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Martha Langford, Karla McManus, Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, Aurèle Parisien, Sharon Murray, Philippe Guillaume

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Imaged Communities: Putting Canadian Photographic History in its Place

MARTHA LANGFORD, KARLA MCMANUS, ELIZABETH ANNE CAVALIERE, AURÈLE PARISIEN, SHARON MURRAY, AND PHILIPPE GUILLAUME

"Imaged Communities" imagines Canada as a network of photographic knowledge. Co-written by six members of Canadian Photography History/Histoire de la photographie canadienne (CPH/HPC), a research team based at Concordia University in Montreal, this essay examines the meeting places created by photographic technology. The mapping of these histories addresses the central questions about photographic history and mediated experience that have motivated this research—*What did Canadians know about photography, and when did they know it?*–and supplements it with a third—*Where did these encounters take place?* The introduction establishes the sites and parameters of the contribution. First, the research draws on the digital anthology of Canadian photographic literature that the authors are putting forward as a history of the medium in Canada—a community imaged at every stage of its mutation from colony to nation and thereby imagined, in Benedict Anderson's well-known formulation (1991). This is a fragmentary photographic history, which accounts for the polyphonic nature of this text. Second, the authors write as art historians and photographic specialists, mindful of the various turns in the humanities and sciences that have engaged with, and sometimes emerged from, discoveries in photographic studies, the spatial turn most pertinent to this inquiry. The authors point out, however, that photographic practice has more than kept pace with theory. There is much to learn from artists', documentarians', snapshooters', and compilers' projects: their uses of photography as instruments of investigation; their photographic formulations of philosophical ideas and social conditions; the heuristic circle formed by the circulation of their work; and the penetration of that circle by neglected interests. For that reason, this group includes a creation-researcher, whose art historical practice is informed by the making of a photographic work. His armchair-tourist colleagues write at the intersection of photographic knowledge and photographic experience; the introduction seeks to elucidate the structure of that space. A third element of the introduction is an explanation of the lack of an authoritative history of Canadian photography, and how CPH/HPC and its network of individual and institutional collaborators are working within that gap to create new historiographical models.

Five short studies follow, each using the intersection of photography and place as an organizing principle. In the first, a brief survey of photographic literature on or about the Canadian West focusses on two bodies of work: a professional tourist's travelogue of the West (and further West) as he constructed it in 1909 from his railcar, his hotel, and his campground; and a photographer/filmmaker's lifelong investment in the representation of his diverse community, the North End of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The second study closes in on a single city—Toronto—as celebrated and chronicled in two nineteenth-century publications, and as revisited in a late twentieth-century exhibition and catalogue project based on the photographic collection of Library and Archives Canada. These curatorial perspectives on the city illuminate the social values of their day. In the third study, post-Centennial selection and uses of photographs from the Isaac Erb studio (c1870-1924) in Saint John, New Brunswick, are closely compared with the uses of those photographs at the time of their making and with a

more complete version of the Erb oeuvre preserved in the provincial archives, revealing a photographic record of material culture that reflects the port city's emergence as a transnational, consumer economy. The fourth study moves to another Canadian port via the photographic holdings of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, an ocean liner terminal and immigration shed-turned-museum. Through online display of its primarily digital collection, this doorway to Canada, selectively open between 1928 and 1971, is photographically preserved as a relational space, forever *in between*. Finally, a contemporary artist's photographic study of photography and walking, conducted on boulevard Saint-Laurent in Montreal, creates a processual space of creation, bringing this essay full circle to the image and its imaginer. The conclusion underscores the dialogical structure of our relationships with photography, wherever we find it.

L'article « Les communautés imagées » imagine le Canada comme un réseau de connaissances photographiques. Corédigé par six membres de Canadian Photography History/Histoire de la photographie canadienne (CPH/HPC) – une équipe de recherche de l'Université Concordia à Montréal –, le présent article examine les points de rencontre créés par la technologie photographique. La cartographie de ces histoires traite de questions centrales à l'histoire photographique et à l'expérience médiatisée qui ont motivé cette recherche – *Que connaissent les Canadiens au sujet de la photographie, et quand l'ont-ils appris?* – et ajoute une troisième question : *Où sont ces points de rencontre?* L'introduction présente les sites et les paramètres de la contribution. Tout d'abord, la recherche se sert de l'anthologie numérique de la littérature photographique canadienne que les auteurs utilisent comme une histoire de ce support au Canada – une communauté prise en images à chaque stade de sa mutation de colonie à nation, et donc imaginée, selon la formulation bien connue de Benedict Anderson (1991). Il s'agit d'une histoire photographique fragmentaire, qui tient compte de la nature polyphonique de ce texte. Puis, les auteurs deviennent des historiens de l'art et des spécialistes de la photographie en restant conscients des divers courants dans les lettres, les sciences humaines et la science qui ont fait partie et ont même parfois émergé de découvertes dans les études photographiques (le courant spatial le plus pertinent pour cette recherche). Les auteurs font remarquer toutefois que la pratique photographique est restée bien à la hauteur de la théorie. On peut en apprendre beaucoup des projets d'artistes, de documentaristes, d'auteurs d'instantanés et de compilateurs : leurs utilisations de la photographie comme un instrument d'enquête, leurs formulations photographiques d'idées philosophiques et de conditions sociales, le cercle heuristique formé par la diffusion de leurs œuvres ainsi que la pénétration de ce cercle par des intérêts négligés. Pour cette raison, ce groupe comprend un chercheur-création dont la pratique de l'histoire de l'art est éclairée par la réalisation d'une œuvre photographique. Ses collègues et touristes de salon écrivent au carrefour de la connaissance et de l'expérience photographiques; l'introduction cherche à élucider la structure de cet espace. Un troisième élément de cette introduction est une explication du fait qu'il n'existe pas d'histoire documentée de la photographie canadienne, et de comment l'équipe CPH/HPC et son réseau de collaborateurs particuliers ou membres d'un établissement essaient de compenser cette lacune et de créer de nouveaux modèles historiographiques.

Cinq courtes dissertations suivent, chacune se servant de l'intersection de la photographie et du lieu comme principe d'organisation. Dans la première, un bref examen des écrits sur l'histoire photographique de l'Ouest canadien met l'accent sur deux ensembles d'œuvres : le carnet de voyage d'un touriste professionnel de l'Ouest (et encore plus à l'ouest), tel qu'il l'a composé en 1909 à partir de son wagon de train, de son hôtel et de son lieu de camping, et l'investissement d'un photographe/cinéaste tout au long de sa vie dans la représentation de sa communauté diversifiée – l'extrémité nord de Winnipeg (Manitoba). La deuxième dissertation vise une seule

ville – Toronto – telle que célébrée et documentée dans deux publications du XIXe siècle, puis réexaminée dans une exposition et un catalogue au XXe siècle en se fondant sur la collection photographique de Bibliothèque et Archives Canada. Ces points de vue curatoriaux de la ville illustrent les valeurs sociales de cette époque. Dans la troisième dissertation, une comparaison attentive est faite des utilisations contemporaines et postérieures au centenaire de Saint John (Nouveau-Brunswick) des photos du studio d'Isaac Erb (v. 1870-1924), avec une version plus complète de ses œuvres, telles que préservées dans les archives provinciales. Cette comparaison révèle un registre photographique de la culture matérielle qui reflète l'émergence de l'économie de consommation transnationale de cette ville portuaire. La quatrième dissertation traite d'un autre port canadien avec la collection de photos du Musée canadien de l'immigration au Quai 21 à Halifax (Nouvelle-Écosse) – un terminal de navires de ligne et un hangar d'immigration devenu musée. Avec une exposition en ligne de sa collection principalement numérique, cette fenêtre sur le Canada, ouverte de manière sélective entre 1928 et 1971, est préservée à l'aide de photos comme un lieu *intermédiaire*. Enfin, l'étude photographique d'un artiste contemporain sur la photographie à pied, réalisée sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent à Montréal, présente un lieu processuel de création et termine cet article en revenant à l'image et son imagineur. La conclusion de l'article souligne la structure dialogique de nos rapports avec la photographie, quelle que soit sa source.

Introduction

MARTHA LANGFORD

American philosopher Edward S. Casey writes that while "most journeys involve actual movement between places, one may journey while remaining in a single place.... What matters on a journey is not movement as such but the *form of motion*" (1993, 306; emphasis in original). Having listed the various types of voyages—tourism, exploration, pilgrimages, involving both varying and fixed routes—he adds, "In each instance, close inspection would reveal its own 'mode of spatialization,' or, rather, its own kind of placialization, its own way of getting back into place" (307).

In their introduction to *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan analyze "the relationship between photographic practice and geographical inquiry, between photographic representation and the geographical imagination" (2003, 6), characterizing it as a powerful alliance. These acts of imagination—specific instances of David Harvey's capacious "geographical imagination"—focus on photographic technologies as they have "expanded human powers of observation and extended the range of observable space" from a fixed point, which shifted from the maker's to the observer's (2003, 2). Schwartz and Ryan's characterization of photography as one in "a chain of practices and processes by which geographical information is gathered, geographical facts are ordered and imaginative geographies are constructed" (6) is another way of recognizing the power of the photographic image and the places where power resides.

This collaborative essay examines the meeting places created by photographic technology—encounters between representations of place and armchair travellers. We put the history of Canadian photography *in its place* by engaging in a bookish mode of exploration, by following routes of photographic experience mapped by compilers of photographic books, and by deviating from those routes as art historians cutting our own paths. Our meeting places are imagined as Benedict Anderson (1991) conceptualized the rise of nationhood through printed matter and as the global is conceptualized in technological terms (Appadurai 1996). Now we meet images on screen, reading them differently from their analogue ancestors (Sassoon 2004; Opp 2008). Here is the Faustian bargain: there is a loss of materiality, tactility, and organizational logic that attendance at the archives and familiarization with its science deliver (Schwartz and Cook 2002; Cook and Schwartz 2002); at the same time, the web is a researcher-collector's paradise of serendipitous discovery, and we are also privy through high-resolution digital scans to the tiniest details, pondered as we mouse and muse in the comfort of our homes. Mindful of the spatial turn inspired by French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1974) and its enormous influence on visual culture studies, we are interested in the production of space and its internalization by photographic processes that were scarcely imagined on the spot or on first spectatorial encounter, but sensed as an unfolding envelopment of possibilities that, as French semiotician Roland Barthes said (in a book dedicated to Jean-Paul Sartre's *L'Imaginaire*), work "within" one (Barthes 1981, 53). As Jacqueline Guittard so brilliantly points out, some of Barthes's most influential encounters took place in the pages of the popular press, which he consumed "chez le coiffeur" (2006, 114).

