thought to be me coming over a rising ground, they soon however saw me close to the same place and the man when he saw them immediately disappeared the way he had come. They rode after him but although on an open prairie they could not see him. Probably he concealed himself by jumping into one of the two or three small ponds near to where he was seen where he would lie with nothing but his nose above water. He

could not have been friendly or he (51) would not have acted in such a manner. Camped at 4 P.M. Fine day W. breeze. Great swarms of grasshoppers on ground.

8th

Struck tents at 3.50 A.M. We had not gone more than a couple of miles when a black object was seen on one side of us at the distance of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. On looking at it through the glass it was found to be a buffalo bull lying down. McKay, one of the men and myself immediately started to give chase while hind followed to see the sport. He and the men remained some distance behind while McKay and I went forward to drive him towards them, we found the ground through which we had to run him very rough and covered with boulders so McKay asked me to exchange horses, mine being an old steady fellow accustomed (52) to the work and his being a young timid thing. I readily acceded to this as we were short of provisions and McKay was an old hand at killing buffalo while I knew nothing about it. When we were about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from him he started at an easy canter and we followed over the stones at the best pace we could consistent with the safety of our necks. My horse kept shying at the big boulders and bushes instead of looking where he was going and so I soon saw the bull disappearing behind a clump of poplar brush and McKay not far behind him. After going about a mile and a half I heard a shot some distance ahead and on getting to the spot the first thing I saw rounding a clump of brush was McKay and the man on foot without their guns and their horses loose, all cutting for their (53) lives with the buffalo after them. Luckily for them he stopped after going about 100 yards. They soon caught their horses and Hind coming up the chase was resumed. Hind fired a couple of shots with his revolver which produced no effect. McKay then fired and breaking his fore leg brought him to the ground where he lay in his natural position blowing like a grampus a glaring at us with his fierce little eyes. McKay then showed me the spot in which to put the finishing ball. So getting off my horse which was frightened and would not go near the bull I went within about 15 paces and aimed for his heart. The shot did not seem to produce much effect except that the wind wheezed in and out of the hole when he breathed. McKay said my ball had gone rather high (54) so getting off his horse he took my gun and fired, then smoke came out of his mouth and nostrils and soon after a gush of blood. We then went closer to him, but he got up so we took to our heels, however he only went a few yards and then rolled over on his side dead after receiving 8 balls. We now learned the particulars of the run. McKay fired the first shot as the Bull was charging him, the ball entered above his shoulder and brought him down. McKay thought he had broken his back and not wishing to kill him until hind came up he and the other man got off their horses and sitting down about 50 yards from him proceeded to smoke, they had not lit their pipes however when the bull got up and charged, so they and the horses took to their heels as fast as they could. This was the moment (55) I came in sight. We sent for a cart to carry the meat and commenced skinning. Found Hind's pistol ball just underneath the skin, my balls had gone through him and lodged on the skin at the other side. When the men came with the cart they cut him up in a savage manner occasionally cutting off little bits and eating them raw. We had fine sport running this solitary buffalo. When there is a heard of thousands pursued by about 200 horsemen it must be indeed splendid. The bulls especially when alone are often very savage and when they throw their tails high in the air it is time to be off as they mean mischief. The greatest danger in running is the badger holes so numerous on the prairies. The horses when going at full speed frequently break though into them

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and coming down with a (56) crash often knock themselves and their riders into a cocked hat. Proceeded and camped at 2.15 P.M. S.E. breeze slight showers.

9th

Struck tents at 3 A.M. Found an addition to our party in the shape of a foal. Lost 5 horses hunting up the ox who was found in some bush about a mile and a half back. Then had to wait 2 and ½ hours for all the searches to return. Hind mean time went ahead of the carts when I discovered 3 buffalo, 2 old bulls and a young one. I immediately rode back to stop the carts in order to have a hunt but although they saw me coming and knew what for, Dickinson would not allow them to stop, so the buffalo soon saw them and made off. Found the prairie (57) burning where Hind had breakfast. Camped at 7.30 P.M. Fine day. E. breeze.

10th

Tents down at 3.15 A.M. I went direct for Fort Ellice [now St-Lazare, Manitoba] while the carts took 2 round in order to get a good place to ford Beaver River [Beaver Creek]. I arrive at the fort at 8 A.M. and the first thing I saw on entering the enclosure was Captain Briscoe and party all except one who was so much disgusted with the country that he remained at Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. They arrived yesterday about half an hour before Hind and had killed nothing on their way except an elk and plenty of mosquitos. We were very kindly received by Mr. McKay [possibly William McKay apprentice to and in 1866 chief trader at Fort Ellice] in charge of the fort, who gave us for breakfast the last meal he had in the house. He is expecting hunters in with meat every day. The fort is a very miserable one prettily situated near the junction of Beaver [Beaver Creek] and Assiniboine (58) rivers. The carts arrived about an hour after me and Captain Briscoe departed for Fort Carlton [near Duck Lake, Saskatchewan] leaving one of his party who intends to remain till the plains hunters are going out and go with them. There are a couple of buffalo here quite tame among the domestic cattle. Here there is an awful specimen of an old white-headed Chippewa with a bandage across his face to hide the disgusting remains of a nose the point of which has been bitten off in a drunken Indian row. Took a pho. [photograph] of junction of rivers but tent blew down and destroyed it. Camped at a little distance from the Fort. Got some squaws to cut up our buffalo meat and commenced drying it. It is extremely tough. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

(59) 11th Sunday

Remained in camp. Had a good bath in river which is the really clean water we had seen since we left Winnipeg river. The hunter came into the Fort this afternoon having killed nothing but a few buffalo bulls and having seen nothing for the last 20 days. Fine day. S.W. breeze. Thunder storm in afternoon.

12th

In camp. Got some Pemikan [pemmican] and dried meat at Fort. Took phos [photographs] of valley. The mosquitos have hitherto made such frightful ravages on my legs attacking me in a

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cowardly manner in the rear that I have got a pair of buffalo hide trousers and now bid them in defiance. Started at 5 P.M. and camped at 7.30 P.M. on our way up Calling River [Qu'Appelle River] which flows into the Assiniboine. Hired (60) Indian as guide. Hot calm day. Swarms of grasshoppers flying and swarms of young brood on ground.

13th

Struck tents at 3.15 A.M. Yesterday evening Waugouch got hold of a skunk and one of the men coming to his aid with a stick they killed it. But oh the stink! Phew! It nearly blew my hat off. All day passed through a sort of marshy prairie thickly covered with aspen and willow underbrush. The grass much better than any we have seen since we started and plenty of wild vetches. Fine day. S. breeze. Camped at 5.45 P.M. Awful thunder storm in evening, deafening claps of thunder.

(61) 14th

Struck tents at 3.30 A.M. Thunder storm Proceeded through numerous marshy ponds and straggling clumps of small aspens and willows. Strong W. wind. Thunder showers all day. Wet evening. Camped at 6 P.M.

15th

Struck tents at 3.40 A.M. Cold stormy rainy morning, cleared up about 9 A.M. Passed over large rolling prairie, sandy clay soil, and after crossing small ridge wooded, entered another prairie similar to former in which we camped at 4 P.M. Fine evening. N.W. winds.

16th

Started at 3.45 A.M. same kind of land, prairie with clumps of brushes. At 1 P.M. met 6 carts belonging (62) to the H.B.Co. on their way from one of the Quapelle Lakes [the Qu'Appelle River flows through several lakes in south east Saskatchewan] to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. One of their men informed us that the Blackfeet and Cree Indians had made peace, but immediately after the meeting the Cree stole horses from the Blackfeet who went in pursuit and killed 2 Cree and caught another, then boring holes through his wrists they passed a thong through them and tying them behind his back they stripped him naked and sent him adrift in the plain. It is always thus with these Indian tribes, peace one moment, deadly war the next. He also told us that there were plenty of buffalo west of Fort Quapelle [Fort Qu'Appelle, in Saskatchewan]. We get plenty of ducks every day and are beginning to be quite tired of them. Swarms of mosquitoes in the mornings and evenings, they torment (63) men horses and dogs awfully. It is quite a pleasure to me to contemplate them probing their proboscises in vain into my leather trousers like little boys flattening their noses for hours against a pastry cook's window. Camped at 7 P.M. Fine warm day. W. breeze.

17th

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Struck tents at 3.15 A.M. and proceeded across open prairie. One of the men shot a Badger in his hole and after half an hour of digging we got him out, much to the delight of Waugouch who hung onto him bravely in spite of a chop on the lip until we killed him with a stone. Met with an encampment of Indian and halfbreed women from Quapelle Mission [Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan] gathering Indian turnips which are a kind of juniper very abundant on some parts of the prairies. They have a bulbous oval shaped root about as large as a potato, which (64) the Indians eat either raw or boiled and they cut them in slices and dry them in the sun for winter use. At 7.10 P.M. arrived at Mission which consists of two or three huts and two or three buffalo skin tents in which the inhabitants live, one of them is a half breed clergyman; the Mission is prettily situated in the deep valley of the river on the south side and between two of the small lakes. The valley here is about 3 quarters of a mile wide lying between high steep grassy banks full of gorges and high sharp peaked mounds. McKay got a present of a young fat ox from one of the halfbreed settlers, which he killed this evening. Crossed the river to get clear of the dogs and camped. Fine hot day. S.W. breeze.

(65) 18th Sunday

Walked to top of the bank of valley. Fine view of lakes east and west. Saw the turkey-buzzards sailing over camp attracted by the offal of the ox. Had a pleasant bathe in lake which is nice and clear with gravel beach. In afternoon Dickinson and I started for church, when we came to river we took off our trousers and boots and tucking them under our arms with the other hand held on high the tails of our shirts and crossed in rather odd and airy costume for two gentlemen going to church. The service was performed in the Missionary's shanty which is built of logs rudely plastered between with mud. On stepping across the threshold we found ourselves in a room and in presence of the Missionary whose name is [Rev. James] Settee and his wife a frightened looking half breed (66) and in an atmosphere smelling strongly of skunk. Opposite to the door is the mud fire place half full of cold ashes. Beside the door is the one window made of a square patch of thinned buffalo hide. The furniture consists of one table 9 or 10 deal packing boxes and on each side of the fireplace a very dirty looking bed. The walls are ornamented by a small swing shelf on which are ½ a dozen books and in another place hangs a small looking glass flanked by 2 small slates. There is another room leading off this apparently a bedroom. The service was performed half in English in our honour and half in Cree in which latter was the sermon. [Rev. James] Settee was dressed in a black alpaca shorting coat ditto trousers and a dirty white neck cloth. The congregation consisted of [Rev. James] Settee, his wife and a young child, Dickinson, (67) myself, one of our men, and a dirty Indian. Waugouch lay inside the door and growled at the Indian dogs when they attempted to enter and at the cows which now and then put in their heads and snuffed. After service [Rev. James] Settee informed us that when he came 3 months ago the Crees [Cree] sent in from the plains to enquire if the great praying father had sent plenty of rain, if he had they would pray, if not the missionary stood a poor chance of getting provisions. They had not been in since. Fine day. S.E. breeze. Thunder storm and very heavy rain at night. Our Indian from Ft. Ellice left us today refusing to proceed further.

(68) 19th

Took several phos. [photographs] of valley etc. Preparing to divide. Hind and Fleming going up river in one canoe while their carts go round by the banks on S. side so on to south branch of

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Saskatchewan. Dickinson downriver in other canoe to Fort Ellice thence with the cart and horses left behind for the purpose, by land to Ft. Pelly [in Saskatchewan]. While I proceed on horseback with McKay and an Indian guide along N. side of river and up N. Branch thence across country to Ft. Pelly. Meantime my 2 carts and 2 men go by straight route. I expect to be away on horseback 8 days and no doubt will have a rough time of it. We are all to meet again at Ft. Ellice in 40 days, if not the first party there, proceed to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. Fine day. W. breeze. At night (69) the hum of the mosquitoes is like that of a swarm of bees.

20th

At 6.15 A.M. we all started on our different ways. After breakfast I parted from my carts, leaving Waugouch with them as I was afraid the heat and hard travelling would be too much for him. When he was tied to the cart in his anxiety to follow me the wheel went over his neck but luckily, being light, did not hurt him much. I then put him in the cart beside one of the men. Went along N. side of Quapelle valley [Qu'Appelle Valley] out on prairie. Passed over stony poor rolling prairie, in some places clumps of small pop. [poplar] and will. [willow] brush. About 5.0 P.M. saw Hind's camp far below us in river which winds (70) about like a snake. Camped in the deep valley of a small creek at 7.40 P.M. after travelling hard all day and going about 27 miles since 11 A.M. My luggage consisted of a bag containing brush and comb, toothbrush, towel, powder, flask, and shot, belt and 6 balls, box of caps. To balance this, hung on other side of saddle was a bag containing bread for about 4 days and tea, a tin mug behind and my blanket under the saddle. McKay's much the same, except, instead of bread he had meat, boiled beef. Fine hot day. S.W. breeze. Thunder.

21st

Up at 3.30 A.M. and went across open prairie same as last. Very barren and destitute of game. At 4.30 P.M. came to lake (71) dined and at 7 P.M. Started in a N.E. direction for Ft. Pelly and camped at 8.30 P.M. Without water. Travelled upwards of 30 miles today. S.E. wind. 2 Thunder storms.

22nd

Up at 3.25 A.M. Proceeded across greatly stony dry prairie, almost devoid of vegetation. At noon came to deep valley with small creek at bottom expanding into small lakes. Found eagle's nest in tree, with 2 eagles in it which our Indian shot, we got one but the other stuck in the nest. We eat the last meal we had here. Passed over open prairie and camped near gully at 7.20 P.M. having travelled about 45 miles. Eat eagles for supper, it tasted something (72) like goose. Mosquitos frightful. Shot skunk. Very numerous in these regions. 2 thunder storms today.

23rd

Long before daylight were wakened by the horses walking about our bed and once or twice actually into it while they were getting into the smoke to escape the mosquitos. Ducks for dinner and a little raw Pemican [pemmican] of which we have still a small lump, but no way to cook it.

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Birds we split open and running a stick through them roast them. Such is the life of the hunter. We have come today through horrid marshy prairie, among hundreds of ponds covered with ducks. Horseflies very bad. Got out on (73) track to Ft. Pelly and after following it for a few minutes, came up with a party of H.B.Co. men with 7 carts camped. Camped with them at 7.5 P.M. having come 35 miles today.

Fine day. Thunder storm at 3.0 P.M. Ducks and dried meat for supper. The men had neither tea nor bread. Nor ammunition but the killed young ducks with sticks and after half picking them singed them in the fire, then picking the guts out with a knife they popped them in a large can with some dried meat and boiled whole. While they were waiting I saw some of the men roasting the guts on sticks and eating them with great gusto. While the man who had gutted the ducks (74) washed his hands by taking mouthfuls of water from a can the squirting it over his hands he finally wiped them in the grass. When the mess was boiled they forked out the meat and ducks with a stick, in a lump on the grass. The squatting round it they pulled out their knives and pitched into it. McKay and I being strangers were honoured with the only two tin platters in the establishment. On mine being piled as my share of the entertainment 2 ducks and a piece of dried meat. Notwithstanding the dirt of its preparation I eat a whole young duck. The meat was like sole leather the only mode of eating it is to cut off a small piece and bolt it like a pill. To (75) complete the picture is an outside circle of ugly dogs, ready to cut in, and make off with whatever they can. Round the fire are the horses standing with their heads in the smoke to keep off the mosquitos.

24th

Up at 3.30 A.M. a after breakfasting in the same manner as we supped proceeded over marshy prairie. At 7 A.M. heavy thunder storm. Stopped and unyoked. Lying on my blanket under a cart I now write. For dinner the men cooked a skunk. The mode of doing it is this, they throw it in the fire and keep turning and scraping it until all the hair is off. Then gut it and cutting it in chunks put it in the pot with some (76) dried meat. They eat it with relish, but neither McKay nor I had courage to attempt it. So we had a little dried meat separately cooked. All day we have been coming through ponds and stinking pools. Camped at 6.0 P.M. having come today 20 miles. Men had two skunks for supper. We, dried meat and pigeons.

25th Sunday

Started at 3.30 A.M. Dried meat for breakfast. After going about 8 miles. Got some dried meat and started ahead of the carts, after going 5 miles were heartily glad to come up with our own carts camped, they had been 7 miles further but thinking they were on the wrong track on account of its faintness, returned. Waugouch of course was delighted (77) when he saw me. The Co.'s men soon came up and we all proceeded together. Crossed Little White Mud River. Staged the carts which means raised the bottoms half way up the sides. I took off my trousers and holding them aloft rode across. Our friends the Co.'s men who are camped near us have 2 skunks for supper again. We gave them a little tea and flour today which are luxuries of the highest order to them. Camped at 6.0 P.M. Fine day. N.W. wind. Had not the remotest idea it was Sunday until one of the men told me at night.

(78) 26th

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Up at 3.0 A.M. Passes through stinking pools, creeks and bogs and among marshy lakes and ponds all day. Most of the land covered with this willow brushes. Camped at 6.18 P.M. in the valley of White Mud River. Having travelled 25 miles. Fine day. S.W. breeze. Mosquitos this morning awful. Our friends have skunks again for supper.

27th

Up at 4.0 A.M. and proceeded to cross the river which was very rapid about 4½ ft. deep with a very high bank on one side. Staged up the carts and lowered away into the river with a rope attached behind (79) and another before with men on the other side to haul. One man led the horse while 2 men held on to the cart behind to prevent it upsetting, in spite of all, the first cart, men horse and all upset in the rapid and I had the satisfaction of beholding my photographic apparatus, my gun, my clothes and all my little property submerged. After considerable struggling the horse was let loose and swam down the river while the cart was dragged ashore. The things were fortunately tied well in the cart so none of them were lost. All the other carts were got over with only one accident and that was one of my men cutting his foot badly on a sharp stone. Crossed the Assiniboine which is here only about 3 ft. deep and camped at Fort Pelly (80) at 5.0 P.M. This is the nicest Fort I have seen, except the Red River Forts [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. Mr. [Archibald] McDonald [apprentice clerk at Fort Pelly 1857-1858] a young scotchman in charge gave me a very warm welcome and after supper we had a bottle of wine together.

August 1st Sunday

Remained here since I came having a good rest and a great deal of fun with Mr. McDonald and old Mr. McKay who has been over half a century in the Co.'s service. They have about 77 brood mares here and 115 horses, so we have been horse racing almost every day. This is the best place for settlement I have yet seen as the ground is rich and there is plenty of wood, such as it is small poplar and spruce balsam. (81) This year the grass hoppers destroyed almost everything they had about the Fort. Dickinson arrived this afternoon heartily sick and tired of his trip and the mosquitos. Wet day. Every day I have been here except yesterday there has been some rain.

2nd

Dickinson, Mr. McDonald and I took a ride of 8 miles this afternoon on H.B. horses to see where they burn lime, which is found in large boulders and of an excellent quality. Fine day.

3rd

Today took another ride of 10 miles to Swan River, it is here about a chain wide [22 yards] and 5 ft. deep with a strong current. Saw some tamarack. Fine day. Showers in afternoon.

(82) 4th

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Got some Pemican [pemmican] and bidding our old Mr. McKay goodbye at 10 A.M. started to examine the country lying between the Assiniboine and Riding Mountain as far as Oak Rivulet. Mr. McDonald accompanied us till dinner time, after which he returned with our hearty good wishes for his welfare. We have received a great deal of kindness from him. Passed through marshy land with groves of small poplar and willows and camped at 7.10 P.M. Fine day. S.E. breeze.

(83) 5th

Started at 4 O.C. A.M. Passed through same kind of land as yesterday. Camped at 7.30 P.M. Fine day. S.E. breeze. We have now no bread and but very little flour which we keep to mix with our Pemmican.

6th

Off at 5 A.M. After breakfast took a ride inwards on the mountain which is nothing more than a high tableland. We went about 4 miles and were then stopped by thick poplar woods and fallen logs. So returned to our carts. After dinner met Mr. [Alexander Hunter] Murray [Chief Trader in charge of Fort Pelly 1858-1860] and 7 H.B. carts. He was on his way with his family to take charge of Ft. Pelly and was 20 days out from Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. This (84) afternoon crossed a large tract of country where everything was destroyed by the hailstorm which visited us shortly after leaving Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. Here it must have been awful, the grass is cut down and smashed into the earth, the trees are stripped. Their small boughs broken and their bark peeled off, while the ground is full of holes and looks as if it had been peppered with grape shot. In consequence of finding no grass did not camp till 8.10 P.M. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

7th

Started at 5.0 A.M. At 1.0 P.M. camped after crossing Shell River which flows into the Assiniboine. In afternoon rode down to mouth of river. Fine day.

(85) 8th Sunday

Up at 5.15 A.M. and after breakfasting rode up river, we found it very hard work, through thick wood and across deep gullies, crossed the river 6 times and returned to camp in evening. See a great many wildflowers and new ones almost every day, but my favourite violet has long since disappeared. In the valley of this river are hazel nuts, wild cherries. Gooseberries, black currants, raspberries, strawberries etc. But very little fruit on any of the bushes. Thunder storm in morning. Fine day. All begin to wish heartily we were home.

(86) 9th

Started at 4.30 A.M. passed through same kind of monotonous and uninteresting country and camped at 6.0 P.M. Fine day. S.E. breeze.

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10th

Off at 4.30 A.M. crossed Bird's Tail River [likely Birdtail River] which flows into the Assiniboine about 30 miles below Ft. Ellice. It is rather larger than Shell River and not so rapid. Had a pleasant bathe. Camped at 7.0 P.M. Fine day. E. breeze.

11th

Started at 4.15 A.M. Had to carry the baggage across a deep fierce little creek. Arrived at the Little Saskatchewan or Oak River [both rivers exist somewhat side by side] (the termination of our journey in (87) this direction) at 7.30 P.M. and camped. Fine day. The day we left Ft. Pelly poor Waugouch in an encounter with a wounded crane got hurt in one eye and I am now afraid he will entirely lose the sight of it. Everyone is sorry for him as he has become a general favourite on account of being a good brave hunter and very useful in retrieving from the water.

12th

Gave the horses a rest and remained in camp mending our clothes. Heavy thunderstorm early in morning. Fine day. Observed the leaves of the trees beginning to change colour.

(88)

13th

Proceeded up river which is nearly as large as the Assiniboine. Found many open park-like places, very pretty. Got back to camp in evening and were glad to get supper of rabbit as we had dined on raw Pemmican. Fine day.

14th

Started at 5.30 A.M. on our way down the river till we fall into the Ft. Ellice road [a cart trail labelled on Hind's *Narrative* map as "Cart Trail?"]. Same country. Mosquitos and blackflies regularly eating the horses. Every night we make a prodigious smoke for them to stand in and they sometimes go so close to the fire that they burn themselves. Fine hot day. S.W. breeze.

(89) 15th Sunday

Started at 5.0 A.M. At 11.30 A.M. crossed White Mud River road [a cart trail labelled on Hind's *Narrative* map as "White Mud River" follows the north shore of the White Mud River north of the Fort Ellice Cart Trail]. Camped at 3.30 P.M. close to Ft. Ellice road. Stopped to make 2 axles as we had found some oak trees and our old ones were almost worn across. I went down a wooded gully to shoot, got a rabbit, but the mosquitos got so bad they almost drove me mad and as I was crashing through the woods like a lunatic, 3 deer started up close before me, I could not follow them but rushed to the camp and into the smoke. Such are the pleasures of hunting at this season, besides getting thorns in one's feet and legs and barking one's shins. Fine day.

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(90) 16th

Left 2 carts in camp and Dickinson and McKay and myself started at 7.30 A.M. to go down to mouth of river. Camped at 7.30 P.M. Mosquitos frightful and our eyes watering and smarting with smoke. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

17th

Started at 5.30 A.M. in afternoon I shot a badger which we eat for supper. He tasted like his smell and that is most uncommon strong. At 4.30 P.M. Arrived at mouth of river and camped. Clouds of savage mosquitos making our hands and faces bear a remarkable and pleasing similarity to nutmeg graters and torturing the poor horses. There was Yankee 2 or 3 years (91) ago stripped by the Sioux and tied to a tree on the bank of a river. He remained in this situation one night and in the morning died from the effects of the mosquitos. He must have had a lively time of it, poor devil. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

18th

Started on our way back to our carts at 8.30 A.M. as I was riding ahead I saw a wolf walking unconcernedly along almost 50 yds. off, so dismounting I put a bullet from my heavy gun through his heart killing him instantly much to the amusement of Waugouch. Fine day. Cool evening N.W. wind which keeps down the flies and that is a heavenly blessing. Shot ducks for supper. Camped at 6.30 P.M.

(92) 19th

Started at 5.0 A.M. Got to our carts at 2.30 P.M. While we were away a party passed on their way down from the Saskatchewan, they told our men that Hind had 2 horses and his gin stolen from him by the Indians near the south branch of the river. Fine day. N.W. wind.

20th

Off at 5.0 A.M. on our way to Ft. Ellice. Camped at 6.0 P.M. Fine day. N.W. breeze. We have now not a dust of flour.

21st

Started at 5.0 A.M. After crossing a creek close to Shoal Lake [which is on Oak River] out of which it flows. Camped at 9.0 A.M. on the bank of lake. (93) After breakfast rode off to examine the lake which we found to be from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide and 6 miles long. Got back to carts at 6.0 P.M. Cold morning. Fine day. N.W. breeze.

22nd Sunday

Started at 5.0 A.M. just after met 3 Indians with a cart and 2 squaws on their way to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. 2 of the

APPENDIX 3: Transcribed diary of Humphrey Lloyd Hime

men were in the cart, while the 2 poor young frightened looking little squaws as usual had to trudge on foot through rivers and bogs and one of them had a papoose on her back. After breakfast met 2 Indians with 4 carts and 3 squaws for a wonder in the carts with a crowd of children, all on their way to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba]. They (94) asked us for whiskey and when they get to the settlement will no doubt soon get rid of everything they possess in exchange for that article. Crossed Bird's Tail River [Birdtail River] and camped at 6.30 P.M. Fine day. W. breeze.

23rd

Started at 5.0 A.M. and arrived at the crossing on the Assiniboine at 11.0 A.M. Mr. Hind and party arrived just at the same time. He told us that the report about stealing of his horses and gun by the Indians was quite untrue as he had received no annoyance from them whatever. Flemming [*sic*] [Fleming] and 2 men with canoe had gone down the Saskatchewan (95) thence through Lake Winnipeg to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] where I expect he will arrive before us. Camped. In the evening went up to Ft. Ellice found 6 or 7 tents of Indians all drunk in the first cask of rum having arrived yesterday. Hind, Dickinson and I each took a glass of it and in consequence were ill all night. It is shocking fiery stuff. Fine day. W. breeze.

24th

Up at 6.0 A.M. Dickinson and self took width of valley etc. while Hind with 3 or 4 men went to Ft. and brought down the wagon and all the things we had left on our former visit. Hind gave a quart of rum to the men which made some of them very valiant. At 6.15 P.M. started (96) on our way to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] and camped at 7.0 P.M. Boyde accompanied us some distance he has had some good buffalo hunting as they were in great numbers 3 days from the Ft. He intends to winter at Ft. Carlton [near Duck Lake, Saskatchewan]. McKay's brother of Ft. Ellice blew his thumb off by his gun bursting while running buffalo. This is a common accident from the badness of the guns and the hurry of loading. I forgot to mention that Hind reports the coal on the Saskatchewan to be similar to that on Little Souris [Souris River]. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

(97) 25th

Up at 5.0 A.M. The ox missing after some hours search he was found at the Ft. He swam across the river although he was 'hupped' that is had his fore legs tied together with buffalo hide thong. All the horses are thus hupped at night. We got flour when Hind came which we enjoyed very much. We are now going back on the same road we last came so it is doubly uninteresting. Heavy thunder storm in afternoon. Wet though. The horses now look very much worse of the wear; 3 of them have boots on made of raw buffalo hide. Camped at 6.30 P.M.

(98) 26th

Struck tents at 5.0 A.M. Camped at 6.10 P.M. Very cold wintry day. N.E. wind. Rain squalls in afternoon.

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27th

Struck tents at 5.0 A.M. Very cold last night, heavy white frost this morning. Water frozen in a cup close to fire. Before breakfast we branched off into the White Mud River road [White Mud River Cart Trail]. Camped at 6.30 P.M. close to where we crossed this road on our way down the Little Saskatchewan. Fine warm day. N.W. breeze.

28th

Started at 4.20 A.M. White frost again last night. Crossed the little Saskatchewan with canoe and breakfasted. Met 3 traders (99) from Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] on their way to the Saskatchewan with three carts and several barrels of liquor. Passed through good land thickly wooded with small poplar and willows and camped at 6.0 P.M. in small open prairie. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

29th Sunday

Started at 8.30 A.M. in afternoon came to White Mud River. At this place the track was along the top of a long sandy ridge about 1.4 of a mile wide and unknown length, it is perfectly straight and slopes gently down on each side into thick woods. Altogether very pretty. At the end of ridge met 3 or 4 tents of miserable looking Indians, they had been to Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] and were (100) now on their way home to the Forks of the Saskatchewan [near Prince Albert, Saskatchewan]. Camped at 6.30 P.M. on bank of river and had a good oak fire for the first time. Fine day. S.W. breeze.

30th

Started at 4.30 A.M. passed through a great deal of marshy land along bank of river. After breakfast came suddenly on 2 jumping deer with the carts, but before the guns could be got at, they were off. Crossed the river which is here about 1 chain [22 yards] wide and 1½ feet deep. Crossed it again late in afternoon. Here it is about 1½ chains [33 yards] wide and 4 feet deep. There is much good land along its banks wooded with (101) elm, oak, ash, maple, poplar etc. Dull cloudy day. Sprinkling of rain in morning. Flocks of pigeons going S.

31st

Started at 4.30 A.M. Got to last crossing of river at breakfast time. Here Dickinson and 2 men started down the river in canoe to Manitoba Lake [Lake Manitoba]. While Hind with 1 man and cart went down by land to meet him. I go along with main body to forks of road and wait there. Arrived at 1.0 P.M. and camped. The others come in at 7.0 P.M. Fine day. Showers with thunder in evening.

(102) September 1st

APPENDIX 3: Transcribed diary of Humphrey Lloyd Hime

Started after breakfast at 7.0 A.M. crossed 17 miles of level prairie with fine meadow grass and arrived at Prairie Portage [Portage la Prairie] at 12.30. Camped, all heartily glad to get back again. Heard of the death of one of the Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] traders. He was coming from St. Paul's with his carts and was driving ahead with another man in his buggy when near Pembina Mountain [on the Manitoba and North Dakota boarder] he was shot from behind by a party of Sioux, the other man jumped out and tried to escape, but was killed and scalped. Camped. A good many Indians about. Scalp dance going on at night. Cool showery day. W. wind.

(103) 2nd

Started at 4.30 A.M. After breakfast Hind and Dickinson rode ahead to Lane's Post [St François Xavier, Manitoba]. Arrived at Lane's Post [St François Xavier, Manitoba] at 8.20 P.M. Having come today with the carts 42 miles. Cold day. With showers.

3

Wet and gale from S.W. Hind and Dickinson started ahead after breakfast. I started with carts at 12.0. Roads very heavy. Camped at 5.30 P.M. Cold wet day. Stiff gale.

4th

Started at 4.30 A.M. and got to our house at Red River [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] at 8.30 A.M. Several of the horses regularly done up and (104) ourselves heartily tired. Found Hind and Dickinson who arrived yesterday afternoon. Cold showery day. N.W. wind. Fleming not yet arrived and no news of him.

16th

At 8.30 P.M. Fleming arrived. Had a hard time of it in Lake Winnipeg with stormy weather, 22 days in lake, living for a fortnight on fish. He rode up from Stone Fort [Lower Fort Garry] where he left his canoe and two men. Hind had got a boat and men ready to go to meet Fleming. Dickinson busy preparing to start to examine the country between here and Lake of the Woods and afterwards the wooded country lying between R.R. [Red River Colony or Settlement, later Selkirk Settlement, now Winnipeg, Manitoba] and (105) Prairie Portage at the other side of the Assiniboine. There are splendid crops here nearly all housed. The grasshoppers passed over to the northward and myriads were seen drowned in Lake Winnipeg. There are now two mails per month via St. Paul's [St François Xavier, Manitoba] and one via the route up which we came known as the Pigeon River route [Hind's *Narrative* describes this as a route connecting Lake Superior to Lake of the Woods, 94].

17th

8 Indians came to talk with Dickinson about going through their country towards the Lake of the Woods, as usual they were got up for the occasion with paint, rings beads etc. one had a fine necklace of grisly bear's claws, but would not sell it. They were seated on the floor of (106) the

APPENDIX 3: Transcribed diary of Humphrey Lloyd Hime

hall and tobacco (without which nothing can be done) given all round. After about 2 hours talking and smoking, every man making his little speech which he considered of vital importance, we gave them dinner to which they did ample justice and a glass of brandy all round afterwards. Then there was another hours talk, smoke, shaking of hands, and continued promises on Dickinson's part of the liberality of the Canadian Government and they finally agreed to permit him to go and one of them for a consideration of 5 pounds promised to guide him halfway. Rather dear for 50 miles but there was no alternation. In the middle of this solemn (107) conclave Fleming's men came in and got very glorious on a couple of glasses of Brandy and water.

18th

About noon today Dickinson and party departed. At the same time Hind and Fleming with the party in boat sailed down river, they propose going down Lake Winnipeg as far as Dauphin Lake and thence into Lake Manitoba. I remain here to take phos. [photographs].

(108) 1858 Nov. 29th

Left Fort Garry at 10 A.M. with 4 carioles, 5 trains, 38 dogs and 8 men. I driving my own cariole after going about 4 miles, man came up and wanted to drive my cariole. Let him try for a while but he did nothing but lash the dogs and got bitten and knew nothing about it so sent him off. Made about 15 miles when one train not being able to keep up, stopped about 4.30 P.M. While Hind, Dickinson and one train went on. Stopped at a settler's of the name of Dace.

(109) 30th

Started at 8 A.M. Went 25 miles and stopped at small hut (Clive's) at 3.30 P.M. Last train did not come up till 5.15 P.M. Good roads about 5 inches of snow. Snowing this evening.

APPENDIX 4

Table 1. Comparative table of Hime photographs as found in Henry Youle Hind’s *North-west Territory. Reports of Progress; Together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, Made under Instructions from the Provincial Secretary, Canada* (Toronto, Ont.: John Lovell, 1859); Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vols. (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860) and Henry Youle Hind, *Photographs Taken at Lord Selkirk’s Settlement on the Red River of the North, to Illustrate a Narrative of the Canadian Exploring Expeditions in Rupert’s Land by Henry Youle Hind, M.A., F.R.G.S. in Charge of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Expedition* (London, U.K.: J. Hogarth, 1860) in the Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (WA Photos 110).

As in App. 1	Henry Youle Hind, <i>North-west Territory</i> (Toronto, Ont.: John Lovell, 1859) Were included with the report, but not reproduced within the text itself.	Henry Youle Hind, <i>Narrative</i> , 2 vols. (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860)	Henry Youle Hind, <i>Photographs Taken at Lord Selkirk’s Settlement</i> (London, U.K.: J. Hogarth, 1860). Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
Fig. 1			
Fig. 2		Ojibways at Fort Frances, Rainy River (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 83)	
Fig. 3			
Fig. 4			
Fig. 5		Valley of the Souris. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 1, 293) [Figures have been added, the image has been horizontally flipped. Topographical detail exaggerated]	
Fig. 6		Encampment in the Qu’appele Valley. (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 323) [Flipped horizontally]	
Fig. 7		Fort Ellice, Beaver Creek. (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 310) [Additional figures and tepee have been added]	
Fig. 8		Valley of the Souris,	

APPENDIX 4: Comparative table of Humphrey Lloyd Hime photographs

		opposite the Valley of the Backfat Lakes (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 291) [May be based on this photograph but there are significant additions of figures and tepees, and topographical exaggerations]	
Fig. 9		Valley of the Souris, looking towards the Blue Hills of the Souris. (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 290) [May be based on this photograph but there are significant additions, like trees, and topographical exaggerations]	
Fig. 10			
Fig. 11			
Fig. 12			
Fig. 13	1. View of Red River from the Stone Fort.		View of the Red River, from the Stone Fort. (1)
Fig. 14	2. View of Red River from St. Andrew's Church: four miles above the Stone Fort.	Red River From St. Andrew's Church, four miles above the Stone Fort. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 1, 128)	View of Red River, from St. Andrew's Church, four miles above the Stone Fort. (2)
Fig. 15	3. Red River; Middle Settlement, eight miles below Fort Garry.		Red River; Middle Settlement, eight miles below Fort Garry. (3)
Fig. 16	4. Freighter's Boat on the banks of Red River, seven miles below Fort Garry.	Freighter's Boat (Woodcut, Vol. 2, 4) [Details in photograph, like snow and trees, removed]	Freighter's Boat on the banks of Red River, seven miles below Fort Garry. (The white patch in the foreground is snow.) (4)
Fig. 17	5. Bishop's Court, (the residence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land) on the banks of Red River. These Photographs exhibit the general character of the river.		Bishop's Court (the residence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land,) on the Banks of Red River. (5)
Fig. 18	6. Cathedral of St. Boniface (Roman		Cathedral of St. Boniface (Roman Catholic) and

APPENDIX 4: Comparative table of Humphrey Lloyd Hime photographs

	Catholic) and Nunnery on the banks of Red River, opposite Fort Garry.		Nunnery, on the banks of Red River, opposite Fort Garry. (6)
Fig. 19	7. St. John's Church, two miles below Fort Garry (Ch. of Eng.)		St. John's Church, two miles below Fort Garry. (Church of England.) (7)
Fig. 20	8. Presbyterian Church and Parsonage, seven miles below Fort Garry		Presbyterian Church and Parsonage, seven miles below Fort Garry. (8)
Fig. 21	9. St. Paul's Church, Parsonage and School House, 8½ miles below Fort Garry. (Ch. of Eng.)		St. Paul's Church, Parsonage, and School House, eight and half miles below Fort Garry. (Church of England.) (9)
Fig. 22	10. St. Andrew's Church, (Rapids Church 16 miles below Fort Garry. (Ch. of Eng.)		St. Andrew's Church (Rapids Church), sixteen miles below Fort Garry. (Church of England.) (10)
Fig. 23	11. St. Andrew's Parsonage.		St. Andrew's Parsonage. (11)
Fig. 24	13. Residence of Mr. Bannatyne, near Fort Garry.		Residence of Mr. Bannatyne, a general Trader, near Fort Garry. (12)
Fig. 25	14. Mr. McDermot's store, near Fort Garry.		Mr. McDermot's Store, near Fort Garry. One of the first houses erected at Red River. (13)
Fig. 26	16. Farm Houses and Wind-mills, Middle Settlement.		Farm-houses and Windmills, Middle Settlement. A vast expanse of Level Prairie lying to the West in the rear of the dwellings. (14)
Fig. 27			Mr. Hingster's House and Farm Buildings. (15)
Fig. 28	17. Ojibway Tent on the banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement.	Birch-bark Tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement. (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 200) [Figures added in	Ojibway Tents, on the banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement. (16)

APPENDIX 4: Comparative table of Humphrey Lloyd Hime photographs

		fore- and background]	
Fig. 29	19. Birch Bark Tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement.	Ojibway tents on the banks of Red River, near the Middle Settlement (Woodcut, Vol. 1, 202) [It is likely that this woodcut has been mislabeled in Hind.]	
Fig. 30	20. Indian Graves, covered with split sticks.	Indian Graves covered with Split Sticks. (Woodcut, Vol. 2, 164)	Indian Graves, covered with split sticks. An enemy's scalp is usually suspended from the thin poles overhanging the grave. (18)
Fig. 31	21. Indian Graves, covered with birch bark.	Indian Graves. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 2, 166)	Indian Graves, covered with birch bark. (The patch of white in the foreground is snow.) (19)
Fig. 32	22. The Prairie, on the Banks of Red River, looking south.		The Prairie, on the banks of Red River, looking South. (20)
Fig. 33	24. Fort Garry: at the confluence of Red River and the Assiniboine.	Fort Garry. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 2, 83) [Likely not based on photograph, as the photograph provides a different angle from a similar vantage]	Fort Garry; at the confluence of Red River and the Assiniboine. (21)
Fig. 34	25. Hon. Hudson's Bay Company's Officers' Quarters: Lower or Stone Fort.		Hon. Hudson's Bay Company's Officer's Quarters: Lower or Stone Fort. (22)
Fig. 35	26. Fur Store: interior of Lower or Stone Fort.		Fur Store: interior of Lower or Stone Fort. (23)
Fig. 36	27. John McKay: a Cree Half-breed.		John McKay; a Plain-Cree half-breed. (24)
Fig. 37	28. Letitia: a Cree Half-breed.		Letitia: a Plain-Cree half-breed. (25)
Fig. 38	29. Susan: a Swampy-Cree Half-breed	Susan, a Swampy Half-breed. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 2, 27)	Susan: a Swampy-Cree half-breed. (26)

APPENDIX 4: Comparative table of Humphrey Lloyd Hime photographs

Fig. 39	30. Wigwam: an Ojibway Half-breed, Lake Superior.	“Wigwam,” an Ojibway Half-breed. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 2, 52)	Wigwam: an Ojibway half-breed, Lake Superior. (27)
Fig. 40	31. An Ojibway Squaw with Papoose	An Ojibway Squaw, with Papoose. (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 2, frontispiece)	An Ojibway Squaw with Papoose. (28)
Fig. 41			A Blackfoot Warrior’s Robe, containing a history of his wars, and buffalo hunts, and showing the number of scalps he has taken from his enemies. (30)
Fig. 42	18. Tents in the Prairie, west of the Settlement.		Birch bark Tents, west bank of Red River, Middle Settlement. (17)
Fig. 43	32. Red River Freighter’s Boat.		
Fig. 44	23. The Prairie, looking west.	The Prairie Looking West (Chromoxylograph, Vol. 1, 135) [Birds have been added to the sky]	
Fig. 45	12. Residence of Chief Factor, (the late Mr. Bird,) Middle Settlement.		
Fig. 46	15. Quarters of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, Middle Settlement.		
Fig. 47			
Fig. 48	33. Dog Carioles; Expedition returning to Crow Wing, by the winter road.	Dog Carioles. (Woodcut, Vol. 2, 86)	Dog Carioles; part of the Expedition returning to Crow Wing, by the winter road. (29)
Fig. 49			

APPENDIX 5

Selected photographs made by Benjamin F. Baltzly during the 1871 Geological Survey of Canada. A complete list of all photographs take on the expedition can be found in Appendix 7. Baltzly's photographs have been reproduced in: Andrew J. Birrell, *Benjamin Baltzly: Photographs & Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia 1871* (Toronto, Ont.: Coach House Press, 1878). The complete inventory is reproduced, alongside Baltzly's journal, in: Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, "The Journal of Benjamin F. Baltzly," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no. 1 (2014): 27-129.

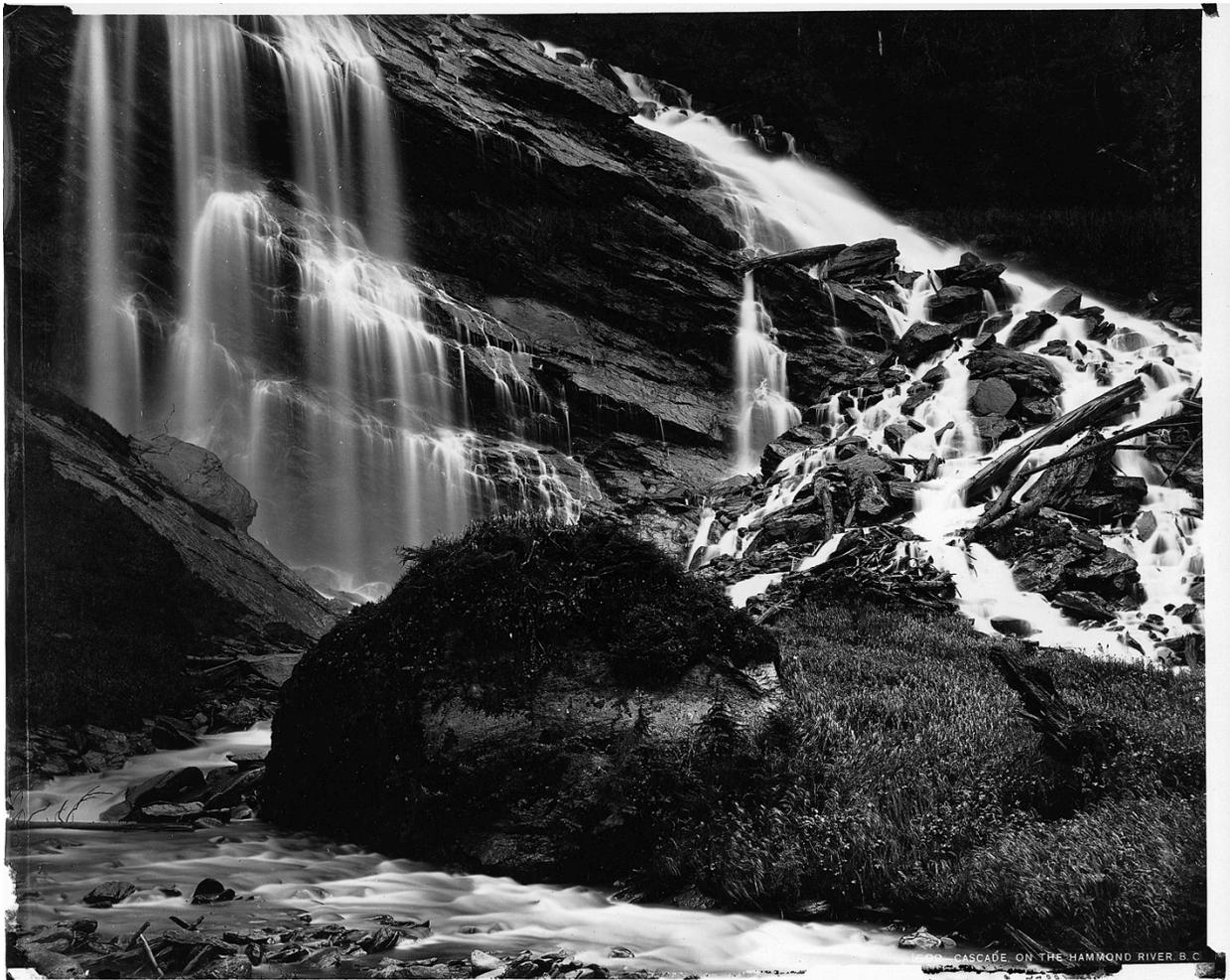


Figure 62. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Lower Falls, Garnet River Cascade, near Mt. Cheadle, North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69979, McCord.