Our "lieux de mémoire" (Nora 1989) and "sights of history"[1] (Livingston 1982; Langford 1984, 13-14) are published photographs and their textual surround. We study these presentations of words and images as they relate to, and have profoundly influenced, photography history's first-cognate cousins: art history, architectural history, geography, anthropology, sociology, political science, literature, cinema, communications, gender studies, and visual culture. The interdisciplinary nature of photographic studies is a function of photography's indexical relationship with the external world, its "analogical plenitude," as Barthes described its fusion of denotation and connotation in description (1977a, 18). Barthes was explicit in denying this insight to photographic art, but in this he was quite mistaken. For many artists of the 1960s and 1970s, the camera was a surveying instrument that registered its findings, sometimes simulating the unconscious uptake of dailiness. Camera vision helped to engineer the spatial turn.

Turning the pages of a special issue of *artscanada*, "On Maps and Mapping" (Brodzky 1974b), we find an article by composer Peter Perrin about three new artworks of implacement: poems, drawings, collages, and slide projections by Canadian artist Vera Frenkel: *The Knowles Window* (1973; see fig. 1), *Map with Gates* (1973-74; see Perrin 1974, 36-37), and *Poem in Three Parts* (1974; see Perrin 1974, 38). In the same issue, we find artist and filmmaker Michael Snow's *Field* (1973-74), a gridded set of photographs combining two distinct ways of recording an image—photogram and photograph—both processes interlocking space and time. Still deeper in this 1974 issue, writer and sculptor Joe Bodolai explains the importance of observing a phenomenon "through motion around it or in manipulation of it (i.e., from many points of view)" (Bodolai 1974, 65). He surveys recent projects by artists working in Canada on the conceptual, material, and technological representation of place. Those using photography include Robert Bowers,

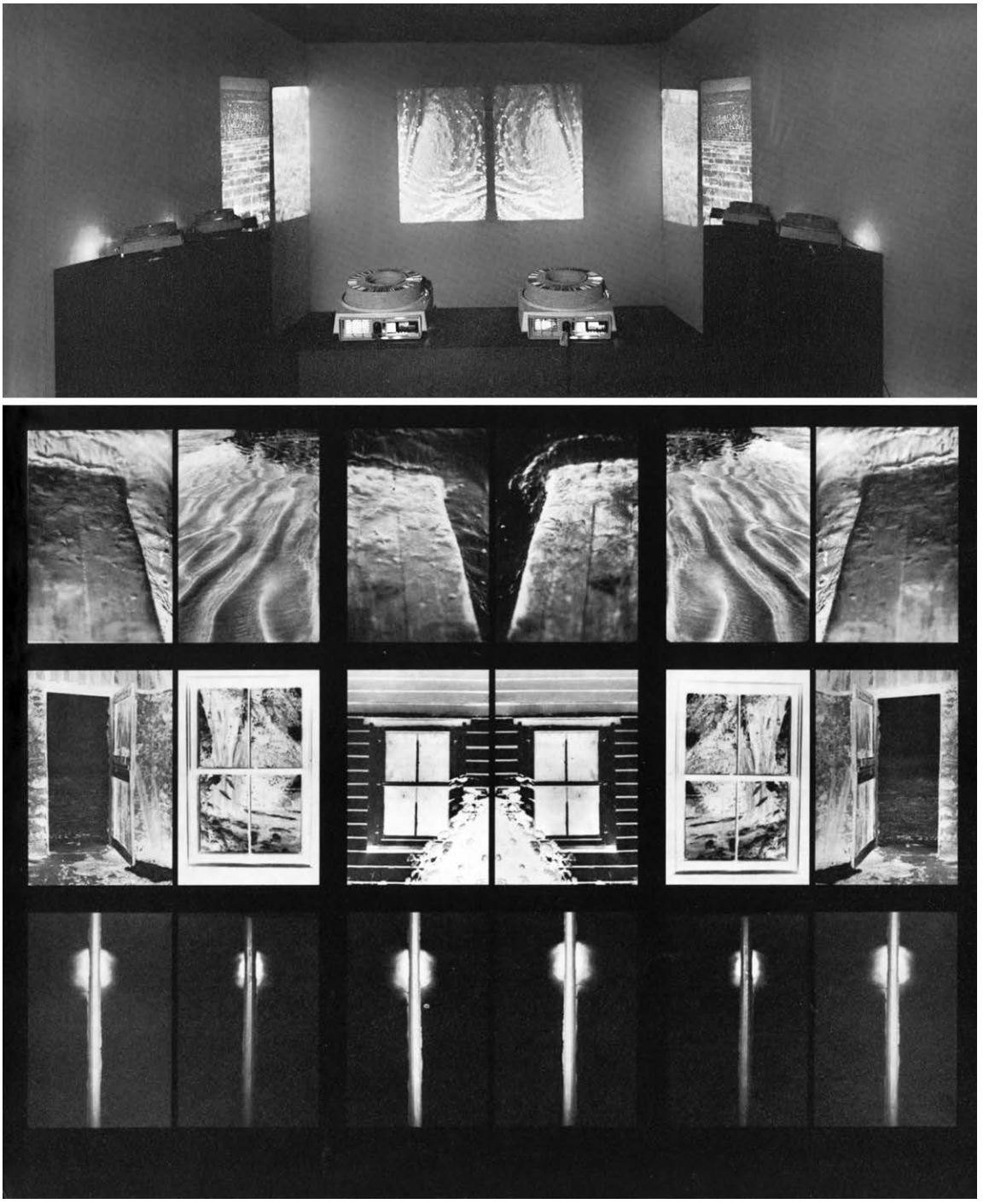


Fig. 1. Vera Frenkel, *The Knowles Window*, 1973. Images no. 17, 53, and 3. *The Knowles Window* is an art installation consisting of a continuous 35 mm colour slide cycle for six projectors and three walls. Photo by Eberhard Otto, *artscanada*. Reproduced by permission of the artist.

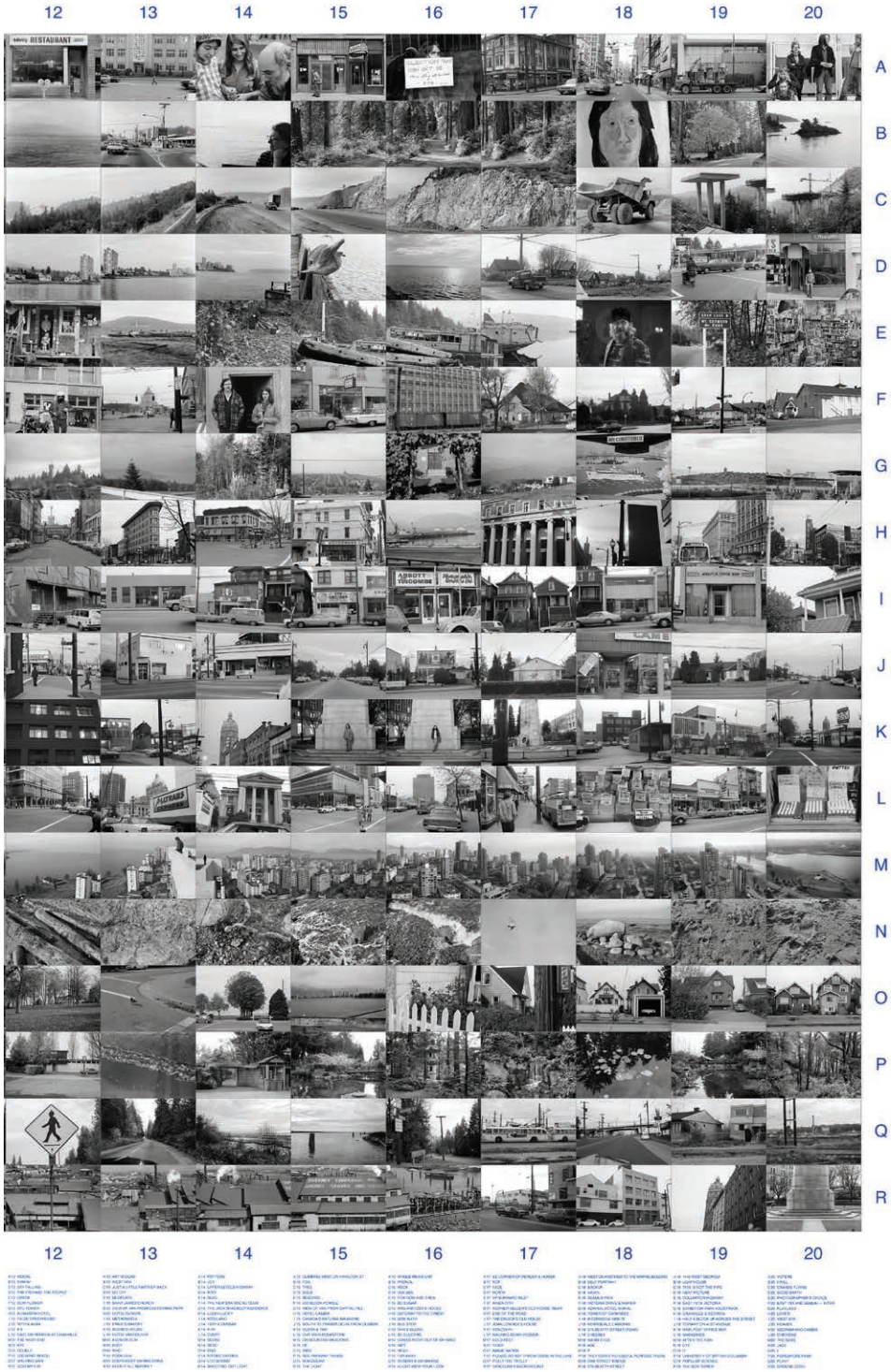
Michael de Courcy, Bruce Parsons, Robin Mackenzie, Michael Sowdon, and Bill Vazan. Tracing the production of any one of these artists reveals a sustained interest in conceptualizing and visualizing space: Michael de Courcy, for example, was intensely involved in what he calls "mapping projects" from 1970 to 1974 (de Courcy 2015). His *Background/Vancouver* (1974), photographed on one fall day in 1972 by Taki Bluesinger, Gerry Gilbert, Glenn Lewis, and de Courcy, forms a grid of 360 photographs that lucidly describe the city and its inhabitants[2] (fig. 2).

In this same *artscanada* issue (Brodzky 1974b), the theme of "On Maps and Mapping" is introduced by a professor of historical geography, John Warkentin, whose "Discovering the Shape of Canada" stresses the co-agency of selectiveness and revelations. Maps are meetings between convention and discovery. We find the same spatialized oscillations in Raymond Williams's *The Country and the City*, first published in 1973, and introducing his concept of "structures of feeling," transferrable, though not without comment, to a range of cultural practices (1973, 12). Ten years later, art historian Svetlana Alpers reinvigorated the somewhat morbid study of the seventeenth-century Dutch still life by refocussing attention on Dutch imperialist culture—by drawing attention to paintings that included maps (Alpers 1983). It is not unreasonable to suggest that her readers, if not the writer herself, had been primed by theorists, poets, and artists, most famously the psycho-geographical practices of the Situationist International (Plant 1992), and that some of those readers would feel some affinities with Walter Benjamin's monumental *Arcades Project* (1927-40), which in the early 1980s was returning to the light as *Das Passagen-Werk* (1982), and was destined to reshape photographic studies (Benjamin 1999).

Our participation in a collective study of meeting places is also one of interdisciplinary encounter, reawakening, and translation of ideas. First, as a research team working on a history of Canadian photography, we are interested in sharing an approach that abjures the authoritative and bounded historical account. We seek to demonstrate that the writing of Canadian photography history is a matter of recognition, interpretation, and expansion on the great variety of documents that already exist, and we further affirm that each of these documents needs to be understood in relation to contemporaneous displays of photographic knowledge. In this introduction, I offer a historiographical snapshot of Canadian photographic studies and briefly introduce the work-in-progress that is Canadian Photography History/Histoire de la photographie canadienne (CPH/HPC).[3]

A second, though closely related, notion of "meeting places" is taking our places as art historians and photographic specialists, with different perspectives on our objects of study. The spatial turn is just one example of photography's uptake through visual culture as it began in the early 1970s and continued with increasing force and disciplinary variation, but photography has been understood as a translator of spatial knowledge since its invention. It is only our epistemological criteria that have changed, or caught up, some photophiles might say. Roughly coincident with the spatial turn, the interdisciplinary turn produced key photographic studies, such as Peter Bacon Hales's *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915* (1984), situated at the crossroads of architectural history, social geography, and print culture. It takes nothing from Hales's scholarly achievement to recognize a roughly

Fig. 2. Michael de Courcy, *Background/Vancouver*, 1974. 360 black and white photographs with legend. Reproduced courtesy of the artist.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contemporaneous, though earlier, Canadian project, *City Blocks, City Spaces: Historical Photographs of Canada's Urban Growth, c.1850-1900*, an exhibition organized in 1980 by Lilly Koltun from the National Photography Collection of the Public Archives of Canada (now Library and Archives Canada). As Elizabeth Cavaliere points out below, Koltun's comparative structure draws out systems of values, signs of expansionist hubris and nostalgia, from these archival documents of the built environment. Koltun operated as a historian, but it might be acknowledged that her curatorial impulse was very much of the moment. Unconsciously perhaps, *City Blocks, City Spaces* took the pulse of Canadian preservationist movements, such as Save Montreal (later Heritage Montreal) and Toronto's Stop Spadina, Save Our City Coordinating Committee; both made extensive use of photography and maps in their campaigns (Gutsche and Miller 1973). Our growing compilation of photographic literature is gradually putting CPH/HPC in a position to pinpoint and connect the many caches of knowledge that inform Canadian photographic studies, but also to comment a bit differently on the uses of the image as evidence and illustration by cognate disciplines. Phenomenology is for me an important strand in this discussion—Casey's magisterial studies (1993, 1997, 2002, 2005)—which I urge on my collaborators with varying degrees of success. Their own interdisciplinary attitudes are fully displayed in the five studies that follow.

A third interpretation of "meeting places" is captured in these contributions, which build on our basic research question, *What did Canadians know about photography, and when did they know it?* with the supplementary, *Where did these encounters take place?* The simple answer is that they took place in photographic acts of production and circulation, but the inscription of *photographic experience* in *spatial experience*, or vice-versa—in mediated discoveries of place—delivers, as Vera Frenkel noticed some four decades ago, *embodied experiences* of uncertainty, elusiveness, temporal escape, and memory-mapping, which are latent in all kinds of photographic documents and works of art, past and present (Perrin 1974, 40).

Photographic representations of implacement or place as process—as a site of memory, a situated knowing, a source of identity, and a claim to territory—continue to emerge in the work of Canadian photographic artists, curators, and theorists. Landscapes have been reconceptualized as affective place-holders and memory maps. Portraiture has long been considered relational, bridging the image and the original, and bound up by a coming into being of a functioning art work (Brilliant 1991, 7-2; Edwards 2005); it has also been theorized by social, psychological, and geopolitical scientists in terms of encounter—a meeting that takes place *somewhere* (Bell 1990; Langford 2001, 2007; McAllister 2002; Grace 2008; Opp and Walsh 2010; Phillips 2003; Radstone 2000; Thomas 1985; C. Williams 2003; Zerubavel 2003). Circulation matters, then, as much as materiality. The meaning of an image not only changes depending on the context, but is also permanently altered—its description thickened, to borrow from Clifford Geertz (1973)—by every deployment (Langford 2015). Archival art practices illustrate this principle, as does the performative reclaiming of colonial photography by Indigenous artists. Photography is sometimes described as sealed surface, but photographic knowledge is a layered cultural formation.

These currents of contemporary art and visual culture continue to act on Canadian photographic historians, placing them in an extended present of reconsideration, which is how I would now define best practice for the writing of a Canadian photographic history, a reflexive history that seeks to know where it stands.

A Historiographical Snapshot

History is marshalled before it is written. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Canadian photography could not get itself organized. Debates over the status of the medium—document or art?—loomed large in late modernism, enshrined by institutions and energized by countercultural resistance and postmodernism's distrust of all canons (Langford 2010).

The first challenge was, and will always remain, disciplinary. Who owns Canadian photographic history? A survey of the literature brings forth a cacophony of claims. The earliest Canadian accounts of photographic history were *interested*. They were written by suppliers, photographers, and collectors, each intent on narrowing the definition of medium and enlarging its potential for greatness. Technique, style, and aesthetics shaped these accounts (*Canadian Photographic Standard* 1895; Mortimer-Lamb 1912; Greenhill 1965). The post-Centennial momentum towards the writing of Canadian cultural histories was promptly challenged by biculturalism and multiculturalism—policies insufficient to the realities of Canadian pluralism, as it turned out, but persuasive enough to dampen enthusiasm for the writing of master narratives, including photography's. Leading critical theory—Marxism, feminism, postcolonialism, and poststructuralism, four pillars of mid- to late-twentieth-century thought—continued to militate against such aspirations, effectively nipping them in the bud.[4]

Beginning in the mid-1970s, innumerable critical texts and critical art practices undermined the canonical approach. Social historian Colleen Skidmore, picking apart the assumptions in photographic historian Ralph Greenhill's (1965) analysis of an iconic Canadian portrait, calls out the limitations of a formalist approach (Skidmore 2002). This was a pointed attack on the distortion of history by a male photographic authority's emphasis on male authorial achievement. Other analysts, such as Rosemary Donegan (1988), Daniel Francis (1992), Joan M. Schwartz (1977), Sarah Carter (1997), Jennifer McKendry (1998, 2013), Renée Hulan (2003), and Carol Williams (2003) have led by example, rethinking episodes in Canadian photographic history outside the box of disciplinary deformation.

Where has the history of Canadian photography been written? Some chapters emerged from contemporary photographic practice in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when spaces dedicated to photographic production, exhibition, and circulation were carved out across the country. Plotted on a map of Canada, these centres form a network of local, regional, and national photographic interest groups that lobbied intensely for the recognition and support of the medium as an artistic and social practice. Recuperative, locally embedded histories emerged from these centres; to give just one example, in early 1970s, the Women's Photography Coop in Toronto supported the work of contemporary women photographers, while founder Laura Jones also conducted recuperative research on earlier generations of women photographers who laboured in small establishments across Canada (Jones 1983). She underscored the professionalism of these women, as well as their impressive capacity to pursue both commercial and personal work. This dual flame burned bright in the living, though not necessarily where other researchers were looking.

Outside the art gallery system, a multitude of photographic interests had prospered, and continued to flourish, whether amateur or professional. Participants formed professional associations and amateur circles, a pattern today reproduced by social networking. Trade publishers, more than museums, were their champions, and the vernacular turn in photographic studies now revels in the fruits of their labour, studying photographic genres that previously were despised: dime-a-dozen cartes-de-visite, snapshot albums, real photo postcards *as well as* mass-produced postcards, and advertisements in popular magazines (Batchen 2001; Langford 2001; Murray 2009; O'Brian and Borsos 2011; Tousignant 2013). Here again, there were certainly precedents: some notable curatorial and research projects broke the barriers between artistic, commercial, and popular practice, and much to the point of this issue, many of these projects, now shelved as books or filed as reviews, were conceptualized as expressions of place and designed as public art events and installations (Clark and Wedman 1981; Livingston 1982; Simon 1989; Fraser, Gougeon, and Perrault 1999).

This abbreviated history might leave readers with the impression that a *culture* of meeting places is almost *natural* to photography. While it ought to be, the art history of photographic history suggests the opposite. In their historiographical survey of Canadian photographic literature, Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne justly observe that "scholarly literature in the field has often been inseparable from its institutional contexts" (2011, 232). The infrastructure of Canadian photography, or sometimes the lack of it, has indeed been a Balkanizer of photographic schools of thought. Until the 1980s, very few Canadian municipal or provincial art museums collected photography, although their archives might contain important images later "promoted" to the permanent collection. The system of artist-run centres, funded by the Canada Council for the Arts and first known as *parallel galleries*, filled the gap with exhibitions, publications, and project-driven historical research, creating national and transnational networked communities (Bronson et al. 1987; Jacob 2009). The first such co-operative dedicated to photography, the Photographers Gallery in Saskatoon, actually built a print collection, which was ultimately donated to the Mendel Art Gallery, the very institution whose utter disregard for documentary photography had spurred the organization of the Photographers Gallery in the first place!

Independent photographic research dismantled socio-political walls erected by gender, race, language, elitism, and centrist myopia (Jones 1983; Bishop 1983; Pitseolak and Eber 1993; Robideau 1995). The photographic archives of museums founded by private collectors (the McCord Museum, the Glenbow Museum, and the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, to name just three), as well as provincial and municipal libraries and archives, were significant holdings of documentary and vernacular photographs, whose most dedicated curators made them engines of photographic research (Harper and Triggs 1967; Triggs 1996; Cavell 1984). A few adventurous art historians extended their specializations in painting, architecture, and material culture to include the photographic image. For some, photographic research was all in a day's art history, while for others, medium specificity and regional strengths demarcated a separate field (Harper 1955; Reid 1970; Lessard 1987a, 1987b, 1987c). Local historical societies, corporations, associations, and unions preserved the photographs and clippings of their communities, as did magazines and newspapers in their stock files and morgues; these became source documents for research creation, entering the art world by appropriation.