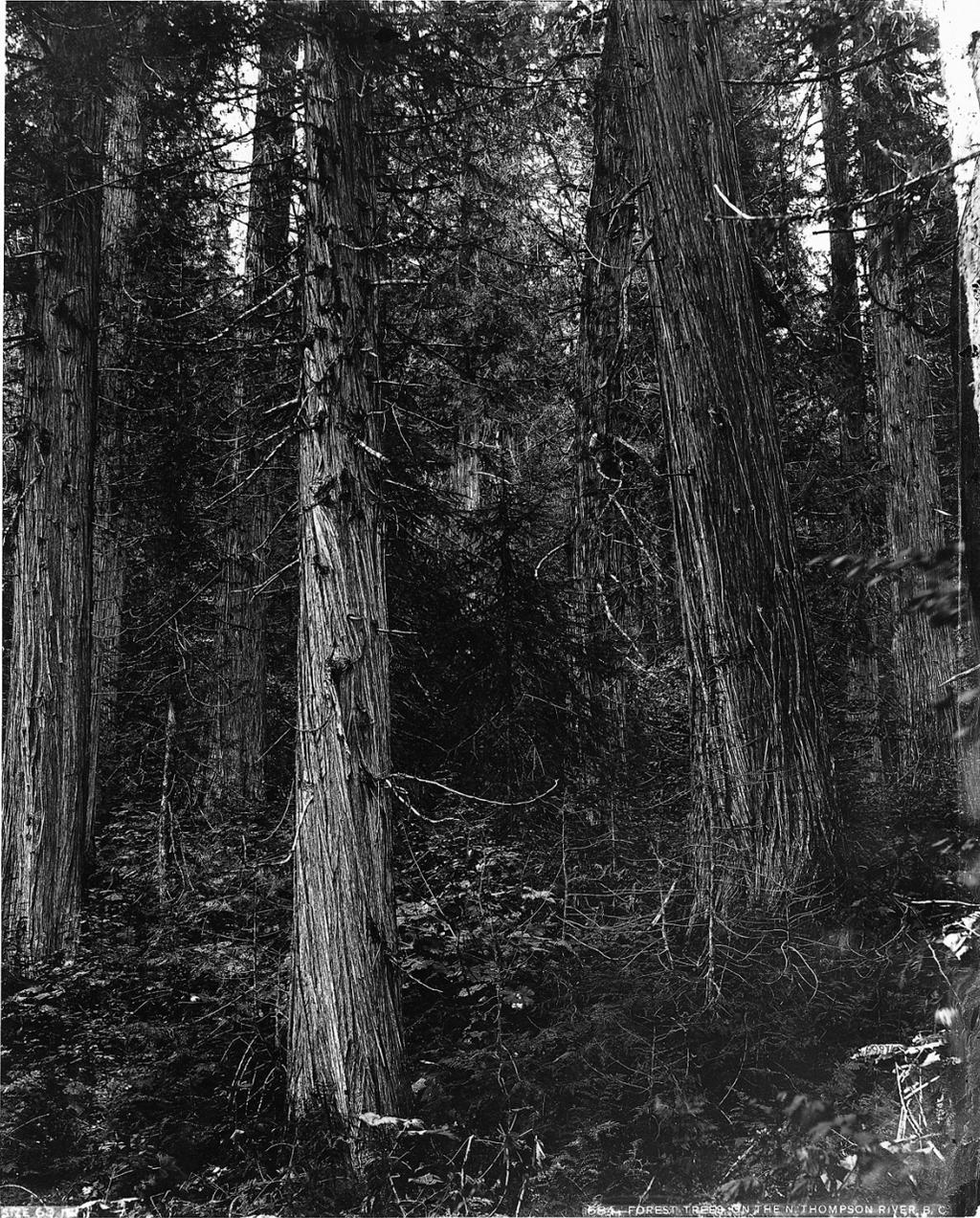


Figure 63. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Forest trees on the North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69974, McCord.

APPENDIX 5: Selected photographs made by Benjamin Baltzly

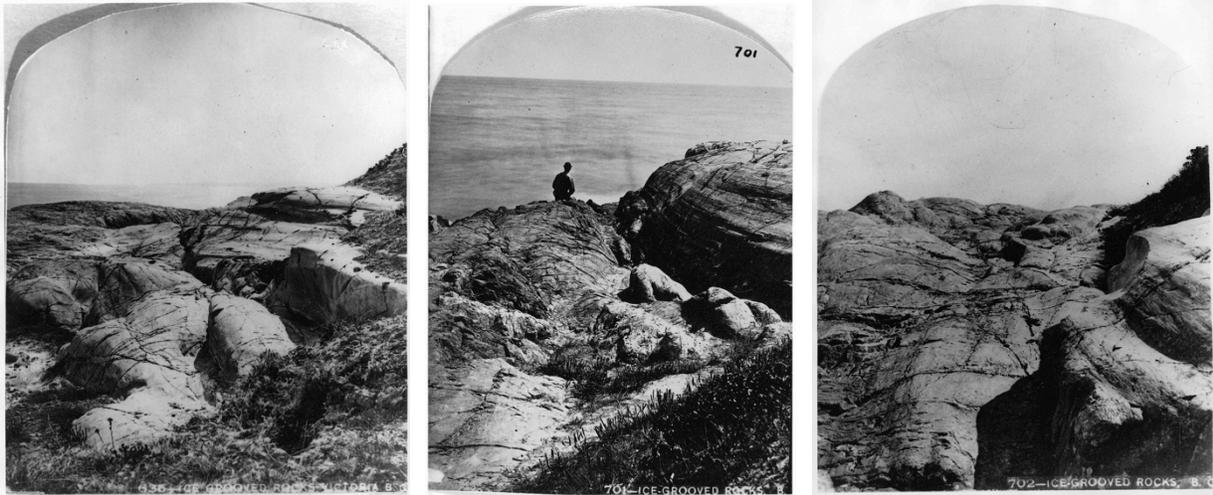


Figure 64. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Ice-grooved rocks, Victoria, BC, 1871* (identical title for all three). Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. (L) I-69910, (C) I-69911, (R) I-69912, McCord.

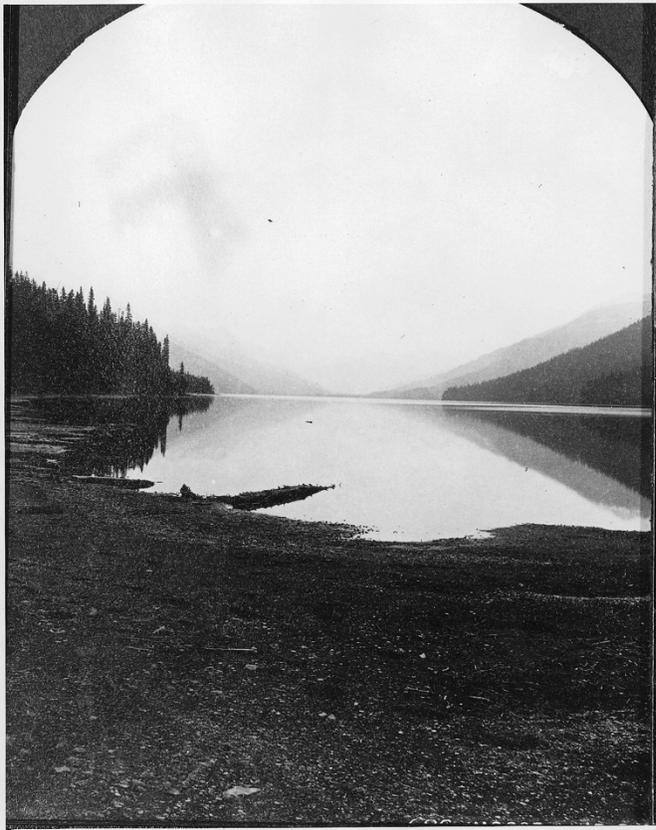


Figure 65. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Moose Lake, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69997, McCord.



Figure 66. (L) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Cascade on the Garnet River, North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 25 x 20 cm. I-69978, McCord.
(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Garnet River Cascade, North Thompson River, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-699980, McCord.



LOWER FALLS OF GARNET RIVER CASCADE, NEAR MOUNT CHEADLE, B. C.—SEE PAGE 135.

Figure 67. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Lower Falls of Garnet River Cascade, Near Mount Cheadle, B.C.” *The Canadian Illustrated News* 5, no. 9 (2 March 1872): 133.



Figure 68. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Spuzzum River from Cariboo Road, BC, 1871*. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69918, McCord.



Figure 69. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Victoria S. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process. I-69909, McCord.



Figure 70. Benjamin F. Baltzly, **(L)** *Victoria N. N. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69904, McCord. **(C)** *Victoria E. N. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69906, McCord. **(R)** *Victoria W. S. West from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69907, McCord.



Figure 71. Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Selkirk Mountains as seen from top of Mountain, near the confluence of Blue and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.* Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69966, McCord.

APPENDIX 6

Table 2. Inventory of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs taken during the 1871 Geological Survey with dates based on Baltzly's journal. Titles are given as they are labeled by the McCord.

8x10 Views

69901 Victoria harbour from St. Nicholas Hotel, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69904 Victoria N. N. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69906 Victoria E. N. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69907 Victoria W. S. West from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69909 Victoria S. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69913 The First Pacific R.R. and Geological Survey parties from British Columbia, July 22 nd , 1871	Saturday July 22, 1871
69914 The First Pacific R.R. and Geological Survey parties from British Columbia, July 22 nd , 1871	Saturday July 22, 1871
69917 Spuzzum River from Cariboo Road, B.C.	Friday July 28, 1871
69927 Indian Camp and Mountain Scenery at Bonaparte, B.C.	Friday August 4, 1871
69931 Savona Ferry, B.C.	Monday August 7, 1871
69933 Tranquille Mills, B.C.	Friday August 11, 1871
69939 Basaltic rocks at Battle Bluff, Kamloops Lake, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69944 Gravel Banks and Columns and Mountain Scenery on the Tranquille River, 3mls from its mouth, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69947 The junction of N. and S. Thompson River at Kamloops, B.C.	Tuesday August 15, 1871
69953 View from the N. Thompson River at Assiniboine Bluff, 62 miles from Kamloop, B.C.	Friday August 25, 1871
69961 Mad River near its junction with North Thompson River, B.C.	Thursday August 31, 1871
69966 Selkirk Mountains as seen from the top of Mountain, near the confluence of Blue and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.	Saturday September 9, 1871
69967 Selkirk Mountains as seen from the top of Mountain, near the confluence of Blue and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.	Saturday September 9, 1871
69968 Selkirk Mountains as seen from the top of Mountain, near the confluence of Blue and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.	Saturday September 9, 1871
69972 Glaciers and Mountin Scenery at the confluence of Muddy and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.	Monday September 18, 1871
69973 Snow Clad Mountains on the North Thompson 165 miles above Kamloop, B.C.	Saturday September 23, 1871
69974 Forest Scene on the North Thompson 165 miles above Kamloop, B.C. .	Saturday September 23, 1871
69976 Mt. Cheadle, showing the upper part of Garnet River, B.C.	Friday September 29, 1871
69977 Garnet River Cascade, near Mount Cheadle, B.C.	Friday September 29, 1871
69978 Garnet River Cascade, near Mount Cheadle, B.C.	Friday September 29, 1871
69979 Lower Falls of Garnet River Cascade, near Mount	Friday September 29, 1871

APPENDIX 6: Inventory of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

Cheadle, B.C.	
69984 Snow Clad Mountains on the North Branch of the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Friday October 6, 1871
69987 Fallen Timber across the North Branch of the North Thompson River, B.C.	Monday October 9, 1871
69988 Mount Milton Range from Albrede Lake, B.C.	Wednesday October 11, 1871
69993 Geological Survey Party to British Columbia at Canoe River, October 14 th 1871, B.C.	Saturday October 14, 1871
70011 Geological and C.P.R.R. Survey caching provisions etc. at the Forks of the North Thompson River, Oct. 30 th 1871, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70014 View above the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Monday November 6, 1871
70017 View at the Lower end of the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Monday November 6, 1871
70020 Making Portage of Canoes over the Bluff at the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids, in the North Thompson River, B.C.	Monday November 6, 1871
70021 General View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871
70023 General View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871
70024 View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, showing photographer's tent etc., B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871

Stereo Views

69902 Victoria harbour from St. Nicholas Hotel, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69903 Government Street, Victoria, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69905 Victoria N. N. East from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69908 Victoria W. S. West from Indian Mission Hill, B.C.	Wednesday July 19, 1871
69910 Ice-grooved rocks at Finleyson's Point, Victoria, B.C.	Friday July 21, 1871
69911 Ice-grooved rocks at Finleyson's Point, Victoria, B.C.	Friday July 21, 1871
69912 Ice-grooved rocks at Finleyson's Point, Victoria, B.C.	Friday July 21, 1871
69915 View on the Fraser River 7½ miles from York, B.C.	Friday July 28, 1871
69916 Halt for Dinner on the Fraser, B.C.	Friday July 28, 1871
69918 Spuzzum River from Cariboo Road, B.C.	Friday July 28, 1871
69919 Suspension bridge across the Fraser River, B.C.	Saturday July 29, 1871
69920 East abutment of the Suspension Bridge, Fraser River, B.C.	Saturday July 29, 1871
69921 Lytton, B.C.	Tuesday August 1, 1871
69922 Ox team at rest in Lytton, B.C.	Tuesday August 1, 1871

APPENDIX 6: Inventory of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

69923 View on the Thompson R. 2 mils from Lytton B.C.	Wednesday August 2, 1871
69924 View on the Thompson R. 2 mils from Lytton B.C.	Wednesday August 2, 1871
69925 View on the Thompson R. 3 mils from Lytton B.C..	Wednesday August 2, 1871
69926 Hell's Gate on the Thompson River, B.C.	Thursday August 3, 1871
69928 Indian Camp and Mountain Scenery at Bonaparte, B.C.	Thursday August 3, 1871
69929 Teamsters Breakfasting at Bonaparte, B.C.	Friday August 4, 1871
69930 Teamsters camping at Bonaparte, B.C.	Friday August 4, 1871
69932 Savona Ferry, B.C.	Monday August 7, 1871
69934 Tranquille Mills near Kamloops Lake, B.C.	Friday August 11, 1871
69935 William Fortune and friends	Saturday August 12, 1871
69936 View East from Tranquille Mills, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69937 View N. W. from Tranquille Mills, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69938 View W. from Tranquille Mills, giving a distant view of Battle Bluff, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69940 Basaltic rocks at Battle Bluff, Kamloops Lake, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69941 Battle Bluff, Kamloops Lake, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69942 South shore of Kamloop Lake, opposite Battle Bluff, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69943 Mountain Scenery on the Tranquille River, 2 mils from its mouth, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69945 Gravel Banks and Columns and Mountain Scenery on the Tranquille River, 3mls from its mouth, B.C.	Saturday August 12, 1871
69946 Kamloops, B.C.	Tuesday August 15, 1871
69948 The junction of N. and S. Thompson River at Kamloops, B.C.	Tuesday August 15, 1871
69949 North Thompson River Valley, B.C.	Tuesday August 15, 1871
69950 Mr. McKenzie and family	Tuesday August 15, 1871
69951 Red Pine Indian Reserve on the North Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday August 23, 1871
69952 View from the N. Thompson River at Assiniboine Bluff, 62 miles from Kamloop, B.C.	Friday August 25, 1871
69954 Assiniboine Bluff on the N. Thompson River, 62 miles from Kamloop, B.C.	Friday August 25, 1871

APPENDIX 6: Inventory of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

69956 Raft River Cascade, near the Junction of the R. with the N. Thompson, B.C.	Monday August 28, 1871
69957 Raft River Cascade, near the Junction of the R. with the N. Thompson, B.C.	Monday August 28, 1871
69958 Raft River Cascade, near the Junction of the R. with the N. Thompson, B.C.	Monday August 28, 1871
69959 Raft River Cascade, near the Junction of the R. with the N. Thompson, B.C.	Monday August 28, 1871
69960 View at the Great Bend of the N. Thompson River, 21 mls above Clear Water, B.C.	Tuesday August 29, 1871
69962 Mad River near its junction with North Thompson River, B.C.	Thursday August 31, 1871
69963 Geological and 2 Party of the C.P.R.R. Survey Camps, on the North Thompson 112 miles from Kamloop, B.C.	Thursday August 31, 1871
69964 Camp of Geological Survey, near the head of Mad River B.C. – Altitude of Camp 6000 feet.	Wednesday September 6, 1871
69965 Lake at the head of Mad River, B.C. – 6000 feet	Wednesday September 6, 1871
69969 Selkirk Mountains as seen from the top of Mountain, near the confluence of Blue and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.	Saturday September 9, 1871
69970 Lake on the top of Mountain near the confluence of the Blue and N. Thompson Rivers, B.C. – Altitude of Lake, 6750 feet	Saturday September 9, 1871
69971 Lake on the top of Mountain near the confluence of the Blue and N. Thompson Rivers, B.C. – Altitude of Lake, 6750 feet	Saturday September 9, 1871
69975 Geological Survey Camp on the North Thompson after a stormy night 165 miles above Kamloop, B.C.	Saturday September 23, 1871
69980 Garnet River Cascade, near Mount Cheadle, B.C.	Friday September 29, 1871
69981 Garnet River Cascade, near Mount Cheadle, B.C.	Friday September 29, 1871
69982 Mountain Scenery from the Forks of the North Thompson, B.C.	Wednesday October 4, 1871
69983 Mountain Scenery from the Forks of the North Thompson, B.C.	Wednesday October 4, 1871
69985 Snow Clad Mountains on North Branch of the North Thompson River – 2 miles form the Forks, B.C.	Friday October 6, 1871
69986 Beaver Creek from the trail along N. Branch of North Thompson River, B.C.	Saturday October 7, 1871
69989 Mount Milton Range from Albreda Lake, B.C.	Wednesday October 11, 1871
69990 Mountain Scenery, near Albreda Lake, B.C.	Thursday October 12, 1871
69991 Albreda Lake Valley, B.C.	Thursday October 12, 1871
69992 The Photographer of the Geological Survey in camp near Albreda Lake, October 12 th 1871 B.C.	Thursday October 12, 1871

APPENDIX 6: Inventory of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

69994 North West View from the Lower end of Moose Lake, B.C.	Thursday October 19, 1871
69995 West View from the Lower end of Moose Lake, B.C.	Thursday October 19, 1871
69996 South View from the Lower end of Moose Lake, B.C.	Thursday October 19, 1871
69997 Moose Lake, B.C.	Thursday October 19, 1871
69998 Mountain scenery near the Grand Forks of the Fraser River, B.C.	Monday October 23, 1871
69999 Mountain scenery near the Grand Forks of the Fraser River, B.C.	Monday October 23, 1871
70000 Mountain scenery near the Grand Forks of the Fraser River, B.C.	Monday October 23, 1871
70001 Mountain scenery at Selwyn River near Cranberry Lake, B.C.	Wednesday October 25, 1871
70002 Mountain scenery at Selwyn River near Cranberry Lake, B.C.	Wednesday October 25, 1871
70003 Mountain scenery at Selwyn River near Cranberry Lake, B.C.	Wednesday October 25, 1871
70004 View from Selwyn River near Cranberry Lake, looking toward Tete Jaun Cache, B.C.	Wednesday October 25, 1871
70005 Mount Thompson on Canoe River near Cranberry Lake, B.C.	Wednesday October 25, 1871
70006 Confluence of the McLellan and Canoe River Vallies, B.C.	Wednesday October 25, 1871
70007 Canoe River Valley, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70008 Canoe River Gap, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70009 Cranberry Lake, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70010 Cranberry Lake and Tete Juan Cache Valley, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70012 Geological and C.P.R.R. Survey caching provisions etc. at the Forks of the North Thompson River, Oct. 30 th 1871, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70013 Geological and C.P.R.R. Survey caching provisions etc. at the Forks of the North Thompson River, Oct. 30 th 1871, B.C.	Monday October 30, 1871
70015 View above the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Monday November 6, 1871
70016 View above the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Monday November 6, 1871
70018 View at the Lower end of the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871
70019 View at the Lower end of the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871

APPENDIX 6: Inventory of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

70022 General View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871
70025 Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the North Thompson River, B.C.	Wednesday November 8, 1871

APPENDIX 7

Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs as they appear in the private albums Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-66, AO; and William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.



Figure 72. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Hell Gate, B.C.” (centre). Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-66, AO.

APPENDIX 7: Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs in private albums



Figure 73. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Savona Ferry, B.C.” (centre); “Forest Scene in British Columbia” (bottom left); “Battle Bluff, Kamloops Lake” (bottom right). Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-52, F4357-0-0-0-53, F4357-0-0-0-54, AO.

APPENDIX 7: Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs in private albums



Figure 74. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “View on Fraser River 7½ Miles from Yale, B.C.” (top left); “View at Great Bend of Thompson River, Clear Water, B.C.” (top right). Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-56, F4357-0-0-0-57, AO.



Figure 75. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Indian Camp and Scenery at Bonaparte, B.C.” Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-31, AO.



Figure 76. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Portage. Upper Gate of Murchison Rapids on North Thompson River, B. Columbia.” Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-6, AO.

APPENDIX 7: Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs in private albums

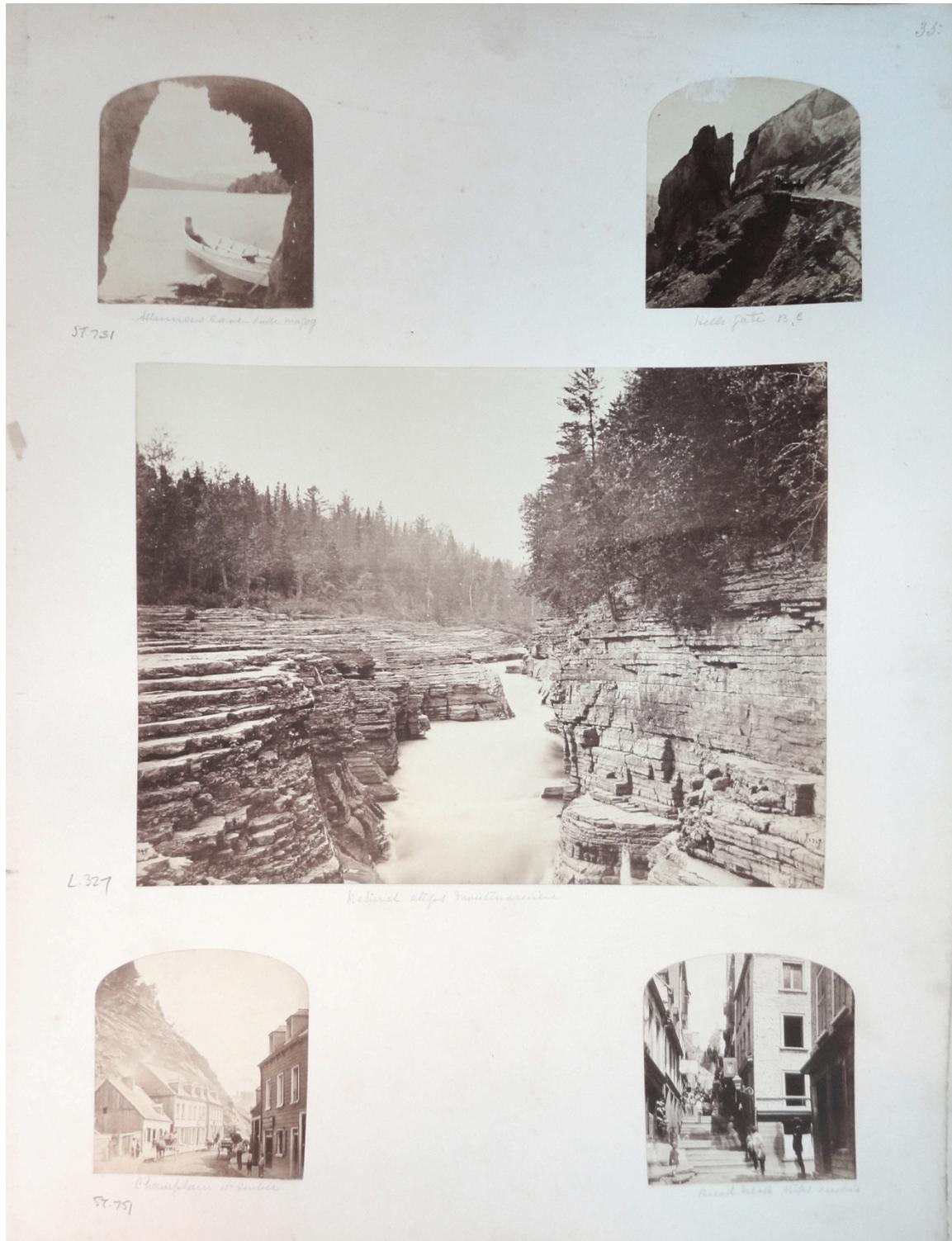


Figure 77. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Hells Gate B.C. (top right).” William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.

APPENDIX 7: Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs in private albums

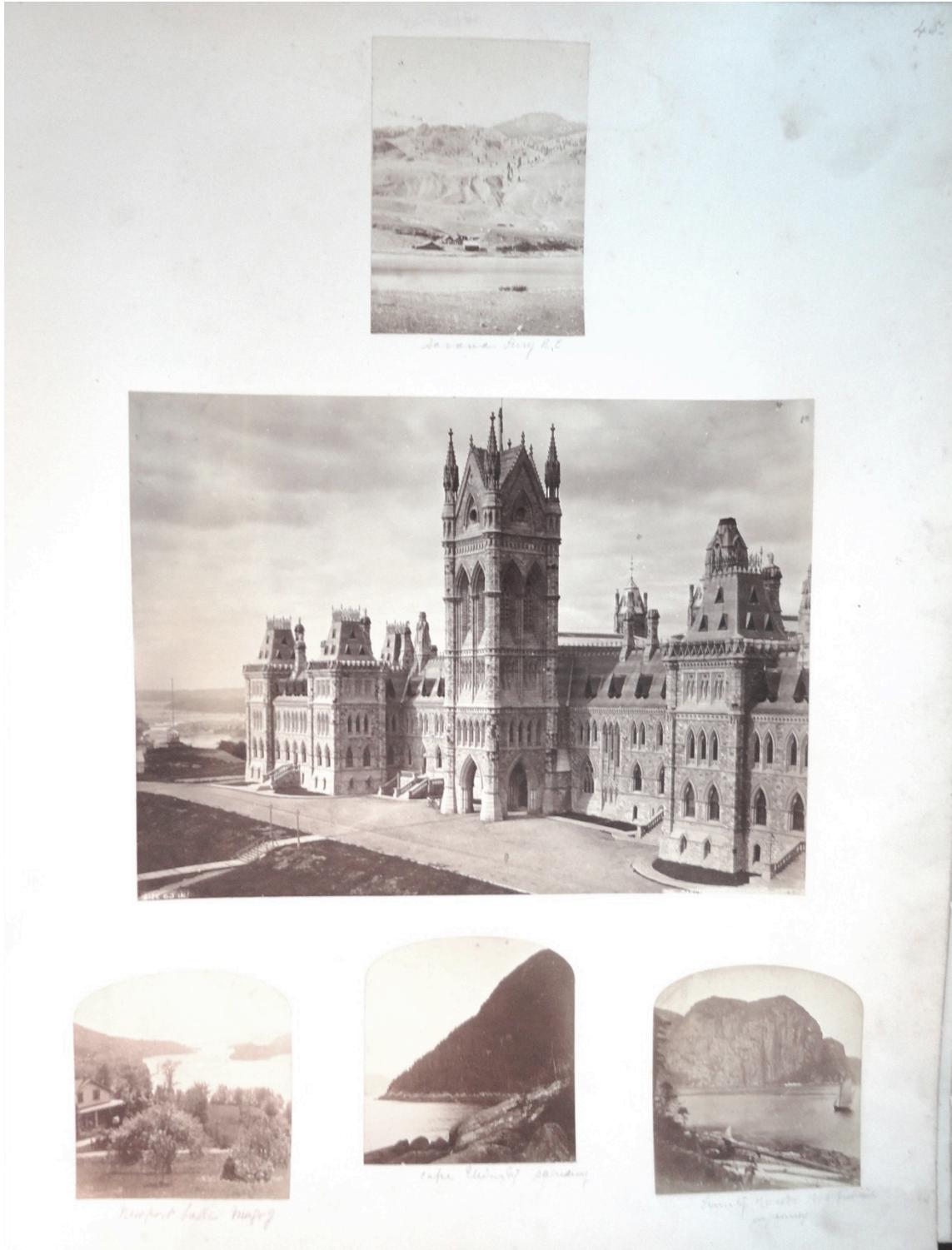


Figure 78. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Savona Ferry B.C.” (top). William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.

APPENDIX 7: Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs in private albums

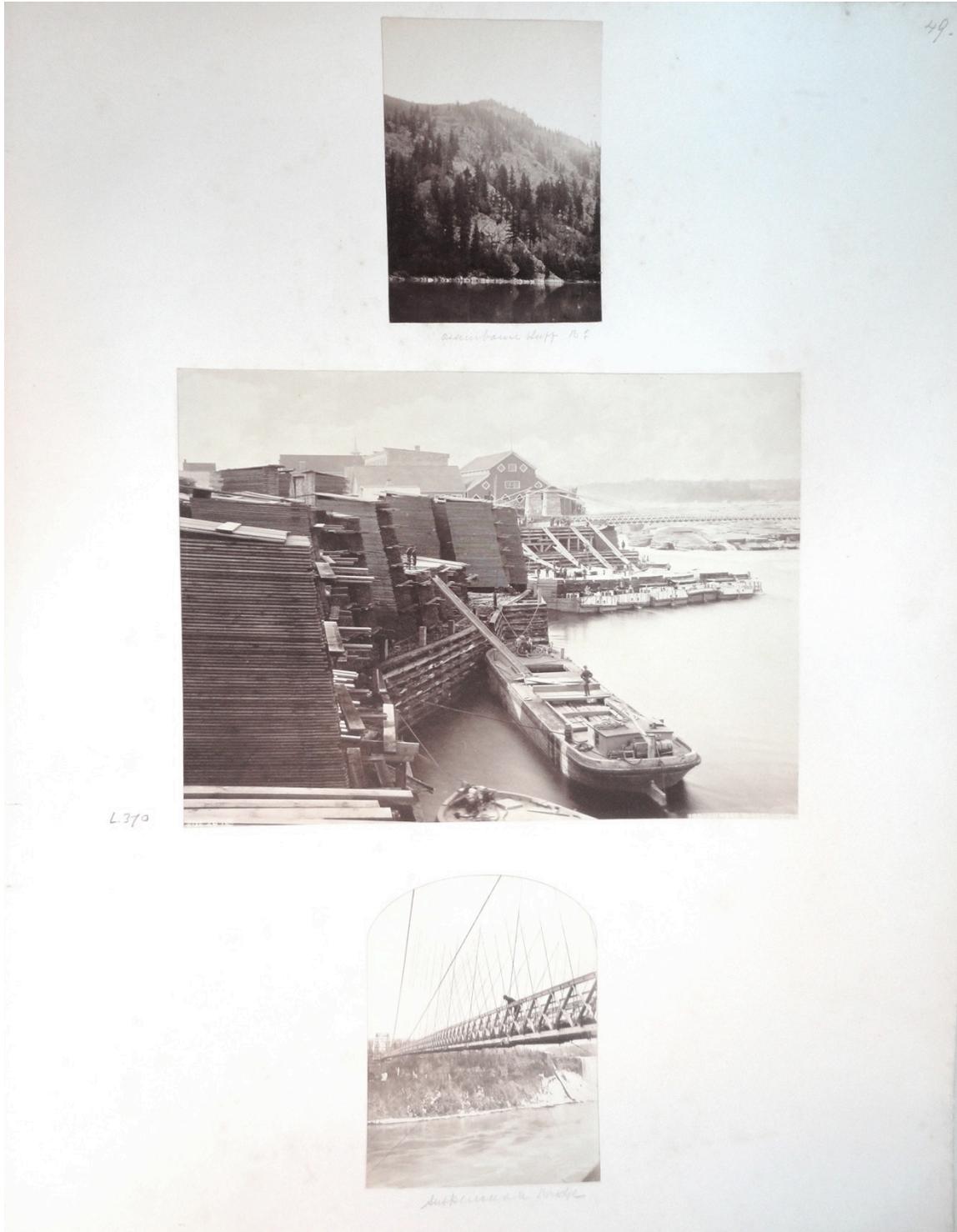


Figure 79. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Assiniboine Bluff B.C.” (top). William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.

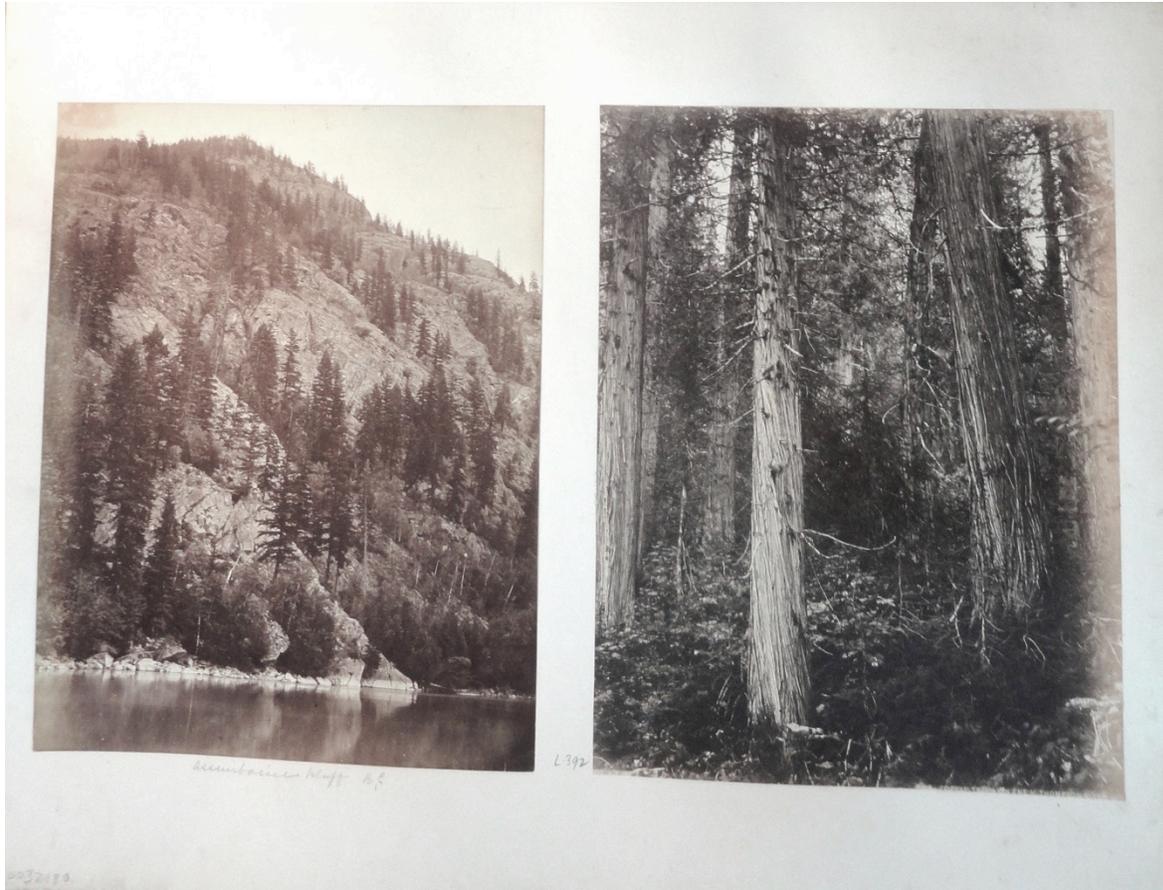


Figure 80. Benjamin F. Baltzly, “Assiniboine Bluff B.C.” (left); “Forest Trees on the N. Thompson River, B.C.” (right). William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO.

APPENDIX 8

Table 3. Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs included in the Collection of William Notman and Alexander Henderson Photographs, Eyre Album, F4357-0-0-0-6, AO, with the titles as they appear in the AO finding aid, the McCord, and the Notman Ledger and Picture Book.

Archives of Ontario Finding Aid Number and Name	Name as Written in the Album	McCord Archives Number and Name	Notman Ledger Number and Name	Notman Picture Book Records for the 1871 Geological Survey Trip to B.C.
F 4357-0-0-0-6 British Columbia, portage of upper gate of Murchison	Portage Upper Gate of Murchison Rapids on the Thompson River, B. Columbia	I-70020.2 Portage of canoes at the upper gate, Murchison's Rapids, North Thompson River, BC	70020-I On the Murchison River B.C.	Making Portage of Canoes over the Bluff at the upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids, in the North Thompson River B.C.
F 4357-0-0-0-32 British Columbia, Bonaparte, Indian camp and scenery [sic]	Indian Camp and Scenery at Bonaparte, B.C.	I-69927 Aboriginal Encampment on the North Thompson River, BC	69927-I Indian Encampment	Indian Camp and Mountain Scenery at Bonaparte B.C.
F 4357-0-0-0-52 British Columbia, Savona ferry	Savona Ferry B.C.	I-69932.1 At Savona Ferry, BC	69932-I View at Savona Ferry Kamloops	Savona Ferry, B.C.
F 4357-0-0-0-53 British Columbia, forest scene	Forest Scene in British Columbia	I-69964.1 Geological Survey Camp, near the source of Mad River, BC	69964-I Geo. Survey Encampment	Camp of the Geological Survey near the head of Mad River B.C. – Altitude of Camp 6000 ft
F 4357-0-0-0-54 British Columbia, Kamloop Lake [sic]	Battle Bluff, Kamloop Lake [sic]	I-69941.1 Battle Bluff Kamloops Lake, BC	69941-I Battle Cliff	Battle Bluff Kamloop Lake B.C. [sic]
F 4357-0-0-0-56 British Columbia, Fraser River	View on Fraser River 71/2 miles from Yale	I-69915.1 On the Fraser River, BC	69915-I On the Fraser River (Cariboo	View on Fraser River 71/2 miles from Yale

APPENDIX 8: Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

	B.C.		Road)	B.C.
F 4357-0-0-0-57 British Columbia, Thompson River	View at Great Bend of Thompson R. Clear Water B.C.	I-69960.1 Great Bend, North Thompson River, near Clearwater, BC	Not in the ledger	View at the Great Bend of the N. Thompson River 21 mls Above Clear Water, B.C.
F 4357-0-0-0-66 British Columbia, Hill Gate	Hell Gate B.C.	I-69926.1 Hell's Gate, on the North Thompson River	Not in the ledger	Hell's Gate on the Thompson River, B.C.

APPENDIX 8: Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

Table 4. Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs included in the William Notman fonds, Rev. Henry E. Maddock Album, F4358, AO, with the titles as they appear in the McCord collection.

Page and Name as Written in the Album	McCord Archives Number and Name
p. 35 Hells Gate B.C.	I-69926.1 Hell's Gate, on the North Thompson River, BC
p. 45 Savona Ferry, B.C.	I-69932.1 At Savona Ferry, BC
p. 49 Assiniboine Bluff	I-69953 Assiniboine Bluff on the North Thompson River, BC
p.57 Assiniboine Bluff	I-69953 Assiniboine Bluff on the North Thompson River, BC
p. 57 untitled	I-69987 Fallen timber on north branch of North Thompson River

APPENDIX 8: Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

Table 5. Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs included in the McLaren collection at the Kamloops Museum and Archives, with the titles as they appear in the Notman Picture Book.

Archives of Ontario Finding Aid Number and Name	Notman Picture Book Records for the 1871 Geological Survey Trip to B.C.
1453 The first Canadian Pacific Railway and Geological Survey parties for British Columbia, July 22, 1871	69913 or 69914 The first Pacific R.R. + Geological Survey parties from B. Columbia, July 22, 1871
1454 The first Canadian Pacific Railway and Geological Survey photos of snow-clad mountains on the North Thompson River 165 miles above Kamloops	69975 Geological Survey camp on the North Thompson After a stormy night 165 miles above Kamloop, B.C. [sic]
1455 Geological and C.P.R survey party caching provisions etc., at the forks of the North Thompson River October 30, 1871	70011 Geological + C.P.R.R. Survey caching provisions etc. at the Forks of the North Thompson River Oct. 30, 1871, B.C.
1456 Mad River near its junction with the North Thompson River	69961 or 69962 Mad River near its junction with the North Thompson River, B.C.
1457 Forest scene on the North Thompson 165 miles above Kamloops	69974 Forest Scene on the North Thompson, 165 miles above Kamloop, B.C. [sic]
1458 Snow-clad mountains on the north branch of the North Thompson River two miles from the Forks, B.C.	69984 or 69985 Snow Clad Mountains on the North Branch of the N. Thompson River, B.C.
1459 Selkirk mountains as seen from the top of mountain near the confluence of Blue river and North Thompson River	69966 or 69967 or 69968 or 69969 Selkirk Mountains as seen from the top of Mountain near the confluence of Blue and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.
1460 Raft River Cascade near the junction of the river with the North Thompson	69955 to 69959 Raft River Cascade near the junction of the river with the North Thompson
1461 Geological Survey Party to B.C. at Canoe River Oct. 14, 1871	69993 Geological Survey Party to British Columbia at Canoe River, October 14 th 1871, B.C.
1462 Fallen timber across the north branch of the North Thompson	69987 Fallen timber across the north branch of the North Thompson River, B.C.
1463 Garnet river Cascade near Mount Cheadle, B.C.	69977 or 69978 or 69980 or 69981 Garnet River Cascade near Mount Cheadle, B.C.
1464 Mount Cheadle showing the upper part of Garnet River	69976 Mount Cheadle Showing the upper part of Garnet River, B.C.
1465 View at the mouth of Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids, in the North Thompson River district showing photographer's tents etc.	70021 or 70022 or 70023 General View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.
1466 View above the upper gate of Murchison's Rapids in the North Thompson River	70024 View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, B.C.
1467 View at the lower end of the upper gate of Murchison's Rapids	70017 or 70018 or 70019 View at the lower end of the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the

APPENDIX 8: Comparative table of Benjamin F. Baltzly photographs

	North Thompson River, B.C.
1468 General view at the mouth of the lower gate of Murchison's Rapids	70021 or 70022 or 70023 General View at the mouth of the Lower Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the N. Thompson River, showing photographer's tent etc., B.C
1469 Making portage of canoes over the bluff at the upper gate of Murchison's Rapids	70020 Making Portage of Canoes over the Bluff at the Upper Gate of Murchison's Rapids in the North Thompson River, B.C.
1470 Indian camp and mountain scenery at Bonaparte	69927 or 69928 Indian Camp and Mountain Scenery at Bonaparte B.C.
1471 Gravel banks and columns, and mountain scenery on Tranquille River, three miles from its mouth	69944 or 69945 Gravel banks and columns, and mountain scenery on Tranquille River, three miles from its mouth
1472 Tranquille mills, Kamloops Lake	69933 or 69934 Tranquille mills, Kamloops Lake, B.C.
1473 Junction of North and South Thompson Rivers at Kamloops.	69947 or 69948 Junction at the N+S Thompson Rivers at Kamloop, B.C. [<i>sic</i>]
1474 Basaltic Bluffs, Kamloops Lake, West of Tranquille	69939 or 69940 Basaltic Rocks at Battle Bluff, Kamloops Lake, B.C.
1475-1476-1477-1478 Views of Victoria	

APPENDIX 9

Selected photographs by Alexander Henderson and supplemental images.



Figure 81. Alexander Henderson, *Spring Inundation. Bank of St. Lawrence River.* 1865. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.5 x 18.3 cm. Canadian Views & Studies, R5500-66-3-E, PA-126621, LAC.



Figure 82. Alexander Henderson, *Tanneries Village*. 1858. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.0 x 23.8 cm. Andrew Audubon Merrilees fonds, R5500-0-6-E, PA-123822, LAC.



Figure 83. Alexander Henderson, *S.S. MOUNTAIN MAID at Lake Magog pier*. 1864. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.0 x 21.5 cm. PA-028607, LAC.



Figure 84. Otto Reinhold Jacobi, *Laurentian Mountains (On the Gatineau)*. 1867. Oil on canvas, 66 x 104 cm. Art Gallery of Windsor, Windsor, Ont.

APPENDIX 9: Selected photographs by Alexander Henderson and supplemental images

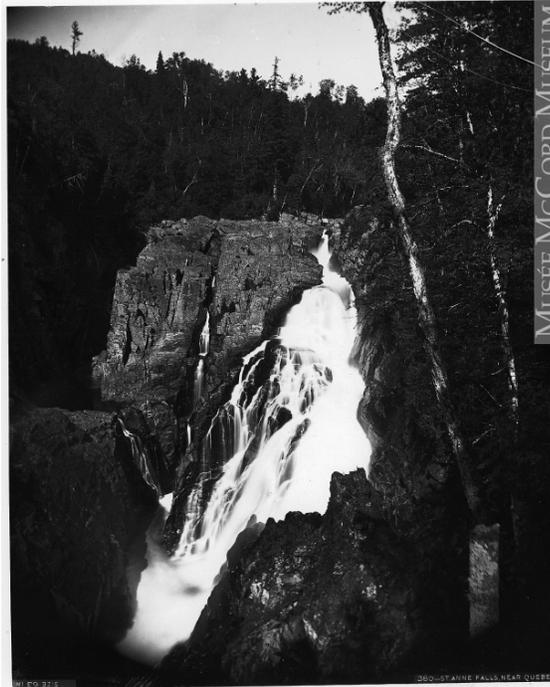


Figure 85. (L) Otto Reinhold Jacobi, *Falls of Ste. Anne, Quebec*. 1865. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 58.8 cm. AGO. (R) William Notman, *St. Anne's Falls, near Quebec City, QC*. 1865. Silver salts on glass, wet collodion process, 25 x 20 cm. I-17486, McCord.

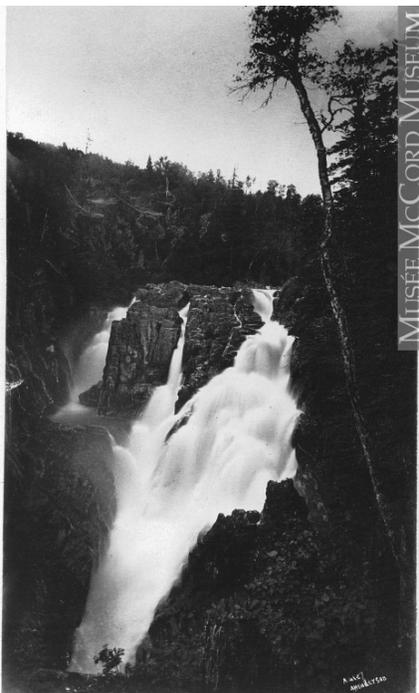


Figure 86. Alexander Henderson, *Ste. Anne's Falls, near Quebec City, QC*. About 1870. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 19.2 x 11.5 cm. MP-0000.139.46, McCord.

APPENDIX 9: Selected photographs by Alexander Henderson and supplemental images



Figure 87. Alexander Henderson, *Locomotive with snow plough, Black River, near Quebec City, QC.* 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 11.8 x 19.3 cm. MP-0000.1452.92, McCord.



Figure 88. Alexander Henderson, *Four locomotives with snow plough, Black River, near Quebec City, QC.* 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 11.5 x 19.4 cm. MP-0000.1452.93, McCord.

APPENDIX 9: Selected photographs by Alexander Henderson and supplemental images



Figure 89. Alexander Henderson, *Partly ploughed railway track, Black River, near Quebec City, QC.* 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 11.4 x 19.4 cm. MP-0000.1452.94, McCord.



Figure 90. Alexander Henderson, *Four G. T. R. locomotives behind snowplough, Black River, near Quebec City, QC.* 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 11.5 x 19.2 cm. MP-0000.1452.95, McCord.

APPENDIX 9: Selected photographs by Alexander Henderson and supplemental images



Figure 91. Alexander Henderson, *G. T. R. Train in Snow, Chaudière, near Quebec City, QC.* February 23, 1869. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, 45.7 x 53.3 cm. MP-0000.1452.96, McCord.

GUNWALLOE CHURCH, CORNWALL.

The parish of Gunwalloe, near Helston, with a population of 244 souls, has an ancient church, said to have been built (in the thirteenth or fourteenth century) as a votive offering for an escape from shipwreck. This interesting little building, having been grievously damaged by the severe gales of late winters, and more especially within the last two or three months, is falling into ruin, unless the public liberality will contribute to a fund for its restoration. The roofs are almost gone; the walls and windows are shaken; the seats and other woodwork are rotting from the effects of time and weather. The church stands in a remarkable situation on the sea-shore on the east coast of Mount's Bay; it is a singular and pleasing feature amidst the rocky scenery of that neighbourhood. The view shown in our engraving is copied from a water-colour drawing by the Dean of Canterbury. The church is partly sheltered by the cliff, but is exposed on the south-east side, where the waves dash up, in winter, against the churchyard walls. The belfry is detached from the church, and erected against a steep rock, which is scooped out so as nearly to form three sides of the tower. The living is very small, and there are no resident gentry. The landowners are doing their best to raise money for the restoration of the church; but they want help to provide the whole sum required, which is estimated at £400 by Mr. Sedding, the architect, at Penzance. He proposes to restore the antique design of the roof, which appears, in the part now laid bare, to be of an exquisite pattern very rare in Cornwall. Any contributions will be received by the Vicar, the Rev. M. N. Brougham, M.A.; or by the late Vicar of Gunwalloe, the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, now at Patriarchose Vicarage, near Canterbury.



GUNWALLOE CHURCH, CORNWALL.

CHRISTMAS DAY IN ST. PETER'S.