The centre was no more cohesive. In the 1970s, four federal institutions were charged with the collection and interpretation of Canadian photographic heritage: the National Archives of Canada (Library and Archives Canada), the National Gallery of Canada, the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), and the Canada Council. Responsibilities were strictly divided: the National Archives collected Canadian photographic documents; the National Gallery included notable Canadian photographers in its international scope, as well as Canadian contemporary artists using photography; the NFB Still Photography Division (which became the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography) acquired contemporary Canadian photographs, both social documentary and expressive works of art; the Art Bank of the Canada Council built a collection of photographic works of art through peer review (Schwartz 1996; Brodzky 1974a; Thomas 1996; Langford 1984, 1996; James 1977; Latulippe 2009). These legislated mandates predetermined the strengths of the four collections and framed their major projects, as can be seen at a number of decisive moments—exhibitions, publications, and conferences—and contained the restless spirits of many of the archivists and curators involved. Institutional survival depended on the continuous reinforcement of photographic conventions, especially the doubtful precept that a photograph could be categorized firmly according to the express intentions of its maker.

A more nuanced perspective might have been expected from the academy, but the establishment of photographic studies was slow coming, and also splintered from the start by disciplinary distrust, even within fine art programs. Photographic specialists began to be hired in the 1970s, primarily as professors and instructors in photo departments. While they conducted ground-breaking research, their teaching was directed at enriching the knowledge of photographic practitioners (Tweedie and Cousineau 2006; Tweedie 1978-82). In 1979, a national conference on photography, organized by Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto, was seized upon as the opportunity to insist on the need for historical research and to air dissatisfactions with regional inequities and institutional support; the published transactions are also evidence of vigorous debates, and cross-border and cross-disciplinary exchange (Bergerson 1979).

These episodes left their mark, and photographic studies found their place, or places, in the academy. Just as photographic practice was taught in departments of fine arts, design, and journalism, its history and theory were studied and taught by specialists in art history and communications, and increasingly taken into account by scholars across the humanities and sciences whose research *might* be founded on photographic objects held by museums and archives, but was just as likely to focus on images reproduced and circulated in popular media, such as magazines and postcards. As demonstrated by my co-authors, photographic historians are interested in these sorts of images as well, although sometimes for different reasons. The renovation of art history by cultural theory—an awakening interest in material culture—coincides with art history's recognition of photographic history as a necessary chapter of the national story, a writing complicated by the blurring of boundaries and the historiographical conundrum—shall it be synthesis or fragmentation?[5]

Canadian students of photographic history have long been accustomed to the fragmentation of synthesized accounts, as the flow of Western surveys on which we rely for the big picture must constantly be interrupted with local illustrations. Difficulties arise when the pitch of Canadian production is not quite at the level of the master account, which in a global economy of knowledge becomes that of our neighbour to the south. Eviatar Zerubavel describes this phenomenon as "the quasi-topographic layout of the mental relief maps produced by the sharp contrast between what we conventionally recall as 'eventful' periods and essentially empty historical 'lulls'" (2003, 7). Canadian photography history offers many instructive examples. For instance, American photographic histories make much of the visual drama and technological leaps of the Civil War period, considering not just the burgeoning of war photography but also portraiture and landscape photography, reinvented by the conflict. Turning to Canada, and exercising some patience, we have the North-West Rebellion, which produced pictures, but of a very different order. There are obviously links and parallels between photogenic events in Canada and the United States—both nations staged pictures of their Last Spike, for instance—but the actors and impacts are different (Lavoie 2004). The same can be said of modernist photojournalism, considering the rise of the picture magazine in Europe and the United States, and the afterlife of the photo essay as it came to be produced and circulated in Canada and abroad, as an instrument of government propaganda (Payne 2013). These few examples must stand for the necessity felt by any Canadian photographic specialist to calibrate local eventfulness with international trends, significant figures, and photographic rituals, which have always moved freely across oceans and borders, though not quite as rapidly as the current traffic between devices and servers.

Five Studies

Early neglect of the Canadian photographic canon can now be seen as a blessing in disguise: photography missed its chance at premature consolidation. This is the position of CPH/HPC: five of its members have contributed the studies that follow. Their topics have been inspired by the theme of "meeting places," though *always* as a mediation of place by the photographic image, and *almost always*, at a second mediational remove in mechanical or digital reproduction.

Karla McManus's territory is the largest, as she canvasses recurrent themes in the photographic literature of the Canadian West, ultimately focussing on two photobooks that offer very different perspectives on settlement. In her contribution, we sense a vivid contrast between a professional tourist's perspective and the resident photographer who has burrowed into a community. Both photographic voices are looking for echoes: Frank Carrel, perennially on the lookout for fellow Quebeckers who have made good in the West; John Paskievich accumulating photographic evidence of "rooted cosmopolitanism" (Kymlicka and Walker 2012, 1-17) in Winnipeg's North End—a sense of commonality based on similar but different collective memories of uprootedness and having uprooted others.

In the second study, Elizabeth Cavaliere turns our attention to the city—to the representation of Toronto—in two publications, both motivated by civic pride, one combining architectural views with portraits, and the other concentrating on the built environment. These approaches are compared, but also thrown into sharper relief through reference to a third compilation, one closer to us in time, an exhibition catalogue that reminds us of the subject-position of the compiler, always susceptible to ideas in the air.

The third study homes in on a single publication celebrating a turn-of-the-century commercial studio in one Canadian city: Isaac Erb's studio in Saint John, New Brunswick. Intrigued, but unaffected by the nostalgia created by the rediscovery of Erb during Canada's centennial, Aurèle Parisien digs into the Erb archives to reveal the complexities of Saint John's then-emerging transnational, consumer economy.

Sharon Murray looks at the photographic holdings of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. Her corpus is a digital repository of private and professional photographs. Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, was an ocean liner terminal and is now an immigration shed-turned-museum, a place that Murray situates forever *in between*—a photographic monument to national identity-in-mutation.

Introducing the human factor reminds us to imagine the body in space, and especially the figure of the photographer exploring a place. As Philippe Guillaume explains, this exploration has generally occurred on foot, though with different reality effects in rural and urban settings. In the final case study of "Imaged Communities," Guillaume returns us to the photographic experience of place that has motivated both ramblings and purposeful explorations.

Settling the West through Image and Word

KARLA MCMANUS

The settlement of the Canadian West has long fascinated historians and those who enjoy a good story, both in equal measure. Historian Richard Allen may have described it best, and most poetically, in the title of his 1973 book, when he referred to the Western Canadian space as *A Region of the Mind*. The history of Western Canada is a complicated narrative best understood as a developing history that continues to engage with ideas of mythmaking, landscape, colonialism, Western exceptionalism, nationalism, and identity. While official versions have sometimes ignored the nuances of local history and history-from-below in favour of grand narratives of nation building (Gagnon 2015), in recent years, historians of Western Canada have sought to elucidate and develop distinct histories for the region, rooting them in the local and the vernacular rather than focussing on the official moments of significance (Furniss 1999; Gagnon 2009; Fortna, Carter, and Finkel 2010; Carter and McCormack 2011). A historiographical survey of Western Canadian photography shows that many thoughtful and interesting stories have already been told (Maurice 1995; Osborne 2003; Barnholden 2009), but the richness of two under-considered examples suggest that more work needs to be done to understand the impact of photography on the

West. The two examples discussed here, one from the Dominion era of Western Canadian expansion, and the other from the 1970s-1990s (a period of increasing Aboriginal migration to urban Canada), reflect the impact of shifting cultural, economic, and political attitudes to settlement in the region.

Many of the earliest writings on Western Canadian photography come from local and regional sources: historians, archivists, and members of historical societies who aimed to highlight the collections they discovered and to tell the story of the early resident and itinerant photographers of the West. Beginning slowly in the 1960s but taking off in the 1970s, the exploration of Western photographic archives is manifest in publications such as *Alberta History*, the *Beaver*, and *Manitoba Pageant*. Between 1977 and 1983, *Alberta History* published twice-yearly profiles of frontier photographers. Titles would generally lead with the name of the photographer, followed by an epithet extolling his or her significance as an early practitioner. These articles were primarily photo-essay in format, with little more than a biographical note drawn from the provincial archives. Most pieces were unsigned.

These efforts coincided with, and can now be seen to have complemented, the incipient writing of Canadian photographic history by historian-collectors such as Ralph Greenhill (Greenhill 1976; Greenhill and Birrell 1979), and institutions such as Library and Archives Canada. Here we see an emphasis on narrativizing history through the technological transformations of photography. One example, Andrew Birrell's 1975 book *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858-1900*, describes the struggles of early photographers and their triumphant overcoming of arduous conditions to achieve successful images. These publications tend to emphasize the technological and documentary qualities of early Canadian photography, while working to recover lost and forgotten material history (Birrell 1975a; Huyda 1975, 1977); yet elusive in these accounts is an understanding of the rooting of Western Canadian photography in the visual traditions and photographic cultures of established settlers and those who were continuing to come.

One early example that stands out for its value as both a historical document and a rich source of photography is the book *Canada's West and Farther West* (1911), written by publisher and journalist Frank Carrel (1870-1940). A travelogue describing the author's month-long trip by train from Quebec City to Victoria in 1909, *Canada's West and Farther West* is strongly coloured by Carrel's desire to promote the West as a worthy tourist and immigration destination in the Dominion era of Western Canada. Four years after Saskatchewan and Alberta joined Confederation, internal migration is of particular interest to Carrel, who reports many encounters with Westerners who trace their origins to Quebec (58-60).

The text, together with the images, presents a vision of Western Canada steeped in the Edwardian cultural values of early twentieth-century expansionism. The written account of Carrel's voyage is full of praise for the industry, beauty, and majesty of the "Great West" (1911, 1) and refers throughout to the enormous growth and financial opportunities in the region. His major criticism is waste: overabundant crops left rotting in fields and gardens. The copious photographs show a landscape transformed by agriculture, tourism, and colonialism, promoting the values of modernity: hard work, progress, and patriotism. The

wealth of historical images—of places such as Winnipeg's Royal Alexandra Hotel, which was demolished in the 1970s—and the impressions of an Eastern Canadian on his way to the Canadian frontier are of great importance for their preservation of the past and expression of early twentieth-century settler values and hope for the future of a new nation-state. The sources of Carrel's 59 images are of particular interest to both photographic and social historians; they are described in the table of illustrations solely by their location. Carrel or his travelling companion, if he had one, certainly took a fair number, as there are many instances of snapshots that parallel the particulars of his journey as recounted in the text: a disproportionate number of Kamsack, Saskatchewan, where the train broke down for two hours and the passengers went walking (Carrell 1911, 28); a view from the train of Doukhobor leader Peter Verigin's residence, as well as "well dressed" men and women from the same community seen "along the line" (29). On the Winnipeg-to-Edmonton leg, Carrel writes, "We took a number of photographs from the rear platform of our car, but towards the end of the afternoon the Superintendent's car was attached, and we were deprived of this experience" (34). He and possibly his companion were subsequently invited back by the superintendent, who offered both views through the windows and statistics on the harvest. In Edmonton, where the prosperity of the city is lauded, three photographs of the "Shack" district are included with little comment, except to say that the real estate market is booming (47). In Banff, Carrel meets a woman camping on her own, "the lone lady of Banff," who is much admired for her culture and pluck, and snapped in front of her tent (facing 94, 95-96). Carrel also complains about price gouging in the village, specifically mentioning the astronomical cost of having a few rolls of film developed (92).