The ceremonies of the Christmas festival in St. Peter's Cathedral, at Rome, were attended with more than usual interest, on account of the present gathering of so many prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in that city, assembled by the invitation of Pope Pius IX. to constitute his Ecumenical Council. His Holiness, accompanied by the Cardinals and many of the Bishops, was present on Christmas Eve at the grand vespers, and afterwards performed, in the sacristy of the Sixtine Chapel, the ceremony of blessing the two-handed sword and various vestments, which were to be displayed in procession next morning. The Christmas Day services in the cathedral began with matins and lauds, at three o'clock in the morning. At

nine o'clock, when a large congregation of spectators filled the nave, the grand pontifical procession entered St. Peter's, the Pope wearing the tiara presented to him by the Queen of Spain; the Cardinals and the long array of prelates vested and mitred as for the altar. Nothing in this procession excited so much attention as the splendid attire of the Oriental Bishops, who wore copes of gold tissue or many-hued silk. All had jewelled mitres—that ornament, as worn by several, being in the form of a royal crown; and the grave and noble aspect of these aged fathers, with their long beards, were strikingly picturesque with such accessories of pomp. Pius IX. went through the rites with his accustomed dignity and rapt devotion, chanting in a voice whose tones ago has not enfeebled, and looking very well, though somewhat pale from fatigue, as he passed on his lofty throne under the silver-tissue canopy and between the waving feathery fans. At the end of the ceremony the procession went no farther than to the chapel, now divided by partitions from the nave, next to the north transept, serving for the Council Hall. Here the Pope alighted, and proceeded through other chapels to his private apartments in the

Vatican Palace. As he passed, the Empress of Austria and the ex-Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany knelt before him, and a special benediction was bestowed on each of those personages. The foreign Bishops did not keep to the track followed by the Cardinals and others of the Papal attendance in leaving the cathedral, but passed to the right of the high altar, saluting the bronze statue of St. Peter on their way to the side chapel, where they unrobed. We shall give some further illustrations of the proceedings of the Ecumenical Council.

SCENE FROM "AGES AGO."

The new entertainment, entitled "Ages Ago," recently produced at the Royal Gallery of Illustration, does much credit both to Mr. and Mrs. German Reed, and to Mr. W. S. Gilbert, the author. It is one of those rare works that contain an idea. There is but one scene, but that comprehends many possible evolutions. It is of a picture gallery in an old castle, called Glen Ockalekka, now in possession of Sir Ebenezer Tave, a rich tailor-chandler, who is troubled on account of the attentions paid to his daughter by a young gentleman of good family, but poor. The old housekeeper, however, has taken lovers under her protection, and endeavours to possess them with the superabundance by which she herself is so powerfully influenced. These relate to the original owners of the castle. Its first tenant, it seems, bound himself to a deed by a contract requiring that the castle should have a legitimate owner but once in a hundred years. The time has now arrived for such an event to happen, and that very night it is expected. All the inmates of the castle have retired to rest, and now the supernatural work begins. The pictures on the walls become animated in their frames, and the persons they represent descend and become the performers in a living drama. Lady Maud de Dolru leads off the action, suddenly recollecting that she was painted, for a few marks, by a Messer Leonardo da Vinci, a young promising artist, and wondering at the changes made in the castle since her death. Sir Aubrey de Beaupre, also, who was painted by Titian, shares in the conversation, and expresses for one of his hands being cut off drawing, it having been restored by an R.A. Next, Lord Carmichael Puffery, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, steps from the wall, and, with a cough, interferes with the dialogue. Becoming rivals for the lady, they fight; when Dame Cherry Maybird descends, and reproaches Lord Puffery for wishing to marry his grandmother. This part of the scene is the subject of our illustration. Ultimately the portraits return to their frames, and the



SNOW-PLOUGH ON THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA.

love affair of the introductory scene is amicably settled in the concluding one.

SCENE FROM "THE FOOL'S REVENGE."

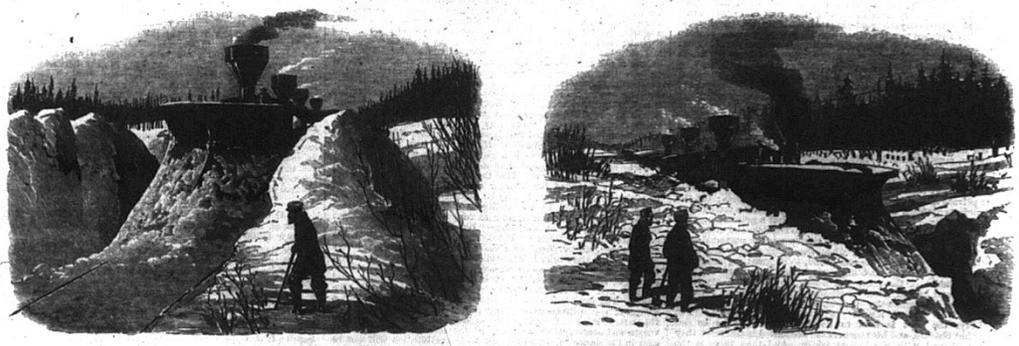
We have more than once detailed the particulars of the plot of Mr. Tom Taylor's tragedy, "The Fool's Revenge," and therefore need not repeat them on the present occasion. Gradually its merits have caused it to progress from the northern theatres of the metropolis to a western house, and here it is likely to obtain due attention. Its reputation will now be helped by the talents of Mr. and Mrs. Rosaby, who have begun to renew in London the impression they have already made in the provinces. Our illustration represents poor Bertuccio, the despised jester, in his retreat, at home with his daughter, a scene which is full of pathos, and forms the most charming part of the drama. We hear that Mr. Taylor has another play, which is about to be produced, also, at the Queen's Theatre.

THE RAILWAY SNOW-PLOUGH.

There is nothing in the ordinary phenomena of the seasons that is so apt to interrupt the traffic of railways as the accumulation of snow. The Mont Cenis summit-line, constructed by Mr. Fell, with its gradients, as steep as the old street of Holborn-hill, easily and safely climbed by the grip of the horizontal wheels upon the central rail, is yet subject to the loss of three or four days' working receipts almost every winter from this common accident of the Alpine heights. The Highland Railway of Scotland, and others in the northern parts of Britain, are frequently exposed, in winter, to very troublesome occurrences of the same nature. It may even be remembered that the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, and several other lines, including part of the London and North-Western Railway, near Manchester, were closed during two whole days, in a season of extraordinary severity, about eighteen years ago, by the masses of snow that filled the cuttings, so that both travelling and postal communication were stopped. The

Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, with its magnificent extent of 600 miles, comprising the branches, through a country which never fails to exhibit the effects of winter in full force, has of course had to contend with this enemy to locomotion. Its engineers have invented for that purpose a very powerful kind of snow-plough, the form and use of which are shown in the illustrations we have engraved, from photographs by Mr. A. Henderson, of Montreal. The shape of the mighty shield, carried in front of the engine, with its hollowed face, and with its cutting edge at each side, is well adapted to make its way through the deepest and densest snow-drifts. It is such an implement as the Canadian climate demands.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Journal Record* says that 250,000 thalers have been presented by Herr Merits Reichshausen, of Berlin, towards the erection of an orphan home for some hundred children, and Herr Adolph Reichshausen offers to add a hospital to his brother's orphan home entirely at his own expense.



SNOW-PLOUGH ON THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA.

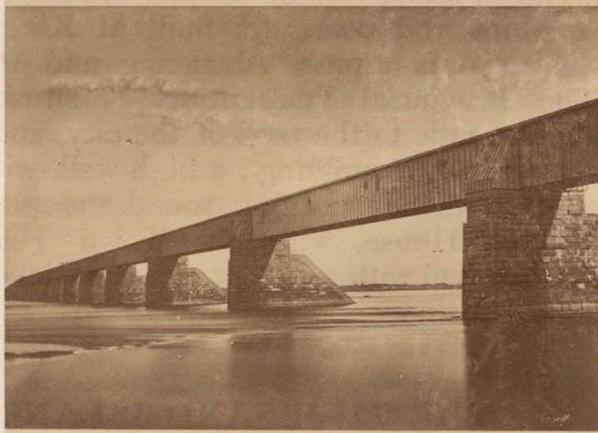
Figure 92. "Snow Plough on the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada," *The Illustrated London News* 56, no. 1576 (15 January 1870): 80.



Figure 93. Cornelius Kreighoff, *The Tubular Bridge at St. Henry's Falls*. 1858. Oil on canvas, 36.4 x 54 cm. M967.100.1, McCord.



Figure 94. Robert Whale, *The Canadian Southern Railway at Niagara*. 1870. Oil on canvas, 58.1 x 101.1 cm. No. 6186, NGC.



1. *Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River.*
2. *Victoria Bridge, Montreal.*

Figure 95. Alexander Henderson, “Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River” and “Victoria Bridge, Montreal.” In C.R. Chisholm, *The All Round Route Guide: the Hudson River, Trenton Falls, Niagara, Toronto, the Thousand Islands and the River St. Lawrence, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, the Lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay Rivers, the White Mountains, Boston, New York* (Montreal, Que.: Printing and Publish. Co., 1869), 42.

APPENDIX 10

Table 6. Table of contents in selected *Canadian Views and Studies* by an *Amateur* and *Canadian Views and Studies* albums. Photographs listed in order.

Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur Title page: Photographic Views and Studies of Canadian Scenery/ By Alex. Henderson/ Montreal 1865 LAC (R5312-1-2-E) Part of Literary and Historical Society of Quebec collection (R5312-0-0-E)	Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur Title page: Photographic Views and Studies of Canadian Scenery/ By Alex. Henderson/ Montreal 1865 Toronto Public Library Baldwin Room (BROS 917.14 H25.2)	Canadian Views and Studies, Part of Photographic albums, ca.1858-1948 LAC (R5500-2-X-E) Accession no. 1980-149	Canadian Views and Studies Title page: Canadian Views and Studies, Photographed from Nature/ By Alex. Henderson/ Montreal University of Toronto Thomas Fisher Rare Books (F-10 0884)	Canadian Views and Studies Title page: Canadian Views and Studies, Photographed from Nature/ By Alex. Henderson/ Montreal Toronto Public Library Baldwin Room (BROS 917.14 H25 V.1)	Canadian Views and Studies Title page: Canadian Views and Studies, Photographed from Nature/ By Alex. Henderson/ Montreal Toronto Public Library Baldwin Room (BROS 917.14 H25 V.2)	Canadian Views and Studies Title page: Canadian Views and Studies, Photographed from Nature/ By Alex. Henderson/ Montreal Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (157 609 CON)
Steamboat, Georgeville pier	On the "Outlet" of Brome Lake. "Dugout" Canoe	View in Mount Royal Cemetery - "Verre glace" on the trees	Georgeville Pier Lake Memphremagog	Fishpond. Priest's Walk. Garden of R.C. Seminary Montreal.	In the Grounds of the Priest Farm. Montreal	Tanneries des Rolland near Montreal
Lake Shore, "Magog" Evening	On Missisquoi River	In grounds of priest's farm, Montreal	Village of Georgeville	Lake Memphremagog Near	Orford Mountain and Lake. Eastern	Study. Apple Blossoms

APPENDIX 10: Table of contents in selected *Canadian Views and Studies*

On Lake Magog. Owls Head In Distance. Village of Georgeville	In a Swamp	Old Fishpond in Priest's farm	Lumberer's Camp. Rouge River N. of Ottawa R.	Georgeville Study. Apple Blossoms	Townships Canadian red deer	River Memphremagog. "Anchor Ice"
Brompton Rapids St. Francis River, E.T	Country Road, E.T.	S.S. Mountain Maid at Lake Magog pier.	Tanneries de Rolland. Near Montreal	Near Lake Beauport. Quebec taken while snowing. Therm. at Zero.	Crushed Ice	Fishpond. Priest's farm, Montreal
Hoarfrost	On Nun's Island, Near Montreal	Frozen Dam in Sherbrooke - 20 below zero	Brompton Rapids. Winter	Falls of the Chaudiere near Quebec	Winter. On road round the mountain, Montreal	Village of Georgeville. Lake Memphremagog
Falls of the Chaudiere	Lumberers Camp, Rouge River	Georgeville - Lake Magog	Hochelega near Montreal	Hoarfrost. Ther. at Zero	Hoarfrost	Study. Pine Sappling
Frozen Brook. Spruce Trees	Timber "Jam" Rouge River	New Clearing - in "Ireland" - Grenville	Snow Storm. Lake Beauport near Quebec	Old Elm. Hochelega. Near Montreal.	New Clearing. E.T.	Rapids above the Shawenegan
Pine Sapling. Winter.	Steamboat, Lake 'Magog	On a wild lake - North of the Ottawa River	Mill Dam R. Magog, near Sherbrooke	Ice Drawing. R. St. Lawrence near Montreal	Brompton Rapids on the Francis River E.T.	Lake Inchbrakie N. of Ottawa River
Clearing. Eastern Townships	Orford Mountain and Lake	Hunter's Camp on Lake Inchbrackie	Nin's Island near Montreal	Sillery Cove. Quebec. Lumberman's House.	"Verre glace" Mount royal Cemetery	River St. Maurice. Below the Shawenegan
Mill Dam R. Magog, nr. Sherbrooke	Lake Shore, Memphremagog	"Three brothers" - Inchbrakie Lake - Wentworth & Grenville	Ice Drawing. River St. Lawrence	Railway Bridge Ste. Annes with the Village	Near Lachine	Falls of the Shawenegan

APPENDIX 10: Table of contents in selected *Canadian Views and Studies*

Tanneries des Rolland	Indian Corm and Pumpkin Vines	The "Portage" 16 Island Lake – Grenville	Mount Royal Cemetery	Rapids Ste. Annes. Tom Moore's Canadian Boat Song Composed Here	On Nun's Island. Near Montreal	Lake Inchbrakie
Village of Georgeville	The Trout Brook	Breakfast at Hunter's Camp.	Bishop's College Lennoxville	Outlet. Brome Lake	Lennoxville College E.T.	Inlet to Lake Inchbrakie
Fishpond in garden at Priests' Farm, Montreal	On Lake 'Magog. Owls Head in Distance	Inlet to Lake Inchbrakie – Wentworth	Ste. Annes. "Tom Moore's Boat Song"	River Mipisquoi. Eastern Townships	At Ste. Annes. River Ottawa	The Dinner. Hunter's Log Hut
Hoarfrost	Oak Wood on the Ottawa River	Canoeing on a wild Lake North of Grenville	The Rapids. Ste. Annes	Spring Inundation. Banks of the St. Lawrence. Montreal.	Grand Trunk Ry. Bridge over the Ottawa at Ste. Annes	Lake Inchbrakie.
Lumberers' camp, Rouge River. N. of R. Ottawa	Brompton Rapids. St. Francis River, E.T.	Narrows on Missisquoi River – Bolton	The Cove Road. Below Spencer Wood. Quebec	Rapids above Shawenegan Falls near "Three rivers"	Narrows on the Missisquoi R. Bolton.	New Clearing. N. of Ottawa R. Log Hut
Timber jam, Rouge River	Winter	Looking down the St-Maurice. from Shawenegan	Timber Slide. River St. Maurice (3 Rivers)	At the foot of the Shawenegan Falls. Hotel (unfinished)	Looking down the St Maurice River from Shawenegan	Falls of Lorette. Below Quebec
Oak Wood, N. Of River Ottawa	Hoarfrost	Outlet of Brome Lake. E.T.	Lake Inchbrakie. N. of Ottawa River	The falls of the Shawenegan	Falls at Lorette, near Quebec	
Orford Mountain and Lake	Great Ice "Shove" Montreal. April, 1863	At Sillery Cove – Quebec	Lake Inchbrakie	Hunters Log Hut. North of Ottawa River	Timber Slide at Shawenegan. St Maurice River	Rapids at Ste. Annes. Tom Moore's Boat Song Composed

APPENDIX 10: Table of contents in selected *Canadian Views and Studies*

Winter Road. nr. Beauport	Winter Road	Drawing ice on the St-Lawrence	Inlet to Lake Inchbrakie	The Portage. Lake Inchbrakie. North of River Ottawa	Backwoods Settlement "Ireland." Back of Grenville	Centre Tube. Railway Bridge Ste. Annes
Ice Shove, Montreal 1865	In Beauport (Near Quebec) Taken While Snowing	View on Nun's Island near Montreal	Hunter's Log Hut. Lake Inchbrakie	Canadian Farm (now clearing), N. of Ottawa River.	Landing at the "portage" on a wild lake. Grenville	Cove Road near Quebec. Near Governor General Residence
Ice Shove, Montreal 1863		Falls at Lorette - near Quebec				
In Beauport (near Quebec). Taken while snowing		Ste-Anne's - Ottawa River				
Winter		Ste-Anne's looking down				
Drawing Ice		Railway Bridge at Ste-Anne's on the Ottawa River				
Decaying Ice, after the inundation		A Trout Brook.				
On Nun's Island, Near Montreal		Hoarfrost				
A Trout Brook		In the Woods				
Indian corn and pumpkin vines		Tanneries de Rolland near Montreal				
Country Road. Brome Lake, Eastern Townships		An oakwood on the Ottawa near Grenville				

APPENDIX 10: Table of contents in selected *Canadian Views and Studies*

Missisquoi River		Chaudière Falls in winter near Quebec				
Country road Eastern Townships		Crushed Ice, Montreal 1863				
Outlet. Brome Lake		Orford Mountain & Lake				
In A Swamp		Lake Shore, Georgeville Memphremagog				
Spring Inundation. Bank of St. Lawrence River		Winter Road, Beauport, near Quebec				
Sillery Cove, looking east, near Quebec City		Pine Sapling - Cemetery				
Sillery Cove looking west, near Quebec City.		Lumberer's Camp. on the "drive" - Rouge R.				
Cove Road, Quebec. below "Spencer Wood"		Timber "Jam" on the Rouge River				
Indian village of Lorette, near Quebec City						
R. St. Maurice W. the Shawenegan						
Falls of the						

APPENDIX 10: Table of contents in selected *Canadian Views and Studies*

Shawinigan River (near Three Rivers)							
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Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial* along side the original photographs as they appear in LAC collections with notes on appearances in other publications and supplemental images.

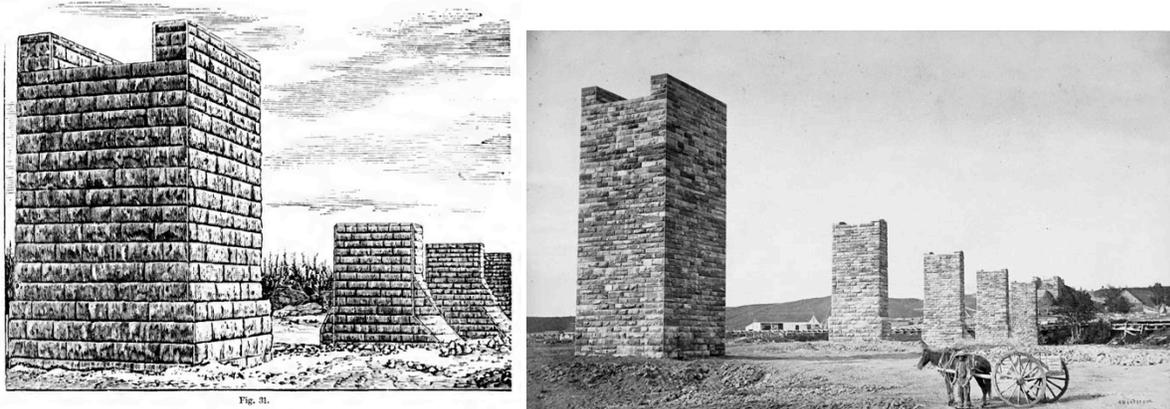


Figure 96. (L) “Fig. 31.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 137.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway Bridge Trois-Pistoles*. 1871-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.4 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: “Trois Pistoles bridge / Interl Railway East / A. Henderson Montreal.” PA-022020, LAC.

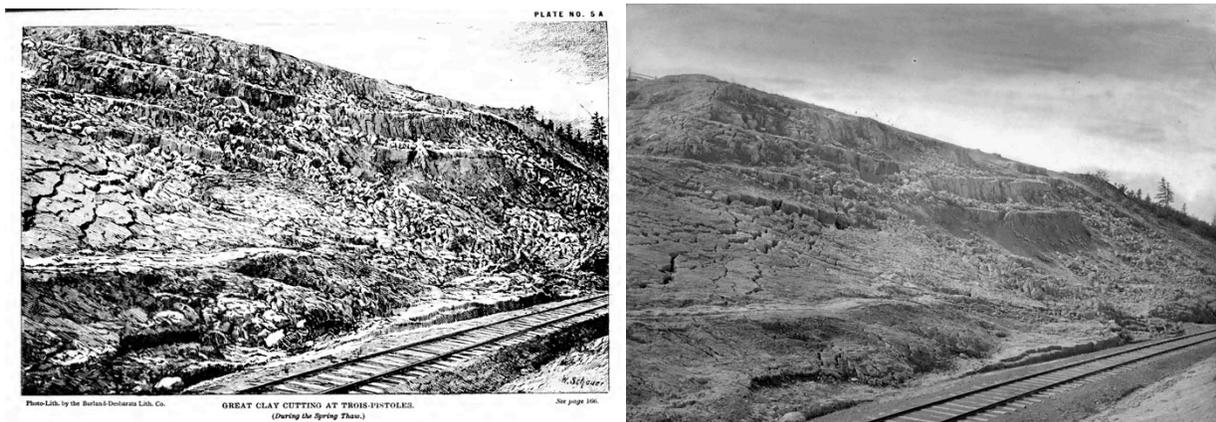


Figure 97. (L) “Plate 5A. Great Clay Cutting at Trois Pistoles.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 144.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Clay cutting*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 21.0 cm. Inscribed: “I.C.R. Clay Cutting Trois-Pistolles [sic] – Henderson.” PA-022070, LAC.

Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

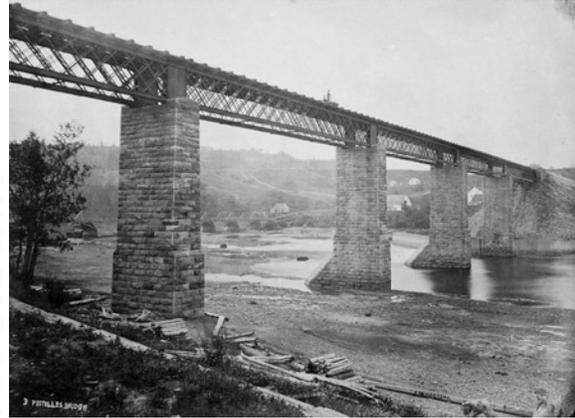
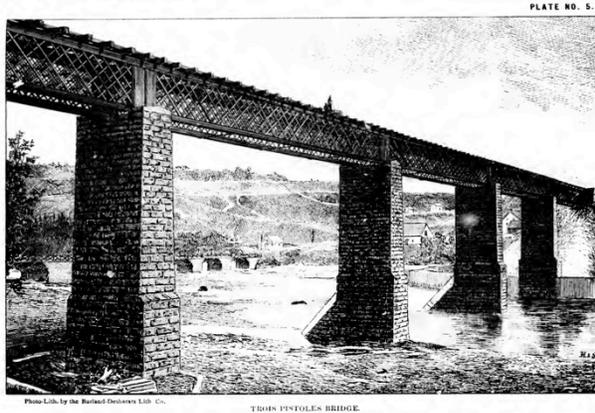


Figure 98. (L) “Plate 5. Trois Pistoles Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 146.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 21.0 cm. Inscribed: "Trois-Pistoles Bridge - A. Henderson." PA-022068, LAC. Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.

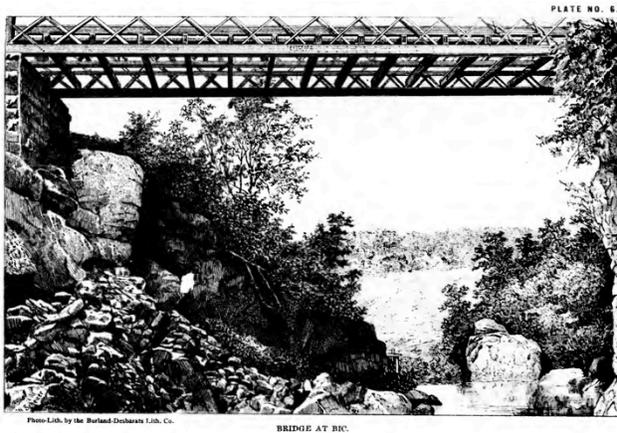


Figure 99. (L) “Plate 6. Bridge at Bic.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 148.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bic Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 21.1 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Bic Bridge – Henderson." PA-022101, LAC. Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*



Figure 100. (L) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. On Bic River*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.8 cm. Inscribed: "On Bic River – Henderson." PA-022081, LAC.

(R) Detail of inscription. Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. On Bic River*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.8 cm. PA-022081, LAC.

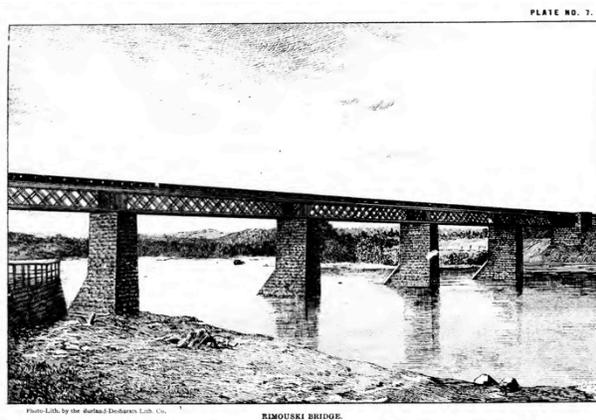


Figure 101. (L) "Plate 7. Rimouski Bridge." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 150.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Rimouski Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.6 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Rimouski Bridge. Rimouski – Henderson." PA-022096, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

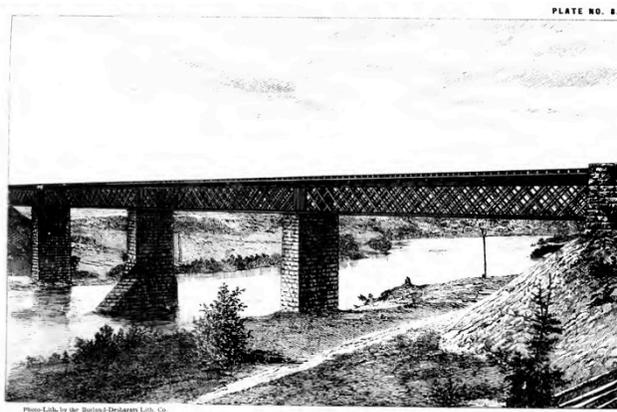


Figure 102. (L) “Plate 8. Grand Metis Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 152.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.4 cm. Inscribed: “I.C.R. Grand Metis Bge – Henderson.” PA-022111, LAC. Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.



Figure 103. (L) “Plate 9. Amqui Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 154.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Bridge. Intercolonial Railway*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.7 cm. Inscribed: “Amqui Bridge. ICR – Henderson.” PA-022073, LAC. Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*



Figure 104. (L) “Plate 10. River Matapedia – Railway on Opposite Bank.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 156.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *On the Matapedia R. Side rock cutting. Intercolonial Railway just above Hellgate.* 1871-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.6 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: “On the Matapedia R. side rock cutting/Intl Railway just above Hellgate /A.” PA-022019, LAC.

Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.



Figure 105. (L) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. On the Matapédia River.* June-Aug., 1875. 14.8 x 20.6 cm. Inscribed: “Hellgate Matapedia R./Henderson.” PA-022071, LAC.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Scene along the Intercolonial Railway Line.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 20.5 cm. Inscribed: “Henderson.” PA-022097, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

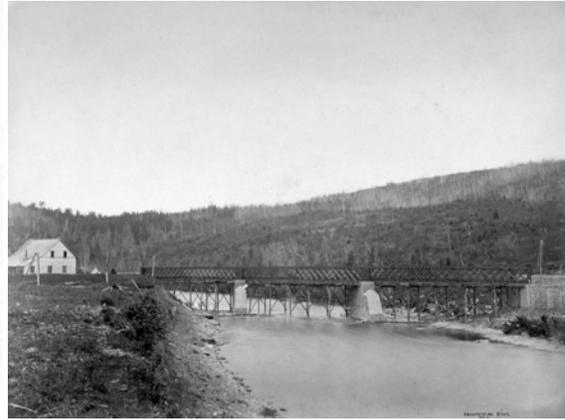
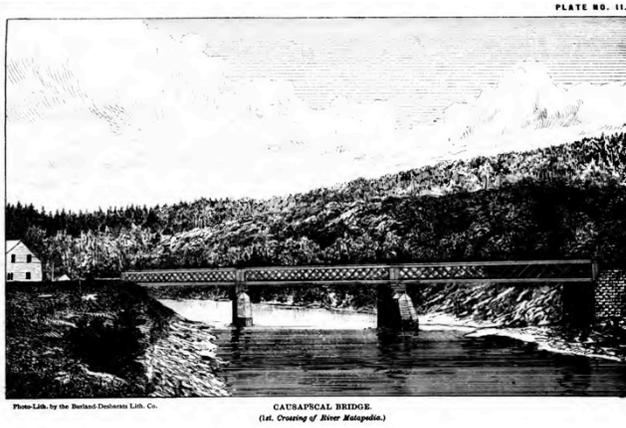


Figure 106. (L) “Plate 11. Causapschal Bridge – 1st Crossing River Matapedia.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 158. **(R)** Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Causapschal Bridge, 1st crossing of River Matapedia*. June-Aug., 1875. 15.6 x 20.4 cm. Inscribed: "Causapschal B'dge I.C.R., 1st crossing of River Matapedia [sic] – Henderson." PA-022098, LAC. Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.

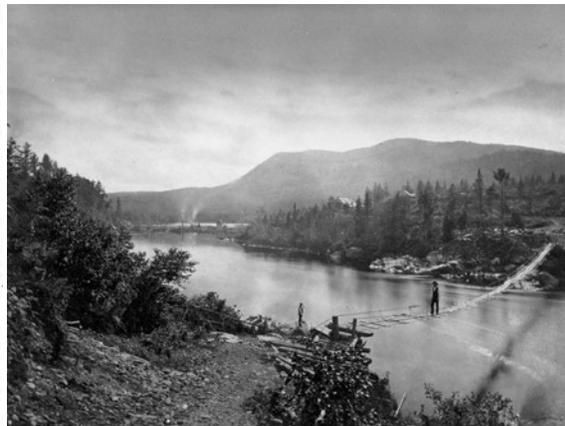
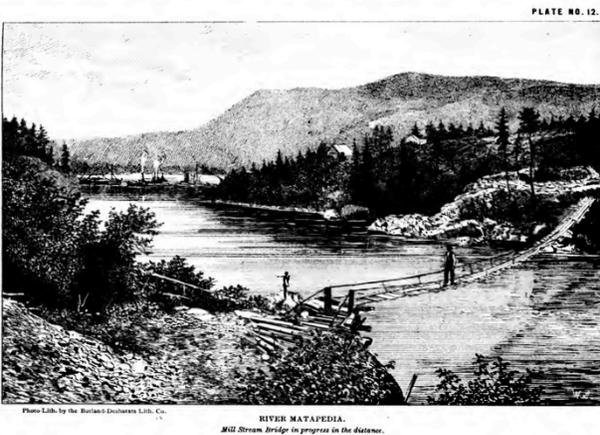


Figure 107. (L) “Plate 12. River Matapedia—Mill Stream Bridge in progress, in the distance.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 160. **(R)** Alexander, Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Millstream distant view*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.3 cm. Inscribed: "Millstream distant view." PA-022123, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

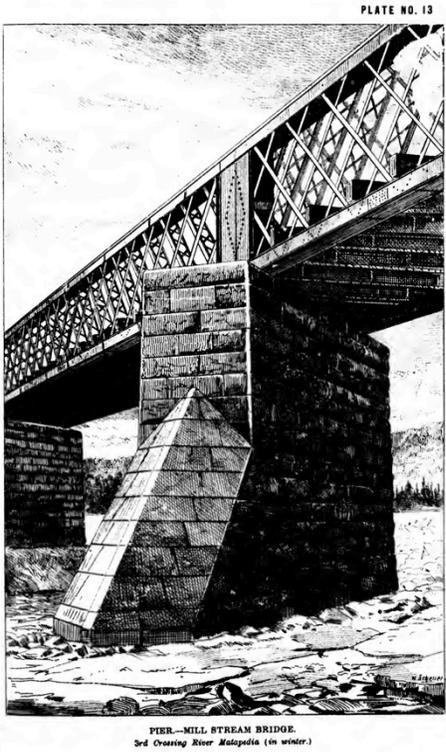


Figure 108. “Plate 13. Pier—Mill Stream Bridge, 3rd crossing River Matapedia, in winter.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 162.



Figure 109. Alexander Henderson, *Trout pool, Millstream, on the I. C. R.* About 1870. Silver salts on paper mounted on card, albumen process, 15.3 x 20.8 cm. MP-0000.1452.145, McCord.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

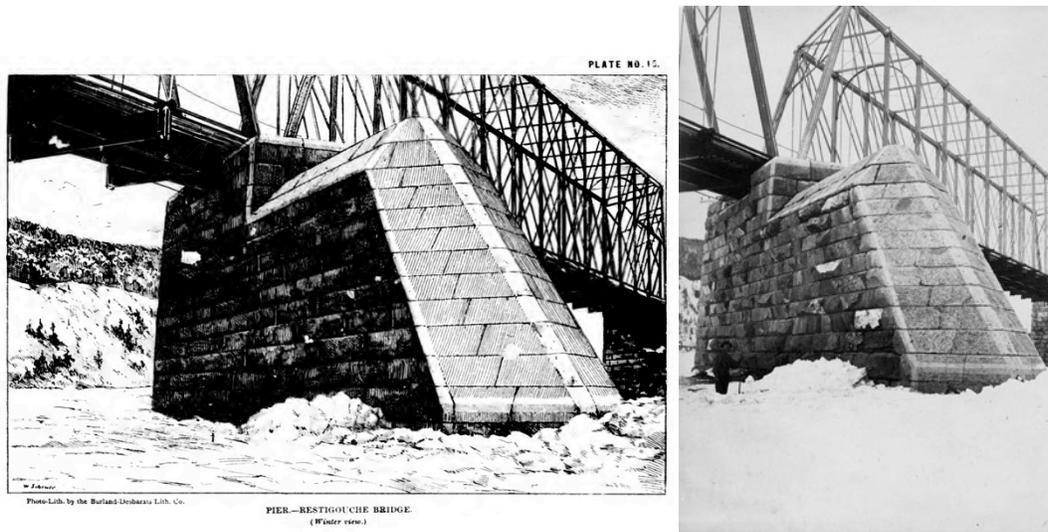


Figure 110. (L) “Plate 15. Pier—Restigouche Bridge, winter view.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 166.
(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Restigouche Bridge*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.8 x 19.3 cm. Inscribed: "Restigouche Bridge." PA-022120, LAC.

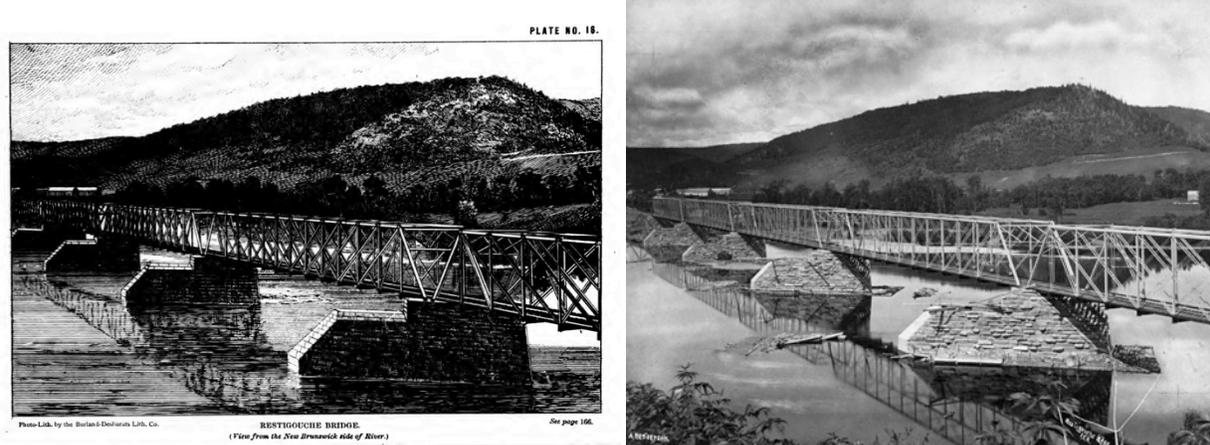


Figure 111. (L) “Plate 16. Restigouche Bridge – from the New Brunswick Side.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), frontispiece.
(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Restigouche Bridge*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.4 x 20.3 cm. Inscribed: “Restigouche Bridge, ICR.” PA-022118, LAC. Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*



Figure 112. Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. A Good Catch (On Restigouche River)*. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.3 x 19.2 cm. Inscribed: "On Restigouche River/Henderson." PA-149758, LAC.



Figure 113. Alexander Henderson, *Indian Fishing Camp, Restigouche River*. ca. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 20.1 cm. Inscribed: "Henderson / Indian fishing camp. Restigouche." C-016436, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

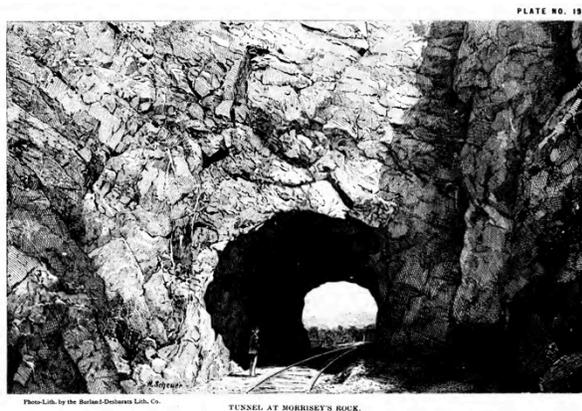


Figure 114. (L) “Plate 19. Tunnel at Morrisey's Rock.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 168.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Tunnel*. 1872-1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.4 x 20.7 cm. Inscribed: “A.Henderson/Tunnel Morriser [sic] Rock.” PA-149759, LAC.

Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

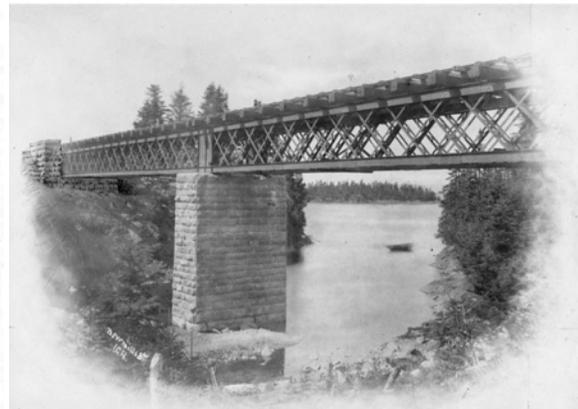
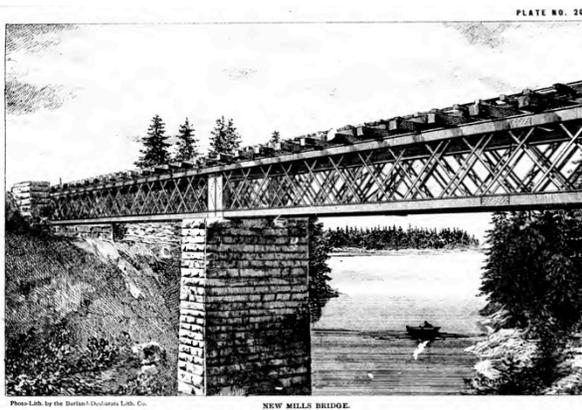


Figure 115. (L) “Plate 20. New Mills Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 170.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20.2 cm. Inscribed: "New Mills Bge I.C.R. - New Mills -A dry plate failure - Ott." PA-022092, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

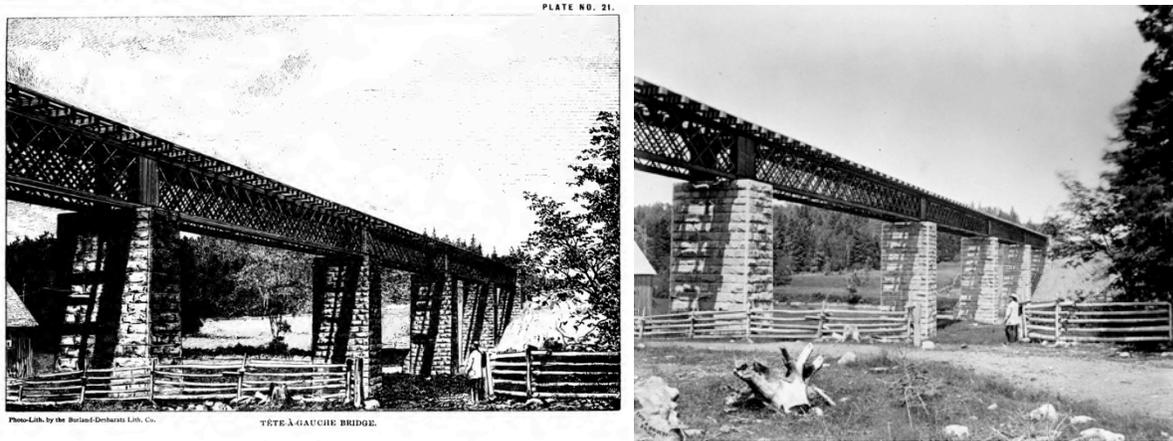


Figure 116. (L) “Plate 21. Tete a Gauche Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 172.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 19.5 cm. Inscribed: "Tête à Gauche Bridge – Henderson." C-010102, LAC. Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

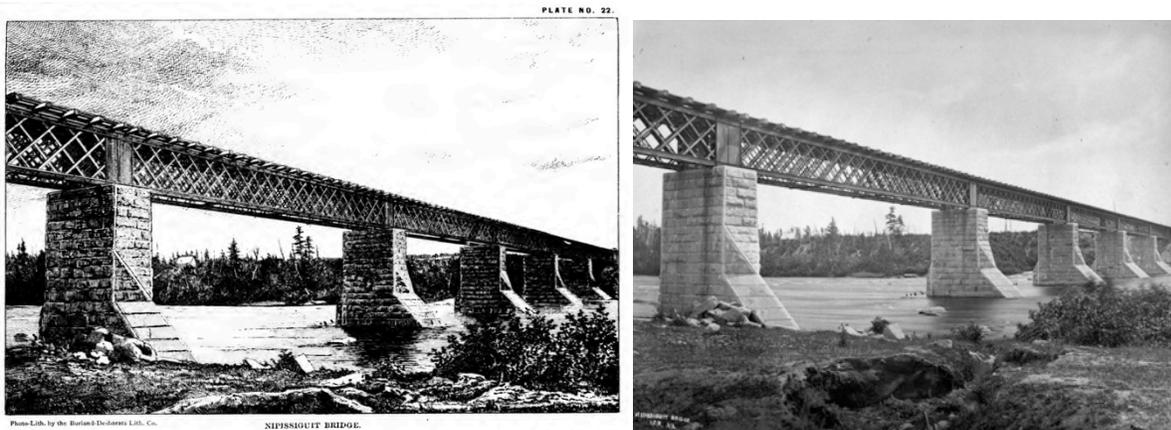


Figure 117. (L) “Plate 22. Nipissiguit Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 174.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge, Nepissiguit River.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.1 cm. Inscribed: "Nipissiguit Bridge I.C.R. N.B. – Henderson." PA-022102, LAC. Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

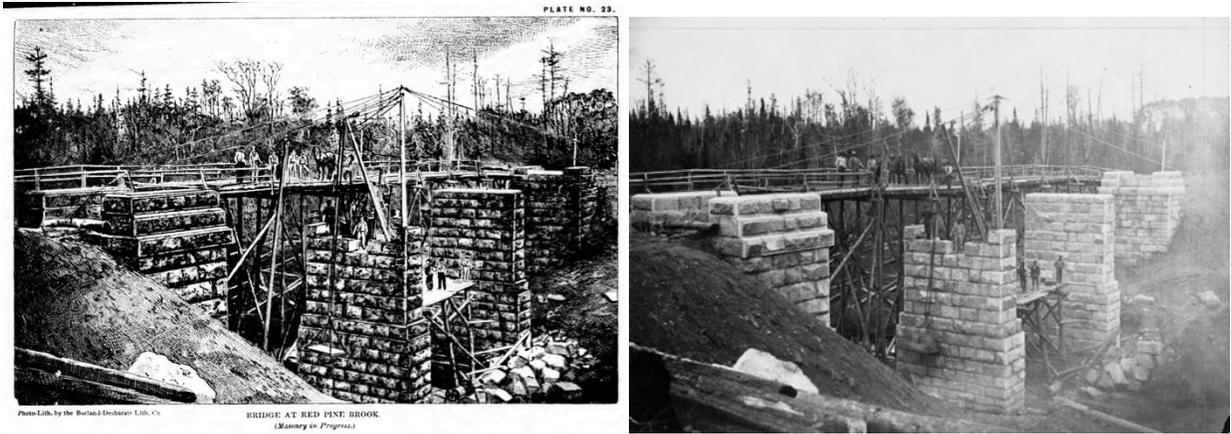


Figure 118. (L) "Plate 23. Bridge at Red Pine Brook—masonry in progress." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 178. **(R)** Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Red Pine Bridge. Sec. 16. 1872-1875*. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.0 x 18.8 cm. Inscribed: "Red Pine, Sec. 16, Red Pine Bridge." PA-022116, LAC.

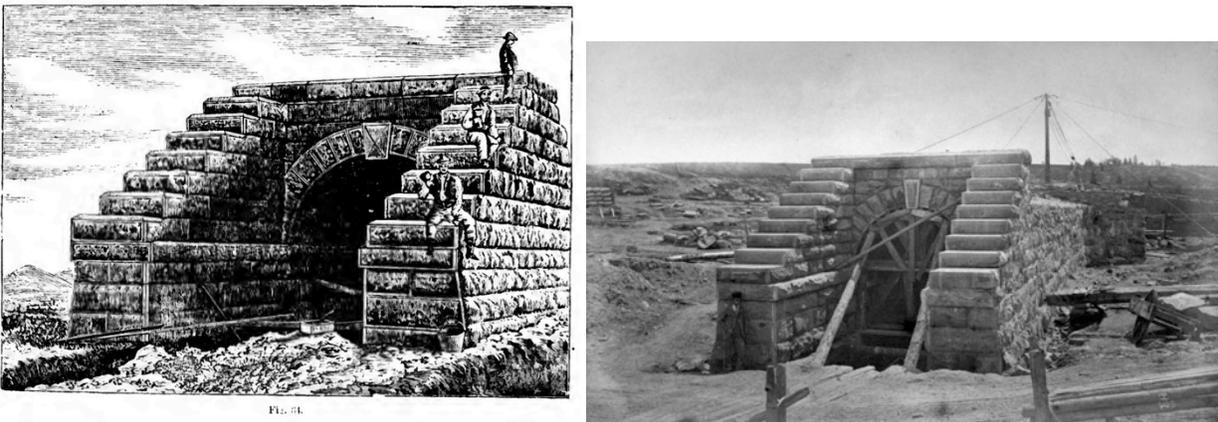


Figure 119. (L) "Fig 34." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 179. **(R)** Alexander Henderson, *Culvert. North end Intercolonial Railway works. 1871-1872*. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.6 x 19.0 cm. Inscribed: "St. Fabien [sic] Culvert N. end Intl Ry. Works/A. Henderson Montreal." PA-022014, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

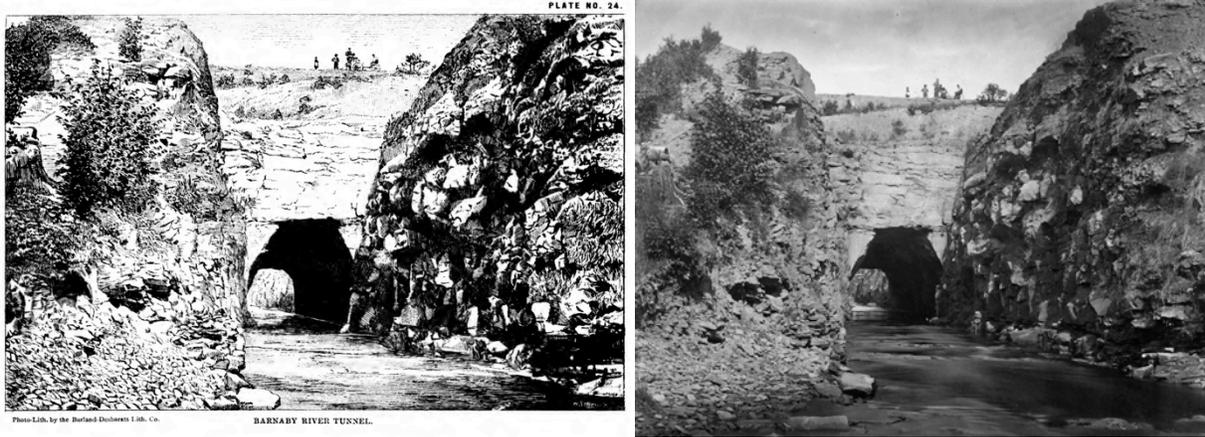


Figure 120. (L) “Plate 24. Barnaby River Tunnel.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 182.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Diversion Tunnel S 23*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. Diversion Tunnel.S23." PA-022113, LAC.

Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

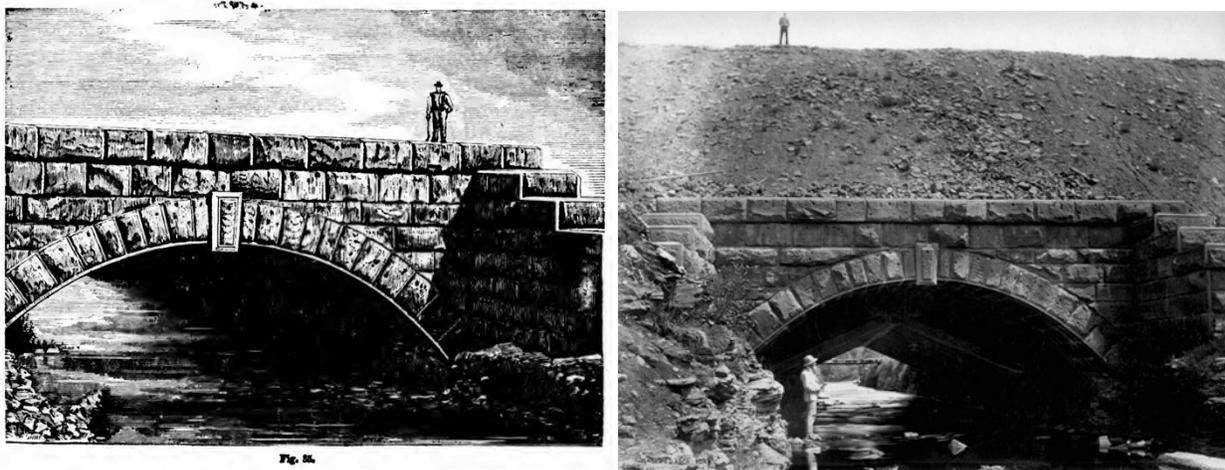


Figure 121. (L) “Fig. 35.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 183.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Crushed Arch. Section 23*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 21.0 cm Inscribed: "Crushed Arch. sec 23 – Henderson." PA-022072, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

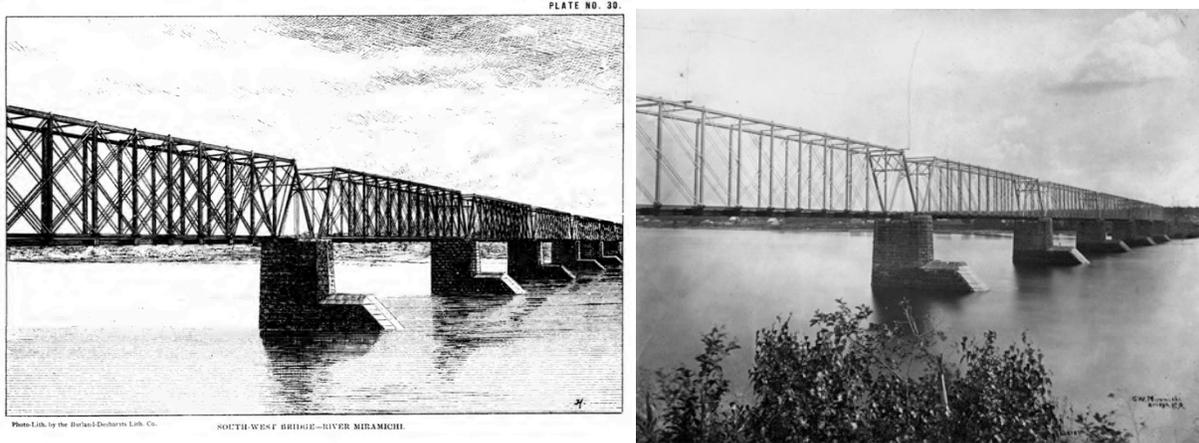


Figure 122. (L) Plate 26. Southwest Miramichi—Section of River—Plan and elevation of Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 190.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Southwest Miramichi Bridge. June-Aug., 1875.* Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.2 cm. Inscribed: "S.W. Miramichi Bridgee I.C.R. – Henderson." PA-022108, LAC.

Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.

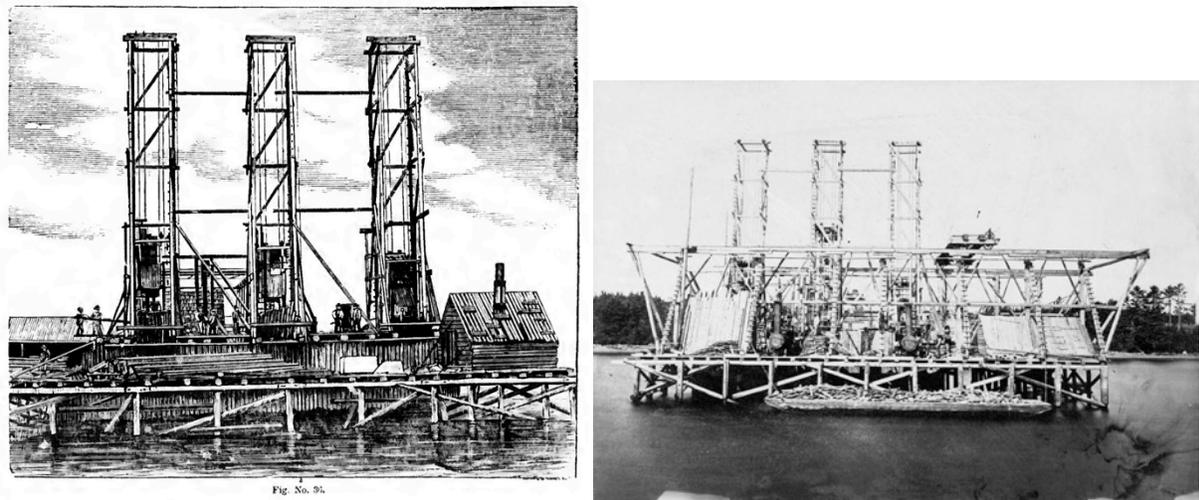


Figure 123. (L) “Fig. 36.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 195.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway. South West Branch. View of temporary works at Pier F. 13 Sept., 1872.* Positive paper silver albumen, 13.4 x 19.2 cm. Inscribed: "Miramichi Bridges. South West Branch. View of Temporary Works and Dredging Machinery at Pier F. 13th September, 1872." PA-022062, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

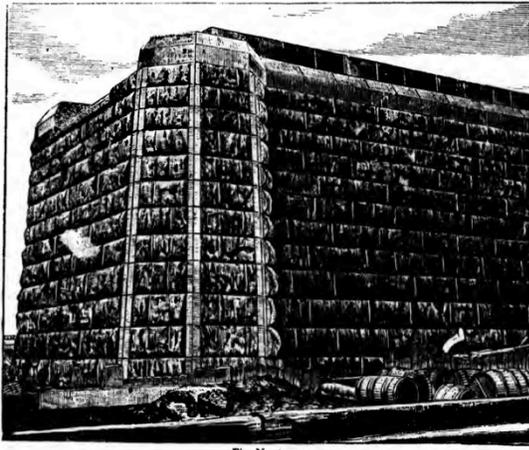


Fig. No. 37.



Figure 124. (L) "Fig. 37." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 203.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway - Northwest Branch. Side View of easterly abutment. Completed. 28 Aug., 1872.* Positive paper silver albumen, 13.6 x 18.8 cm. Inscribed: "Miramichi Bridges. North West Branch. Side view of Easterly Abutment. (Completed 28th, August 1872)" PA-022035, LAC.

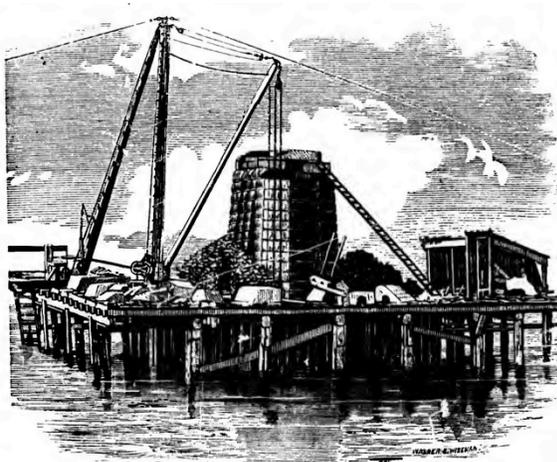


Fig. No. 38.



Figure 125. (L) "Fig. 38." In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 210.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Construction of the Miramichi Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway. North West Branch. Pier X, with partial test load. 2 Sept., 1874.* Positive paper silver albumen, 13.4 x 18.3 cm. (Inscription as found in album of Miramichi Bridges) "Miramichi Bridges. North West Branch. Pier X, with Partial Test Load, 2nd Sept., 1874." PA-022044, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

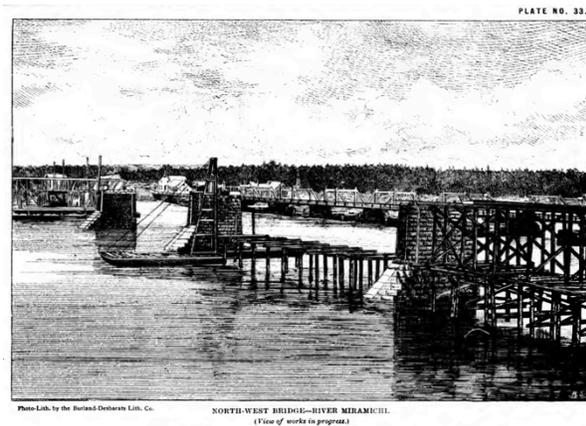


Figure 126. (L) “Plate 33. View of Works in progress.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 216.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. S.W. Miramichi Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 19.4 cm. Inscribed: "I.C.R. S.W. Miramichi Bridge - A Henderson '75." PA-022107, LAC.

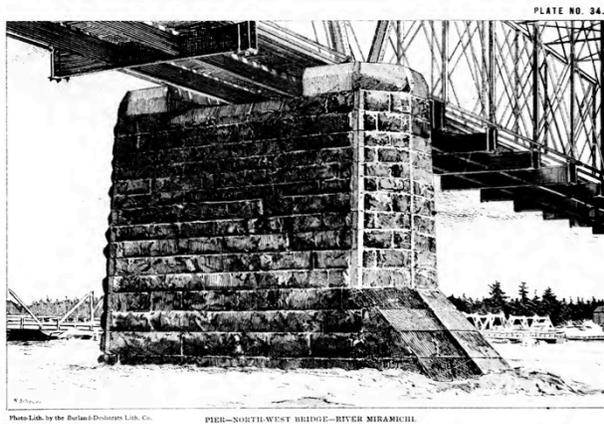


Figure 127. “Plate 34. Pier of bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 218.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

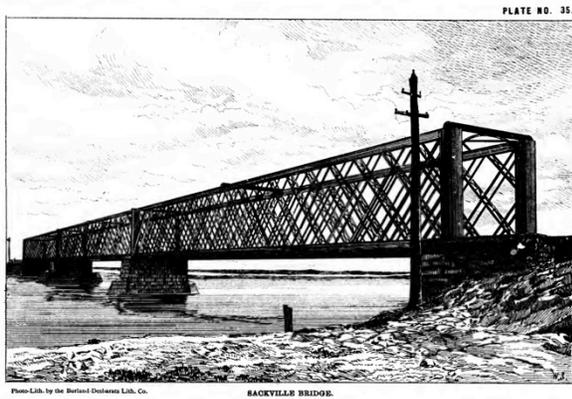


Figure 128. (L) “Plate 35. Sackville Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 224.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge.* June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.0 x 20.5 cm. Inscribed: “I.C.R. Sacville [sic] Bridge – Henderson.” PA-022109, LAC.

Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

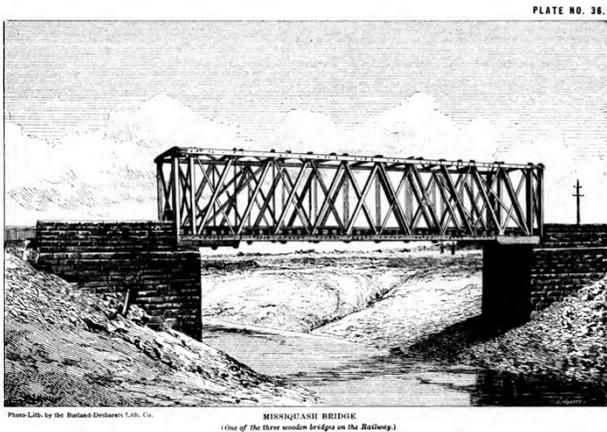


Figure 129. (L) “Plate 30. Missiquash Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 225.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Missaguash Bridge.* 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 20.3 cm. Inscribed: “I.C.R. Missiquish Bridge. A. Henderson.” PA-022117, LAC.

APPENDIX 11: Alexander Henderson photographs as engraved in Sanford Fleming's *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch*

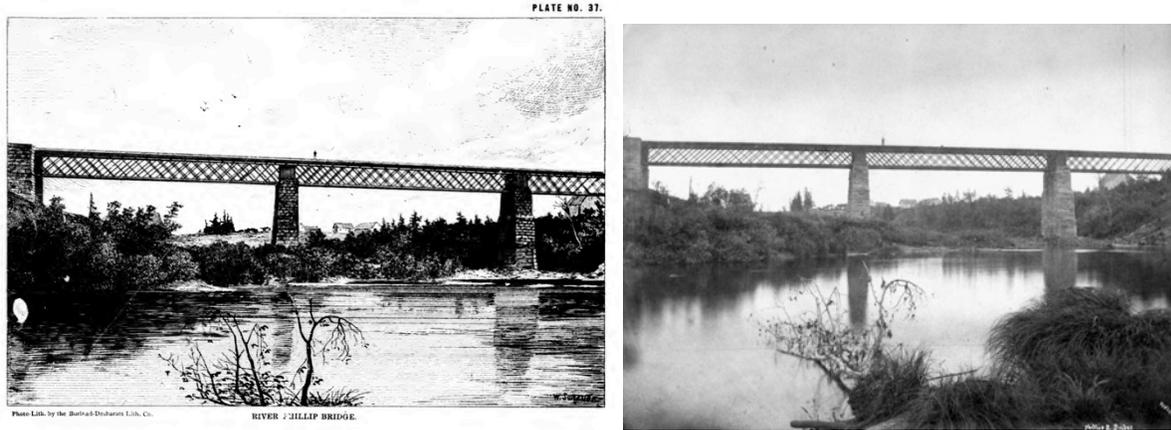


Figure 130. (L) “Plate 37. River Phillip Bridge.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 228.
(R) Alexander Henderson, *Intercolonial Railway. Bridge*. June-Aug., 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 19.7 cm. Inscribed: "Phillip R. Bridge – Henderson." PA-022087, LAC. Engraving appears as part of nine-image spread in “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.

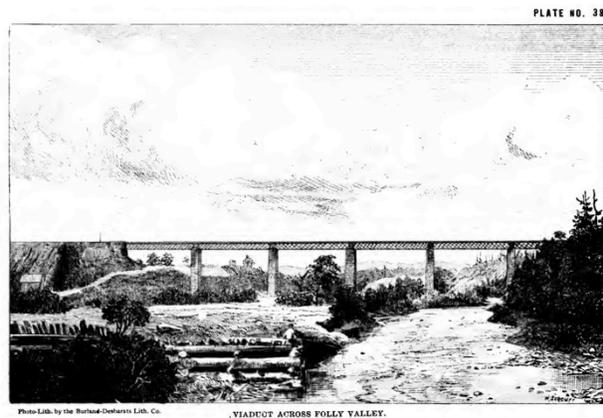


Figure 131. “Plate 38. Viaduct across Folly River Valley.” In Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: A Historical Sketch* (Montreal, Que.: Dawson Brothers, 1876), 230. Engraving appears as part of twenty-one-image spread in “Scenes and Views on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

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Table 7. List of Alexander Henderson images, and other relevant images, primarily views along the Intercolonial Railway (ICR) and Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway (QMO&O), in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.

Vol./No.	DATE	IMAGES	RELEVANT TEXT	NOTES
Vol. 1 No. 9	January 1, 1870	View on the Intercolonial Line at Rimouski; Works on the Intercolonial Railway – Between Bic and Rimouski (133)	<p>SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY ROUTE</p> <p>It has been more or less broadly charged that the scenes on some portion of the Intercolonial railway have been inspired and rendered very animated by the not unknown disease called “impecuniosity,” with which some of the contractors and subcontractors have been temporarily afflicted. It has also been said that the scenes on several sections are exceedingly dull and cheerless, because the contractors are not prosecuting the work with sufficient energy.</p> <p>It is to be hoped that these statements were exaggerated and that the occasions which give rise to them have been removed. The Commissioners do not appear to have lost faith in the system of letting the contracts, for it is stated that three additional sections are to be put up to competition without delay. The scenes to which we have to direct the reader’s attention do not belong to the classes already mentioned. One of them about half way between Bic and Rimouski, shows Bic mountain in the side of which</p>	Images do not correlate to any existing Henderson images. However, the text is useful in gathering a popular opinion regarding the ICR.

APPENDIX 12: Alexander Henderson photographs in the *Canadian Illustrated News* and *The Dominion Illustrated*

			heavy cuttings have to be made, and the other near Rimouski, indicates where the line strikes the highway from Bic to Rimouski, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, close by the Rimouski river, which has to be bridged at that point. Both the plates indicated are in section 7 under contract to Mr. Haycook, of Ottawa. (136)	
Vol. 4 No. 17	October 21, 1871	The Intercolonial Railway Bridge at River de Loup – From a sketch by Miss D.; The Piers for the Bridge at Trois Pistoles – From a sketch by Miss D. (259)	<p>INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY BRIDGE</p> <p>In the present issue we give two illustrations of the works on the Intercolonial Railway; one the bridge at Rivière du Loup, and the other the piers of the bridge at Trois Pistoles. These two works embrace the most important bridging to be done on the great national line which is destined to cement the connection between the Eastern and Western Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and to form, at no distant day, an important link in the great chain of railway which will span the continent on British territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and give the old Empire an independent circuit from its eastern to its western possessions, at the same time that it will render the trade of many countries much more directly tributary to British commerce than it is at present. The sketches from which we copy were made by an accomplished young lady of Montreal. (259)</p>	Images not by Henderson, but by Miss. D. Relevant in any discussion of popular interest in views from the ICR route. Accompanying text provides technical and political news regarding the bridges.

APPENDIX 12: Alexander Henderson photographs in the *Canadian Illustrated News* and *The Dominion Illustrated*

Vol. 5 No. 9	March 2, 1871	Quarry on Section 10 of the Intercolonial Railway, Newcastle, N.B.; Culvert on Section 10 of the Intercolonial Railway, Newcastle, N.B. (132)	VIEWS ON THE INTERCOLONIAL (One paragraph, 135)	Neither image is attributed to Henderson, and there are no records of quarry photographs made by Henderson in New Brunswick. The image of the culvert is similar to Henderson's photographs of Peters River, N.B. Text only discusses delay in progress and abandonment of the project by contractors.
Vol. 10 No. 23	December 5, 1874	The Backwoods of Canada: Lumberman's Shanty (361)	THE BACKWOODS - We present two sketches in connection with our backwoods. They are particularly intended for our foreign readers. One represents the shanty of the lumberman on the upper Ottawa, and the other the opening of a new settlement on the Free Grants of Ontario. Both are characteristic of primitive life in the forest, and form episodes of immigration. (363)	
Vol. 10 No. 25	December 19, 1874		ACKNOWLEDGEMENT – In the number before last of this journal, there was published a sketch of “The Lumberman's Shanty.” We are please to acknowledge that the photograph from which this sketch was taken came from the studio of Mr. Alex. Henderson, landscape photographer, several of whose views we have still in	

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			hands, and will shortly reproduce in the Canadian Illustrated News. (391)	
Vol. 11 No. 6	February 6, 1875	Intercolonial Railway Bridge at Rivier du Loup (85)	INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY BRIDGE AT RIVIER DU LOUP We are indebted for the following particulars to Mr. Hazelwood, late engineer of the St. Lawrence District. It is built on the "Howe Truss" principle. It was designed by Mr. Sandford Fleming, the chief engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, and is composed of three spans of 100 feet each, with roadway on top. The depth of the truss is 18 feet, and the roadway above the bed of the river 40 feet. This bridge is supposed to be one of the strongest Howe trusses at present in existence. There is a little bridge of 30 feet span on the west side of this one, but connected with it, for the purpose of carrying the railway over the Temiscouata road. The rivier du Loup and Isle Verte bridges, together with the one over Missiquash River, in Nova Scotia, are the only wooden bridges on the entire line of the intercolonial Railway. They were built before the commissioners consented to comply with the suggestions of the chief engineer to have all of them iron. Our illustration is from a photograph by Mr. W. A. Campbell, or Rivier du Loup, <i>en bas.</i> (85)	While the image is by W.A. Campbell, the image very closely resembles Henderson's <i>Intercolonial Railway, Bridge from above old mill, 1872-1875, Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec, 11.6 x 19.6 cm.</i> (LAC PA-02202)
Vol. 11 No. 22	May 29, 1875	Eastern Townships: - View of mount		

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		Orford, and Part of Lake – From a Photograph by Henderson (345)		
Vol. 12 No. 5	July 31, 1875	Entrance to Pass des Monts, Saguenay – From a Photograph by Henderson (76)		
Vol. 12 No. 8	August 21, 1875	Falls of St. Pascal, Near Kamouraska, Q. From a Photogrpah by Henderson (issue cover)		
Vol. 14 No. 2	July 8, 1876	The Grand Trunk Railway Bridge at St. Ann’s, island of Montreal. From a Photogrpah by Henderson (24)	... the Grand Trunk Railway bridge at St. Anne’s [<i>sic</i>], near Montreal, and a sketch of the difficulty between the contractors of the old Northern Colonization Railway and the Harbour Commissioners of this city, the latter of who positively refused the former the privilege of passing their cars and engines over their ground <i>en route</i> to the new rails. (26)	
Vol. 14 No. 15	October 21, 1876	Quebec Inauguration the first section of the Canadian Inter-Oceanic Railway (Illustrated cover)	MONTREAL TO ST. JEROME ... In our front page cartoon we present an idea of the real value of the new railway and the Province of Quebec has truly every reason to be proud of its part therein. (230)	
Vol. 14 No. 16	October 28, 1876	Canadian Scenery: On the Road to St. Urbain, Near Bay St. Paul, North Shore of the St. Lawrence. From a Photography by Henderson (244)		
Vol. 14 No. 21	December 2, 1876	Inside of Snow-shed at Campbellton, N.B.; Insider of	SNOW SHEDS ON THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY (two paragraphs,	Images not attributed to Henderson, though

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		Snow Shed at Matapedia (332)	327)	Henderson did several photographs of snow sheds on the ICR.
Vol. 15 No. 16	April 21, 1877	Falls Near Truro. From a Photography by Alex. Henderson (245)		LAC PA-022083; McCord MP 1452.113
Vol. 15 No. 26	June 30, 1877	Intercolonial Railway –Amqui Bridge (404)	AMQUI BRIDGE (much technical description of the bridge, no mention of Henderson, 407)	Images not attributed to Henderson, though Henderson did several photographs of Amqui Bridge for the ICR.
Vol. 16 No. 6	August 11, 1877	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY From Photographs by Henderson, Montreal: Sackville bridge; Tête-à-Gauche Bridge; Amqui Bridge; Hellgate Matapedia River; Bic Bridge; Rimouski River (Slamon Pool); Only Rail Tunnel (Morrisey Rock); Assninetquangan Matapedia; Rock Cutting (Bic); Camp at Pleasant Beach; Falls near Truro; Tressel Work and Voal Dump; Folly Viaduct (N.S.); Tunnel near Folley Lake (N.S.); Diversion Tunnel; At Lake Métis; Restigouche Bridge; S. Coal Branch	(2 page spread, no text)	

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		Bridge; Clay Cutting, Trois-Pistoles; At Little Métis (Falls); Nepissiguit (N.B.) (88-89)		
Vol. 16 No. 7	August 18, 1877	BRIDGES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY From Photographs by Henderson, Montreal: Phillip River Bridge; Aulac Bridge (N.S.); Grand Métis Bridge; Trois-Pistoles Bridge; Kouchibouguacis River; Nipissicuit Bridge; Causapscal Bridge; N.W. Miramichi Bridge; Acadian Mines (108) River la Tortue. From a Photograph by Henderson, Montreal (109)		
Vol. 16 No. 11	September 15, 1877	General View of Bic, P.Q. (164)		<i>Intercolonial Railway</i> , June-Aug. 1875, Bic, Quebec, 15.6 x 20.7cm (LAC PA-022076)
Vol. 16 No. 14	October 6, 1877	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL From Photographs by Henderson, Montreal: Confluence of the Matapedia and Restigouche; I.C.R. Bridge, Truro, N.S.; Hellgate Matapedia, Quebec; Assametqigon, Matapedia Valley;	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL – We publish today another set of views in the Intercolonial Railway. These with those which we have produced periodically during the summer, both in groups and as single pictures, form a precious collection of that part of the country for which our readers must be indebted to us. (218)	

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		On the Beach, Little Métis; On Matapedia River, Quebec (221)		
Vol. 16 No. 17	October 27, 1877	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL. From Photographs by Henderson: Millstream, I.C.R.; Folly Lake; Restigouche; Rivier du Loup Bridge (260)	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL – We publish four more of those sketches of scenery along the Intercolonial Railway, of which we have given a series during the summer, and which have served as perhaps the best possible guide to the beauties of that region. (266)	
Vol. 16 No. 20	November 17, 1877	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL From Photograph by Henderson: Causapschal House Brisge; Wallace Valley, N.B.; Causapschal and Matapediac Rivers; Grand Metis Falls (317)		
Vol. 16 No. 22	December 1, 1877	Lachine Canal Enlargement. From a Photograph by Henderson (340)		
Vol. 16 No. 23	December 8, 1877	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL: Causapschal; Wallace Valley (357)		Images not attributed to Henderson, though they are almost exact reproductions of two Henderson photographs: <i>Intercolonial Railway. La Fourche from the river during survey, 1887, Causapschal, Quebec, 15.4x20.4cm (LAC PA-022479); Intercolonial</i>

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				<i>Railway. In the Wallace Valley, June-Aug. 1875, Wallace Valley, N.S., 12.8x19.9 cm (LAC PA-022079)</i>
Vol. 16 No. 24	December 15, 1877	SCENES ON THE INTERCOLONIAL: The Engineer's House, Matapedia; Sugar Loaf mountain, N.S.		Images not attributed to Henderson, though Engineer's House, Matapedia is an almost exact reproduction of Henderson's: <i>Intercolonial Railway. Engineer's House, June-Aug. 1875, Matapedia, Quebec, 15.5x20.2cm (LAC PA-022479)</i>
Vol. 17 No. 19	May 11, 1878	On the Rimouski River. From a Photograph by Henderson (292); Grant's Saw Mill, Matapedia Lake; On Restigouche River. From Photographs by Henderson (293)	A CANADIAN ON CANADA During his leave of absence in England, Mr. Sanford Fleming prepared a paper on Canada which was read before the Royal Colonial Institute, the Duke of Manchester in the chair. A synopsis of it may prove interesting to our readers. [...] It was not until the railways were introduced that the progress of the provinces was so marked; and the greatest interior, to be prosperous, if colonized at all, must eventually be traversed not simply by one railway, but by many railways. [...] The Pacific Railway had been projected for the double purpose of connecting Atlantic and	<i>Intercolonial Railway. On the Rimouski River, June-Aug. 1875, Rimouski River, Quebec (LAC PA-022075); Intercolonial Railway. Grant's Saw Mill, June-Aug. 1875, Lake Matapedia, Quebec, 15.7x20.4cm (LAC C-006354); Intercolonial Railway, June-Aug. 1875, Restigouche River, N.B., 15.0x19.0cm (LAC PA-022095)</i>

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			Pacific sides of Canada and the opening up of the interior for settlement. In the present condition of the country its construction was a very serious undertaking and required grave consideration. [...] In conclusion, the author said that Canadian gloried in their connection with the “little island” across the water. They could not be called Englishmen, but they were proud to be British subjects, and were by no means unwilling to join in the trials and struggles of the mother country. (290)	
Vol. 17 No. 22	June 1, 1878	VIEWS ON THE INTERCOLONIAL: Assametquacan Bridge, Matapedia Road. From a Photograph by Henderson; Culvert, Trois Pistoles. From a Photograph by Henderson (340)		
Vol. 18 No. 6	August 10, 1878	On the Restigouche (92)		Not attributed to Henderson, nor could I identify it in archival collections.
Vol. 21 No. 14	April 3, 1880	VIEWS ON Q.M.O&O. RAILWAY: Lachute. From a Photograph by Henderson (212); Bridge Across the Quarries, Montreal; Hochelaga Station; Bridge over Rouge River (217)		
Vol. 25 No. 5	February 4, 1882	Tuque Fall, St. Maurice, 120 Miles	TUQUE FALLS, ST. MAURICE. We are indebted	

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		West of Ottawa (73)	to Mr. Alex Henderson, photographer of this city, for several very charming photographs of Canadian scenery, one of which we reproduce in this number. Tuque Falls is situated about 120 miles west of Ottawa. (67)	
Vol. 26 No. 12	September 16, 1882	Quebec. View from mountain Hill. From a Photograph by A. Henderson (184)		

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Table 8. List of Alexander Henderson images, and other relevant images, primarily of views along the Intercolonial Railway (ICR) and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), in *The Dominion Illustrated: A Canadian Pictorial Weekly*.

Vol./No.	DATE	IMAGES	RELEVANT TEXT	NOTES
Vol. 1 No. 12	September 22, 1888	The Grand Metis Falls – South Shore of the St. Lawrence, Below Quebec. From a photograph by Henderson.; Shooting the Lachine Rapids. From and instantaneous photograph by Henderson. (188)	<p>GRAND METIS – Who can count the falls, rapids, cataracts and cascades on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, below Quebec alone? The Metis are two rivers, entering the south shore of the St. Lawrence. One called Grand Metis, takes its rise in the northwest angle of the Country of Bonaventure, and discharges into an estuary, called Anse aux Snelles. It is a good salmon stream. The other, called Little Metis, rises in rear of the Seignior of Metis, and falls into a small bay, called Little Metis Harbour. SHOOTING THE LACHINE RAPIDS – Here is a very familiar scene, of which it may be said that there are very few Canadian or American tourists, visiting the St. Lawrence, who have not got down these glorious falls. It is another example of instantaneous photography, in the front of the boat, just at the beginning of the “pitch.” (182)</p> <p>The PUBLISHERS’ NOTICES contains an interesting statement on photography: “Send us photographs and sketches of general and local interest. In these days of instantaneous photography, when KODAKS and other cameras are in everybody's hands, and pictures of every kind are so easily obtained, we should have views of every occurrence of any note; prints of camp scenes, sporting by lake and stream, in forest and moor ; rural life, farm work, lumbering and other things too numerous to mention,</p>	

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			pouring in on us from every quarter, so that we would have the <i>embarras du choix</i> . And then, the amateur would have the satisfaction of having his work reproduced facsimile, and of imparting some knowledge and pleasure to thousands of readers in every province of the Dominion, and even in the United States and England.” (178) Issue also contains a reproduction of a photograph of Mount Carroll, Selkirks, by Notman.	
Vol. 1 No. 13	September 29, 1888	“Evolution,” A View in Montreal Harbour. From a photograph by Henderson. (196); Distant View of Beloeil Mountain, Near St. Hilaire. From a photograph by Henderson; Indian Basket Makers’ Camp, at St. Hilaire. From a Photograph by Henderson. (204)	“EVOLUTION.” – This is a rather scientific word to apply to craft wrought of deal boards and hammered iron plates, but it expresses the idea exactly, all the same. You have here, in the one basin, at the mouth of the Lachine Canal, Montreal, a picture of the primitive horse-boat of the St. Lawrence, replaced further on by the stout and strong propeller, fitted out for the river trade and the transport of market produce, and then towering in her majesty, the immense and handsome four-master, the pride of the Allan fleet – ocean steamer Parisian. (196) BELOEIL MOUNTAIN. – One of the most picturesque and best known of the mountains of the Quebec Province, a favourite summer resort, and full of historical associations. Our view is from the north bank of the Richelieu River, a little above the railway bridge, or at the angle there of. The reflection of the clear water with the image of the great mountain there is the first object of admiration; then we have the white steamboat quay, at St. Hilaire, and in the background the manor of the Campbell-Rouvile family, the whilom seigneurs of this fair valley.	

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			<p>INDIAN BASKET MAKERS. – These must be itinerant natives, from Becancour or St. Francis mayhap, representatives of the Abankis. They are on their way up to lake Champlain and down the Hudson to sell their wares of bead, wicker, and embroidery work, and stopping in the shade of the maples and elms at Beloeil to provide for an increase of stores. (198)</p>	
Vol. 1 No. 15	October 13, 1888	<p>Montreal. The Old Bonsecours Church, Bonsecours Market and Wharves. From a photograph by Henderson. Taken before the alterations to the church, and the building of the dyke. (228); A LAURENTIA N CLUB RESORT. From photographs by Henderson: Lac Brule, Looking West; Club camp, Lake Monroe. (232)</p>	<p>OLD BONSECOURS CHURCH AND MARKET.-This engraving deserves to be carefully kept as the remembrance of a scene that has passed away, of a landmark that has been swept off, in spite of the remonstrances of the press and public, who demanded that so-called modern improvements should not entail the destruction of the monument. The market has been spared, but the church, the oldest in Montreal, and hallowed by the most precious associations two centuries, has virtually ceased to exist, and the memory of that relic survives only in our picture. The steep Norman was little in that direction to be seen. The roof; the airy and graceful steeple, with the Gallic cock on the rear, like spider webs against a wall ; all these are reproduced in the illustration. There is also a more agreeable view of the port of Montreal to be found there than the reality now presents, since that hideous embankment-that eye-sore of a dyke- built at the cost of over \$50,000, for fancied resistance to the ice of the St. Lawrence, obstructs the sight, and spoils the appearance of that fine line of revetment wall which once was the brightest object that struck the eye of the traveller arriving from up or down the river.</p>	<p>Issue also contains a reproduction of a photograph of Ross Peak, Selkirks, by Notman and a photograph of Chaudière Falls, Ottawa by Topley.</p>

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			<p>LAC BRULÉ.-Here is another of those beautiful scenes in the fishing waters of the Laurentian Club, particulars of which we gave a fortnight ago. Whatever "Burnt Lake " may mean, the woods around its margin are thick tufted; the waters are bright ; the rocky, moss-clad islets break the windings; and the queen of all that craft that floats, the birch-bark canoe-a perfectly finished one, too, by the way-glides through the peaceful solitude.</p> <p>LAKE MONROE.- To the same series belongs the view of the Laurentian Club camp on Lake Monroe, so called, doubtless, from one of the members, if not from some old settler of that wilderness. This is a gloomier picture than its companions. It is fishing weather. The skies are laden with clouds; the woods are black with shadows; rain is falling on the lake, and two birch barks are being set into position for a trial of the finny depths. There is a dog in one boat; a punt, down the shore, lying empty ; and, in front, stands forth the substantial log house, with an out-house beyond, where the club have their quarters. (230)</p>	
Vol. 1 No. 16	October 20, 1888	In the public Gardens, Ottawa. From a photograph by Henderson. (245)	<p>OTTAWA PUBLIC GARDENS.- There are perhaps no ornamental grounds of the kind in Canada having so many advantages of scenery joined to them as these Ottawa Gardens. The situation will be located at a glance from the sight of the Main Parliamentary Building. The view of the Parliamentary Library, full in front, is doubtless the finest ever taken of that miracle of architecture, and enough, of itself to give price to the engraving. (246)</p>	Issue contains two editorials: WALDEN PHILOSOPHY, which critiques Thoreau suggesting that "so far from setting Thoreau on a pedestal of perfection, one sometimes

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				feels very much inclined to quarrel with him.” (246); PEACE RIVER COUNTRY, which traces the conflicts between indigenous and RCMP in northern Saskatchewan. (247)
Vol. 1 No. 17	October 27, 1888	A LAURENTIAN CLUB RESORT. From photographs by Henderson: At Lake Monroe. Single Portage.; Double portage of Bark Canoe. (261)	SINGLE AND DOUBLE PORTAGES. – Those who have read about “portages” in books – novels, poems, travellers’ accounts, missionaries’ relations, surveyors’ explorations and hunters’ stories-may have never fully understood the meaning of the term, until they set their eye upon the two superb engravings which embellish our pages to-day. Here is a distinctive Canadian scene, and no mistake. The picture was taken a short time ago, but it might be two hundred years old, so true is it to the nature of an experience that dates back, unaltered, since the early days of the settlement of New France. Look at the model of those canoes, turned to a hair in graceful curves; polished to the lustre of a bone; light as an eagle’s feather, and strongly buoyant to rebound from the impact of rock or plunging falls. An Indian made this plaything, that has been used as an engine of war, a saviour to the starving camps, a vehicle of the Word and the Cross in the depths of the wildwood. That was two centuries back. An Indian made the two canoes that we see in the pictures, and they are employed	

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			for nothing more nor less than the congenial sport of fishing, at Lake Monroe, in the lacustrine preserves of the Laurentian Club, which we have already fully illustrated. (262)	
Vol. 1 No. 18	November 3, 1888	MONTREAL RIVER FRONT. From photographs by Henderson: General View from C.P.R'Y Elevators; View from R. & O. Co.'s Wharf. (280)	MONTREAL PORT FROM THE C. P. R. ELEVATORS. – The elevators of the C. P. Railway are situated on the riverside at the Dalhousie Square Station, and from their great altitude they afford wide views of the harbour of Montreal and the whole city. In front, looking west, you have the wharves and Commissioner street, with the outline of the unsightly dyke ; on the right is the freight shed of the railway, its stone offices, old Bonsecours Church and market, Notre Dame Church, the Custom House, and the head of the Lachine Canal ; and to the left we have the broad St. Lawrence, with the market boats of the Richelieu and Ontario Line, dredges, elevators, and the lines of the railway connecting with the ships. (278)	
Vol. 1 No. 20	November 17, 1888	Third Falls of the Mastigouche, in the Laurentian Mountains. From a photograph by Henderson (issue cover); Victoria Bridge, Montreal. From a photograph by Henderson; Entrance to the Church of the Grey Nuns' General	FALLS OF THE MASTIGOUCHE. - This is the third of the Falls of the Mastigouche, which add so much to the spectacular beauty and the fish value of the Laurentian Mountain country, where no less than three Canadian clubs have their quarters in the sporting season. In previous pictures of the lakes with which this fair land abounds we gave the main features of its topography. VICTORIA BRIDGE. - Although this bridge is now nearly thirty years old, however familiar it may be to the people of Montreal, it is still one of the wonders of modern engineering skill, its fame has spread to the furthestmost bounds of the world, and to tourists in Canada it is always looked up to as one, perhaps,	Issue also contains a reproduction of a photograph of Kicking Horse Pass, C. P. R'Y, Looking West, by Notman. (311) Described as: KICKING HORSE PASS. - This fine picture must be looked at and admired in connection with that of the Ottertail

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		Hospital, Dorchester Street, Montreal. From a Photograph by Henderson. (308)	of the greatest sights on the St. Lawrence. The grace of outline, the adaptability of design and the solidity of construction have all contributed to this most creditable record, that, in twenty-seven years of service, there has not been the slightest accident on that long bridge. This speaks volumes for the skill, watchfulness and persevering energy of the Grand Trunk Railway, to whom this great work belongs. Of all the parts of the extended line, there is none more admirably managed than the Victoria Tubular Bridge. CHURCH OF THE GREY NUNS. - All those who remember the high stone walls of the Grey Nunnery, on its original site, near the water's edge, at McGill street, will regret the disappearance of the little spire or campanile of the chapel that stood in the midst of the court-yard, and it is with pleasure that a portion of it is still seen among the new warehouses that have sprung up there. The stately church, forming a portion of the immense building used as an hospital, has replaced the church, and deserves a place here, as one of the finest specimens of its class. (310)	Mountain given in our last issue. As there stated, the valley is formed by the Wapta or Kicking Horse River. Why not stick to the liquid and euphonious Indian name? The road rises from the flat of the Wapta, and, after crossing a high bridge over the Ottetail River, goes down again to the Wapta. (310)
Vol. 1 No. 25	December 22, 1888	Bonsecours Market, Montreal, Christmas Eve. From a photograph by Henderson. (392)	BONSECOURS MARKET. - This is a scene on the eve of Christmas. The snow has come and trade is brisk. Every mortal, eating or spectacular, is there for bargain, and the Babel that goes on, with womens' tongues above the din, is phenomenal. If you are shrewd, you can drive sharpest bargains there; if not, you are sure to pay a twofold price. Of meats, the chief sale is in pork and turkeys, of which the French are specially fond. (390)	
Vol. 1 No. 26	December 29, 1888	Dufferin Bridge,	DUFFERIN BRIDGE, OTTAWA. - Those who are acquainted with	

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		Ottawa. From a photograph by Henderson. (404)	Ottawa will recognize this bridge as one of the features of the triangular space, leading from Upper to Lower Town, across the Rideau Canal. The other bridge that meets Dufferin is the historic Sappers' Bridge, recalling the mighty public works done by the Sappers and Miners the old military days. In the right distance we have the East Departmental Building ; then appears in sight the bell-like dome of the Library, and afar is the Mackenzie Tower. (406)	
Vol. 2 No. 33	February 16, 1889	"Silver Birch," in Mount Royal Park. From a photograph by Henderson. (101)		
Vol. 2 No. 35	March 2, 1889	Study of Hoar-Frost in Mount Royal Park. From a photograph by Henderson. (140)	STUDY IN HOAR-FROST.- "Exquisitely beautiful" cannot fail to be the opinion expressed at the "Study of Brush in Hoar-frost." The tracery is so delicate that one might almost believe it to be the representation of an intricate piece of needlework. But it is "Nature unadorned," which is the most adorned when she appears in her pristine simplicity, clothed only in her vestments of foliage, or having drawn around her, her mantle of frost-work, in which are displayed rarer designs and more precise workmanship than it were possible for human ingenuity to conceive or mortal skill to execute. Could anything be more lovely or could anything more effectively lead from Nature up to Nature's God? (138)	
Vol. 2 No. 41	April 13, 1889	The Old St. Louis Gate, Quebec – Outside View;	OLD ST. LOUIS GATE, QUEBEC. -This venerable structure, which some of our readers doubtless remember as one of the points of	

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		<p>The Old St. Lois Gate, Quebec – Inside View. From photographs by Henderson. (236)</p>	<p>interest in the "l'Ancien Capital," would, if we followed its history to the foundation of its earliest predecessor, take us back nearly two hundred years. The year 1694 has been assigned as the date of the erection of the first St. Louis Gate. Charlevoix describes, in a general way, the fortifications of the city as they appeared on the occasion of his visit, and especially during the period of troubled expectancy that was relieved by Sir Hovenden Walker's disaster. St. Louis Gate must have been the most familiar of objects to Quebecers of the first half of the 18th century. Many an anxious foot must have passed to and fro through that aperture during the closing years of the French domination. Kalm, who was in Quebec in the summer of 1749, speaks of the circuit of the walls as being then not quite completed. He little foresaw what ten years would accomplish, for, reflecting on the great natural strength of the place, he says that nature has dispensed it from the need of walls on the water side by setting a rock there which it is impossible to surmount. All the heights, he adds, are covered with batteries, and no hostile vessel can come in sight without running the risk of being immediately sunk. The last service that the old gate rendered to Quebec's former masters was to let a remnant of Montcalm's army pass into the city, on its way back, by the Palace Gate and the bridge of boats over the St. Charles, to the Beauport camp. For about a generation there is little mention of it in contemporary records. In 1791 it is declared to be in a ruinous condition, and it was found necessary to rebuild it. In 1823</p>	
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			<p>it underwent a complete remodelling, in conformity with the plan of defence sanctioned by the Duke of Wellington, and it is the structure of that date which appears in our engravings. In 1871 both the gate and its sinuous approach were removed. This new fabric (of which a view has already appeared in the DOMINION ILLUSTRATED) was at first to be called "Dufferin Gate," in honour of the generous author of the improvements which have done so much to beautify Quebec. At the intercession of the Princess Louise (Lord Dufferin gladly agreeing) the proposed change was not made, and the handsome structure around which cluster so many associations of the Old Regime still bears its original designation. (234)</p>	
Vol. 2 No. 52	June 29, 1889	Falls of the River of Ste. Anne. North Shore of St. Lawrence, Below Quebec. Henderson, photo. (issue cover)	<p>FALLS OF ST. ANNE. - This miniature Niagara is one of the chief points of interest and one of the loveliest and most romantic of the districts which have made the Lower St. Lawrence so dear to the lover of nature. From the historic and religious standpoint, it is a feature in the environment of that remarkable place of pilgrimage - one of the few such hallowed spots of which the new world can boast - known variously as Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Ste. Anne du Nord, or, in the simple and affectionate language of the pious <i>habitant</i>, la Bonne Ste. Anne. The <i>Pèlerinage à Ste. Anne</i> dates back to the year 1658, and is thus by no means the most modern of such resorts of the faithful, even if we compromise the old world in our survey. Ste. Anne de Beaupré is situated in the county of Montmorency, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, 22 miles below</p>	

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			Quebec, and the picturesque Falls are at some distance from the village. St. Joachim, at the foot of Cape Tourmente, is in the same circle of attractions. The whole neighbourhood is constantly visited by tourists in the summer months, and sportsmen are not lacking, as the Ste. Anne adds to its other charms that of being a fair salmon stream. This delightful stream has been graphically described by Mr. Le Moine, in his <i>Album du Teuriste</i> and other works, by Dr. Beers, by Mr. H. Sandham, and by the authors of <i>Picturesque Canada</i> . (406)	
Vol. 3 No. 78	December 28, 1889	The Peter Redpath Museum and the Presbyterian College, as Seen from the Entrance to McGill College Grounds, Montreal. Henderson, photo. (issue cover); The Medical College Building of McGill University, Montreal. Henderson, photo. (412)	(406)	
Vol. 4 No. 81	January 18, 1890	Interior of Christ Church Cathedral Montreal. Henderson, photo. (41)	(38)	
Vol. 4 No. 91	March 29, 1890	The Old Windmill,	(189-90)	

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		Lachine. Henderson, photo. (208)		
Vol. 5 No. 106	July 12, 1890	Interior of Parish Church, Three-Rivers, PQ. Henderson, photo. (24)	(23)	
Vol. 5 No. 115	September 13, 1890	Bridge over Chaudiere, Near Quebec. (188)	BRIDGE OVER THE CHAUDIER. – To many of our readers this scene will have the charms of “auld acquaintance.” By repute it is familiar to them all. Canada is a land of lakes and rivers, and the bridge-maker’s art is frequently called upon to overcome barriers to inter-communication. Where the engineer can accommodate the traveling public without robbing the scenes of his labours of their picturesqueness, we owe him a twofold debt of gratitude. (182)	Photograph not attributed to Henderson.
Vol. 6 No. 157	July 4, 1891	Closing Day at Royal Military College, Kingston. Henderson, photo. (20)		I have included this image in the list as a caution. This photograph was likely done H. Henderson of Brockville who was featured frequently in <i>The Dominion Illustrated</i> .

Selected pages from the *Canadian Illustrated News* arranged in order of date.