Carrel's illustrations are not all snapshots. In the preface, he writes, "to all the foregoing transportation companies and many old and new Western friends, the writer is indebted for many of the accompanying photographs and statistics" (vii). This statement supports the understanding that images were collected along the way and, while some of these can now be traced, many remain of unknown provenance. Studies of personal travel albums often reveal this same mix of taken and collected photographs (Langford 2001, 76-81). By comparing the view of Winnipeg's Royal Alexandra Hotel included in Carrel's book with a postcard held by Peel's Prairie Provinces, a digital initiative at the University of Alberta Archives, the image can be traced to publisher W.J. Clubb, who ran a cigar stand in the lobby of the Hotel (Clubb c1914; fig. 3).[6] Carrel ran across many photographers. He recounts a meeting with "an American Colonel, who had spent most of the summer with his wife under canvas," who showed Carrel some 400 photos that inspired the writer to take a detour to the Yoho Valley (99; see fig. 4). On that excursion, Carrel's captioning begins to make his adventure more explicit. On the "Yoho Valley Trail," we see views clearly identified as "Our First Night's Camp," "The Author Serving Coffee at Luncheon," and "The Trail We Travelled, over 5,000 Feet High" (facing 116 and 118; following 120). The second image suggests that the camera was passed to another member of the group. In a few other cases, a reproduction is included in the compilation, as in "The Three Sisters, from a Painting" (facing 188). Carrel's publication also includes extracts from other books to round out the account. *Canada's West and Farther West* combines commercial work—pictures circulated and generated by studios or companies—with standard historical views and private pictures, which are both conventional and anecdotal, capturing the maker's experiences and memories.

Fig. 3. *Royal Alexandra Hotel, Winnipeg, Can.* (Clubb c1914). Postcard, 9 × 14 cm. Image courtesy of Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta Libraries.

With the professionalization of photographic history in Canada and the introduction of photographic studies to the disciplines of history, archival studies, museum studies, and geography, the field has changed. For Western Canadian photography, the process began in the 1980s, led by archivists such as Joan M. Schwartz in Ottawa, David Mattison in Vancouver, and Brock Silversides in Regina. Their work often highlighted the production of particular photographers but also showed an interest in *places* such as photographic landscapes, cities, and frontiers (Schwartz 1977, 1981b; Mattison 1980, 1987; Silversides 1989, 1994).

In the following decades, one finds a growing focus on theoretical concerns as institutional histories of photography were critiqued for their shaping of cultural identities and regional narratives. The literature, often in the form of exhibition catalogues, begins to manifest a growing interest in local studios—histories from below—as well as the production of Asian-Canadian and women photographers (Mattison 1980; Wilks 1980; Yee and Pakasaar 1985; Bell and Ring 1998; Moosang 1999; Yee 2005; Thomson 2005).

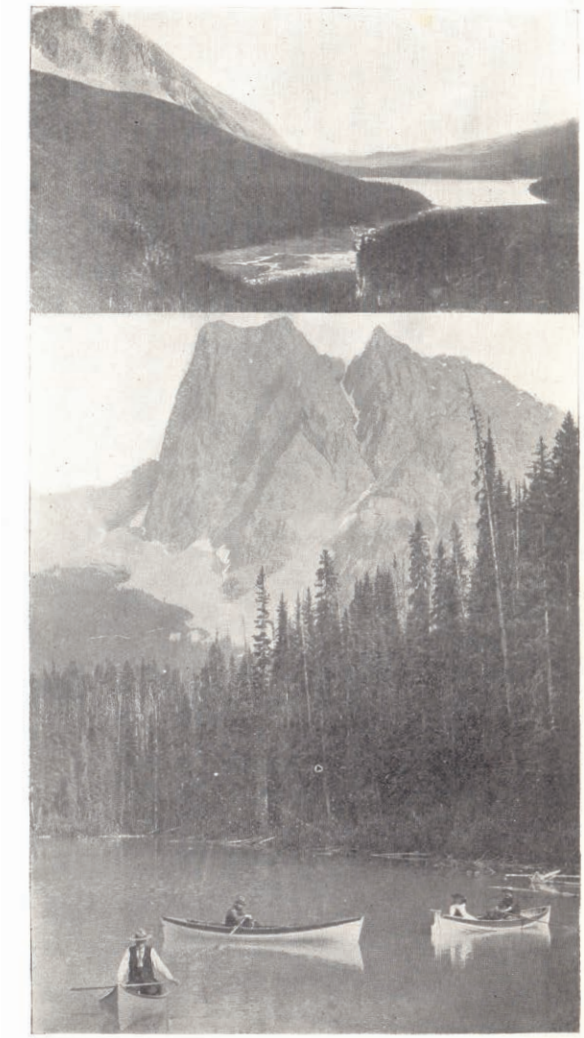


Fig. 4. *Emerald Lake on Yoho Valley Trail* and *Mount Burgess, from Emerald Lake* (Carrel 1911, plate following 113). Reproduction of book plate with two photographs.

Histories of Western Canadian photography have since become more interdisciplinary and analytical in approach, with a greater focus on postcolonial and transnational critical approaches.[7] Large gaps still remain to be filled, however, especially in contemporary photographic histories. The work of John Paskievich (b. 1948) represents a significant exploration of the immigrant and settler identity in Western Canada. Throughout his long career as a photographer and filmmaker, Paskievich has focussed his lens on Winnipeg's North End. His first solo exhibition in 1978 led to the publication *A Place Not Our Own*, followed by the projects *Waiting for the Ice-Cream Man: A Prison Journal* (Krotz 1978) and *Urban Indians* (Krotz 1980), collaborations between Paskievich and the writer Larry Krotz. In the early 1980s, Paskievich's relationship with the NFB began, producing his most famous homage to the North End, *Ted Baryluk's Grocery* (Paskievich and Mirus 1982), co-directed with Michael Mirus. Paskievich's book *The North End*, published in 2007, brings together three decades of street photography taken in what is arguably Winnipeg's most significant cultural district, a historic centre of immigrant settlement and major gateway to the West (fig. 5).

Winnipeg's North End is a place with a unique social history: decade after decade, immigrants and urbanizing farm families settled in this working-class area, many gaining the economic security to move on to more prosperous parts in the city, or to continue on farther West. Made up of 18 distinct neighbourhoods, the North End is separated from the south of the city by Canadian Pacific Railway mainline, effectively creating a social and physical barrier from the rest of the city. In the 1970s and 1980s, as many of the Eastern European refugees and immigrants who came in the early half of the twentieth century began to move out, the Indigenous peoples of Manitoba began the urban

Fig. 5. John Paskievich, "Untitled," from the series *The North End*, 1975-1995. Gelatin silver print. Reproduced by permission of the artist.

migration into the North End of Winnipeg. Paskievich's photographs represent this period of significant social shift while also showing a place that does not much change, one made up of small A-frame houses, big farmers' gardens, corner stores, churches, and, most of all, people without much money trying to find their place in a new environment. Paskievich's long-term commitment to social documentary practice has created an oeuvre that offers viewer and researchers an in-depth look at the cultural transformation of this important urban hub in the West and reinforces the importance of place and cultural identity in Western Canadian photography.

Recently, the relationship between Indigenous peoples and settlers has become an important area of focus in Western Canadian photographic studies as photographs are further interrogated as tools of the colonizing project and important aspects of identity-formation (Kunard 2002; C. Williams 2003; Geller 1994, 2004; Farrell Racette 2009; Opp and Dyce 2010; Payne 2011). The interest in photography as a decolonizing tool has been further taken up by Indigenous photographers and scholars who look to self-portraiture and the reclamation of historical images as a method of resistance (Payne and Thomas

2002; Farrell Racette 2011). While the study of Indigenous photography has primarily focussed on the Indigenous subject, newer work is focussing on the Indigenous photographer (Farrell Racette 2011) and should logically be extended to the Indigenous collector, sometimes one and the same.

Alongside these readings of Western Canadian photography, however, we continue to see photo histories about local studios, cowboys, strikes, railways, and the ever-picturesque Rocky Mountains (Mattison and Duffy 1989; Bumsted 1994; Silversides 1997; White and Hart 2007; Boulet and Fenton 2009; Jones 1983). The richness of Western photographic history is located in this complexity and variety, where regional and hybridized ideas about identity and culture come to play. Always, there remains a strong tradition of amateur historical and photographic publishing in the West that reflects a fascination and identification with place, local roots, ancestral research, and frontier culture.[8] As both Carrel's and Paskievich's contributions suggest, there is yet more to be gained from studying the photographic cultures of Eastern Europe, Russia, Asia, the United States, and Central Canada as they were imported by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century settlers in the Canadian West.

Three Tales of One City

ELIZABETH ANNE CAVALIERE

The growth of the modern Canadian city has been photographed assiduously. Photography arrived in pre-Confederation Canada shortly after its invention in 1839, with instructions on the photographic process trickling in through the major ports and quickly being taken up as a new form of entrepreneurship in an emerging colonial economy. To put this in perspective, photography arrived two years before the *Act of the Union* (formally the *British North America Act, 1840*) establishing Upper and Lower Canada, and four years before the incorporation of Halifax in 1842; it would be more than a decade before Victoria's transformation by the gold rush, and over a quarter century until Canadian Confederation. Photography was well in place, in other words, to capture the drive to modern nationhood as it is encapsulated in the city. While portraiture became immediately popular amongst the clientele of city dwellers, photographic studios also turned to images of the city as a subject in order to promote their services and further sales through spectacular views. Prominent citizens commissioned photographs of their homes and businesses, sometimes posing in front, as a way to immortalize themselves and display their socio-economic standing. Likewise, photography was used as a vehicle to define and shape a city in its self-image. Postcards, brochures, and advertisements featured photographs of city skylines and defining locations in order to highlight the city's accomplishments, uniqueness, and appeal as a destination. Created with the same intention, though less ubiquitous, are publications produced from within the subject-city, books that rely on a multitude of photographs brought together to show its best features.