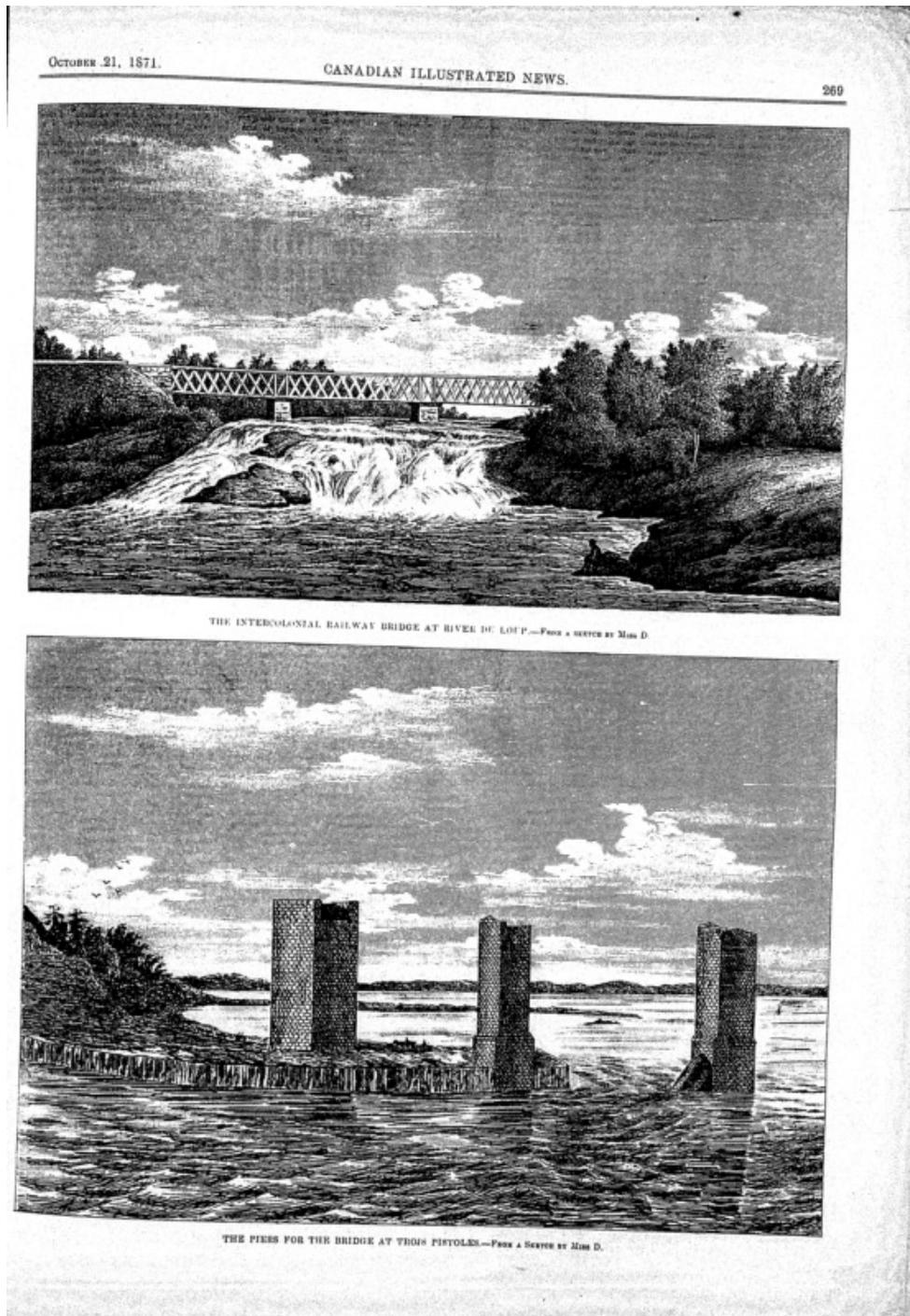


Figure 132. “The Intercolonial Railway Bridge at River de Loup – From a sketch by Miss D.; The Piers for the Bridge at Trois Pistoles – From a sketch by Miss D.,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 4, no. 17 (21 October 1871): 269.

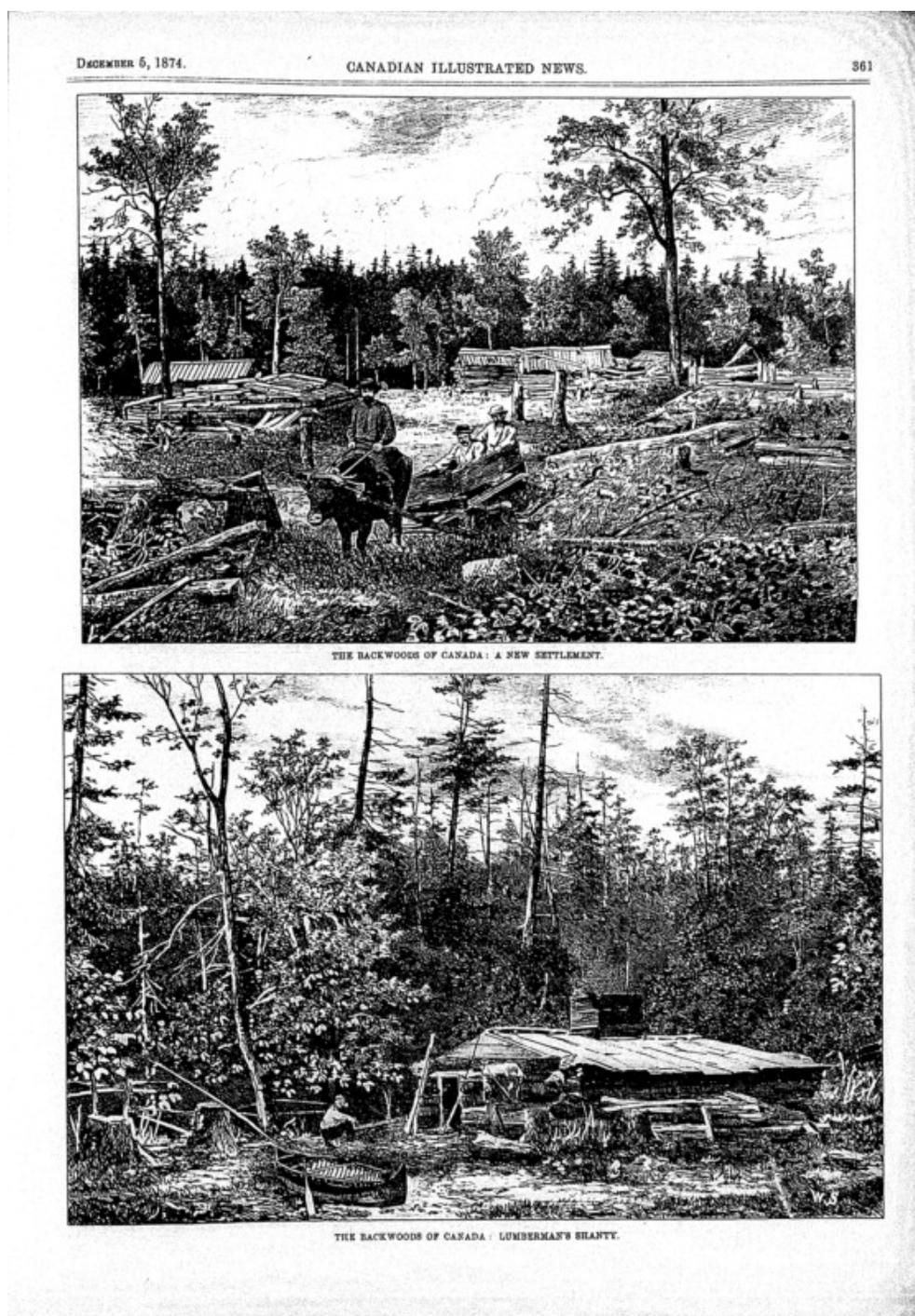


Figure 133. “The Backwoods of Canada: Lumberman’s Shanty,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 10, no. 23 (5 December 1874): 361.

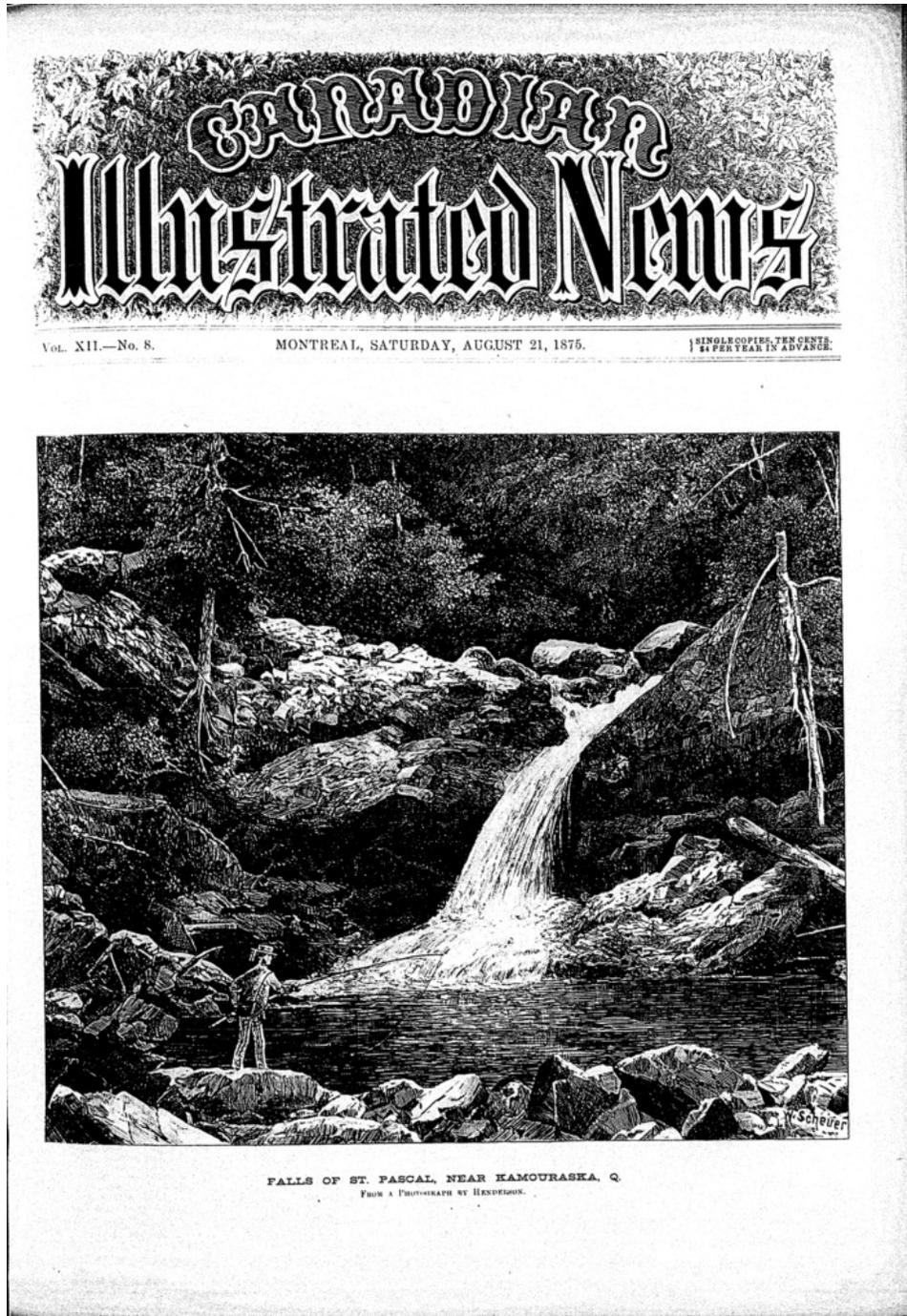


Figure 134. “Falls of St. Pascal, Near Kamouraska, Q. From a photograph by Henderson,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 12, no. 8 (21 August 1875): cover.

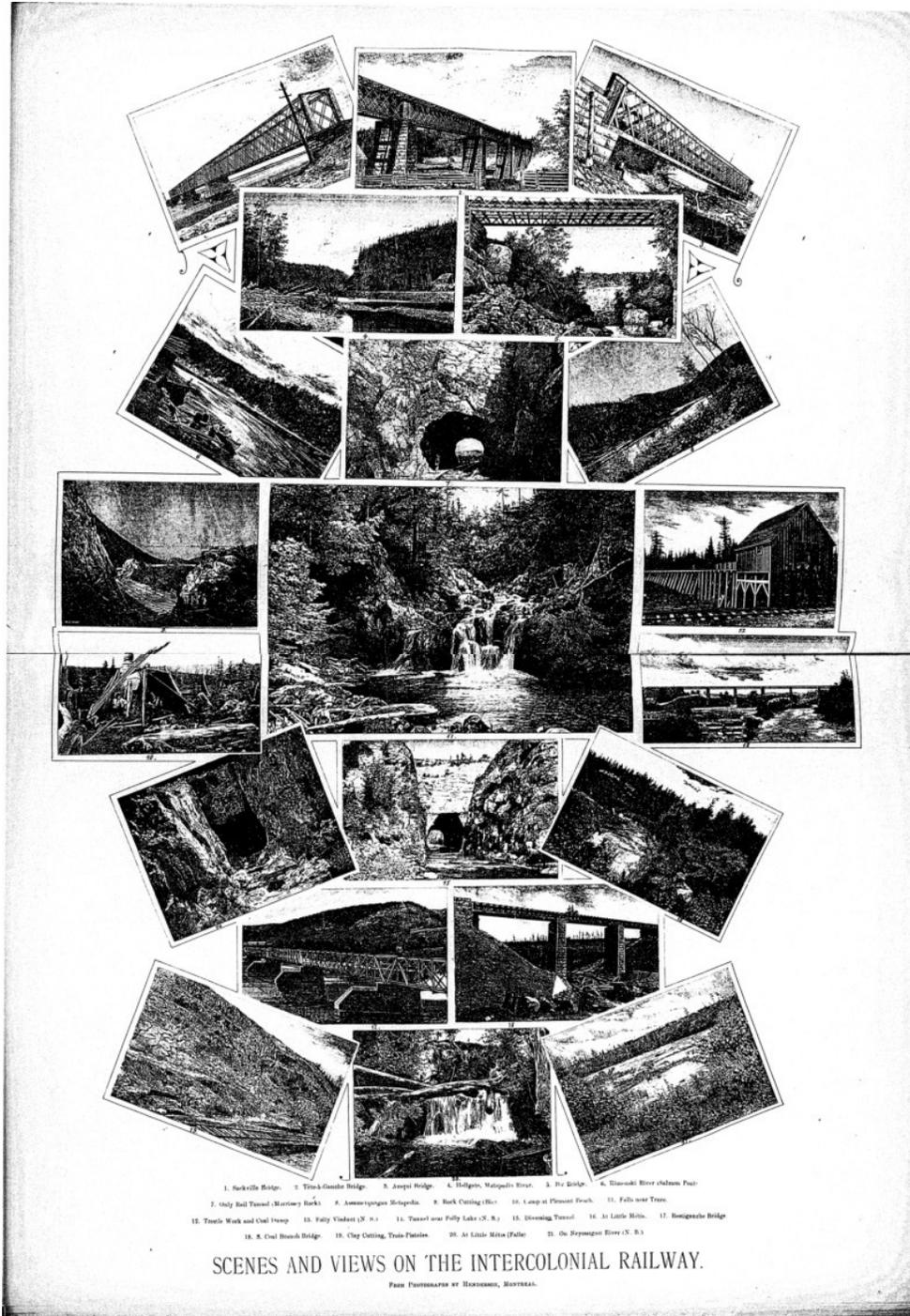


Figure 135. “Scenes on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 6 (11 August 1877): 88-89.

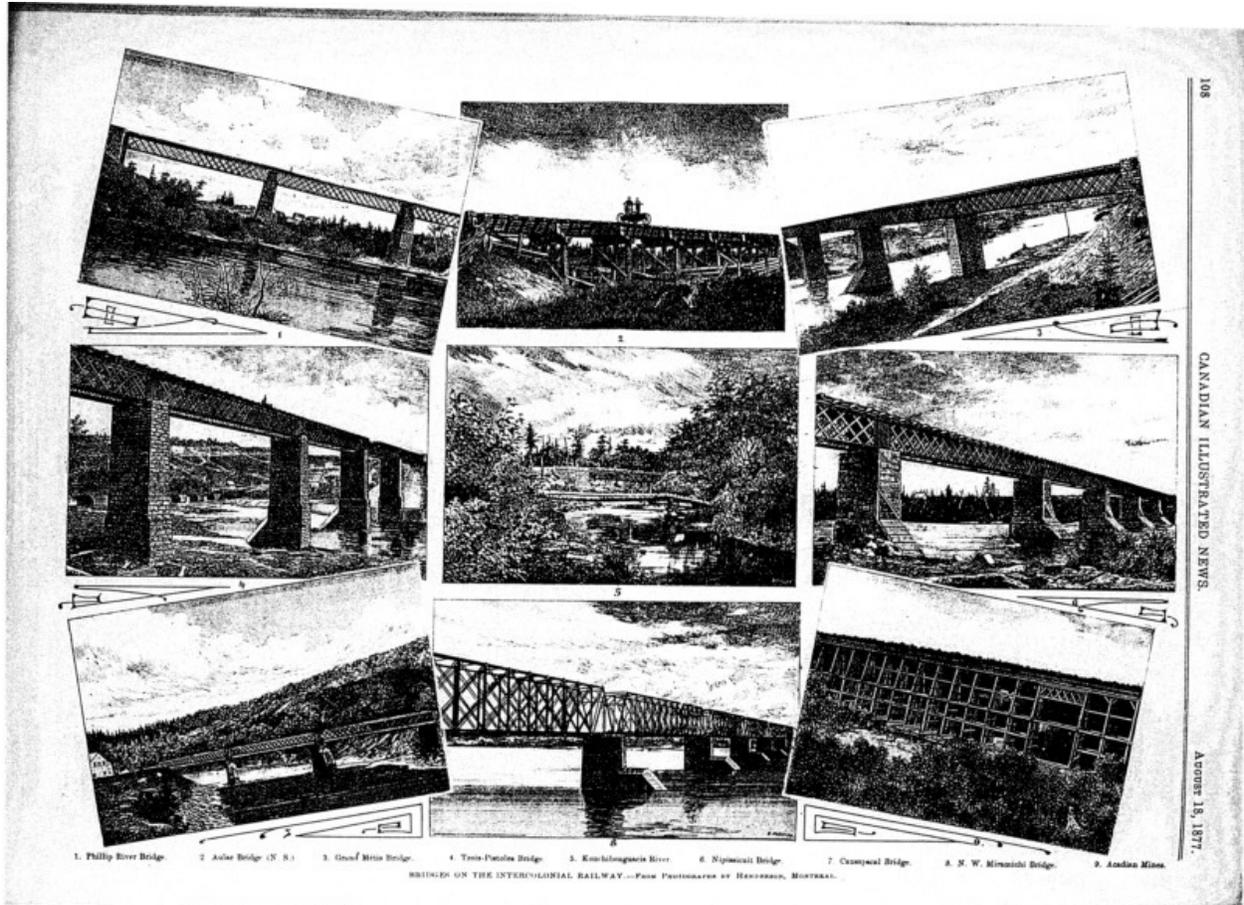


Figure 136. “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 108.



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RIVER LA TORTUE.—FROM PHOTOGRAPH BY HENDERSON, MONTREAL.

Figure 137. “Bridges on the Intercolonial Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 16, no. 7 (18 August 1877): 109.

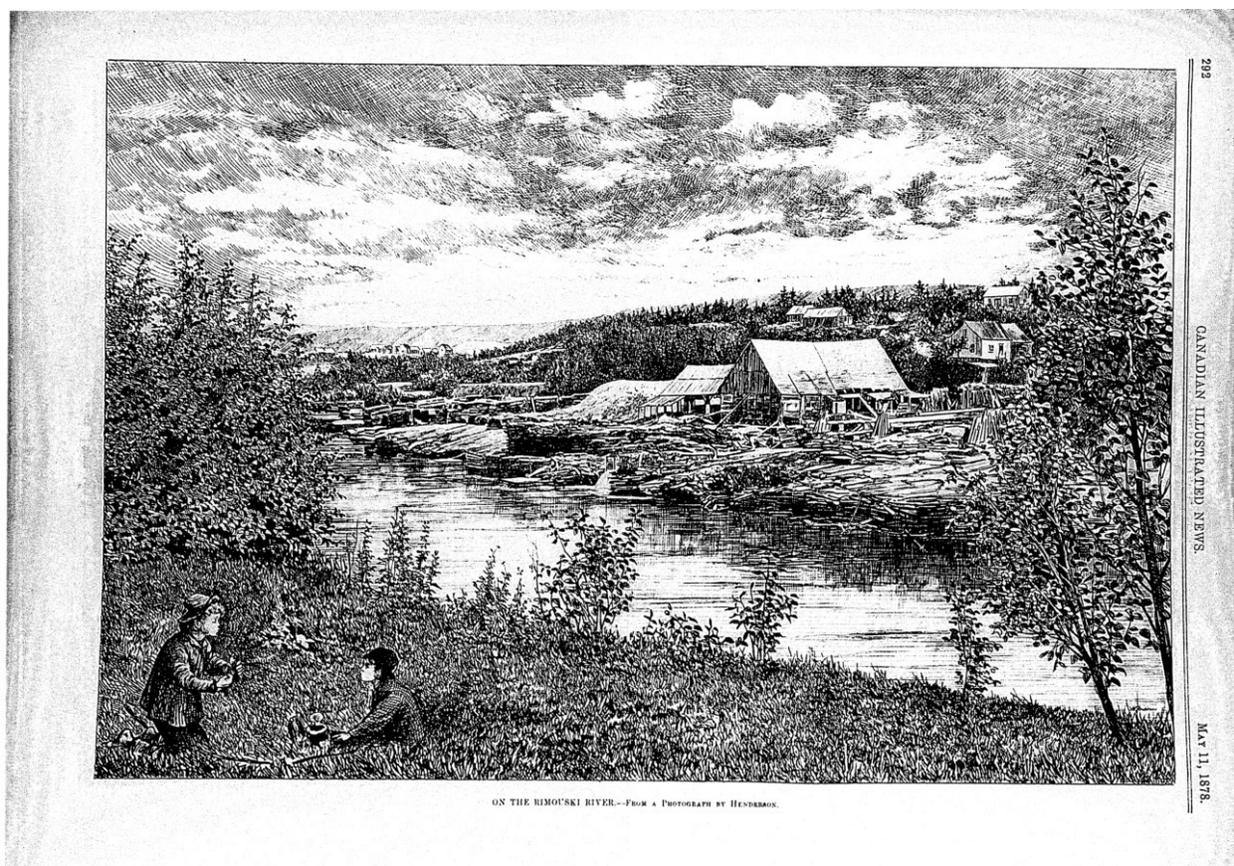


Figure 138. “On the Rimouski River,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 17, no. 19 (11 May 1878): 292.

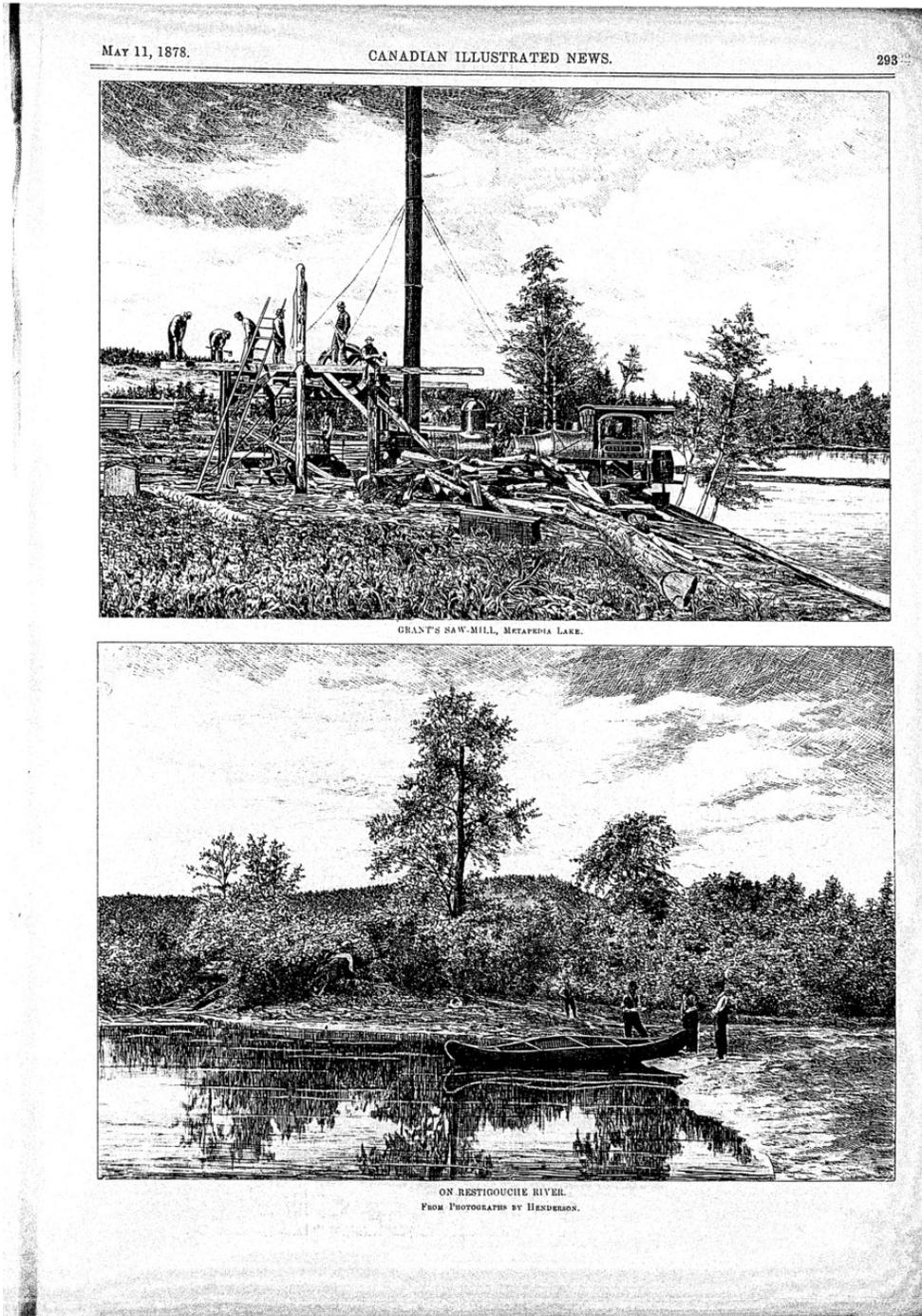


Figure 139. “Grant’s Saw Mill, Matapedia Lake; On Restigouche River. From Photographs by Henderson,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 17, no. 19 (11 May 1878): 293.

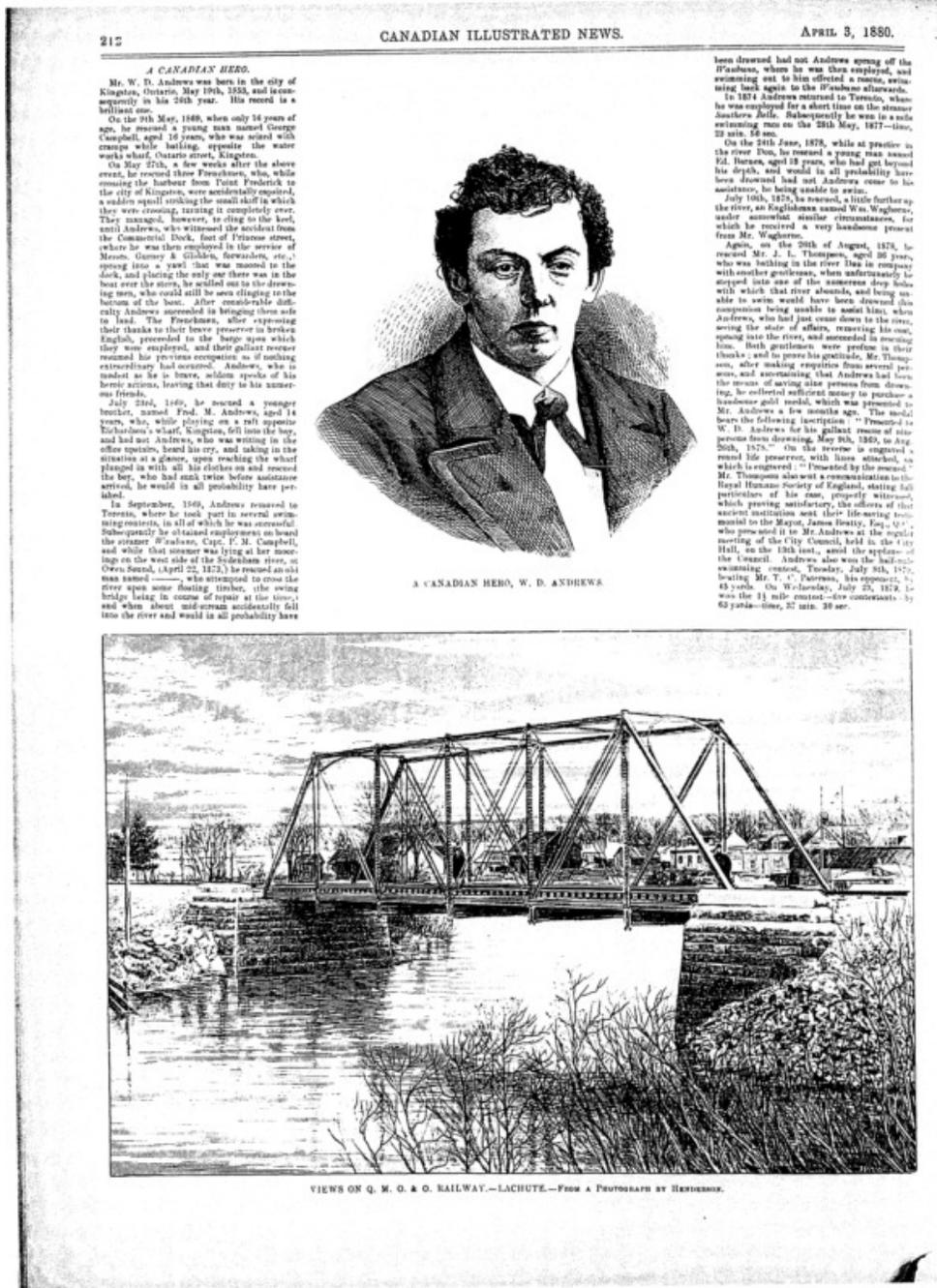


Figure 140. "Views on the Q.M.O.&O. Railway," *Canadian Illustrated News* 21, no. 14 (3 April 1880): 212.

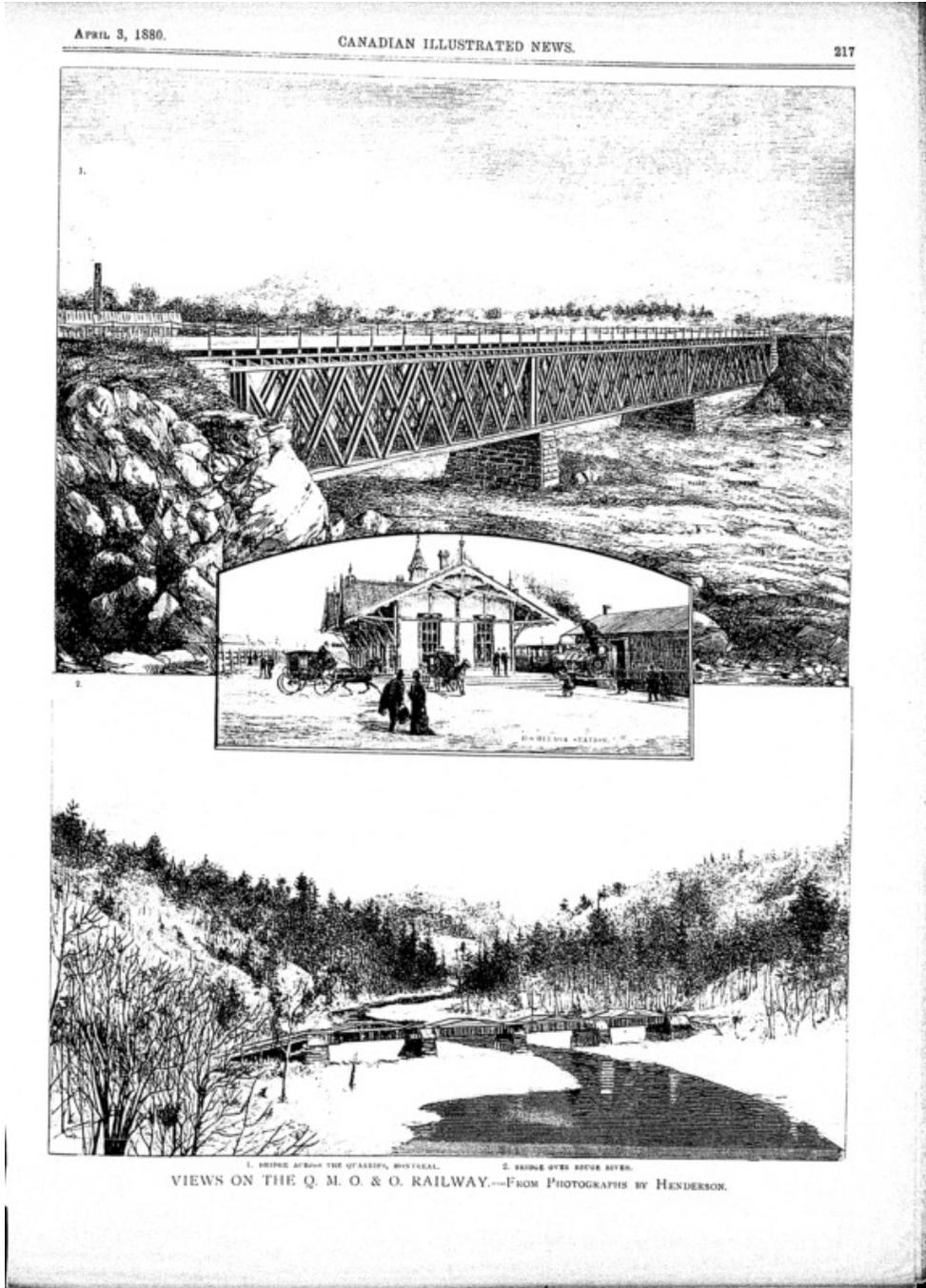


Figure 141. “Views on the Q.M.O.&O. Railway,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 21, no. 14 (3 April 1880): 214.

Henderson photographs included in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges, Constructed & Erected, 1877-1878: For the Government of the Dominion of Canada on the Line of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC. Photographs are arranged by page order, with notes on appearances in other publications and relevant images. Three images attributed to Livernois are not reproduced.

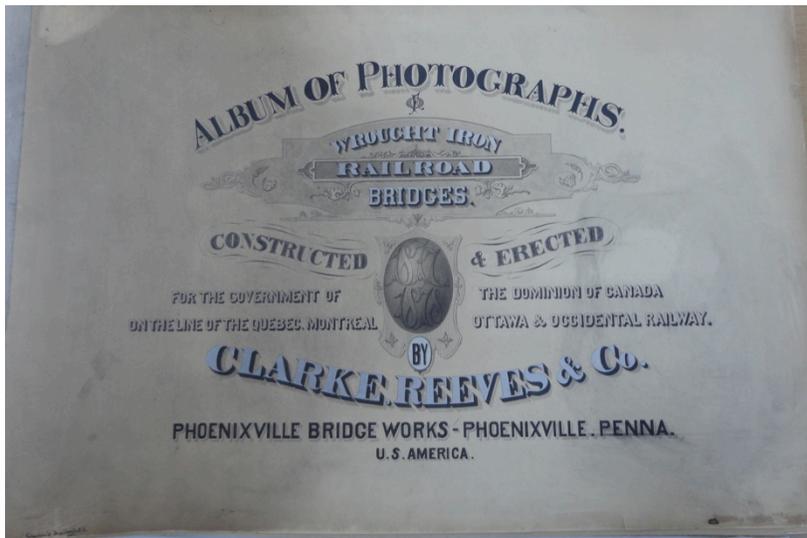


Figure 142. “Cover page.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

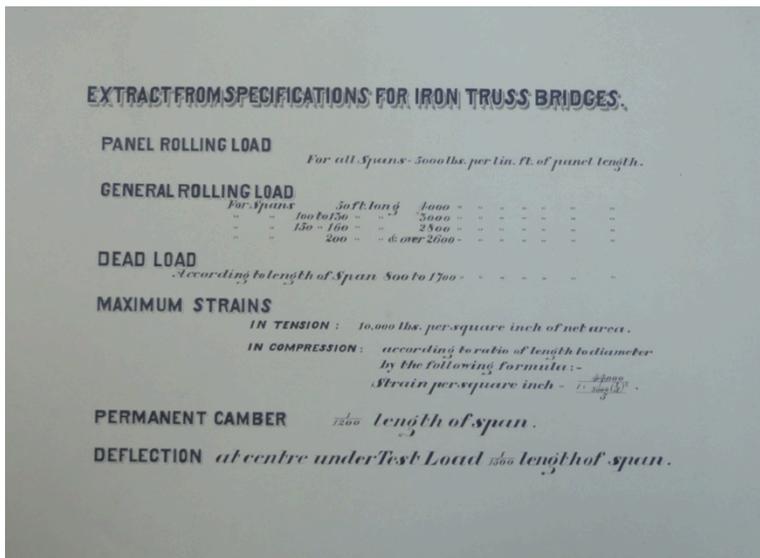


Figure 143. “Extracts from Specifications for Iron Truss Bridges.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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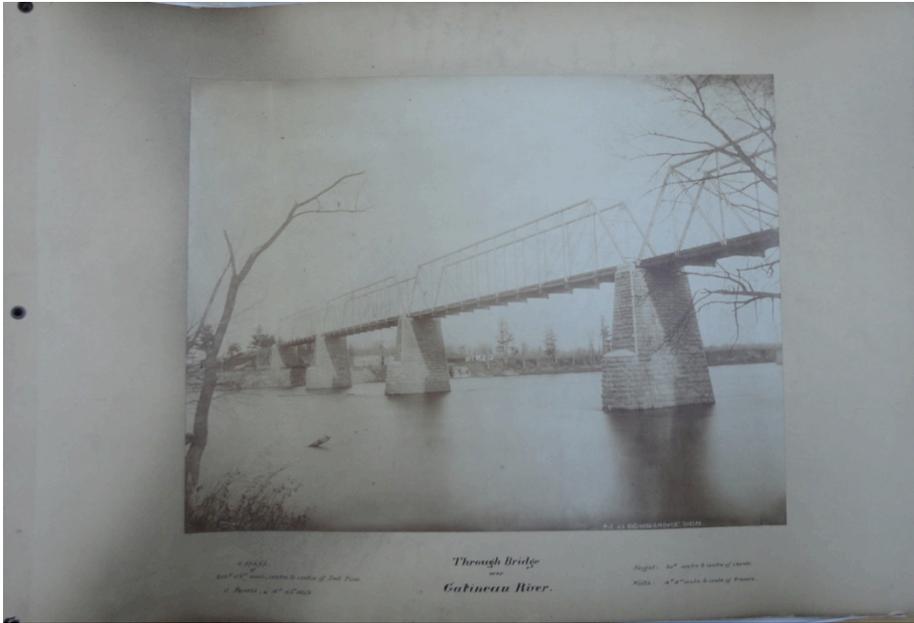


Figure 144. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 1. Through Bridge over Gatineau River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 145. Alexander Henderson, "Plate 2. Deck Bridge over Little Upper Blanche River." In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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Figure 146. (L) Alexander Henderson, “Plate 3. Through Bridge over Blanche River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Regulating dam, Blanche River near Derry, QC.* About 1866. Silver salts on paper mounted on paper - Albumen process 16.5 x 21.6 cm. MP-0000.267.1, McCord.



Figure 147. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 4. Through Bridge over Aux Lievres River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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Figure 148. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 5. Through Bridge over Aux Lievres River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

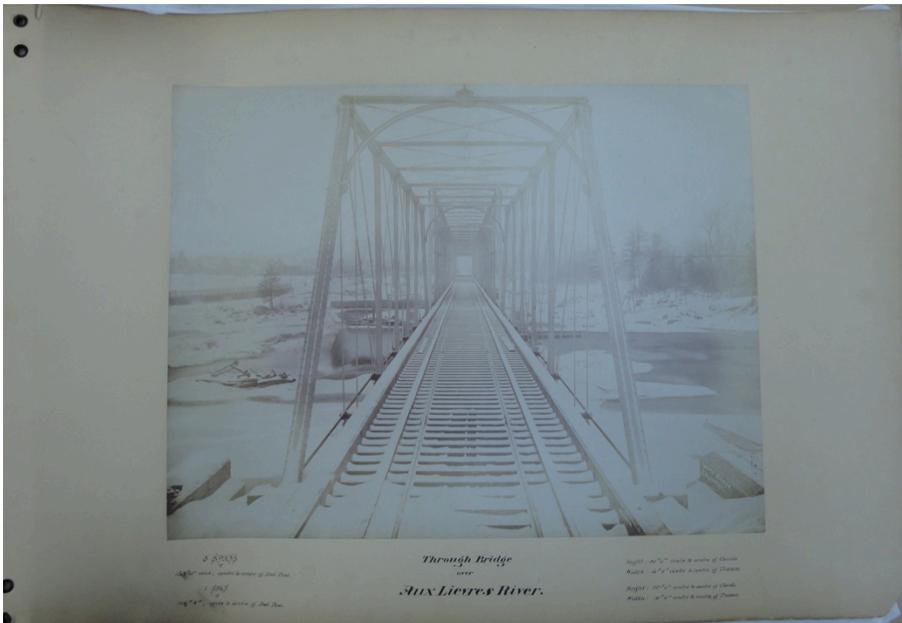


Figure 149. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 6. Through Bridge over Aux Lievres River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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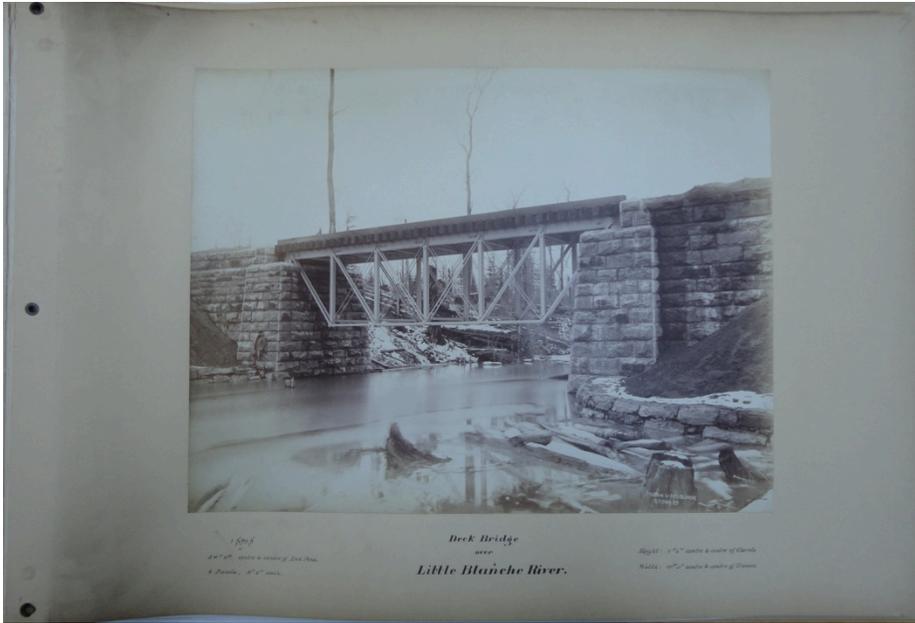


Figure 150. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 7. Deck Bridge over Little Blanche River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 151. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 8. Through bridge over Salmon River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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Figure 152. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 9. Deck Bridge over Salmon Creek.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 153. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 10. Deck Bridge over Pointe de Chêne.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

APPENDIX 14: Alexander Henderson photographs included
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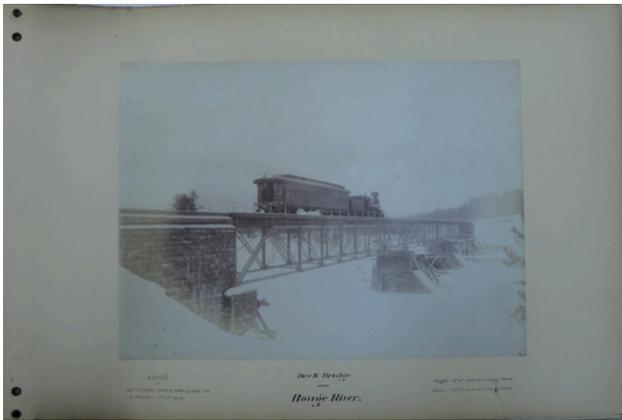


Figure 154. (L) Alexander Henderson, “Plate 11. Deck Bridge over Rouge River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

(R) Alexander Henderson, *Ready for the Portage*. Before July 1884. Albumen silver print, 15.4 x 20.7 cm. No. 22804.20, NGC.



Figure 155. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 12. Deck Bridge over Calumet River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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Figure 156. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 13. Through Bridge over West River of Lachute.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Engraving appears in “Views on the Q.M.O.&O. Railway. Lachute. From a photograph by Henderson,” *Canadian Illustrated News* 21, no. 14 (3 April 1880): 212.



Figure 157. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 14. Through Bridges over North and West Rivers of Lachute.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

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in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges*



Figure 158. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 15. Through Bridge over North River of Lachute.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 159. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 16. Deck Bridge over St. Scholastique River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

APPENDIX 14: Alexander Henderson photographs included
in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges*



Figure 160. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 17. Through Bridge over Riviere des Mille Isles.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 161. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 18. Through Bridge over Riviere des Prairies.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

APPENDIX 14: Alexander Henderson photographs included
in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges*



Figure 162. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 19. Through bridge over St. Maurice River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 163. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 20. Through Bridge over St. Anne’s River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

APPENDIX 14: Alexander Henderson photographs included
in *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges*



Figure 164. Alexander Henderson, “Plate 21. Through Bridge over Batiscan River.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.



Figure 165. Page verso: “ALEXANDER HENDERSON, LANDSCAPE PHOTOGRAPHER. Canadian Landscapes suitable for the Graphoscope ALWAYS READY, MONTREAL.” In *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges* (Phoenixville, Pa.: Clarke, Reeves & Co., 1877-1878). P71:003:1-26, NGC.

Selected Henderson Canadian Pacific Railway photographs.



Figure 166. Alexander Henderson, *Giant Trees, Stanley Park, Vancouver, BC*. 1892. Ink on paper collotype. MP-1974.4.14, McCord.

APPENDIX 15: Selected Alexander Henderson CPR photographs



Figure 167. Alexander Henderson, *The Great Glacier, BC*. 1892. Silver salts on paper mounted on card albumen process, 48.5 x 114 cm. MP-1977.165, McCord.



Figure 168. Alexander Henderson, *Bow River Valley at Canmore, AB*. 1892. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. MP-1979.36.7, McCord.



Figure 169. Alexander Henderson, *Mount Rundle, Canadian National Park, Banff, AB.* 1892. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. MP-1974.4.18, McCord.



Figure 170. Alexander Henderson, *Hermit Mountain near Glacier House, Selkirks, BC.* 1892. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. MP-1979.36.11, McCord.

APPENDIX 16

Moose Factory Photographs in the Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-1, AO. Digitized photographs available online: Descriptive Database, F 2179-2, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ont.



Figure 171. Photographer unknown, *Pig Island Moose Factory landing strip*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-1, container B410606, AO.



Figure 172. Photographer unknown, *Waterfront in Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-2, container B410606, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 173. Photographer unknown, *A group of horses in Moose Factory.* About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-3, container B410606, AO.



Figure 174. Photographer unknown, *Canoes on the side of the river in Moose Factory.* About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-4, container B410606, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 175. Photographer unknown, *A snow covered house in Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-5, container B410606, AO.



Figure 176. Bernard Rogan Ross, *Fur traders with huskies*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-6, container B410606, AO.

**APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection**



Figure 177. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory on the Moose River*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-7, container B410477, AO.



Figure 178. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose River*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-8, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 179. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory on the Moose River (Moosonee) during winter*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-9, container B410477, AO.



Figure 180. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *Moose Factory; From the Flats*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-10, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection

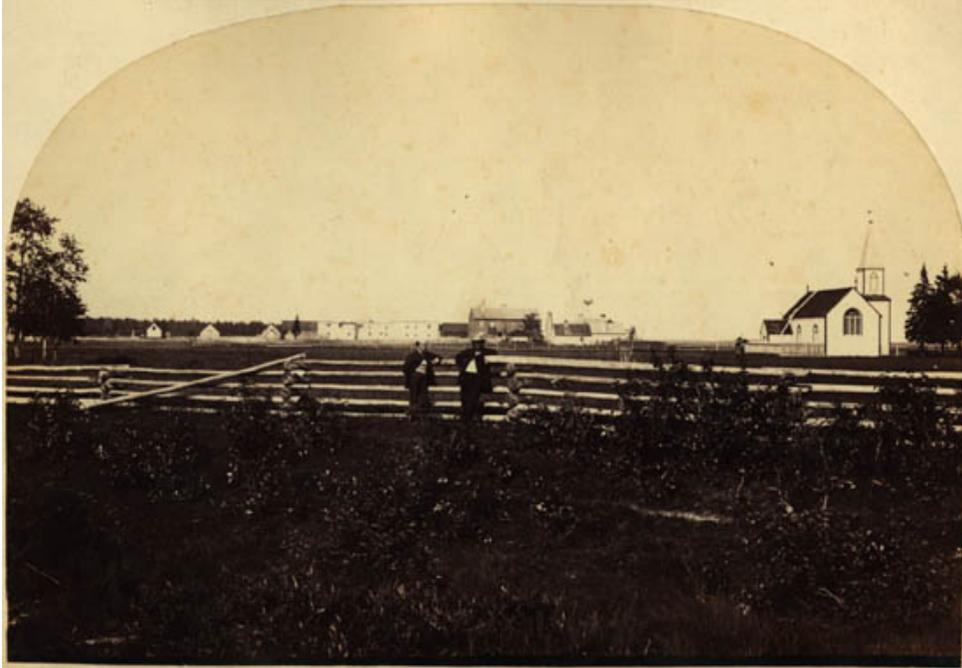


Figure 181. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *Moose Factory S.W. Front or Two men standing in front of a fence in Moose Factory*. About 1865. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-11, container B410477, AO.



Figure 182. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *View on the Moose River with encampments on the side*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-12, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 183. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Church Moose Factory*, Aug. 1868. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-13, container B410477, AO.



Figure 184. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose factory General Store, Launch, Dr. Smith and McDonald in foreground*, Aug. 1868. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-14, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 185. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory - view on the Moose Factory*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-15, container B410477, AO.



Figure 186. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory, Fort and Port: Summer*. About 1869. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-16, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 187. Charles George Horetzky, photographer and Bernard Rogan Ross, printer, *Indian Village. Moose Factory.* About 1865. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-17, container B410477, AO.



Figure 188. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Old Factory House in the winter, Moose Factory.* About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-18, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 189. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *No. 1 View of the old Factory House (off back)*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-19, container B410477, AO.



Figure 190. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory during the winter*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-20, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 16: Moose Factory Photographs in the
Captain Traill Smith photograph collection



Figure 191. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *Moose Factory*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-21, container B410477, AO.



Figure 192. Photographer unknown, possibly Bernard Rogan Ross or Charles George Horetzky, *View of the Old Factory House, Moose Factory*. About 1867. Captain Traill Smith photograph collection, F 2179-2-0-0-22, container B410477, AO.

APPENDIX 17

Complete set of photographs contained in *Album 7*, Immigration Branch Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement in the Department of the Interior fonds, R7540-0-9-E, LAC. Ordered by page as found in the album, with dates and alternate titles from LAC provided.

Twenty-five images, including one duplicate, that also appear in the *Peace River Album*, 971.11 P35, VPL are indicated. Seven images that appear in George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), are indicated. Images that appear in the *Homathko River Album*, 971.132 B43ho, VPL and in *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*, Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC are indicated.

Figures 194 through 209, and 223, were taken during the 1871 expedition under Moberly and are included in the *Fort Garry to Jasper House album* in the Sandford Fleming fonds R7666-0-8-E, LAC; and in the Glenbow collection of Horetzky photographs, PB-885, NA-1408, PB-239.



Figure 193. Charles George Horetzky, *Lake Huron*. Also listed by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. On Lac d'Ecorce*. September 1876. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009241, LAC.



Figure 194. Charles George Horetzky, *Dog train, Fort Garry*. Also listed by LAC as *Man seated in a cariole (sled) with four harnessed dogs and two men standing against a building in the background, Fort Garry, Northwest Territories (now Manitoba)*. December 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009174, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Dog Carriole." 35. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 195. Charles George Horetzky, *Indian tepees, Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also listed by LAC as *Cree Camp on the prairie, south of Vermilion (Lat N. 53 Long W. 111)*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.7 x 18.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009175, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Cree Indian Camp. South of vermilion. Lat. N. 53° Long. W. 111° nearly." 40. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Also "Plate 18. Indian Encampment on the Prairie." In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 79.



Figure 196. Charles George Horetzky, *Camp at Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also listed by LAC as *Men's Lodge Div. P at Elbow of North Saskatchewan*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009170, LAC.
Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Mens Lodge. Div. P. On the Saskatchewan. Sept '71." 42. 971.11 P35, VPL.
Also "Plate 20. Buffalo Skin Lodge and Red River Carts." In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 128.



Figure 197. Charles George Horetzky, *Camp at Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Cree Camp at the elbow of the North Saskatchewan River*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 18.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009176, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Indian Camp near Hazelton. Sept. '71." 45. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 198. Charles George Horetzky, *Camp at Elbow of Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Camp of Elbow of Saskatchewan R.* 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.1 x 19.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009167, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Camp." 41. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 199. (L) Charles George Horetzky, *Engineer's Camp, Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Engineers' Camp, Canadian Pacific Railway Survey Party, Saskatchewan Division P. 1871*. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 18.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009172, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Camp on the Prairie. Div. P. Sept '71."43. 971.11 P35, VPL.

(R) Detail of re-touched horse from *Peace River Album*. VPL. The horse in the LAC album has not been re-touched.

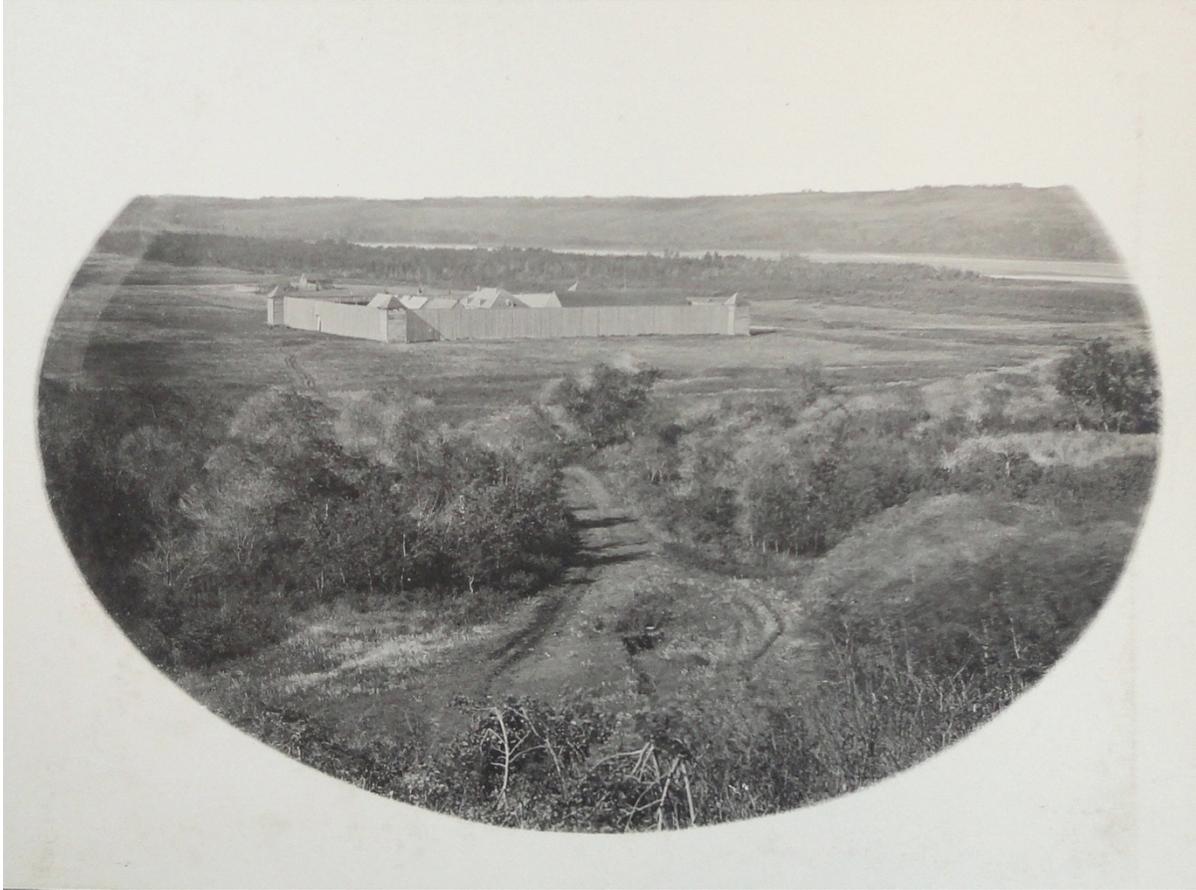


Figure 200. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Carlton House*. 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.4 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009171, LAC.

Also "Plate 23. Fort Carleton." In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 138.



Figure 201. Charles George Horetzky, *At Saskatchewan*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey, Shell River valley*. August 25, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 18.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009168, LAC.



Figure 202. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Edmonton, Summer*. October 23, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 17.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009240, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Fort Edmonton S. Saskatchewan." 39. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Also "Plate 25. Fort Edmonton." In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 171.



Figure 203. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Edmonton, Winter*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Fort Edmonton, from point below the Wesleyan Mission*. December 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009148, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Edmonton from point below Western Mission. Dec '71." 36. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 204. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *In the Jasper House Valley looking west*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.8 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009149, LAC.
Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "In the jasper house valley, looking west. Stones on roof of old house showing force of wind. January 15, 1872." 30. 971.11 P35, VPL.
Also "Plate 29. Jasper House (looking west)." In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 233.



Figure 205. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey at Jasper House with Roche Ronde to the Northwest*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 19.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009173, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Jasper House (abandoned) looking N.W. Roche Ronde dist. 6 miles." 34. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 206. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Jasper House Valley, looking South*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.5 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009169, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "In the Jasper house Valley (Rocky Mount) looking south." 35. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 207. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey*. In the *Jasper House Valley*, looking Northeast. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009147, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: “Jasper House.” 31. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Also “Plate 28. Jasper House (looking towards Roche à Miette).” In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 231.



Figure 208. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Rocky Mountains. Inside the first range, looking North from Jasper House*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009129, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "At Jasper house. Rocky Mts. Looking down the Athabasca Valley Jan 7 '72." 23 and 29 (duplicate pages). 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 209. Charles George Horetzky, *Jasper House*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Roche à Miette - 5713 feet above the eye - Jasper House, looking east*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009130, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Fishing in the Athabasca, January 15th '72. Roche à Miette dist. 4 miles."32. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 210. Charles George Horetzky, *Victoria, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Victoria from Driard House*. August 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 20.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009128, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 211. Charles George Horetzky, *South branch Homathico*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of the River Homathco 49 miles from Waddington, looking down west true*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.8 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009214, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 212. Charles George Horetzky, *South branch Homathico*. Also titled by LAC as *West Branch of the river, with Tiedmann's glacier in the distance*. From rocks near outlet of lake. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.5 x 15.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009211, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 213. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Yale, B.C.*, showing part of *Cariboo Road*. October 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.3 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009219, LAC.

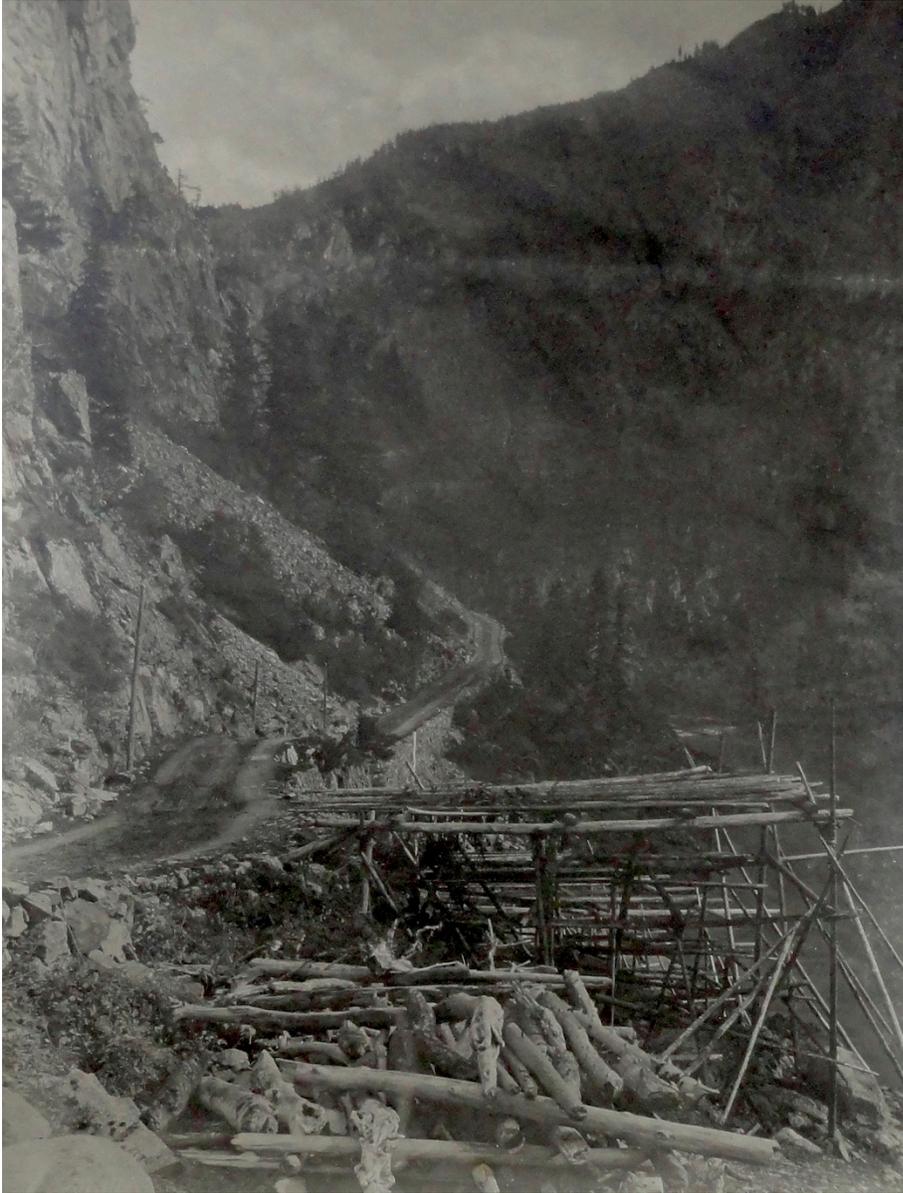


Figure 214. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *On the Yale Waggon Road, about a mile above the village of Yale*. October 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.4 x 16 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009216, LAC.



Figure 215. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C. Thompson River*. Also titled by LAC as *From Indian garden opposite the Provision Depot*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 16.6 x 14.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009127, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 216. Charles George Horetzky, *Comox, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey*. Showing new wharf & Beaufort range in distance. January 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.8 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009146, LAC.



Figure 217. Charles George Horetzky, *Comox, B.C.* January 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 10.1 x 19 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009145, LAC.



Figure 218. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Simpson, B.C.* January 27, 1873. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009144, LAC.



Figure 219. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Simpson, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey with Dundas Island in the distance*. January 27, 1873. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009137, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "B.C. Part of Fort and Port Simpson. Situated on the coast between the Skeena and Nasse rivers. Jan 7 '73."2. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 220. Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Simpson, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey with Dundas Island in the distance*. January 27, 1873. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.8 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009135, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "The same to right of last. Jan 7 '73." 1. 971.11 P35, VPL.

APPENDIX 17: Charles George Horetzky photographs in *Album 7*

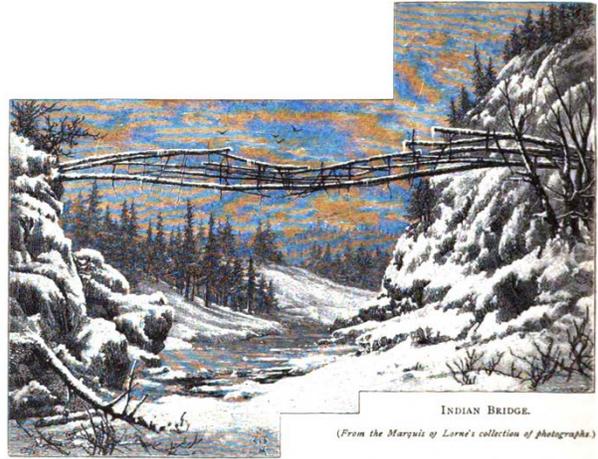


Figure 221. (TL) Charles George Horetzky, *Indian Bridge over Wotsonqua*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009133, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "B.C. Indian Suspension Bridge over Wotsonqua river a tributary of the Skeena. 3 miles from Forks." 7. 971.11 P35, VPL.

(TR) Charles George Horetzky, "Indian Graves." Engraving printed by Edward Whymper. In Marquis of Lorne, *Canadian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London, U.K.: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), 204.

(B) Charles George Horetzky, Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. *Suspension bridge over Wotsonqua river - 3 miles from forks of Skeena*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.3 x 19.5 cm. Sandford Fleming fonds, R7666-0-8-E, PA-022581, LAC.



Figure 222. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C. Thompson River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of river looing down. South west (true), 50 miles from Waddington Harbour*. September 25, 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009213, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 223. (T) Charles George Horetzky, *Group of Indians, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Group of Piegan Natives at Rocky Mountain House*. November 1, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009136, LAC.
(B) Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Piegan Indians. Rocky Mt. House." 25. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 224. Charles George Horetzky, *Indian Canoe, B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *12 Miles from the sea, looking up*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009134, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 225. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River*. Also titled by LAC as *The Canadian Pacific Railway Survey, above Rocky Mountain Portage with Mountains ahead*. October 26, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009132, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Peace river, getting into the Mts. Oct '72. C.H. photo." 16. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 226. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River and Fort Dunvegan*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Peace River and Fort Dunvegan from heights North West of Fort*. October 4, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.6 x 19.3 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009143, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Peace river above Dunvegan Oct '72. C. Horetzki photo." 19. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 227. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River and Fort Dunvegan*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway survey along the Peace River*. October 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009141, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: “1000 feet above sea level, nearly. Dunvegan, Peace river, from an elevation of 650 feet. Oct ‘72. C. Horetzki [sic] photo.” 20. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 228. Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River and Fort Dunvegan*. Also titled by LAC as *Peace River from hill behind Dunvegan looking down and east*. Camera 650 feet above water. October 4, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 18.8 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009244, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "Peace River immediately below Dunvegan. Oct '72. C. Horetzki photo." 21. 971.11 P35, VPL.

Also "Plate 58. Peace River at Dunvegan (looking Easterly)." In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 355.



Figure 229. Charles George Horetzky, *Waddington's Bridge*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon, from station 1663. Looking up 31.0 miles from Waddington*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.3 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009138, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 230. Charles George Horetzky, *Murderer's Bar*. Also titled by LAC as *View of Murderer's Bay, B.C.* Before 1882. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.4 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009157, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 231. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon looking down, near upper*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15.3 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009142, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 232. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon looking down*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.4 x 15.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009140, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 233. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon from about station 1667*. Looking down approximately 31.57 miles from Waddington. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.2 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009139, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

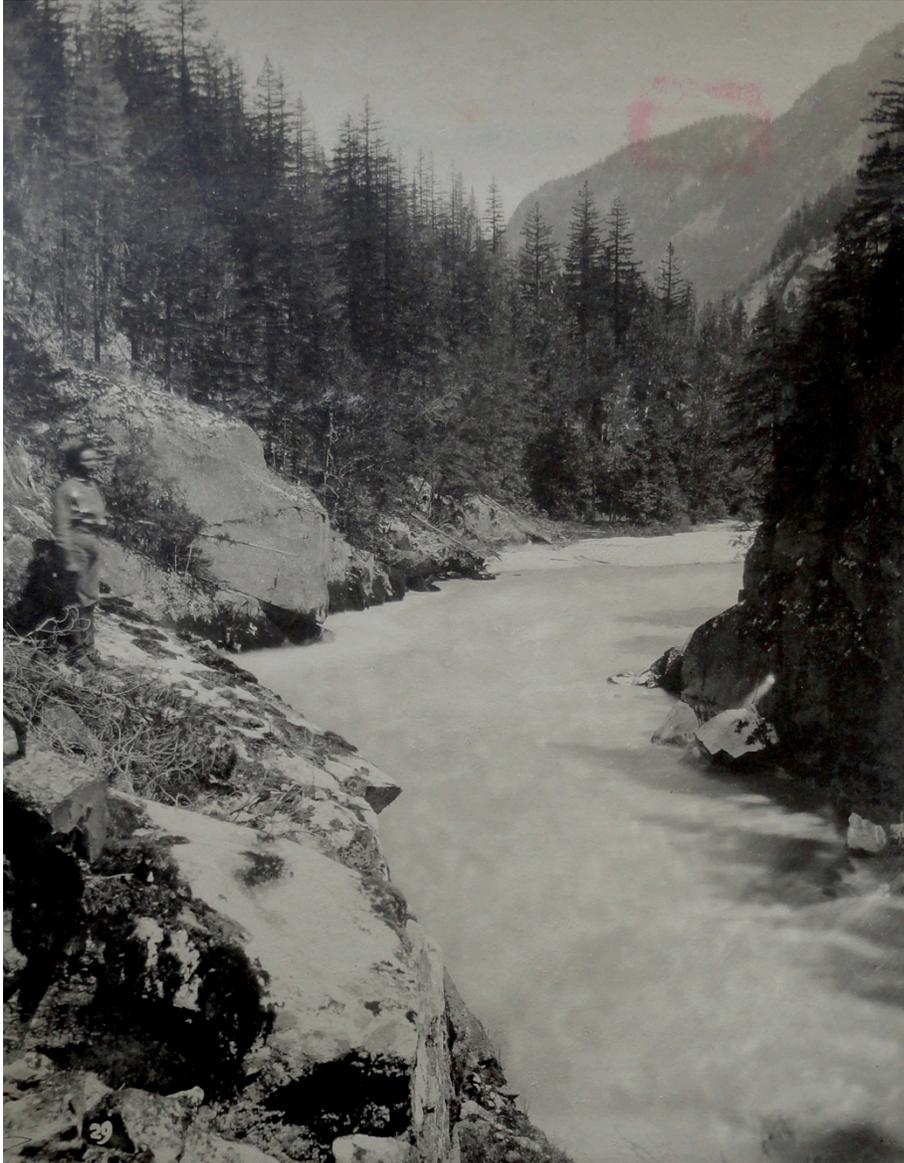


Figure 234. Charles George Horetzky, *Fraser River*. Also titled by LAC as *In Grand Canon, looking up from standpoint of No. 16*. June 16, 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.9 x 15.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009156, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 235. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon*, 30½ miles from the sea from station 1611. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.7 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009155, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 236. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *34 miles from sea, looking down from high bluff above Murderer's Bar*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.6 x 15.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009150, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 237. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of river*, 41½ miles from Waddington looking up from mountain slopes 600 feet above the river. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009153, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 238. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of river, 49 miles from Waddington looking up from standpoint of No. 32*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.4 x 15.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009154, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 239. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Fraser River, just above Yale*. 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 15.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009217, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 240. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of River Homathco*. About 53 miles from Waddington looking down *W N W true*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.5 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009218, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 241. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of the river, looking down. West (true) 61 1/2 miles from Waddington*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 20.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009151, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 242. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *34 miles from Waddington looking up from high bluff above Murderer's Bar*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.4 x 14.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009152, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 243. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009212, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

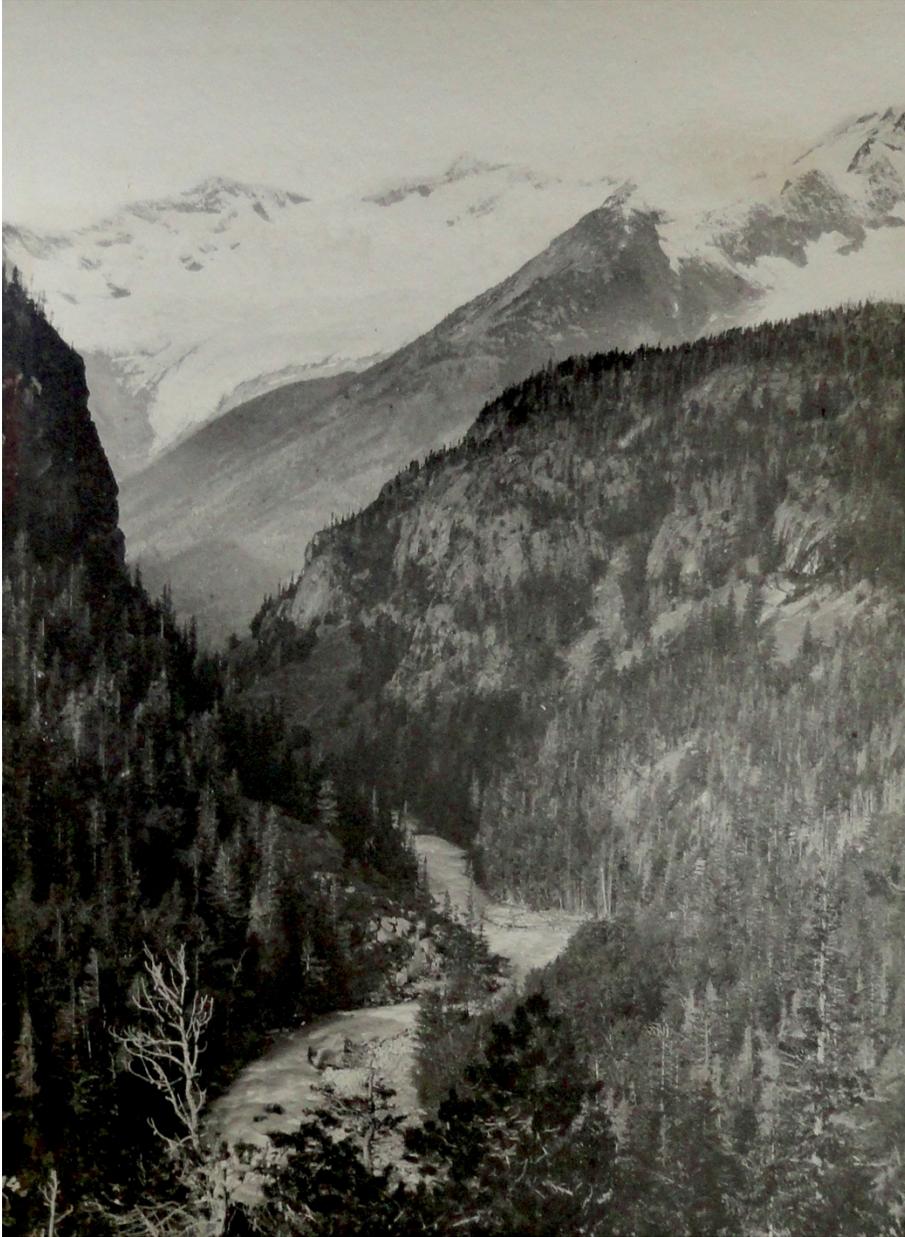


Figure 244. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.1 x 15.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009215, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 245. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Grand Canon*, 31.34 miles from Waddington, looking down the Gravel Bar. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009131, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 246. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East branch of river, 58 miles from Waddington Green Lakelet looking across the valley*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.7 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009245, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 247. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Between the east and west branches of the river*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20.2 x 15.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009164, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

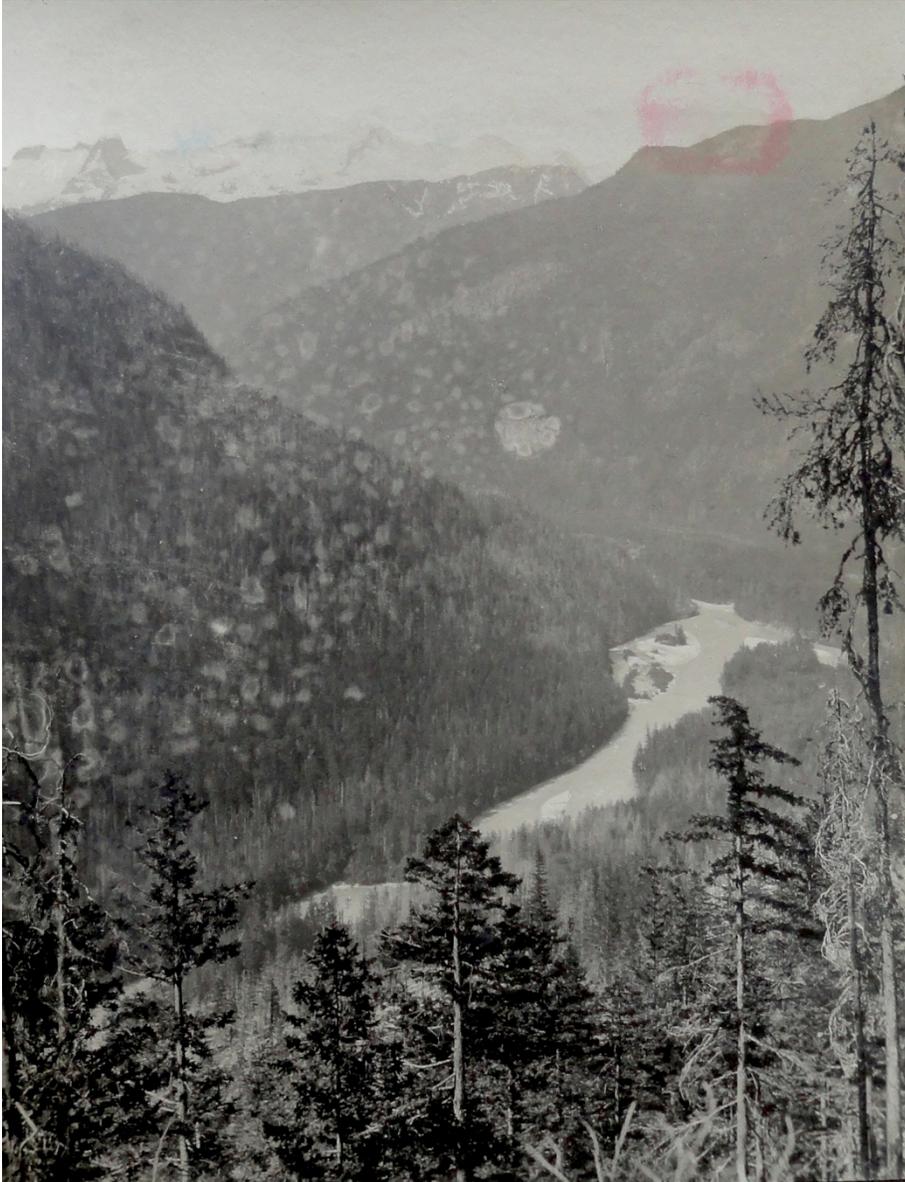


Figure 248. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *From trail 1200 feet above river, looking down 30 1/2 miles from Waddington*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 15.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009182, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 249. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Lower end of Grand Canon*. 30 1/2 miles from Waddington looking up station 1611. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009165, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 250. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *East Branch of river, about 44 miles from Waddington looking up*. September 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 20 x 14.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009163, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 251. Charles George Horetzky, *Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *At tide water, looking across, the located bridge crossing*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 15.2 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009246, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 252. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Valley, looking up*. June 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.3 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009290, LAC.



Figure 253. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *29 1/4 miles from Waddington looking up*. June 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.5 x 19.9 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009242, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 254. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *14 miles from Waddington, looking across the valley from left bank, with McNeil's Peak in the distance*. July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.6 x 20.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009160, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 255. Charles George Horetzky, *Near Mouth Homathco River*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Below Cascade Inlet*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 13 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009289, LAC.



Figure 256. Charles George Horetzky, *Skeena Forke and Rocher Deboule*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Forks of the Skeena River. Roché Déboulé Mountain in distance 5000 feet over eye*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009162, LAC.
Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "B.C. Hazelton, Forks of Skeena." 9. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 257. Charles George Horetzky, *Skeena River*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. At the Forks of Skeena River, Rocher deboulé range distant 5 miles*. December 28, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 13.5 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009161, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Peace River Album*. Inscribed: "B.C. Forks of Skeena. On the ice. December '72 a mile below Hazelton." 13. 971.11 P35, VPL.



Figure 258. Charles George Horetzky, *Gardner Canal*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.5 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009178, LAC.
Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 259. Charles George Horetzky, *Gardner Canal*. Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey*. From rocks on east shore, a mile below the mouth of the Kimsquit River. Direction about *WNW true*. August 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 15 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009179, LAC.



Figure 260. Charles George Horetzky, *Gardner Canal*. Also titled by LAC as *The Triumph Victoria*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.8 x 19.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009159, LAC.



Figure 261. Charles George Horetzky, *Bella Bella Bay*. 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 11 x 19.1 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-020537, LAC.



Figure 262. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.7 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009158, LAC.



Figure 263. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *B.C. Head of Bute Inlet and Waddington Harbour from south-eastern slope of Mount Evans*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19 x 12.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009180, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

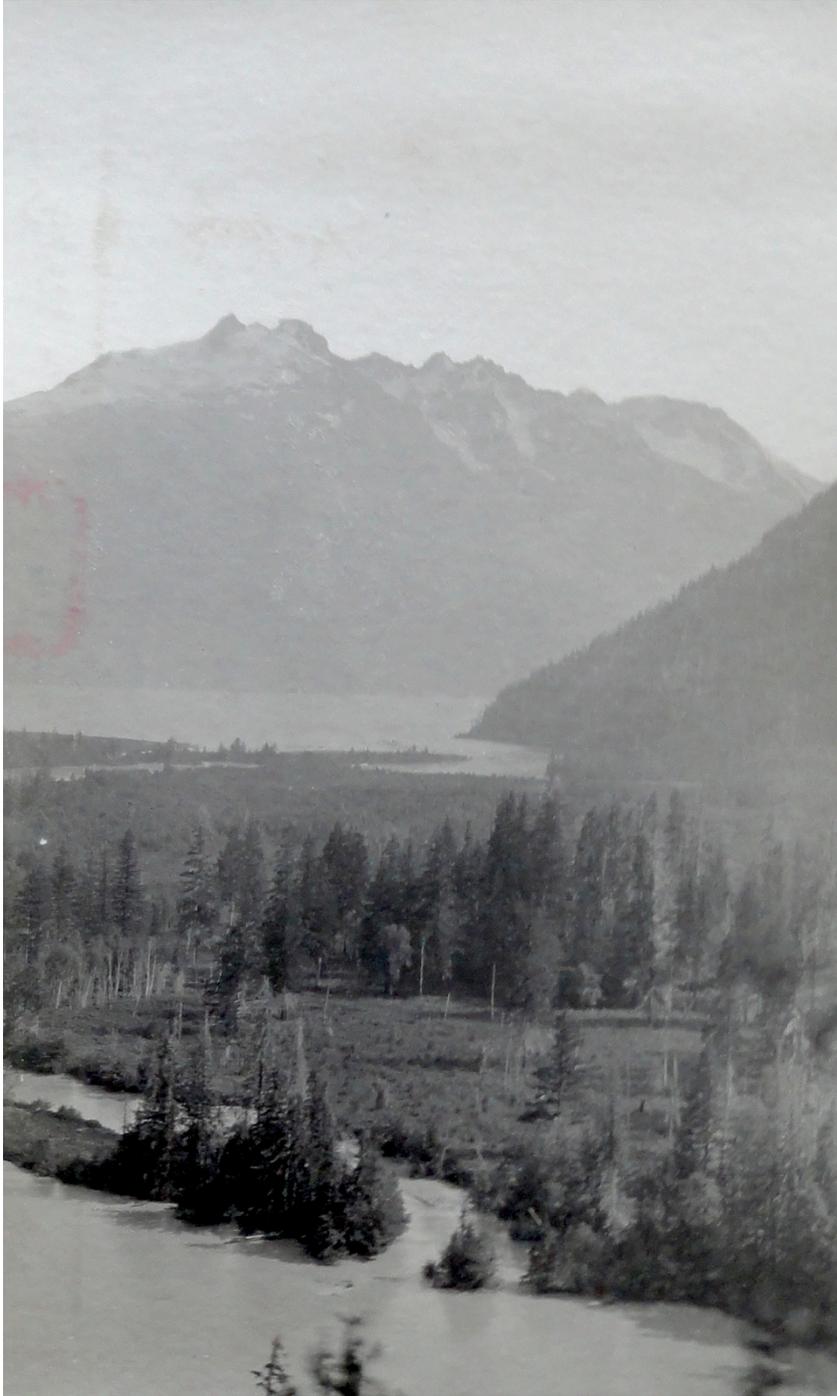


Figure 264. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *B.C. Head of Bute Inlet and Waddington Harbour*. 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.6 x 12.3 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009181, LAC.

Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 265. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Canadian Pacific Railway Survey. Looking down from mouth of Kimsquit River.* 1874. Positive paper silver albumen, 11 x 19.4 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009319, LAC.

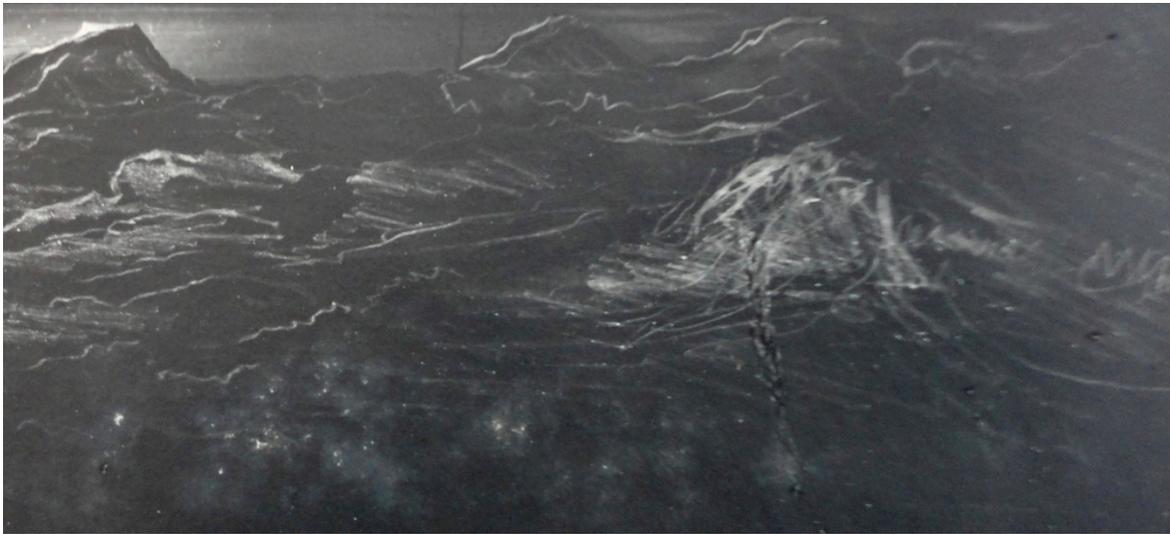


Figure 266. (T) Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *Form a point on Northern shore of Lake Tatla, 5 miles below the Detroit, looking N. 80 W Mag.* October 1879. Positive paper silver albumen, 14 x 20 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009285, LAC. **(B)** Detail of lines added, which better render the texture of the rock.



Figure 267. Charles George Horetzky, *B.C.* Also titled by LAC as *At tide water, from west side of located bridge crossing, about one mile from mouth of river.* July 1875. Positive paper silver albumen, 19.3 x 14.6 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009177, LAC. Also in Charles George Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*. 41. 971.132 B43ho, VPL; and *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 268. Charles George Horetzky, *Head of Dean Canal*. Also titled by LAC as *Dean Canal*. *From east shore looking North, and across the channel, from a point 3 miles above Sunny Island. 5 p.m. August 14, 1874.* Positive paper silver albumen, 14.6 x 19 cm. Department of the Interior fonds, Immigration Branch, Photographic Albums of Canadian Settlement, *Album 7*, R7540-0-9-E, PA-009243, LAC.

Eleven photolithographs from photographs by Charles George Horetzky, nine by Benjamin F. Baltzly, three by Frederick Dally, one by Robert Bell, and one unattributed. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873). Ordered by plate number as found in *Ocean to Ocean*, paired with archival original photographs.

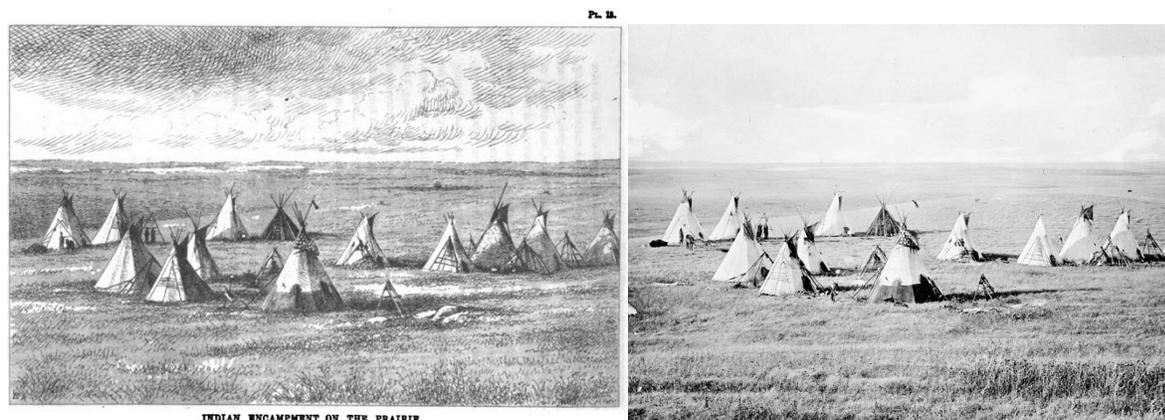


Figure 269. (L) “Plate 18. Indian Encampment on the Prairie.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 79.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Cree Camp on the prairie, south of Vermilion (Lat N. 53 Long W. 111)*. September 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 11.6 x 18.6 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, C-005181, LAC.

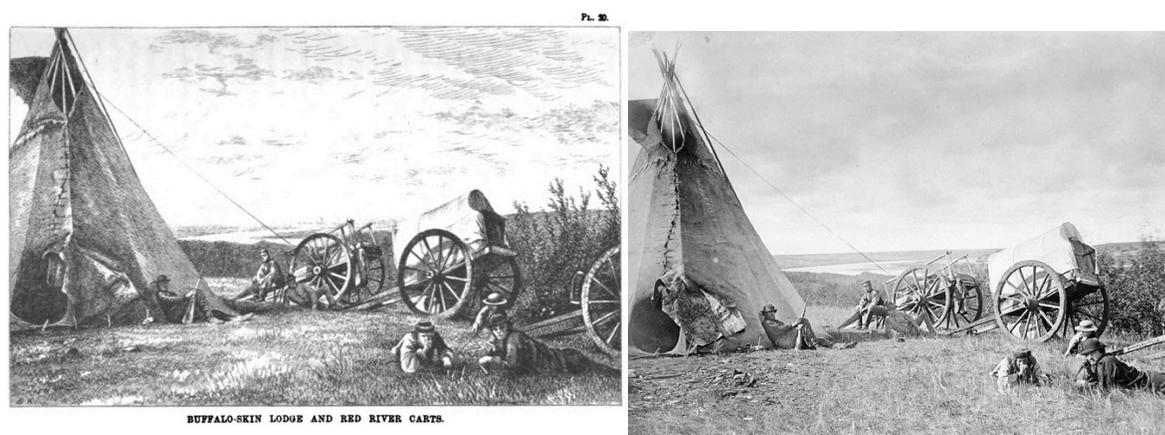


Figure 270. (L) “Plate 20. Buffalo Skin Lodge and Red River Carts.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 128.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Men's Lodge Div. P at Elbow of North Saskatchewan*. September 1871, Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 19.9 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-1385731, LAC.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in
George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

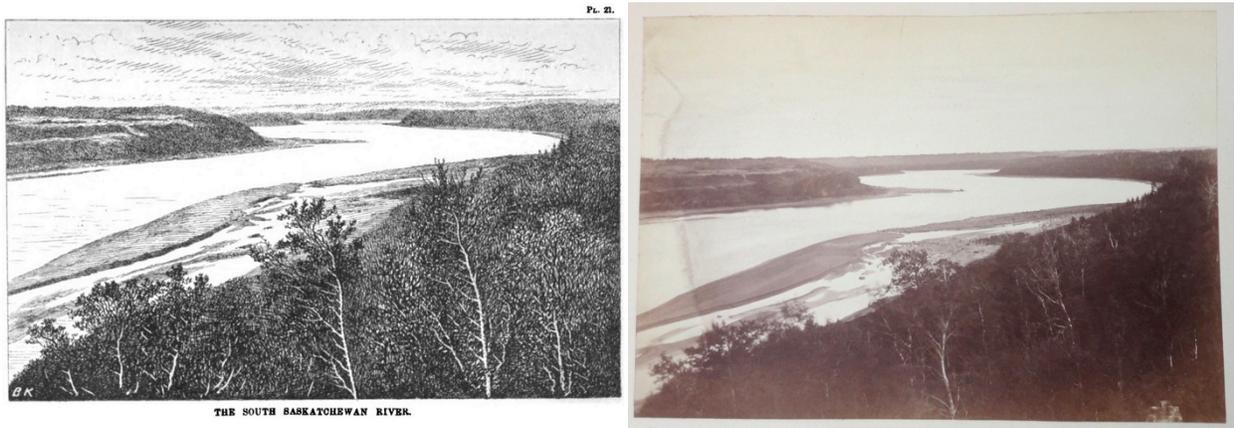


Figure 271. (L) “Plate 21. The South Saskatchewan River.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 129.
(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Crossing Place South Branch Saskatchewan*. In *Peace River Album*, 47. 971.11 P35, VPL.

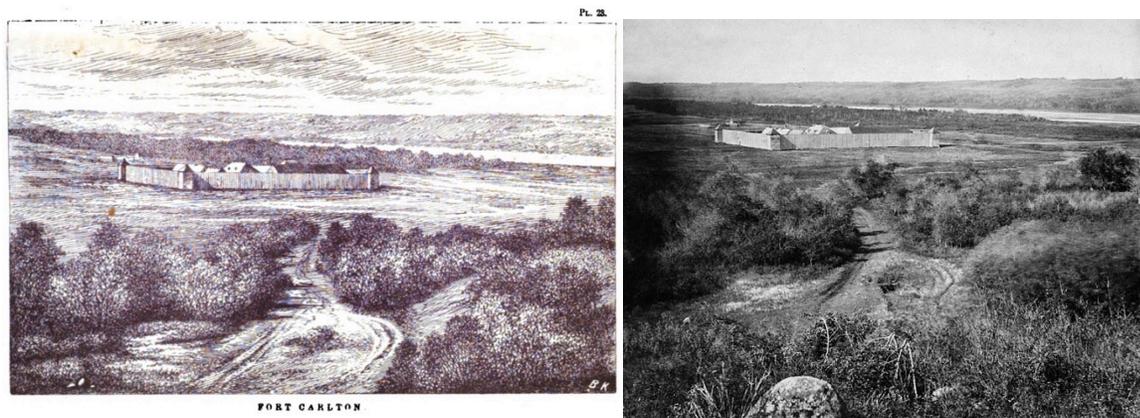


Figure 272. (L) “Plate 23. Fort Carleton.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 138.
(R) Charles George Horetzky, *View of Fort Carleton from the hill*. September 1972. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.0 x 20.0 cm. D.M. Beach collection, PA-117931, LAC.

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Figure 273. (L) “Plate 25. Fort Edmonton.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 171.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Fort Edmonton*. October 25, 1871. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.2 x 17.9 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009240, LAC.