The inclusion of photography in print media goes hand in hand with heightened civic interest. Picture books and published albums of the city appeal to visitors, but also encourage citizens to reflect on their own environments. Furthermore, the compilers and creators of such publications use photography as a means to develop local histories of place that are self-produced and self-interpreting. Like other modern cities, Toronto, Ontario, has been interpreted and refashioned through the use of photographically dominant publications. This essay looks at Graeme Mercer Adam's *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* (1891), a photographic publication that is an overt celebration of the city. The history of photography has tended to overlook celebratory publication in favour of more incisive collections, social documents that focus on a city's problems; but neither approach is neutral, and what a city boasts about is just as informative as what it tries to hide. Either way, understanding the authorial role of the compiler is key.

Toronto Old and New is a 212-page volume put together to mark the centennial anniversary of the *Constitutional Act of 1791*, whereby Quebec, according to the Parliament of Great Britain, was divided to grant a specific region to Loyalist settlers. Under this act, Upper Canada was formed and received English law and institutions. Graeme Mercer Adam was the compiler of this momentous volume. Adam was a prominent bookstore owner in Toronto, and publisher of the *British American Magazine* in the 1860s, *Canadian Monthly and National Review* and *Canada Educational Monthly* in the 1870s, along with books, such as *Canada, Historical and Descriptive, from Sea to Sea* (1888). He was also a contributor to George Monro Grant's greatly popular and heavily illustrated *Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is* (1882).

With Adam's interest and involvement in producing publications that demonstrated pride in Canadian accomplishment, he was plainly inspired by achievements in the areas of health, education, culture, commerce, and industry of a bourgeoning Toronto. *Toronto Old and New* presents these successes as a direct result of the 1791 land grants, which allowed Toronto to become, in Adam's words, "a vast commercial emporium, a great railway centre, the literary 'hub' of the Dominion, the Mecca of tourists, an Episcopal and Archiepiscopal See, and the ecclesiastical headquarters of many denominations, the seat of the law courts, the Provincial Legislature, the universities, colleges and great schools of learning" (1891, preface). Indeed, from 1801 to 1891 the population of Toronto, known as York until 1834, increased from 681 to 181,000 (Careless 2002, 201). A volume created with great pride and zest for the "development of a city from its first germ to full efflorescence" and characterized by "the Industry, Intelligence and Integrity of its inhabitants," *Toronto Old and New* provides the reader with late-Victorian context and understandings of the city, its growth, and its inhabitants, through both text and photography (Adam 1891, 1). It contains over 300 photographic portraits of notable citizens, architectural photographs of homes, churches, and industry, and several cityscapes, which visibly illustrate these accomplishments.

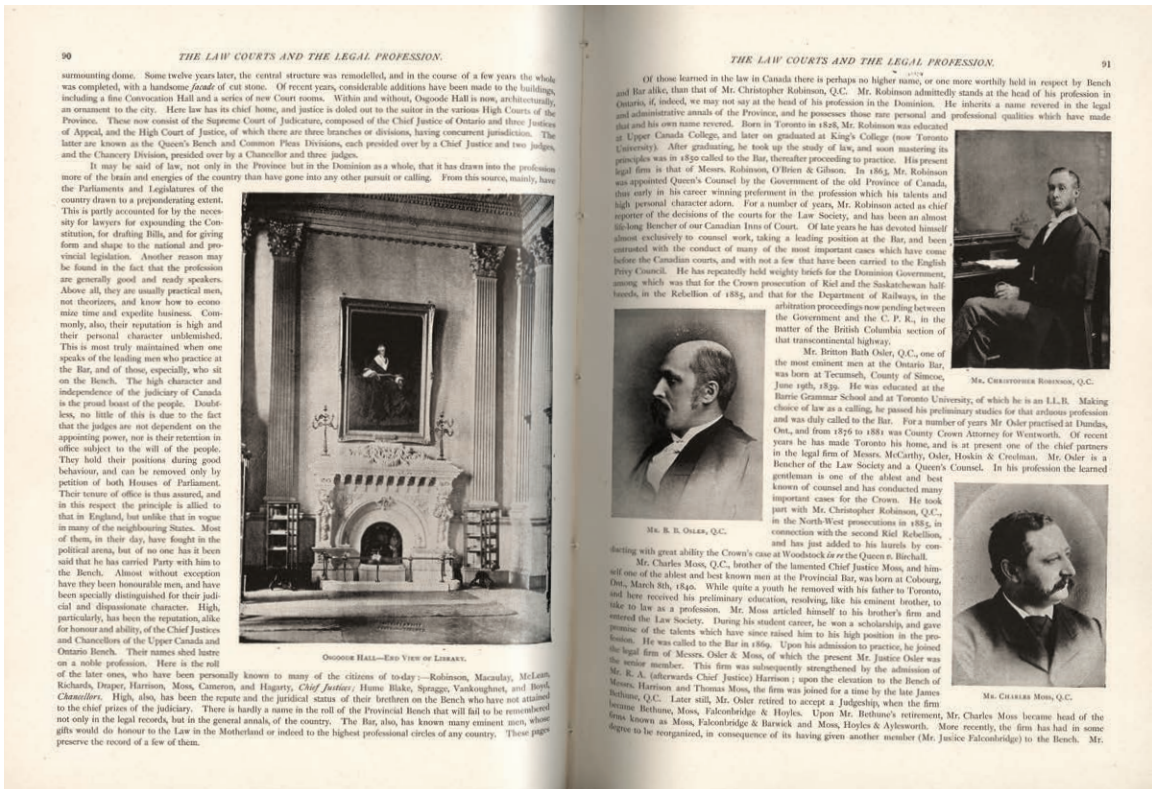
Toronto Old and New represents a type of celebratory photographic publication of the nineteenth century. Other examples—among the first published volumes of a photographic collection of Toronto—were compiled by photographer Octavius Thompson (1825-1910), who operated a photographic studio in Toronto for the short period between 1864 and 1868. His first and second editions of *Toronto in the Camera: A Series of Photographic Views of the Principal Buildings in the City of Toronto* (1867, 1868) are composed entirely of architectural photographs, each accompanied by a caption that describes the function and the physical features of the building. In Thompson's compilation, property and architectural monuments are the defining features of Toronto as a growing metropolitan hub. Predominantly designed and constructed in weighty neo-classical style, buildings such as banks and post offices came across in photographs as symbols of a European legacy and the establishment of wealth and stability.

Many of the locations that Thompson photographed would also be featured in *Toronto Old and New*—the St. James Cathedral, Osgoode Hall, and streetscapes of major intersections, such as King and Yonge. There is, however, a significant difference. As a studio photographer, Thompson took all of the photographs himself. They are consistently composed with the exterior of each building at a three-quarter view, and captured with as little distraction as possible—few trees or people find their way into *Toronto in the Camera*. Further reinforcing the message of late nineteenth-century capitalism, *Toronto in the Camera* follows each image plate with a page of text that describes neither architecture nor occupant but rather more practical elements, such as function, cost, and acreage. Of Osgoode Hall, the reader learns that "the cost of the building has amounted to about $250,000. The grounds comprise about six acres of land" (Thompson 1868, 25).

What distinguishes *Toronto Old and New*, and makes it so interesting, is that it brings the architecture together with the people who populate it. The photographs come from a variety of sources, inscribed with "Micklethwaite Photo—Toronto" (Adam 1891, 2) and "Can. Photo. Eng. Bu." (10), for example, and while there are standard three-quarter architectural views, there are also interior views, intimate ivy-covered facades, and tree-lined sidewalks. Only one exterior image of Osgoode Hall is included in *Toronto in the Camera* (Thompson 1868, 25; fig.6), whereas *Toronto Old and New* illustrates the exterior, an interior detail of the library fireplace, and the portraits of members of the Law Society—in fact, Osgoode Hall is allotted 13 pages (Adam 1891, 89-101; fig. 7)—a marked difference from Thompson's even presentation. This is not to say that there were no other celebratory albums that featured portraiture (William Notman and Fennings Taylor's *Portraits of British Americans* [1867] is only one example), but *Toronto Old and New* is distinct in that it combines both architectural views and portraiture—a who's who—in a fluid layout. Exteriors, interiors, and portraits are not presented in any consistent order and are often combined with text on the same page. Most sections use the same kinds of photographs and photographic subjects: private residences, notable individuals, offices and major public buildings, and interior spaces. In "The Healing Art: A Chapter about Doctors," for example, the section opens, "If there is a vacant corner on any of the fine residential streets of the city, the real estate agent and the house-builder seize upon it for the erection of a doctor's handsome residence" (102). Photographs of fine homes follow. Emphasis

Left
Fig. 6. Octavius Thompson, "Osgoode Hall," in *Toronto in the Camera* (1868, 25). Reproduced courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

Below
Fig. 7. Graeme Mercer Adam, "The Law Courts and the Legal Profession," in *Toronto Old and New* (1891, 90-91). Reproduced courtesy of Toronto Public Library.



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surmounting dome. Some twelve years later, the central structure was remodelled, and in the course of a few years the whole was completed, with a handsome *facade* of cut stone. Of recent years, considerable additions have been made to the buildings, including a fine Convocation Hall and a series of new Court rooms. Within and without, Osgoode Hall is now, architecturally, an ornament to the city. Here law has its chief home, and justice is doled out to the suitor in the various High Courts of the Province. These now consist of the Supreme Court of Judicature, composed of the Chief Justice of Ontario and three Justices of Appeal, and the High Court of Justice, of which there are three branches or divisions, having concurrent jurisdiction. The latter are known as the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas Divisions, each presided over by a Chief Justice and two Judges, and the Chancery Division, presided over by a Chancellor and three judges.