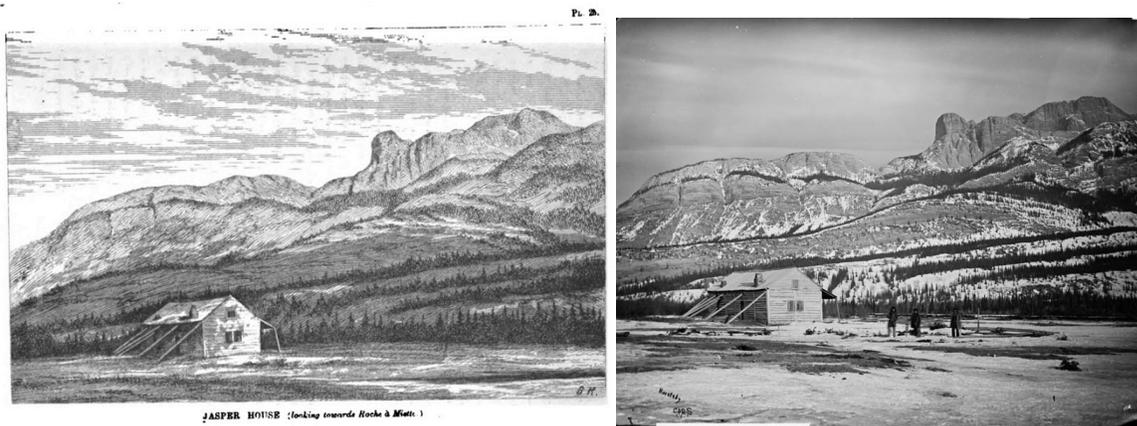


Figure 274. (L) “Plate 28. Jasper House (looking towards Roche à Miette).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 231.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *In the Jasper house valley, looking N.E.* January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.7 x 20.0 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009147, LAC.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

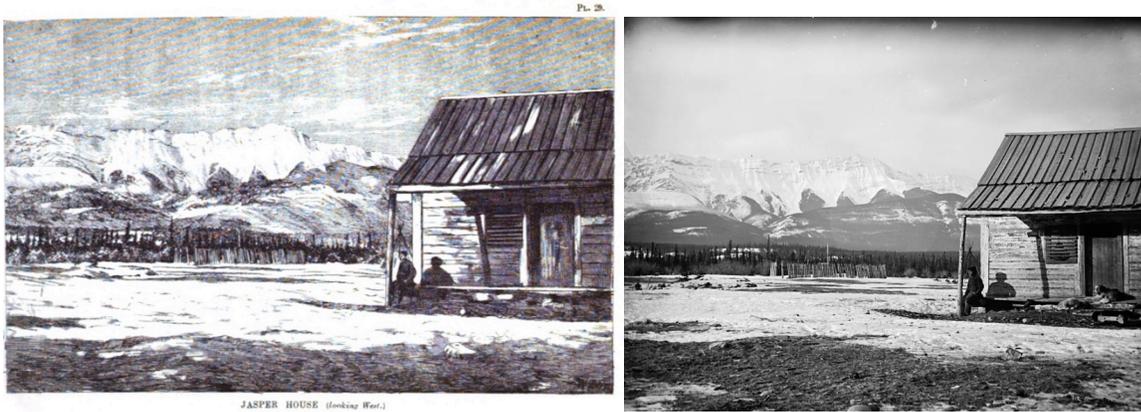


Figure 275. (L) “Plate 29. Jasper House (looking west).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 233.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *In the Jasper house Valley, looking West*. January 15, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.1 x 20.2 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009149, LAC.

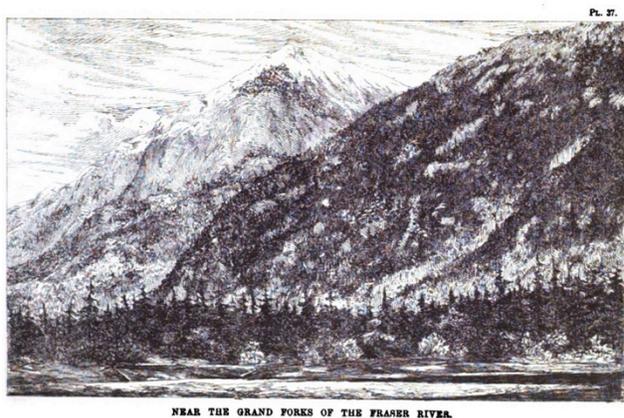


Figure 276. “Plate 37. Near the Grand Forks of the Fraser River.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 257.

Though indicated by the List of Illustrations as a reproduction of a photograph, I am unable to attribute this image to Horetzky, Baltzly, or Dally.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in
George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

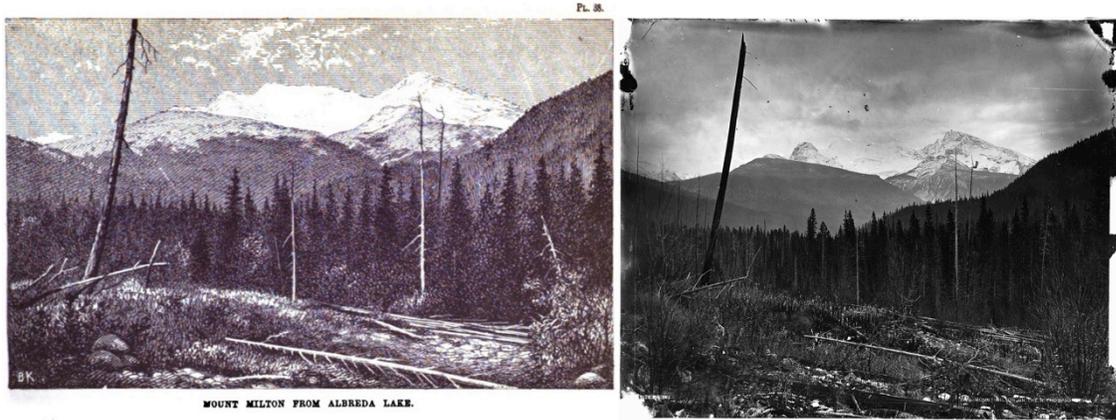


Figure 277. (L) “Plate 38. Mount Milton from Albreda Lake.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 263.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Mount Milton Range from Albreda Lake, B.C.* Wednesday October 11, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69988, McCord.



Figure 278. (L) “Plate 39. Above the Forks of the North Thompson.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 265.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Snow Clad Mountains on the North Branch of the N. Thompson River, B.C.* Friday October 6, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69984, McCord.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in
George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

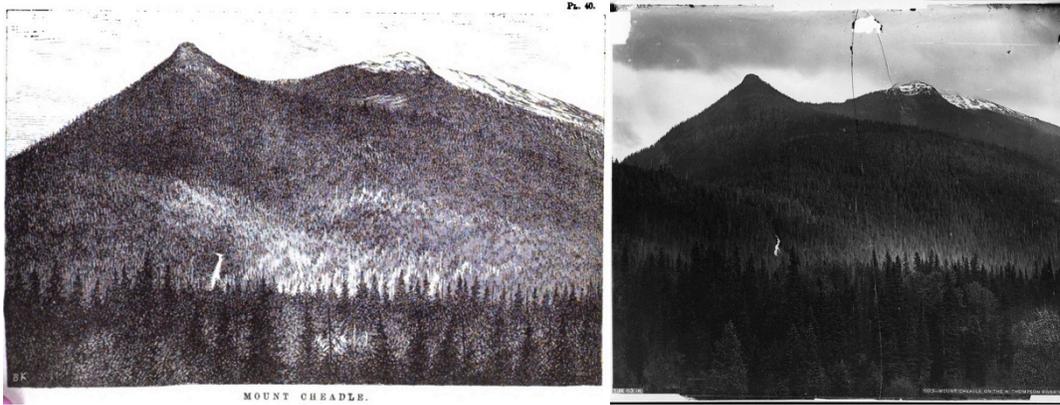


Figure 279. (L) “Plate 40. Mount Cheadle.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 269.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Mt. Cheadle, showing the upper part of Garnet River, B.C.* Friday September 29, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69976, McCord.

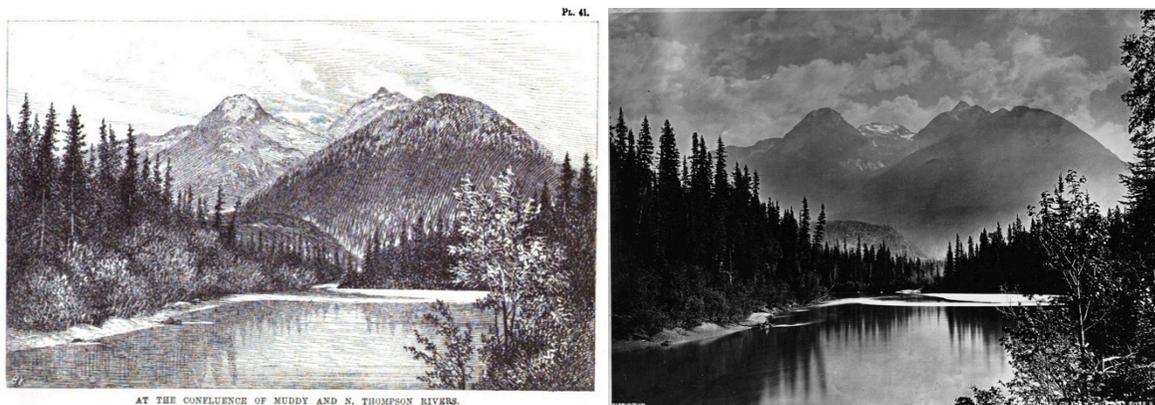


Figure 280. (L) “Plate 41. Confluence of Muddy and N. Thompson Rivers.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 273.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Glaciers and Mountain Scenery at the confluence of Muddy and North Thompson Rivers, B.C.* Monday September 18, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69972, McCord.

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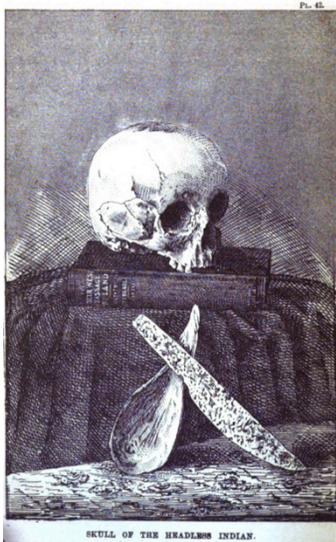


Figure 281. “Plate 42. Skull of the Headless Indian.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 275.

LAC holds a photomechanical print on brown wove paper with inscription “Pl. 42 Skull of the Headless Indian” attributed to Robert Bell. Acc. No. 1993-436-42.

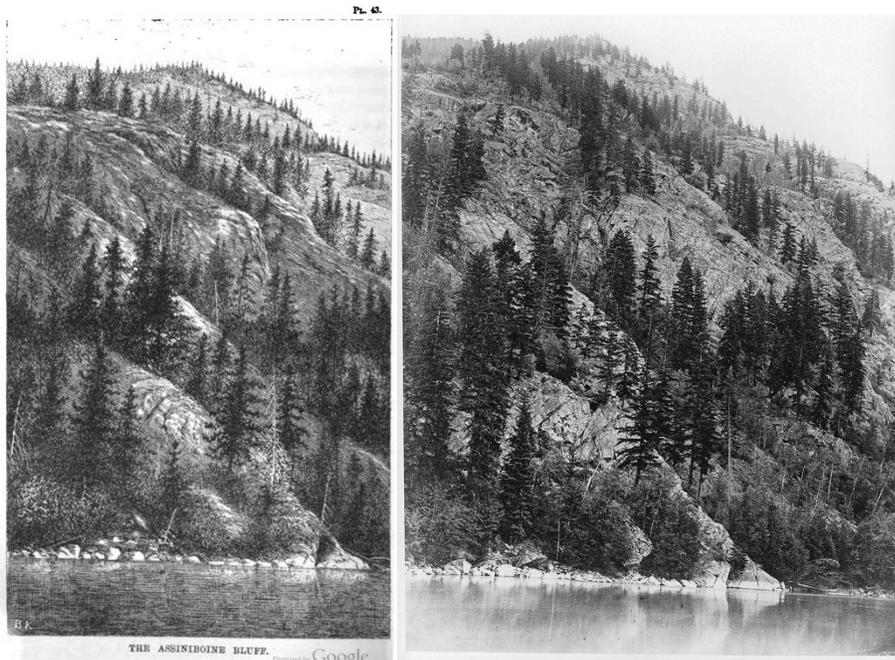


Figure 282. (L) “Plate 43. The Assiniboine Bluff.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 287.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *View from the N. Thompson River at Assiniboine Bluff, 62 miles from Kamloop, B.C.* Friday, August 25, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69953, McCord.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in
George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

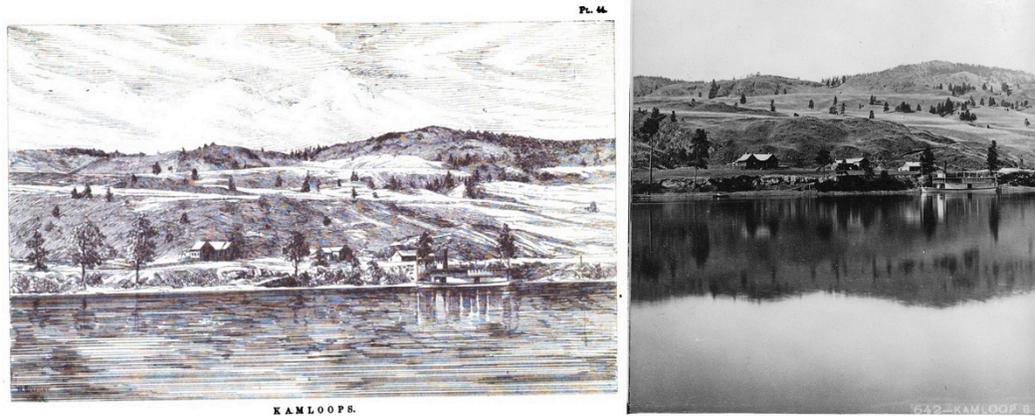


Figure 283. (L) “Plate 44. Kamloops.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 291.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Kamloops, B.C.* Tuesday August 15, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69946, McCord.

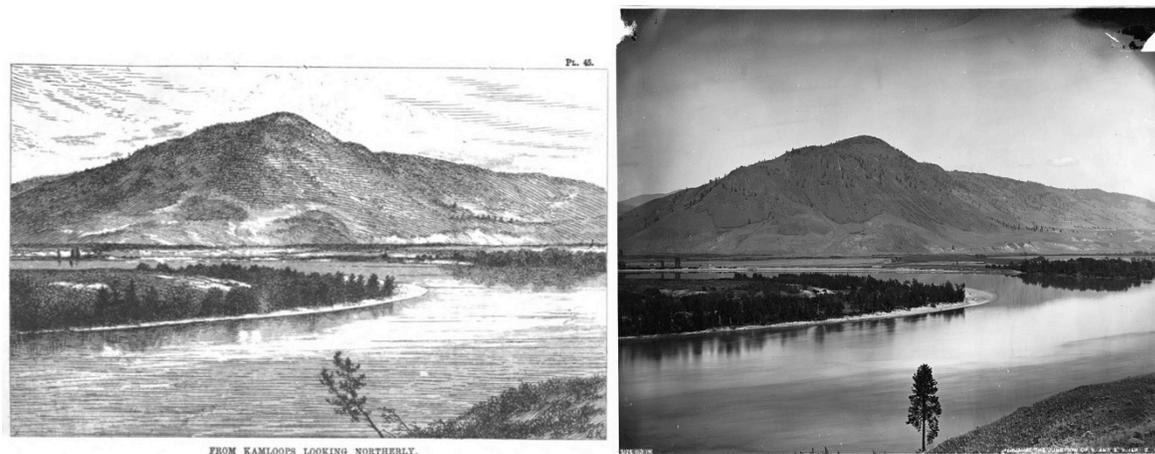


Figure 284. (L) “Plate 45. From Kamloops looking Northerly.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 295.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *The junction of N. and S. Thompson River at Kamloops, B.C.* Tuesday August 15, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69947, McCord.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in
George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

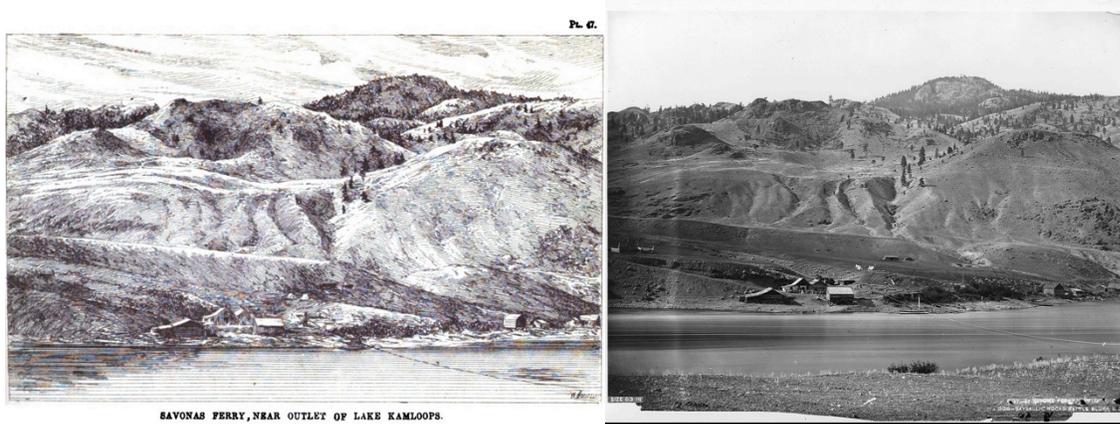


Figure 285. (L) “Plate 47. Savona’s Ferry, Near Outlet of Lake Kamloops.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 299.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *Savona’s Ferry*, B.C. Monday August 7, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 20 x 25 cm. I-69931, McCord.

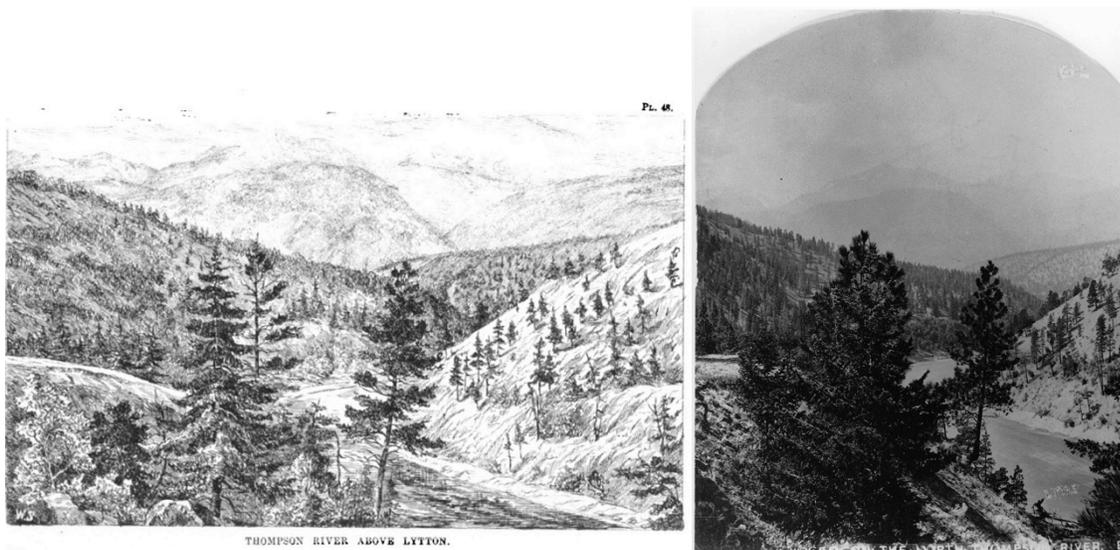


Figure 286. (L) “Plate 48. Thompson River Above Lytton.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 307.

(R) Benjamin F. Baltzly, *View on the Thompson R. 3 miles from Lytton B.C.* Wednesday August 2, 1871. Silver salts on paper albumen process, 10 x 8 cm. I-69925, McCord.

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George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

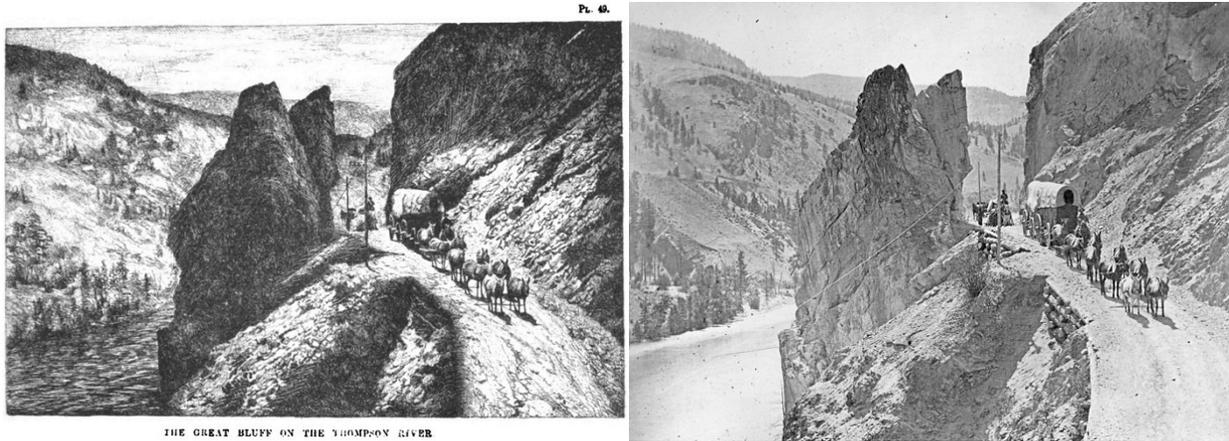


Figure 287. (L) “Plate 49. View Near Hell’s Gate, Fraser River.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 309.

(R) Frederick Dally, *Cariboo Road along the Fraser River canyon*. Between 1872-1876. Positive paper silver albumen, 17.1 x 23.1 cm. Lady Dufferin album R4493-1-4-E, C-008077, LAC.

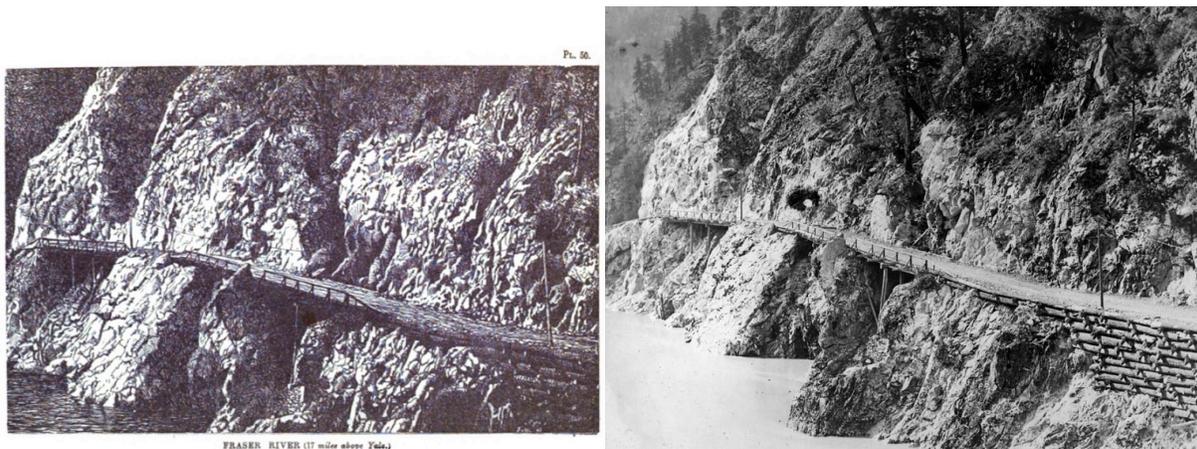


Figure 288. (L) “Plate 50. Fraser River (17 miles above Yale).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 311.

(R) Frederick Dally, *17 Mile Bluff on Fraser River*. 1867-1868. Positive paper silver albumen, 18.7 x 24.5 cm. Hector Langevin fonds R6052-0-6-F, PA-023270, LAC.

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George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

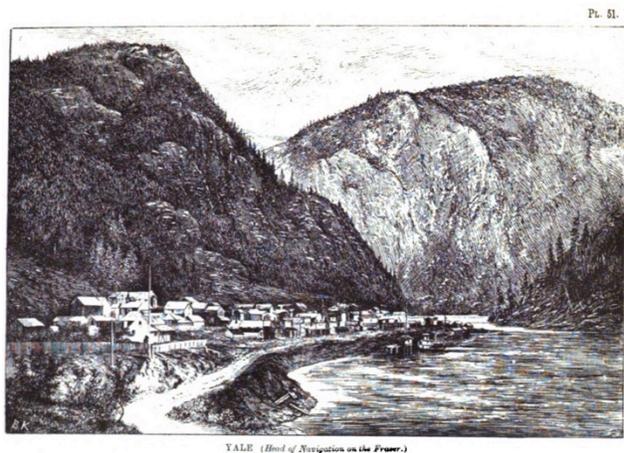


Figure 289. (L) “Plate 51. Yale (Head of Navigation on the Fraser).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 313.

(R) Frederick Dally, *Yale, B.C.* Between 1872-1878. Positive paper silver albumen, 18.2 x 21.5 cm. Lady Dufferin album R4493-1-4-E, C-000294, LAC.

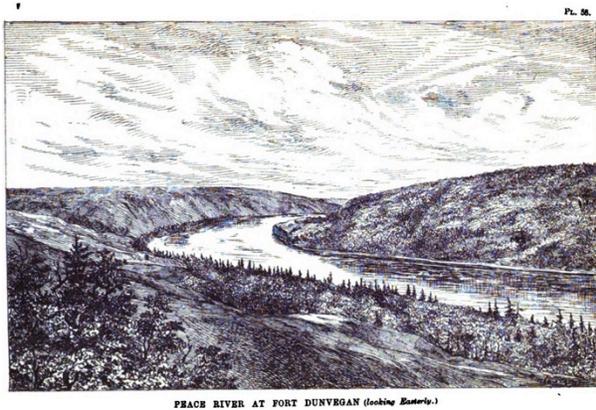


Figure 290. (L) “Plate 58. Peace River at Dunvegan (looking Easterly).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 355.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Peace Rive from hill behind Dunvegan looking down & east.* October 4, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 15.7 x 19.9 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-009244, LAC.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

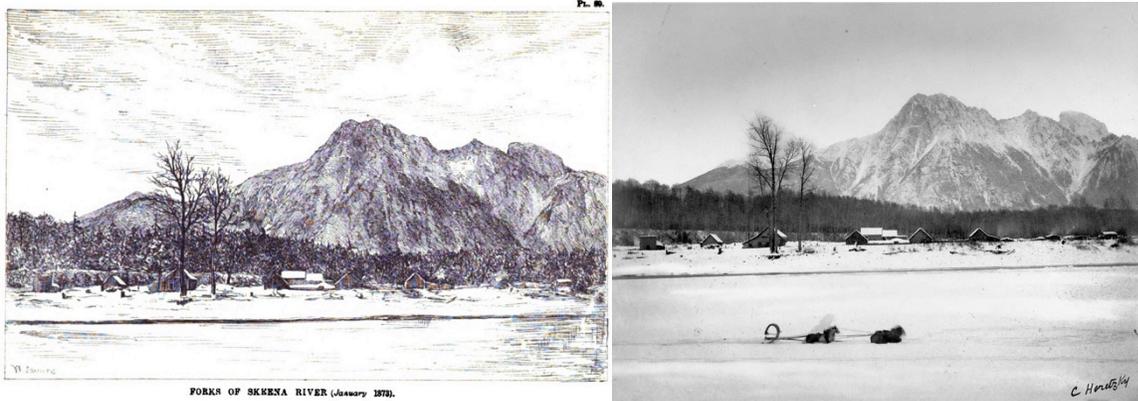


Figure 291. (L) “Plate 59. Forks of Skeena River (January 1873).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 359.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Hazelton. Forks of Skeena. Rocher Déboulé Mtn in distance.* December 29, 1872. Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20.1 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, PA-022575, LAC.

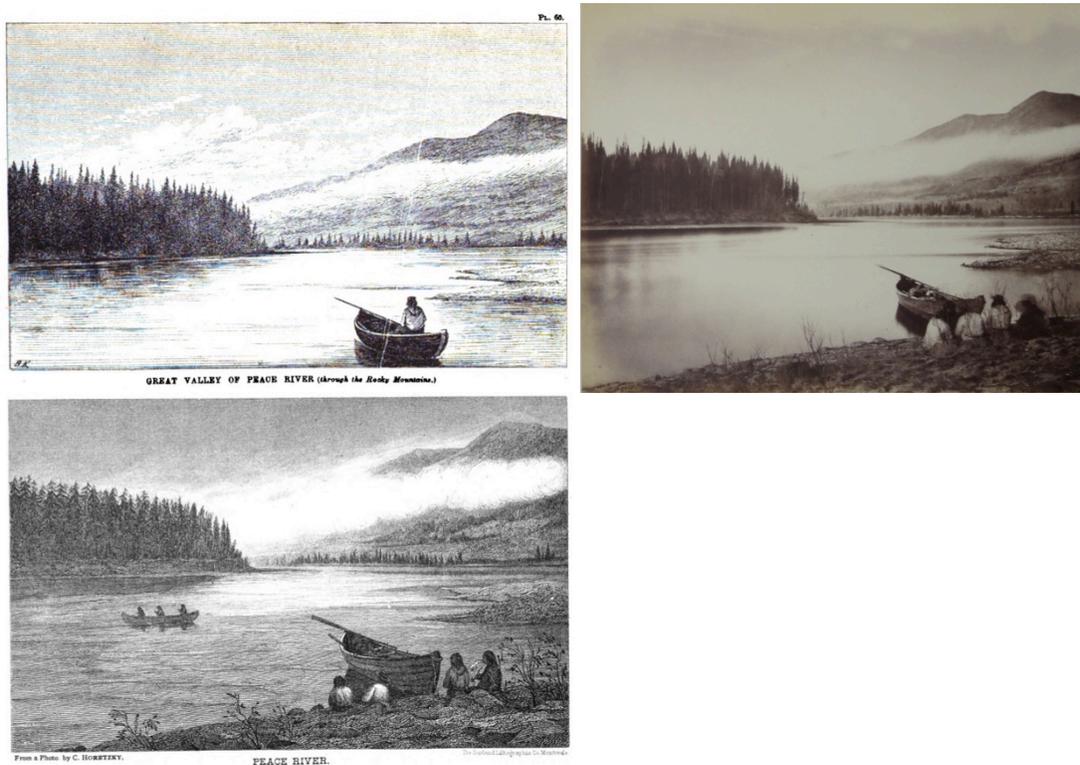


Figure 292. (TL) “Plate 60. Great Valley of Peace River (through the Rocky Mountains).” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), 365.

(TR) Charles George Horetzky, *B.C. In Peace River Album*, 47. 971.11 P35, VPL.

(BL) “Peace River (20 miles above the Cañon).” In Daniel M. Gordon, *Mountain and Prairie; A Journey from Victoria to Winnipeg, via Peace River Pass* (London, U.K.: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880), 161.

APPENDIX 18: Photolithographs from photographs in
George Monro Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*

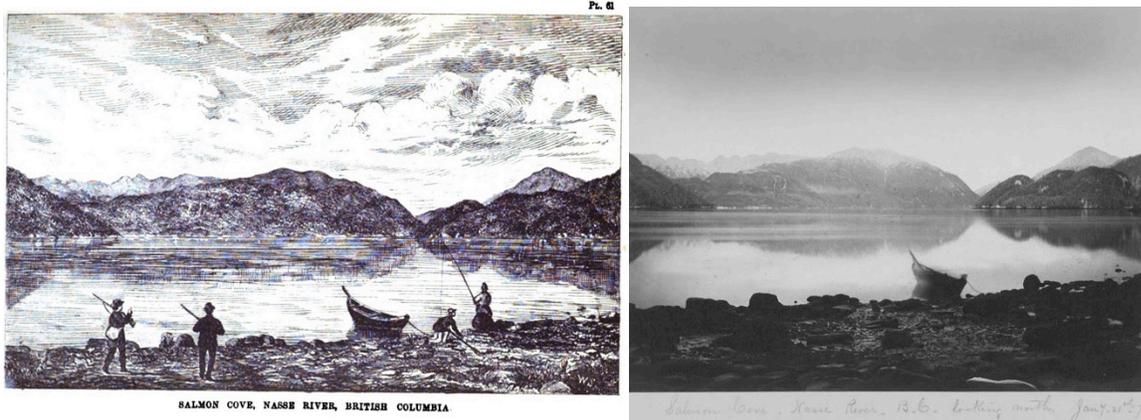


Figure 293. (L) “Plate 61. Salmon Cove, Nasse River, British Columbia.” Photolithograph. In George Monro Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, Ont.: James Campbell & Son; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), frontispiece.

(R) Charles George Horetzky, *Salmon Cove, Nasse River, B.C. looking north*. January 1873, Positive paper silver albumen, 14.9 x 20.2 cm. Sir Sandford Fleming collection, C-081504, LAC.

Charles George Horetzky, "Some Remarks upon the Indians of the "North West."" Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, RG10, volume 3605, file 2912, LAC. Page numbers indicated in brackets.

Department of the Interior 1873

Some Remarks upon the Indians of the "North West" by Charles Horetzki. [sic]

Since the discovery of gold upon the Saskatchewan and the opening out of the North West Territories, the Hudson's Bay Company there has deeply felt the want of assistance from the authorities to enable them to carry out the law, the administration of which, in the form of Commissions of the Peace, has been delegated to certain officers of that trading body.

The absurdity of granting such Commissions to people situated as the Company's officers are, at immense distances from Military posts, or bodies of police, by whose assistance alone, a Magistrate's decision could be carried out has been too manifested in the Saskatchewan country within the last few years. The high handed doings of American traders who had actually penetrated as far north as Edmonton, and were there, and at the very door of the Company's establishment, dealing out provisions, liquors, to eager crowds of Cree and Blackfoot Indians in the summer of 1872 may be instances as one of many unlawful acts committed with unimpunity in the British North West.

For several years past, the Hudson's Bay Company officers living (2) at the remote posts of Carleton, Fort Pitt and Edmonton, have had extreme difficulty in repressing the impertinent demands of not only the Indians, but also of some Half-breeds, who when hard pressed on several occasions, have not scrupled to use threats of violence towards the Company's profile, and it is only by a respectable exhibition of material force that anything like calm and order can be enforced.

Every year which passes over the heads of the Indians of the plains adds to their stock of audacity and impertinence, their demands become greater, and unless gratified to some extent the utmost tact and policy are requisite to avert open ruptures which would surely end in serious disaster.

Heretofore, and within the last two years there has been a lurking suspicion in the minds of the Indians and Half-breeds that a force of some kind would be sent up to Edmonton; but as the seasons wear on, and the long threatened military delays to appear, they are gradually beginning to feel themselves masters of the situation, and the first pressing necessity which may arise, such as a failure in the Buffalo hunt, or some startling epidemic will probably cause an open violation of the law, and a wholesale robbery, likely attended by bloodshed (3) of the white man's property.

I am of opinion that establishments of fifty mounted men at each of the posts indicated would amply suffice for the maintenance of law and order throughout the Saskatchewan Country.

There is, however, an important demand for a force of at least one hundred mounted cavalry at the Bow River, one of the branches of the South Saskatchewan.

Within the last four years, a band of traders from Benton and Helena in Montana has established its headquarters at Hamiltonville on the Belly river [Hamiltonville is no longer a

APPENDIX 19: Charles George Horetzky, “Some remarks upon the Indians of the “North West””

place and the Belly River on the Canadian side flows north from Montana directly between Lethbridge and Fort MacLeod], in open defiance of both United States and British authorities, and during this period has carried on a traffic with the Blackfeet in this the most valuable robes of the Country are traded off for the worst kind of ardent spirits.

The frightful orgies which inevitably follow the advent of these outlaws in a Blackfoot Camp have been described to me by an eye witness, and the relation of the scenes which sometimes take place, would be sufficient to curdle one's (4) blood.

Scores of lives have been destroyed during those terrible liquor feasts which often last for many days and at those times the traders roam unresisted through the camps, helping themselves to the choicest robes, the property of the unfortunates there wallowing in their filth and drunkenness.

On these occasions, the young “braves” perambulate the camp and excited by liquor throw down the gage of battle to their nearest and dearest friends. Deadly weapons are freely exhibited and the bloody quarrels which then arise usually end in murder.

The women too maddened to a still greater extent than the men may be seen rushing about in a state of nudity and more terrible than all, it has happened on several occasions that suckling babes carried by their frenzied mothers have been led to fall to the ground by the latter and actually torn to pieces and devoured by the famished curs which invariably follow an Indian Camp.

There is no exaggeration in this picture, and, if for no other object than to emancipate those unfortunate Indians from their thralldom something ought to be done by the Government.

Simultaneous action on the part of both Dominion and United States authorities (5) would doubtless result in the capture of the gang, and the riddance of the prime instigation of many evil acts.

The Chokita-pix nation, which is divided into four tribes, namely the Lik-sik-kas or “Blackfeet” [Siksikáwa or Blackfoot], the-ka-na-ans or “Bloods” [Káínaa or Bloods], the “Pergans” [Piikáni or Piegan] and “Larcis” [Tsuu T'ina or Sarcee] probably numbers about 1200 lodges and 10,000 souls. The combined tribes could perhaps muster a frightening force of three thousand horsemen, variously armed bows and arrows, lances, old fashioned pistols and guns.

Many posses breech-loading carbines of American manufacture, also revolvers.

Their nomadic habits arising chiefly from the uncertain movements of the Buffalo their principal means of subsistence compels those Indians to scatter to a certain extent, and in consequence, little fear need be entertained of a serious combination against any enemy.

As fighting horsemen, I believe the Blackfeet to be inferior to the Cree and the latter in their turn cannot be compared with French Half-Breeds who seek the Buffalo in tolerably large bodies, and launch their game in the very heart of the Indian Country, perfectly regardless of either Cree or Blackfeet.

(6) In fact the plain Indians never interfere with the Half-Breeds, unless the latter be numerically inferior for they hold the bold active half-castes in dread and rarely court an encounter with them.

In fact, apart from the consideration of the Belly river interlopers and some few desperadoes of European extraction – a military or police force is as much required to preserve order amongst the mixed race as to hold the Indian tribes in awe.

Notwithstanding the fact of there being some Half-Breeds in the Saskatchewan Country who might not perhaps regard the presence of the military force with favour there are amongst

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them many good men whose assistance would be extremely useful to a military body and who might even be drafted into a corps with advantage as scouts and guides.

The maintenance of friendly relations between police and Half-Breed would not be attended with difficulty especially if a portion of the force sent up consisted of French Canadians speaking the same language as the Half-Breeds, and I believe that, if at the beginning of a friendly but determined attitude were taken, no collision or misunderstanding would ever occur.

To return to the subject of the (7) Indians, the Cree of the plains are probably less numerous than the Chokita-pix Nation, and frequent Carlton and Fort Pitt the latter being, par excellence, their principal rendezvous.

It is principally at this isolated post that those Indians have exhibited their mischievous propensities and on one or two occasions they have taken the full charge and helped themselves freely to the Hudson's Bay Company's property at the same time perpetuating some little practical jokes, which, had they not been put up with in a pleasant spirit might have led to bloodshed.

Upon the whole that Cree are, I believe, really worse than the Blackfeet, and richly deserve a lesson.

The Blackfeet frequents the Rocky Mountain house which is generally spoken of in that country as the Blackfoot Fort.

With the exception of the Larcis, who speak the mountain dialect of the Beaver Indians, the three other tribes of the Chokita-pix Nation speak the same language but with a slight change in the pronunciation.

They have a police among themselves which answers pretty well in maintaining order.

It is almost impossible to define the boundaries of that part of the plain country which the Chokita-pix claim as their own but whatever territorial rights they (8) possess are the property of the nation collectively, and not of Indians or Chiefs.

Each individual of the tribes above mentioned, considers himself bound to assist in repelling the encroachment of invaders, and to fight against any common enemy of the nation.

Each tribe is subdivided into large families which are presided over by Chiefs who manage the police force and settle all private differences.

The Chiefs alone have the right to treat the important questions of peace or war in the great council of the nation – their authority is admitted on all hands and their unanimous decision, once promulgated, becomes obligatory.

The Chokita-pix Nation has never yet made a treaty with any government, a small number of the Pergans [Piegan] have, however, on several occasion, I am told, entered into negotiations with Americans.

The principal occupation of the Blackfeet during the summer season is the Buffalo hunt and they there run those animals on horseback.

During the winter season, the animals are enticed into pounds where they are ruthlessly slaughtered.

Improvvidence is an attribute of all Indians but particularly of those dwelling in the plains – hence the wanton destruction of the Buffalo which (9) will probably become extinct in a very few years.

The principal trade of the plains Indians consists of Buffalo robes, dressed skins, a few furs, grease, and dried meats.

Polygamy exists universally amongst the Blackfeet Indians, and it is quite a common thing to see a Chief in possession of seven or eight wives. The husband has complete power over

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his wives and may inflict the punishment of death if he thinks proper. Ordinarily when a wife misbehaves, the husband mutilates her by cutting off an ear or part of the nose and in some cases those members have been bitten off.

The seducer in such cases either pays the penalty of death, or buys himself off by a present of horse.

The Blackfeet worship the Sun – they also believe in spirits and are highly superstitious. They believe in the immortality of the soul and also think that all the lower animals will after death return again to life.

When a man dies, his best horse is usually sacrificed. They possess the idea that the anger of their divinity may be appeased by the shedding of blood or other sacrifices and in their great emergencies it is common for them to cut off the first joint of the finger.

(10) Epidemics carry off the Indians at a fearful rate. Some years ago scarlet fever made its appearance amongst the Blackfeet and some 1500 died from its effects.

Small pox created still greater havoc for during its prevalence amongst them 2000 are said to have perished.

For many years past, Messrs. Lacombe [Father Albert Lacombe] and [---] have laboured amongst the plain tribes and have succeeded, the former especially, in securing their goodwill and confidence, but their efforts within the last three or four years have been partially paralyzed by the American traders already mentioned, who, I am told, have actually placed their establishment of Hamiltonville in a state of defence and defy all comers.

Liquor to the extent of thousands of gallons has been traded to the Blackfeet besides large quantities of [---] for the purpose of provisioning small game. Half a gallon of spirits is, or was, the tariff price paid for a Buffalo robe and when the large number of robes sent into Montana is considered, the enormous amount of liquor consumed by the Blackfeet may be readily imagined.

Ottawa, 27th November 1873.

APPENDIX 20

Complete set of photographs in Charles George Horetzky, *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Ordered by page as found in the album. Those photographs that also appear in the AEAC version are indicated with inscriptions included. The order of both albums is nearly identical with the order of photographs in AEAC version indicated by the numbering in the inscriptions.

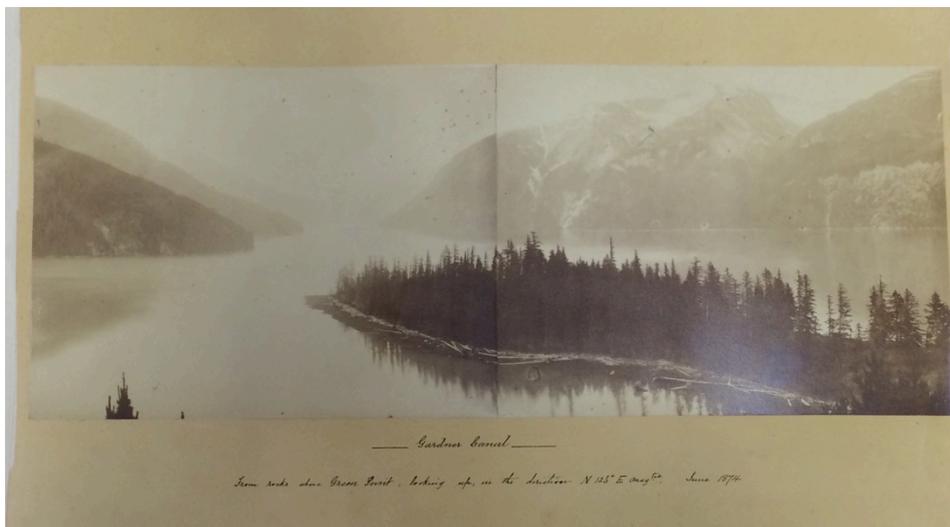


Figure 294. (T) Charles George Horetzky, “Gardner Canal. Looking up, from rocks above Green Point. Kimano Bay. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC.
(B) Charles George Horetzky, “No. 1 Gardner Canal. From rocks above Green Point, looking up, in the direction N 125° E mag. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. P089, AEAC.



Figure 295. (T) Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano. Looking up from rocks above Green Point. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. **(B)** Charles George Horetzky, “No. 3 Kimano valley. Looking N 54° E mag from rocks above Green point. Kimano Bay in foreground. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. P089, AEAC.



Figure 296. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Looking down the ravine of the “Penteuchltenay” from vicinity of Summit Lake. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 5” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 297. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Looking up the valley of the Kimano. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 2” in P089, AEAC. Also in Album 7 as *Near Mouth Homathco River*. [See App. 18, Fig. 252]



Figure 298. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Same as No. 3 June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 4” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 299. Charles George Horetzky, “Kimano route. Between “First Lake and the summit. June 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 6” in P089, AEAC.

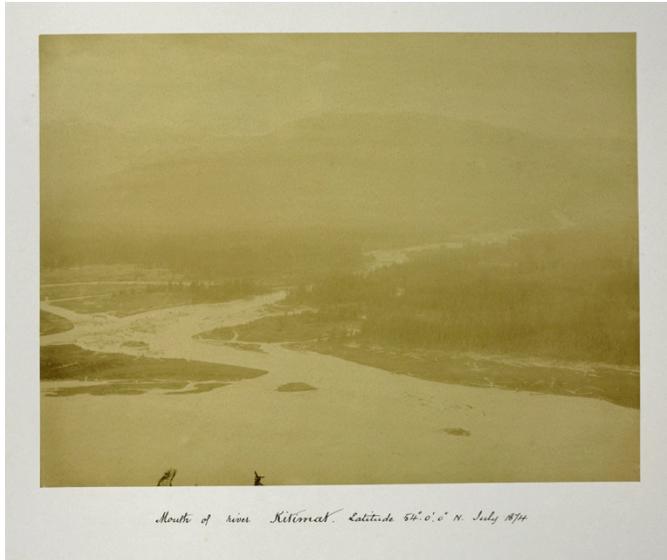


Figure 300. Charles George Horetzky, “Mouth of river Kitimat. Latitude 54° 0’0” N. July 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 26” in P089, AEAC.

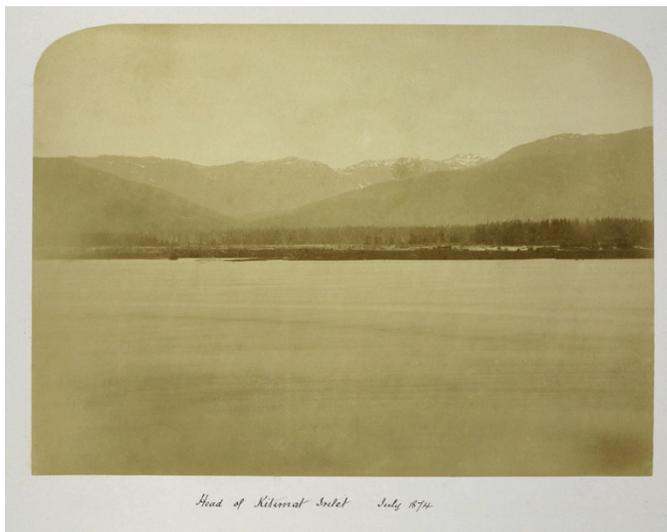


Figure 301. Charles George Horetzky, “Head of Kitimat Inlet July 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 27” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 302. Charles George Horetzky, “Same as No. 8.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 25” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 303. Charles George Horetzky, “Bellabella.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 29” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 304. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From King Island looking towards Cascade Inlet. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 7” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 305. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From King Island looking towards Cascade Inlet. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 8” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 306. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. Becalmed, between Cascade Inlet and Labouchere Passage. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 9” in P089, AEAC.

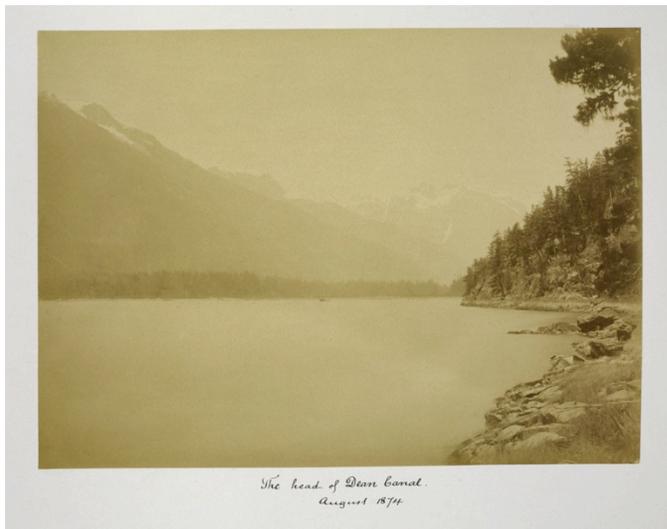


Figure 307. Charles George Horetzky, “The head of Dean Canal. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 10” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 308. Charles George Horetzky, “The head of dean Canal. From west shore. September 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 11” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 309. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From mouth of river “Tsatsquot” looking down. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 13” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 310. Charles George Horetzky, “Dean Canal. From mountain South from Kimsquit looking up. October 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 12” in P089, AEAC.

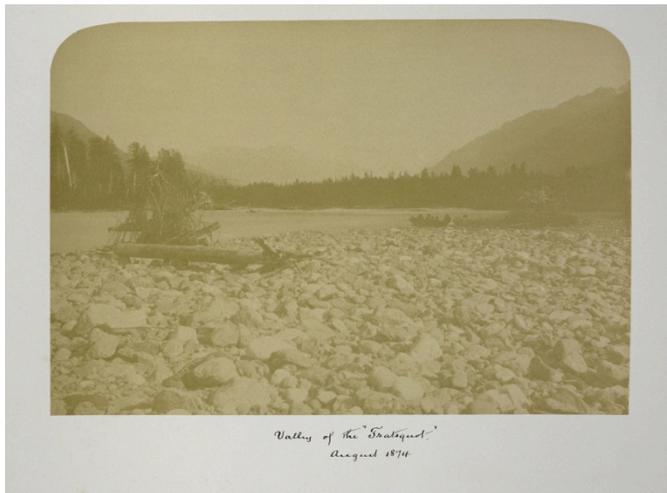


Figure 311. Charles George Horetzky, “Valley of the “Tsatsquot” August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 14” in P089, AEAC.

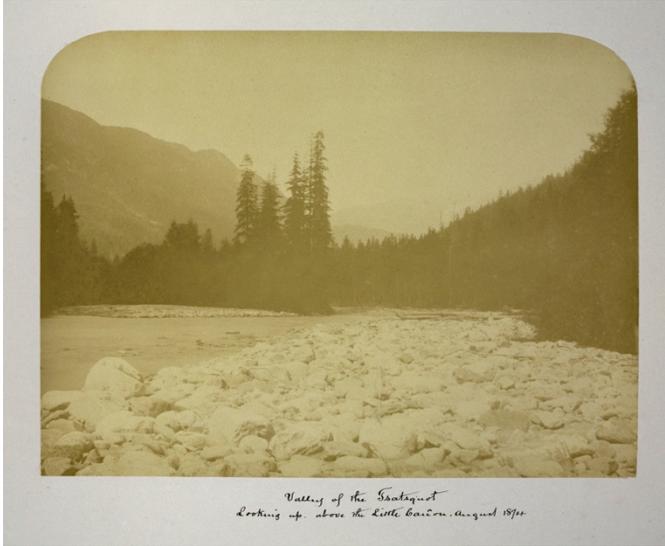


Figure 312. Charles George Horetzky, “Valley of the Tsatsquot. Looking up the Little Canon. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 15” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 313. Charles George Horetzky, “Ravine of North fork of “Tsatsquot” Looking up. August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 16” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 314. Charles George Horetzky, "Glacier source of north fork of "Tsatsquot" From edge of Summit Lake. August 1874. Elevation of lake 3000 feet." In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed "No. 22" in P089, AEAC.



Figure 315. Charles George Horetzky, "Lake of the Mists (2900 feet). August 1874." In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed "No. 23" in P089, AEAC.



Figure 316. Charles George Horetzky, “Lake Talchelkin (2800 feet) August 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 24” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 317. Charles George Horetzky, “Head of ravine of N.E. for of Kitlope from vicinity of New Pass. September 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 17” in P089, AEAC.

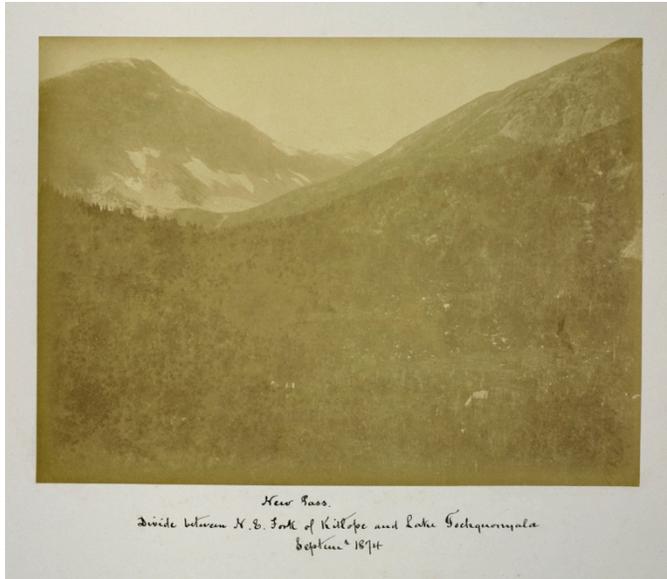


Figure 318. Charles George Horetzky, “New Pass. Divide between N.S. Fork of Kitlope and Lake Tochquonyala. September 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 21” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 319. Charles George Horetzky, “Lake Tochquonyala. Sept. 1874. (2920 feet).” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 19” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 320. Charles George Horetzky, “Portion of Lake Tochquonyala and Lake Nateltechen in distance. Sept. 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 20” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 321. Charles George Horetzky, “Comox. V.I. January 1874 1875.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 31” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 322. Charles George Horetzky, “Comox. V.I. January 1874 1875.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 30” in P089, AEAC.

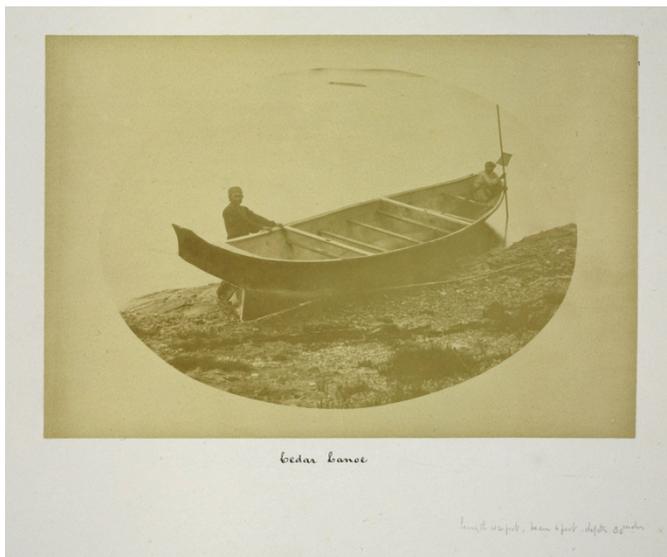


Figure 323. Charles George Horetzky, “Cedar Canoe. Length 42 feet, beam 6 feet, depth 30 inches.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 34” in P089, AEAC.



Figure 324. Charles George Horetzky, “Near Bellabella. December 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 33” in P089, AEAC.

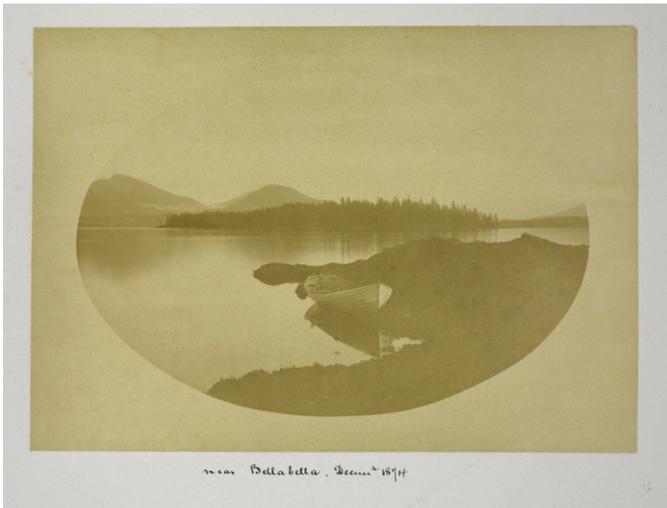


Figure 325. Charles George Horetzky, “Near Bellabella. December 1874.” In *View in the Cascade Mountains: On Coast Exploration of 1874*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1002, UBC. Inscribed “No. 35” in P089, AEAC.

APPENDIX 21

Complete set of photographs in Charles George Horetzky, *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Ordered by page as found in the album. Forty-six photographs in this album comprise the complete *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL and are indicated. The order of both albums is nearly identical with the order of photographs in *Homathko River Album* indicated by the sequential numbering in the inscriptions.

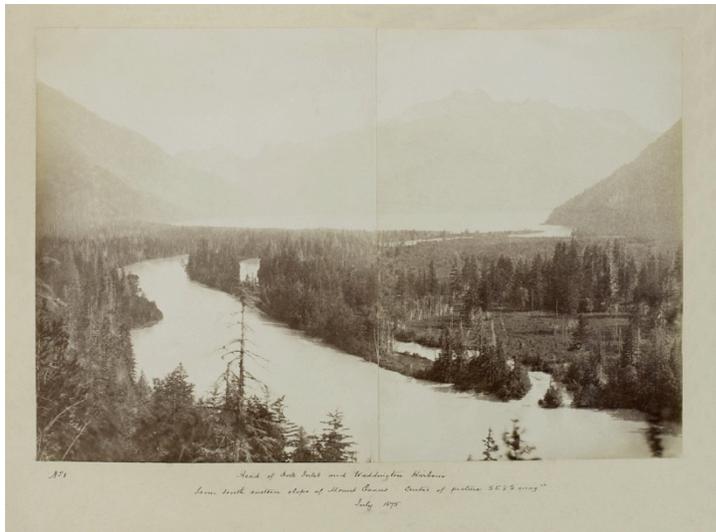


Figure 326. (T) Charles George Horetzky, “No. 1 Head of Bute Inlet and Waddington Harbour. From south eastern slope of Mount Evans. Centre of picture SE $\frac{1}{2}$ S mag. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.
(B) Charles Horetzky, “No. 2 Head of Bute Inlet and Waddington Harbour.” In *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL.



Figure 327. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 2 Mouth of River Homathco, and Head of Bute Inlet. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.
Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 3 Head of Bute Inlet. Mouth of River Homathco.”



Figure 328. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 3 River Homathco. From Indian garden opposite the provision Depot. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 4 River Homathco.”



Figure 329. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 4 River Homathco. From west side of located bridge crossing. 1¼ mile from mouth. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 6 The River Homathco.”



Figure 330. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 5 River Homathco. 1¼ mile from the mouth near located crossing. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 5 River Homathco.”



Figure 331. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 6 River Homathco. 1³/₄ mile from the mouth looking down. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 7 The River Homathco.”



Figure 332. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 7 River Homathco. 12 miles from the sea, looking up. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 8 The River Homathco looking up 10 miles from the sea.”



Figure 333. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 8 River Homathco. 14 miles from Waddington, looking across the valley from left bank. McNeil’s peak in the distance. July 1875.”
In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.
Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 9 River Homathco looking up McNeil’s peak.”



No. 9

River Homathco.

26.77 miles from the sea. at Gamsby's BM of '72. (504) looking across glacier stream
June 1875.

Figure 334. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 9 River Homathco. 26.77 miles from the sea at Gamsby’s BM of ’72 (504) looking across glacier stream. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 10 Glacier torrent river Homathco.”



Figure 335. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 10 River Homathco. 27.9 miles from the sea looking North 6° East magnetic up. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 11 River Homathco.”



Figure 336. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 11 River Homathco. From glacial torrent 1¼ mile below the lower end of grand Cañon, looking up. 29¼ miles from Waddington. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 12 River Homathco up Grand Cañon in distance 29½ miles from the sea.”

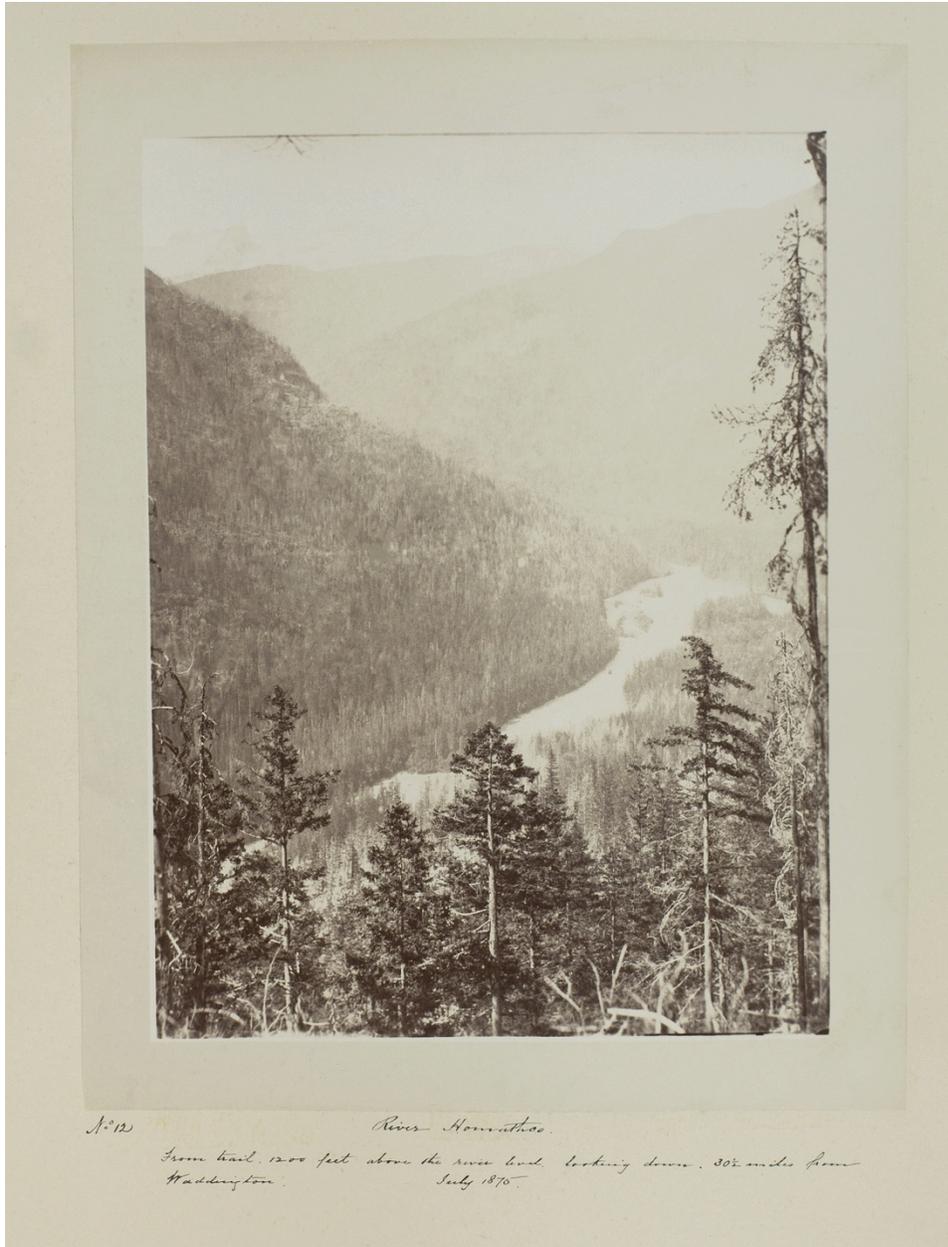


Figure 337. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 12 River Homathco. From trail 1200 feet above the river bend looking down. 30½ miles from Waddington. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 13 Looking down valley of Homathco from summit of trail on the Cañon.”



No. 13
B
River Homathko.
Lower end of Grand Cañon. 30½ miles from Waddington. Looking up.
From station 1611 Gamsby's survey of 1875.
June 1875

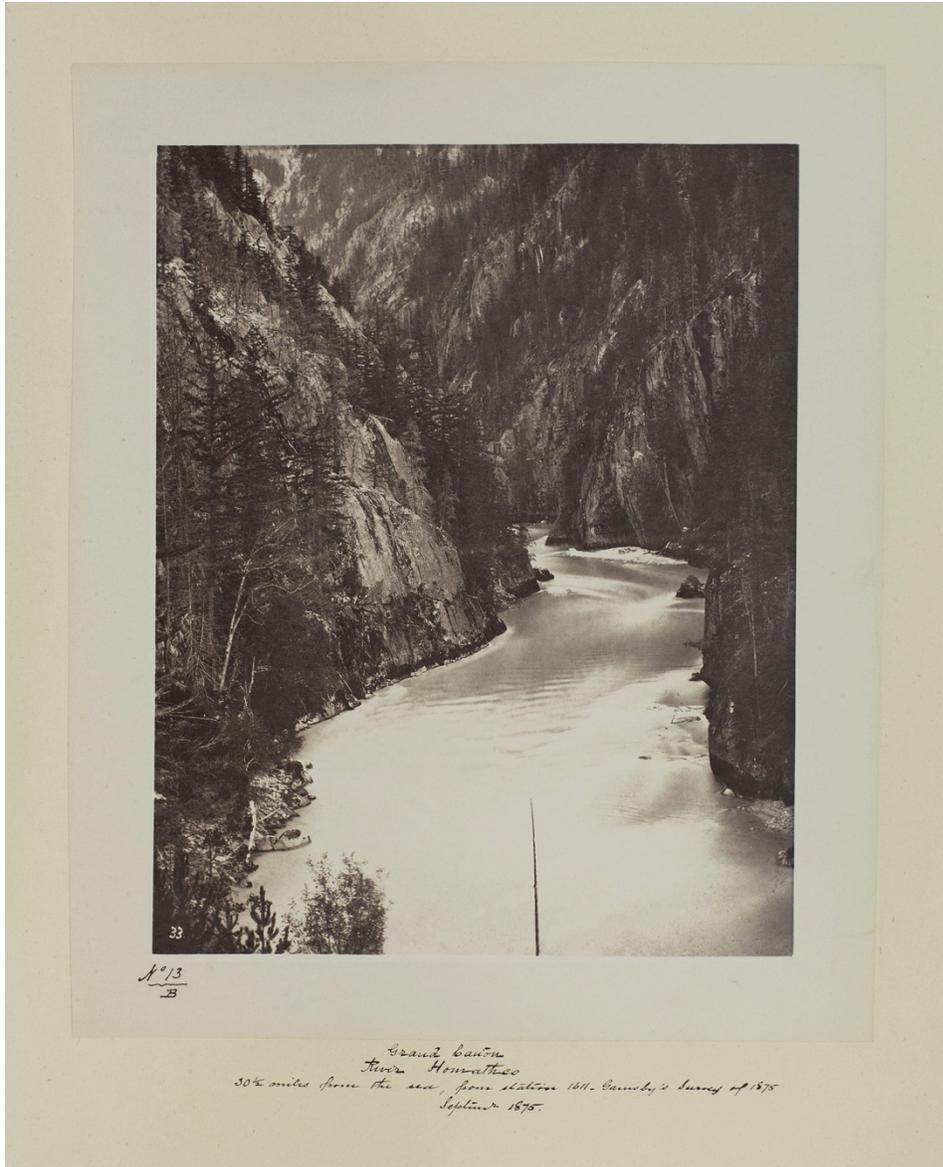


Figure 339. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 13B Grand Cañon, River Homathco. 30½ miles from the sea, from station 1611. Gamsby’s survey of 1875. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 14 Lower end of Grand Cañon 30½ miles from the sea.”



Figure 340. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 14 Grand Cañon, River Homathco. Looking down. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 16 Looking down the Grand Cañon.”



Figure 341. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 15 Grand Cañon, River Homathco. Looking down the Cañon, near upper end. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 18 Down the Grand Cañon.”



Figure 342. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 16 Grand Cañon. River Homathco. Looking down the Cañon. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 17 Down the Grand Cañon.”



Figure 343. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 17 Grand Cañon. River Homathco. Looking up from same point as No. 16. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 19 Down the Grand Cañon.”



Figure 344. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 18 Grand Cañon. River Homathco. 31.34 miles from Waddington looking down river one chain wide. June 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 20 Down the Grand Cañon.”



Figure 345. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 19A Grand Cañon, River Homathko. From station 1663 Gamsby’s survey of 1875 looking up. 31.50 miles from Waddington.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 22 The same. After the flood swept the bridge away.”



Figure 346. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 19B Grand Cañon, River Homathco. From station 1663 Gamsby’s survey of 1875 looking up. 31.50 miles from Waddington.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 21 Up the Grand Cañon 1663 chain from the sea. Remains of Waddington’s bridge.”



Figure 347. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 20 Grand Cañon. River Homathco. Upper portion of Grand Cañon looking down from about station 1667 31.57 miles from Waddington. June 1875. Nos. 13/20 include all the views in the Grand Cañon which ceases here. Total distance from No. 13 to No. 20 is nearly 56 chains.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 23 Down the Grand Cañon above Waddington’s bridge.”

APPENDIX 21: Charles George Horetzky, *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*

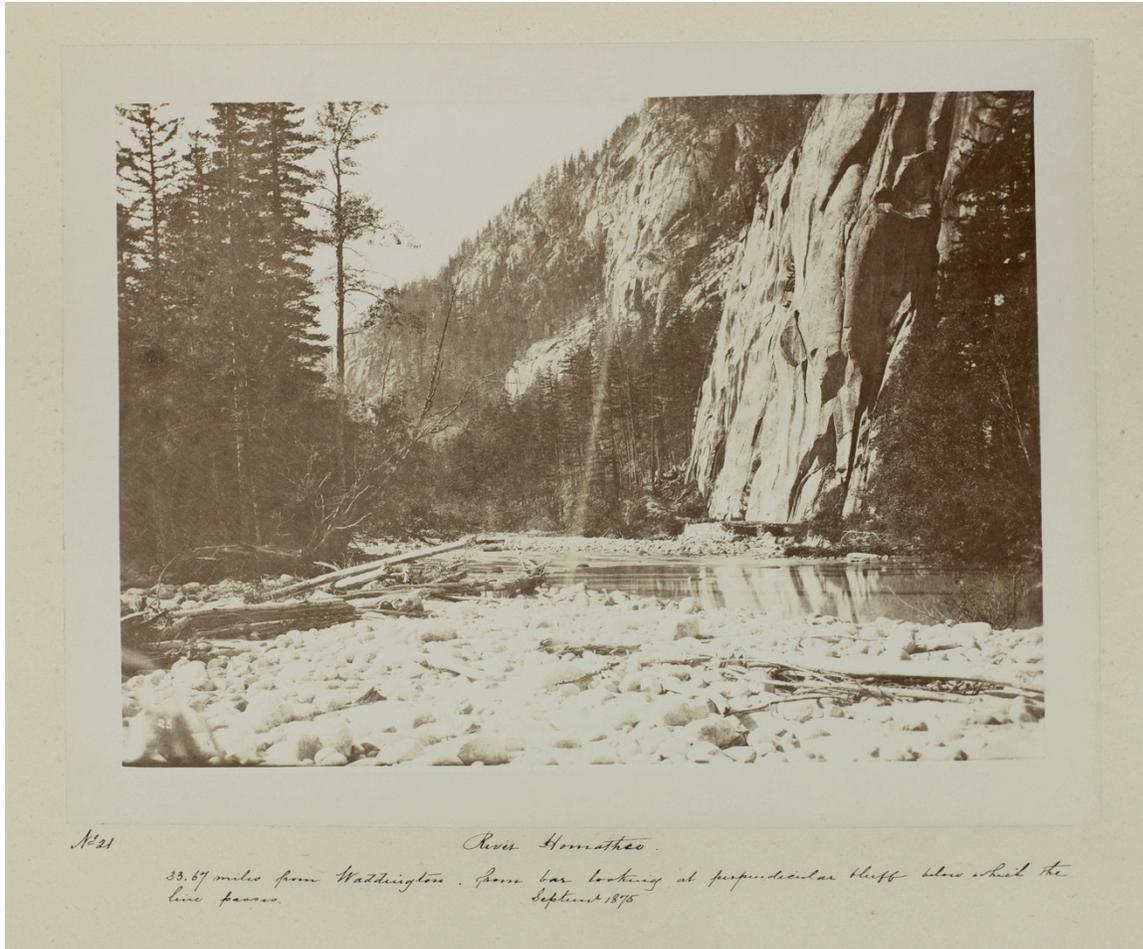


Figure 348. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 21 River Homathco. 33.67 miles from Waddington from bar looking at perpendicular bluff below which the line passes. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 24 Granite Bluff below Murderer’s Bar. River Homathco.”



Figure 349. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 22 River Homathco. 34 miles from Waddington looking down from high bluff above the Murderer’s Bar. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 25 Looking down the Homathco from high bluff above Murderer’s Bar.”



Figure 350. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 23 River Homathco. 34 miles from Waddington looking down from high bluff above the Murderer’s Bar. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 26 Looking up from same point of last.”



Figure 351. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 24 West branch of River Homathco. Tiedemann’s glacier from rocks over outlet of lake. Same in No. 25. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 27 Distant view of Tiedemann’s Glacier from opposite side of Homathco valley. This glacier equals in size the largest in the Swiss Alps.”

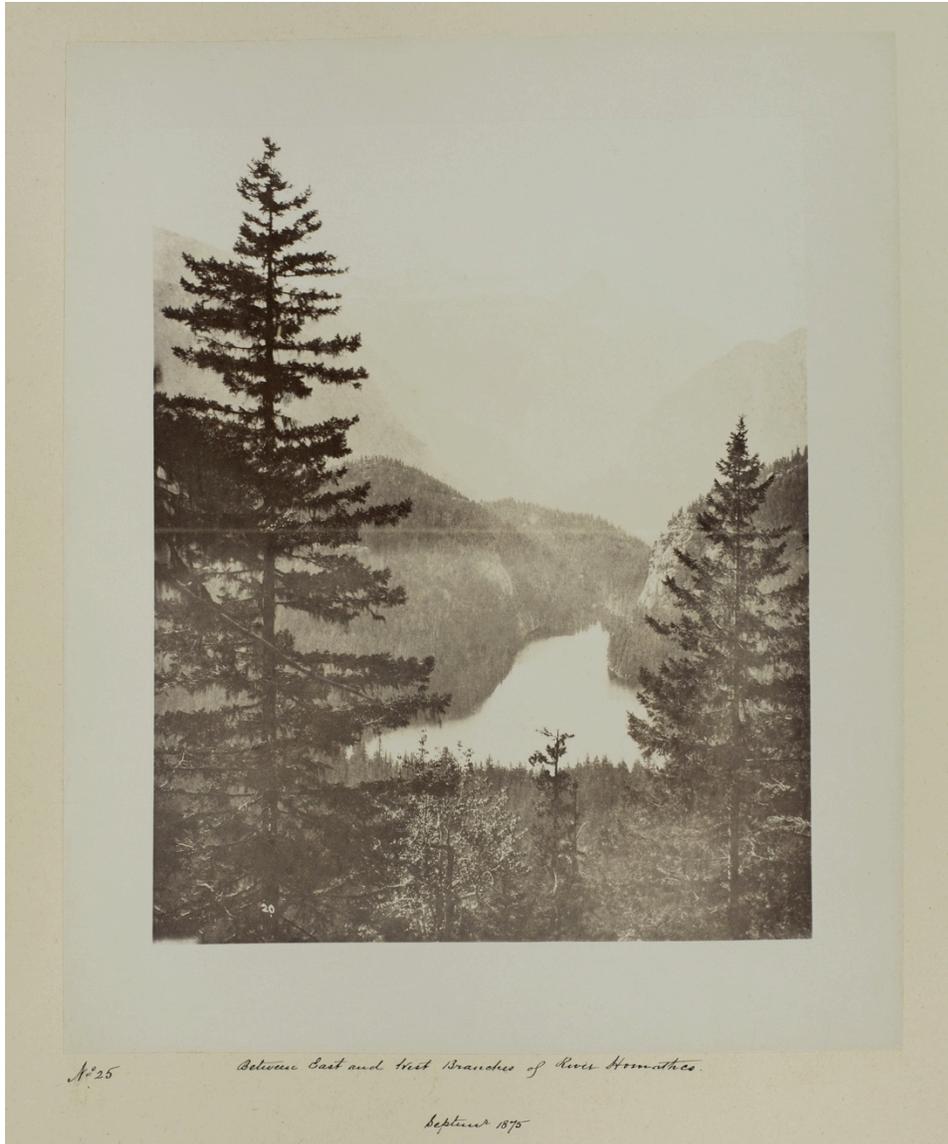


Figure 352. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 25 Between east and west branches of River Homathco. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 353. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 26 East Branch of River Homathco. 40 miles from Waddington looking down W. by S. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 28 East Branch of River Homathco. 42½ miles from the sea.”



Figure 354. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 27 East Branch of River Homathco. About 41½ miles from Waddington looking up from slopes 600 feet above the river. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 29 East Branch looking upwards from heights 600 feet above the river.”



Figure 355. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 28 East Branch of the River Homathco. 44 miles from Waddington looking up. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 30 East Branch looking up.”



Figure 356. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 29 East Branch of Homathko. 44.15 miles from the sea looking up. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 31 East Branch looking up 47 miles.”



Figure 357. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 30 East Branch River Homathco. 47½ miles from Waddington harbour looking down. North 110° West (true) Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 32 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 358. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 31 East Branch of the River Homathco. 48 miles from Waddington looking down. North 110° West (true) Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 33 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 359. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 32 East Branch of the River Homathco. 49 miles from Waddington looking down. West true. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 34 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 360. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 33 East Branch of River Homathco. 49 miles from Waddington looking up from standpoint of No. 32. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 35 East Branch looking up.”

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Figure 361. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 34 East Branch of River Homathko. Looking down south west (true) 50 miles from Waddington harbour. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 36 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 362. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 35 East Branch of River Homathco. About 53 miles from Waddington looking down. WNW (true) Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 37 East Branch looking down.”

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Figure 363. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 36 East Branch of River Homathco. Looking down. 55 miles from sea. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 38 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 364. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 37 East Branch of River Homathco. About 58 miles from Waddington. Green lakelet looking across. Sept. 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 39 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 365. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 38 East Branch of River Homathco. Looking down North 100° West true. 58 miles from the sea. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 40 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 366. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 39 East Branch of River Homathco. About 61½ miles from Waddington looking down from sandstone slide on right side direction of centre West (true). September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 41 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 367. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 40 East Branch of River Homathco. Looking down south west (true) 63 miles from the sea, from rocky knoll at outlet of Lake Tatlayoco. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 42 East Branch looking down.”



Figure 368. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 41 East Branch of River Homathco. About 63 miles from Waddington looking East by North (true) showing location side from centre of river. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 369. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 42 East Branch of River Homathco. South end of Lake Tatlayoco looking up and along the Eastern shore say 63 miles from Waddington harbour. Elevation of lake 2750 feet above the sea level. September 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 370. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 43 East Branch of River Homathco. Say 69 miles from Waddington. From above station 2715 Cambie’s survey of 1875. Looking South 40° West (true) say 6 miles from outlet. Lake Tatlayoco.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 44 Lake Tatlayoco.”

APPENDIX 21: Charles George Horetzky, *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*



Figure 371. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 44 East Branch of River Homathco. Lake Tatlayoco. 69 miles from Waddington. From above station 2715 Cambie’s survey of 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 43 Lake Tatlayoco. 69 miles from the sea. Eastern point of the Pass via East Branch Homathco.”



Figure 372. Charles George Horetzky, “No. 45 East Branch of River Homathco. Lake Tatlayoco. From vicinity of station 2037. Cambie’s Survey of 1875. Say 81¾ miles from the sea. Sept 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC. Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 45 Lake Tatlayoco. 82 miles from the sea.”



Figure 373. Charles George Horetzky, “A Victoria, from Driard House. August 1875.” Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, 0. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed (frontispiece) “City of Victoria. Vancouver Island. British Columbia. From roof of Driard House.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 374. Charles George Horetzky, “B Bute Inlet. 5 miles below the Homathco, from west side, looking up.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

Also in Charles Horetzky, *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL. Inscribed “No. 1 Bute Inlet near the upper end.”



Figure 375. Charles George Horetzky, “C. right Mouth of River Homathco. From west side, looking across. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 376. Charles George Horetzky, “C. left Mouth of River Homathco. From west side, above Potato Point looking across. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 377. Charles George Horetzky, “D Mouth of River Homathco. From Potato Point looking across. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.



Figure 378. Charles George Horetzky, “E Mouth of River Homathco. From west side, half mile above Potato Point looking up. July 1875.” In *Photographs Pacific Railway Survey British Columbia 1875*. Uno Langmann Family Collection of B.C. Photographs, Rare Books and Special Collections, UL_1003, UBC.

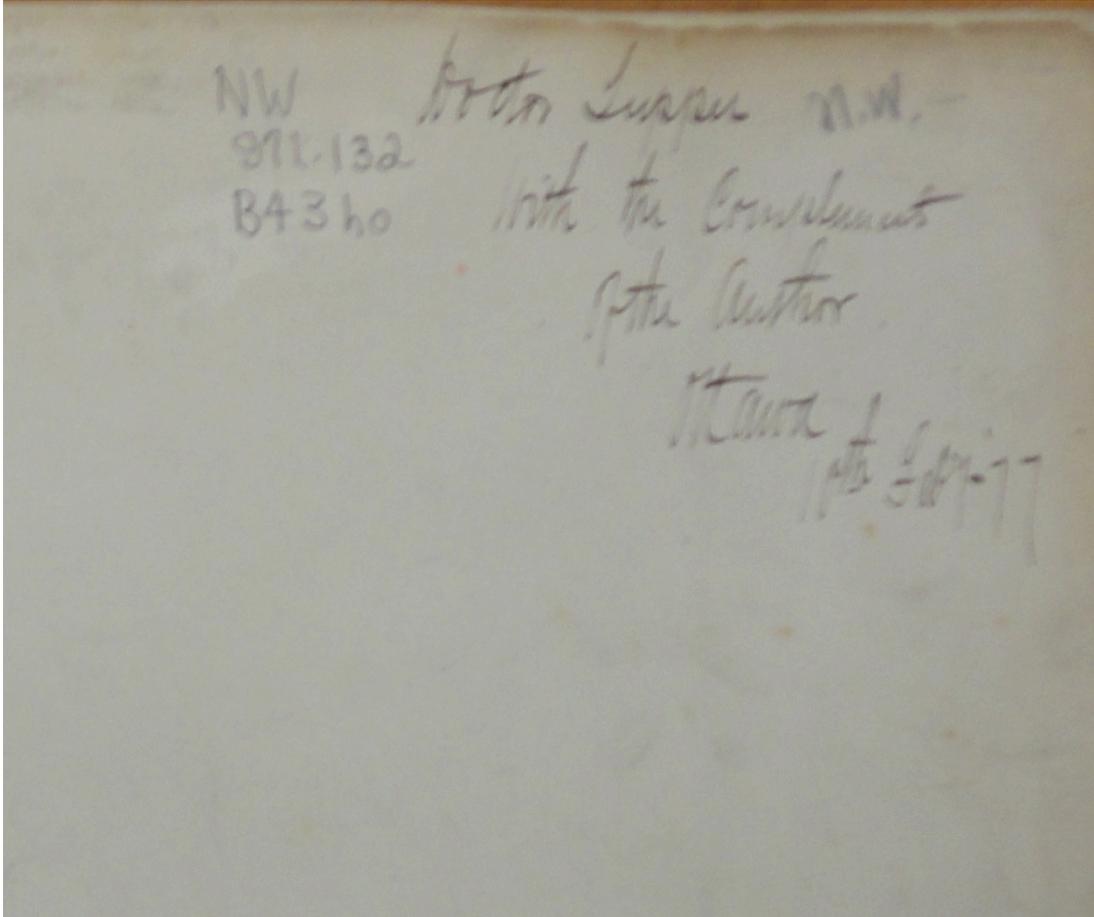
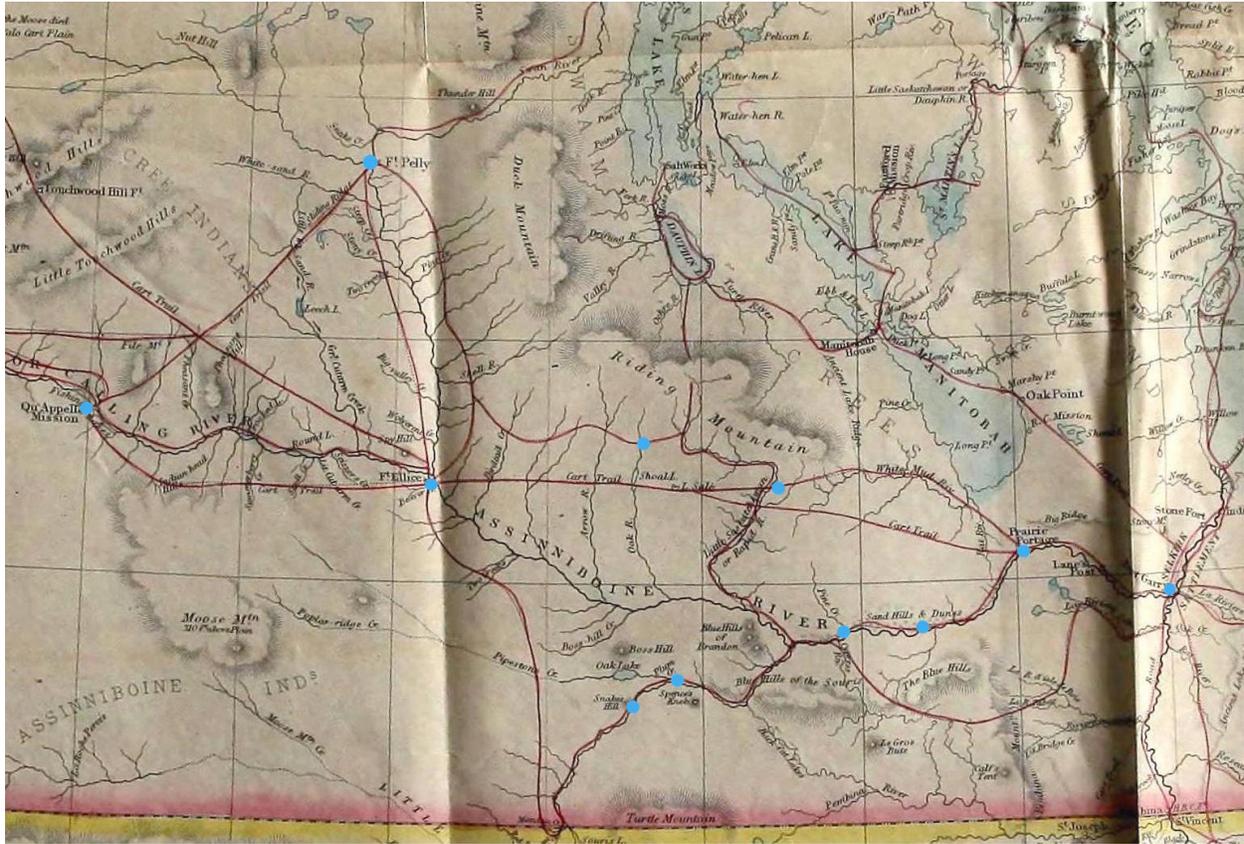


Figure 379. Detail of inscription. In *Homathko River Album*, O. 971.132 B43ho, VPL.

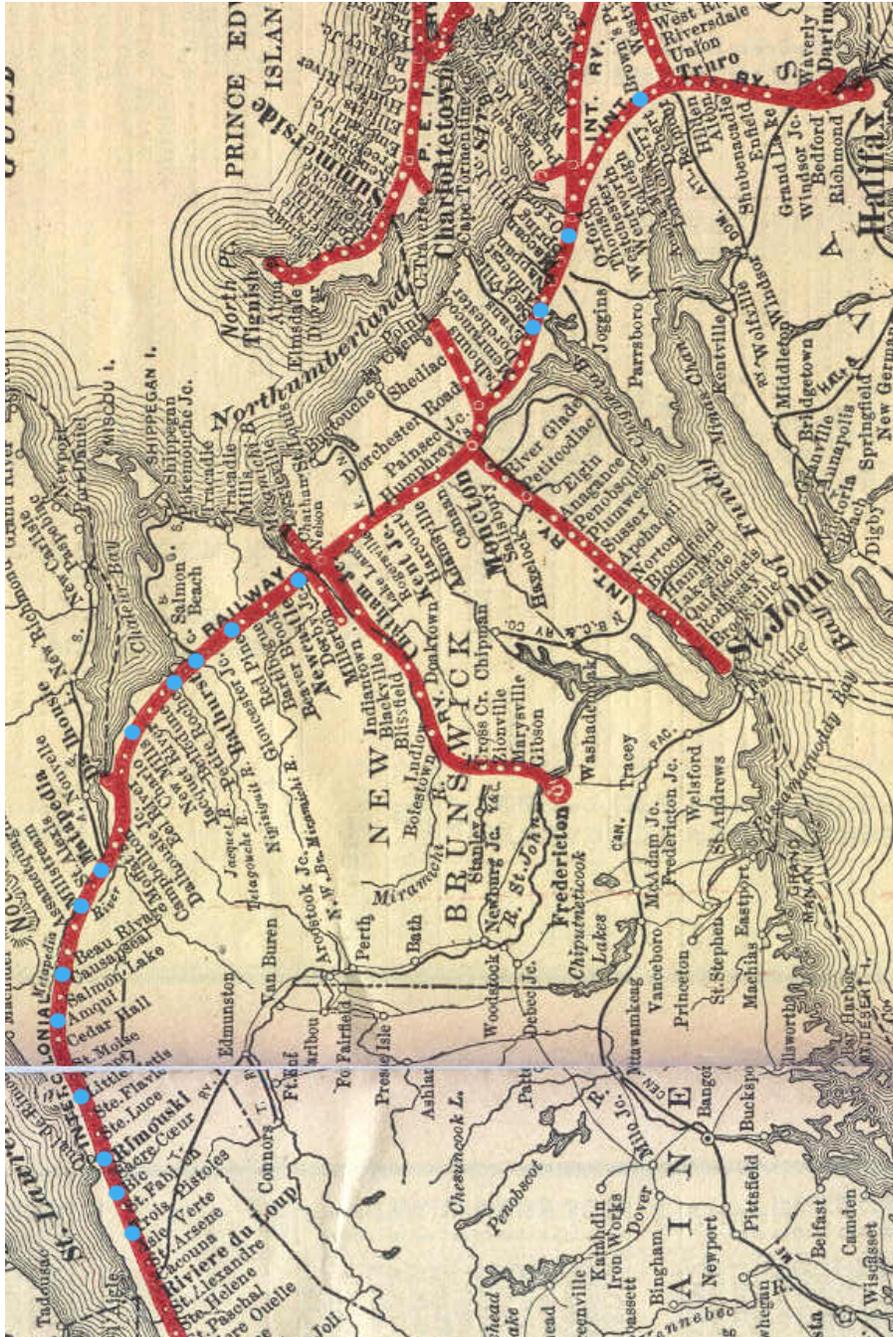
Maps.



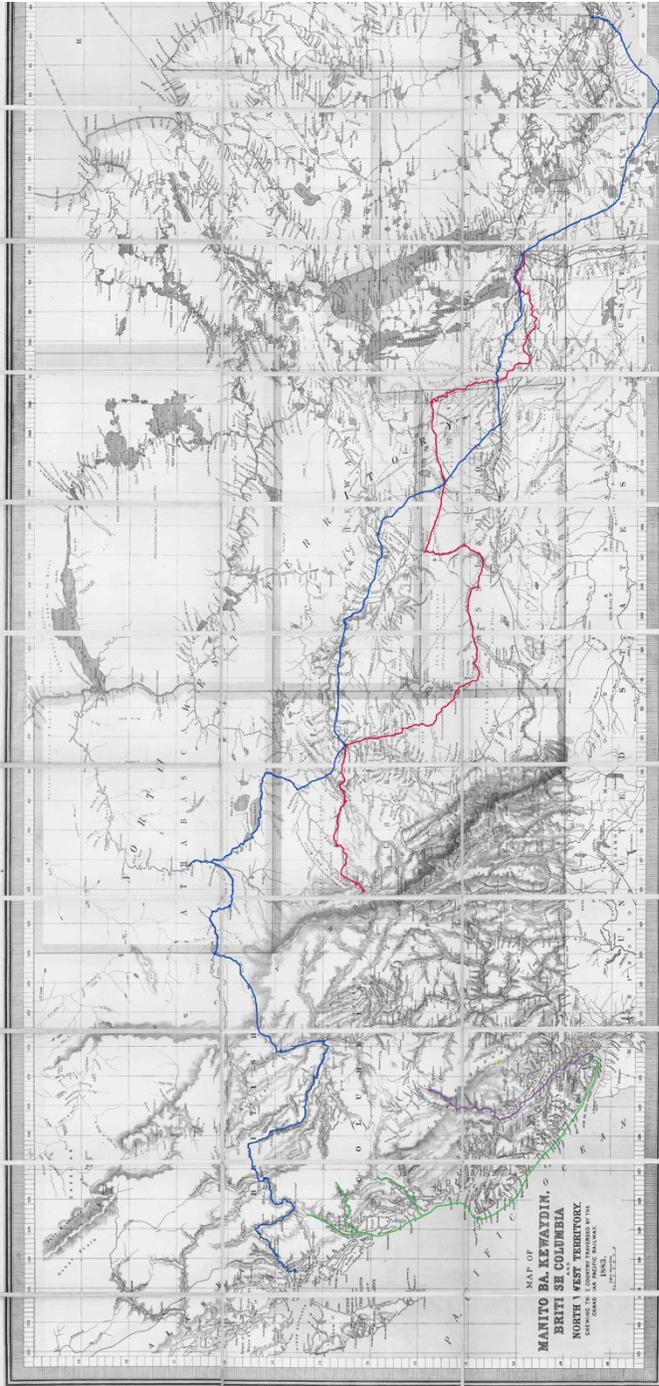
Map 1. Route of the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. Detail of “Map to Illustrate a Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine & Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858,” in Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, vol.1 (London, U.K.: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), facing page 9. The original map marks the routes taken by both 1857 and 1858 expedition parties with a red line. The detail includes routes from Fort Garry at the Selkirk Settlement (near bottom right) to Qu’Appelle Mission (left), with blue dots added to indicate places labelled on the map that Hime mentions in his diary [see App. 3].



Map 2. Route of the 1871 Geological Survey of Canada. Detail of “Map of the Province of British Columbia compiled by J. H. Brownlee, D.L.S., from the latest maps and surveys and all reliable sources of information to date. By direction of the Honorable F. G. Vernon, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Victoria, 1893,” Cartographic material, AM1594-: MAP 19, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, B.C. Accessed May 1, 2016, <http://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/map-of-province-of-british-columbia-2> The red line is added to indicate the route taken based on the locations Baltzly mentions in his journal [see App. 6].



Map 3. Detail of “Intercolonial Railway, Prince Edward Island Railway of Canada Connections,” in M. J. Butler, Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, *Intercolonial Railway and Prince Edward Island Railway Map and Timetable*, United States edition (20 July 1907). Traingeek.ca. Accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.traingeek.ca/timetables/show.php?id=icr_19070720 Blue dots are added to indicate locations at which Henderson produced a photograph that was subsequently included in Fleming’s *The Intercolonial* [see App. 12]. Note that the photograph of Folly River is indicated on the map as at Debert; River Phillip at Oxford; Missiquash between Aulac and Amherst; and, Restigouche at Matapedia.



Map 4. Detail of “Map of Manitoba, Kewaydin, British Columbia and North West Territory shewing [*sic*] the country traversed by the Canadian Pacific Railway” in *Northwest Territory, Canada* (London, U.K.: Edward Stanford, 1883). Cartographic material, AM1594-: MAP 830, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, B.C. Accessed May 1, 2016, <http://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/map-of-manitoba-kewaydin-british-columbia-and-north-west-territory-shewing-country-traversed-by-canadian-pacific-railway> Lines are added to indicate Horetzky’s survey expeditions: red, 1871 expedition under Moberly; blue, 1872 expedition under Fleming; green, 1874 expedition under Smith; purple, 1875 expedition under Smith.