It may be said of law, not only in the Province but in the Dominion as a whole, that it has drawn into the profession more of the brain and energies of the country than have gone into any other pursuit or calling. From this source, mainly, have the Parliaments and Legislatures of the country drawn to a preponderating extent. This is partly accounted for by the necessity for lawyers for expounding the Constitution, for drafting Bills, and for giving form and shape to the national and provincial legislation. Another reason may be found in the fact that the profession are generally good and ready speakers. Above all, they are usually practical men, not theorizers, and know how to economize time and expedite business. Commonly, also, their reputation is high and their personal character unblemished. This is most truly maintained when one speaks of the leading men who practice at the Bar, and of those, especially, who sit on the Bench. The high character and independence of the judiciary of Canada is the proud boast of the people. Doubtless, no little of this is due to the fact that the judges are not dependent on the appointing power, nor is their retention in office subject to the will of the people. They hold their positions during good behaviour, and can be removed only by petition of both Houses of Parliament. Their tenure of office is thus assured, and in this respect the principle is allied to that in England, but unlike that in vogue in many of the neighbouring States. Most of them, in their day, have fought in the political arena, but of no one has it been said that he has carried Party with him to the Bench. Almost without exception have they been honourable men, and have been specially distinguished for their judicial and dispassionate character. High, particularly, has been the reputation, alike for honour and ability, of the Chief Justices and Chancellors of the Upper Canada and Ontario Bench. Their names shed lustre on a noble profession. Here is the roll of the later ones, who have been personally known to many of the citizens of to-day:—Robinson, Macaulay, McLean, Richards, Draper, Harrison, Moss, Cameron, and Hagarty, *Chief Justices;* Hume Blake, Spragge, Vankoughnet, and Boyd, *Chancellors.* High, also, has been the repute and the juridical status of their brethren on the Bench who have not attained to the chief prizes of the judiciary. There is hardly a name in the roll of the Provincial Bench that will fail to be remembered not only in the legal records, but in the general annals, of the country. The Bar, also, has known many eminent men, whose gifts would do honour to the Law in the Motherland or indeed to the highest professional circles of any country. These pages preserve the record of a few of them.

Osgoode Hall—End View of Library.

THE LAW COURTS AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION. 91

Of those learned in the law in Canada there is perhaps no higher name, or one more worthily held in respect by Bench and Bar alike, than that of Mr. Christopher Robinson, Q.C. Mr. Robinson admittedly stands at the head of his profession in Ontario, if, indeed, we may not say at the head of his profession in the Dominion. He inherits a name revered in the legal and administrative annals of the Province, and he possesses those rare personal and professional qualities which have made that and his own name revered. Born in Toronto in 1828, Mr. Robinson was educated at Upper Canada College, and later on graduated at King's College (now Toronto University). After graduating, he took up the study of law, and soon mastering its principles was in 1850 called to the Bar, thereafter proceeding to practice. His present legal firm is that of Messrs. Robinson, O'Brien & Gibson. In 1863, Mr. Robinson was appointed Queen's Counsel by the Government of the old Province of Canada, thus early in his career winning preferment in the profession which his talents and high personal character adorn. For a number of years, Mr. Robinson acted as chief reporter of the decisions of the courts for the Law Society, and has been an almost life-long Bencher of our Canadian Inns of Court. Of late years he has devoted himself almost exclusively to counsel work, taking a leading position at the Bar, and been entrusted with the conduct of many of the most important cases which have come before the Canadian courts, and with not a few that have been carried to the English Privy Council. He has repeatedly held weighty briefs for the Dominion Government, among which was that for the Crown prosecution of Riel and the Saskatchewan half-breeds, in the Rebellion of 1885, and that for the Department of Railways, in the arbitration proceedings now pending between the Government and the C. P. R., in the matter of the British Columbia section of that transcontinental highway.

Mr. Christopher Robinson, Q.C.

Mr. B. B. Osler, Q.C.

Mr. Britton Bath Osler, Q.C., one of the most eminent men at the Ontario Bar, was born at Tecumseh, County of Simcoe, June 19th, 1839. He was educated at the Barrie Grammar School and at Toronto University, of which he is an LL.B. Making choice of law as a calling, he passed his preliminary studies for that arduous profession and was duly called to the Bar. For a number of years Mr Osler practised at Dundas, Ont., and from 1876 to 1881 was County Crown Attorney for Wentworth. Of recent years he has made Toronto his home, and is at present one of the chief partners in the legal firm of Messrs. McCarthy, Osler, Hoskin & Creelman. Mr. Osler is a Bencher of the Law Society and a Queen's Counsel. In his profession the learned gentleman is one of the ablest and best known of counsel and has conducted many important cases for the Crown. He took part with Mr. Christopher Robinson, Q.C., in the North-West prosecutions in 1885, in connection with the second Riel Rebellion, and has just added to his laurels by conducting with great ability the Crown's case at Woodstock *in re* the Queen *v.* Birchall.

Mr. Charles Moss, Q.C.

Mr. Charles Moss, Q.C., brother of the lamented Chief Justice Moss, and himself one of the ablest and best known men at the Provincial Bar, was born at Cobourg, Ont., March 8th, 1840. While quite a youth he removed with his father to Toronto, and here received his preliminary education, resolving, like his eminent brother, to take to law as a profession. Mr. Moss articled himself to his brother's firm and entered the Law Society. During his student career, he won a scholarship, and gave promise of the talents which have since raised him to his high position in the profession. He was called to the Bar in 1869. Upon his admission to practice, he joined the legal firm of Messrs. Osler & Moss, of which the present Mr. Justice Osler was the senior member. This firm was subsequently strengthened by the admission of Mr. R. A. (afterwards Chief Justice) Harrison; upon the elevation to the Bench of Messrs. Harrison and Thomas Moss, the firm was joined for a time by the late James Bethune, Q.C. Later still, Mr. Osler retired to accept a Judgeship, when the firm became Bethune, Moss, Falconbridge & Hoyles. Upon Mr. Bethune's retirement, Mr. Charles Moss became head of the firm known as Moss, Falconbridge & Barwick and Moss, Hoyles & Aylesworth. More recently, the firm has had in some degree to be reorganized, in consequence of its having given another member (Mr. Justice Falconbridge) to the Bench. Mr.

is not placed on medical advancement or innovative procedure, but on the doctor as a leading citizen of Toronto, symbolized by the architecture he commands. Man and possessions are imbricated. In the case of Dr. G.R. McDonagh, the man himself is not portrayed; a photograph of his house stands in for him (103).

The tale told of Toronto is one of individual achievement and strong community. While *Toronto Old and New* might showcase Toronto on a national or international stage, the weaving of narratives about Toronto's citizens into the history and accomplishment of the city also suggests that *Toronto Old and New* was intended as much for the citizens of Toronto as for outsiders. The effect is of a private photographic album, a local history told by its leading citizens.

In 1980, a growing interest in urban history and its photographic representation in Canadian archival and museum collections led to a major exhibition, *City Blocks, City Spaces: Historical Photographs of Canada's Urban Growth, c.1850-1900*, organized by Lilly Koltun from the National Photography Collection Library and Archives Canada. Seven Canadian cities—Victoria, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Halifax—are represented by a total of 207 photographs in the exhibition, of which 27 are reproduced in the catalogue. Of the total number, 26 photographs are of Toronto, and 5 of these are reproduced, including a 16-frame panorama (a single catalogue entry).

Koltun's decision to organize the photographs not by location but by theme promotes visual comparison and encourages the "potential of photographs for critical and inadvertent commentary upon the very subjects they illustrate" (Koltun and Public Archives Canada 1980, 11). In "The Panoramic Viewpoint," Koltun correlates the density of the urban panorama with an attitude of pride in the consuming of the landscape by city structures, an effect heightened as viewers feel themselves standing above and at the centre. In "Main Streets and Neighbourhood Clusters," the building might be explained as a symbol, though one that is possibly losing its original meaning. In Koltun's reading "Toronto Street," by F.W. Micklethwaite, depicts the Toronto Street Post Office, with its neo-classical Ionic columns, as a fading symbol of stability and wealth (fig. 8). Overshadowed by newer and larger structures, it stands for the "grandeur it has lost" (Koltun and Public Archives Canada 1980, 40). Koltun's thematic arrangements lead the reader through a series of comparisons, suggesting how each city might have valued its architectural heritage, and how these values might have changed under the pressure of development. People appear in *City Blocks, City Spaces*, but they are not the focus, unlike the later, early twentieth-century photography by Arthur Goss of Toronto's slums and their residents (Bassnett 2004). Instead, Koltun sees through people in order to trace a collective change in attitudes towards the city at the turn of the century. Where people do appear in the photographs in *City Blocks, City Spaces*, they remain anonymous, only adding an "element of humanity" (Koltun and Public Archives Canada 1980, 64).

Thompson's 1867 *Toronto in the Camera* stands as an important piece of factual documentation of Toronto, ripe with pride in accomplishment visible in the important buildings photographed. This type of presentation with statistical content and sterile architectural photography, however, was not up to

Fig. 8. F.W. Micklethwaite, "Toronto Street," 1890-1900. The seventh post office, with its Ionic columns, is the second and shortest building on the left side of the street; by the turn of the century, it had long ceased to be a post office. Micklethwaite's photograph is composed so as to lead the viewer's gaze to the end of the street, to the more modern Toronto General Post Office, which replaced the seventh post office (see Koltun and Public Archives 1980, 41). Reproduced courtesy of Library and Archives Canada (RD-000348).

the requirements for a celebration of the centennial of the *Constitutional Act of 1791*. What was wanted, according to Adam, was a picture of a city characterized by "the Industry, Intelligence and Integrity of its inhabitants" (1891, 1). It is easy to suggest that the celebration of place found in *Toronto Old and New* is boosterish and zealous in its focus on wealthy and accomplished individuals. In their undiluted pride, these publications help us to understand better the raw photographic material that builds retrospective exhibitions, such as *City Blocks, City Spaces*. Developing her themes, sometimes from the same archival resources, Koltun puts forward the sentiments and values of her day, delivering a dual message of modern technology and reverence for the past.

The (Re)discovery of Isaac Erb, Post-Centennial Nostalgia, and the Empire of Things

AURÈLE PARISIEN

There is nothing like unexpectedly stumbling onto a collection of old photographs to open a window onto a place's past. Their sharp and varied details lull the mind into a dozy, confident sense of certainty while letting in the warm, sweet breeze of nostalgia to caress the imagination. In what follows, we see this phenomenon at work in the circulation of a body of vintage photographs of Saint John, New Brunswick, and I consider whether the view through the window is as transparent as it at first seems. Comparing what has been selected for publication or exhibition with the broader scope of the archive from which these re-presentations have drawn reveals some notable lacunae and decontextualisations, and underlines the importance of paying greater attention to the original material uses of the photographs, as scholars such as Geoffrey Batchen (2001, 2004), Martha Langford (2001), and Joan M. Schwartz (1998) have urged.[9] I hope to shed some light on the significance of these exclusions and their implied denials for a particularly Canadian—read, ambivalent—sense of place by deploying the resources of historian J.M.S. Careless's metropolitan–hinterland thesis, which itself draws on the spatial theories of communication and empire developed by Harold Innis in his monumental studies of the evolution of Canada's transportation infrastructures, political economy, and governing institutions (Careless 1969; Innis 1956).[10]

My story concerns the photographs of turn-of-the-century commercial photographer Isaac Erb, who operated a successful studio from the 1870s until his death in 1924, at 13 Charlotte Street, Saint John (Juneja 1977); but although the story begins *there*, it does not quite begin *then*. After Erb's death in 1924 and the lackluster continuation of the business by his son, John, who died in 1939, Erb and his photographs passed quietly into oblivion. Along came a young photographer by the name of Lewis Wilson, who bought the studio from John Erb's widow, launched his own photographic business, and prospered.

Until 1967, Canada's Centennial year, Wilson had paid little attention to the boxes of glass-plate negatives in the studio's storerooms (Juneja 1977, 9); but with the Centennial fervour for all things historical, Wilson thought there might be some interest in the old pictures, printed up a bunch, and offered them to two local newspapers, who enthusiastically published them in a commemorative "Centennial Supplement" on the eve of Dominion Day (*New Brunswick Telegraph-Journal* and *New Brunswick Times-Globe* 1967). Wilson then perfected the printing of the vintage plates, displayed prints in the ground-floor gallery of his studio, and began making the images available for sale, bringing a forgotten body of work back into circulation. As a result, *Camera Canada*, a national trade magazine for photo enthusiasts, then edited by New Brunswick nature photographer Freeman Patterson, published Mohan Juneja's "A Treasure Unearthed," a feature article on "The Isaac Erb Collection" in its September 1976 issue (Juneja 1976).[11] The article featured 28 of Erb's images, reproduced from prints made by Wilson; demand for it was such that *Camera Canada* republished the article several months later as a "special edition" of the magazine with an additional 14 images (Patterson 1977).[12] The boxes discovered by Wilson contained

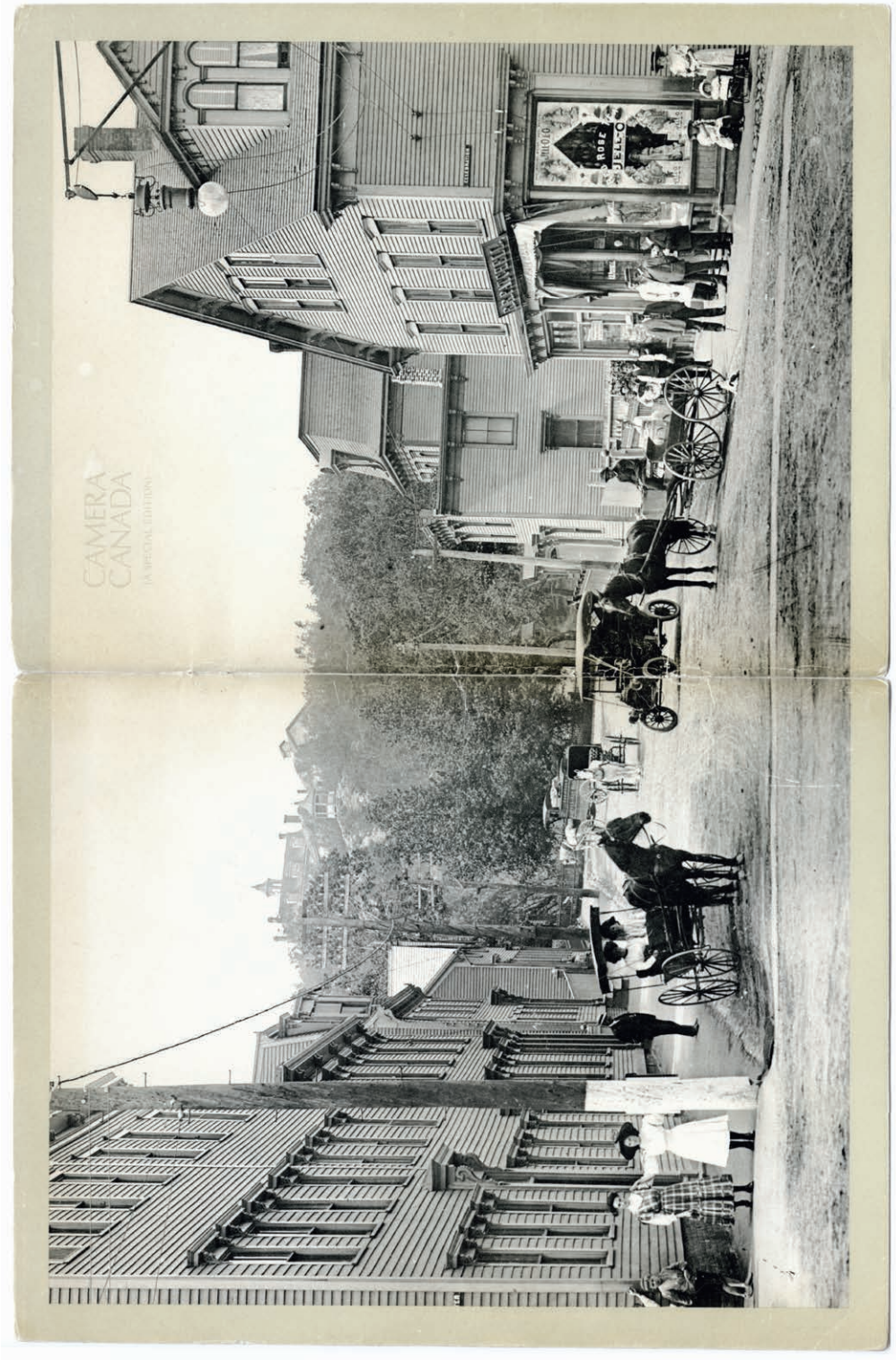


Fig. 9. Cover, *Camera Canada*, special edition, "The Isaac Erb Collection," 1977: Isaac Erb, "Stanley Street, Saint John, N.B., 1902," reproduced from a Lewis Wilson toned gelatin-silver print, c1976 (Patterson 1977).

3,000 negatives—about one quarter of Erb's total production—consisting of work done outside of the studio, from 1900 to 1924. The selection of images in the *Camera Canada* special edition and the sepia-toned treatment of them encourages a wistful look back at heritage and rootedness in place and community, emphasized by the issue's two double-page spreads: the centrefold "Opening of the Allison Grounds, 1908," featuring hundreds of hearty children in their Sunday best posed in the bucolic setting of a new public playground (Patterson 1977, 24-25); and the cover-wrapping "Stanley Street, Saint John, 1902," a picturesquely posed street scene featuring a confectioner's shop, horse-pulled carriages, an early motor car, telephone poles, a gas street light, and an arranged scattering of well-dressed citizens looking intently out at the viewer (fig. 9).[13] A few judicious then-and-now juxtapositions combine with a two-page historical essay, titled "A Glimpse of Yesterday" (Gorham 1977, 33-34) to establish a frame of gentle nostalgia and anecdote, of heritage and tradition mixed with optimistic innovation and confident continuity.

The 42 Erb photographs reproduced in this issue convey the particularity and texture of place by showing us Saint John's bustling harbour activity and ships; the logging and shipbuilding that were traditionally the bases of the city's and the province's economy; well-stocked shops and their thriving keepers; tradesmen; impressive institutional buildings and the elegant homes of the well-to-do; well-attended civic events and leisure; celebratory family gatherings and occasions; and other local collectivities. The whole is garnished with sprinklings of the touching and the humorous and, of course, as hallmarks of the particular and authentic, also the bizarre or just quirky: the middle-aged "Charlie Brown, Shoe-Shine Boy, 1905" standing awkwardly, cloth and brush dangling from his hands, next to his setup in a vacant lot (Patterson 1977, 16); a woman demonstrating an early vacuum cleaner (17); two shots of a group of identically dressed businessmen posed outdoors in their greatcoats against a clapboard wall—one with bowlers on, the other with bowlers off (36).

The Erb photographs subsequently received considerable national, as well as regional, exposure and circulation. The Still Photography Division of the National Film Board of Canada acquired 59 prints from Wilson and included them in *Photo '77* in Ottawa—a blockbuster photo extravaganza attended by over 60,000 visitors—and then circulated them through its travelling exhibition program, under the title *Turn of the Century Photographs/Photographies de la Belle Époque*.[14] Erb was featured in Richard Vroom's 1978 book, *Old New Brunswick: A Victorian Portrait*, and two volumes of Saint John postcards (Keleher and Collins 1997, 1998). In 1998, *Saint John at Work and Play: Photographs by Isaac Erb, 1904-1924*, a 140-page picture book, appeared in New Brunswick (Kelly and McCluskey 1998). The several hundred photographs reproduced in *Saint John at Work and Play* are organized thematically along the same lines as the *Camera Canada* selection, which it merely amplifies in volume. The generous captions provide more detail in terms of identifying the subjects depicted and related anecdote, but give no additional insight regarding photographic, social, or historical significance.

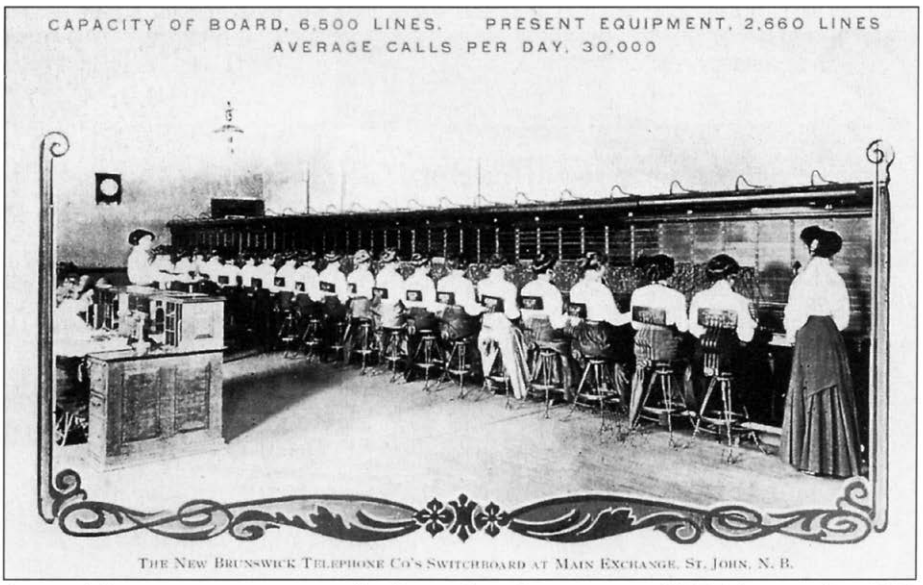
Over the 30-year period of the rediscovery of Isaac Erb, the rhetoric of transparent insider identification with the past of authentic place is repeated without ever trying to say what the images might tell us about that place. Canadian geographer Edward Relph's influential study on the experience of authentic place and insideness, published in 1976, might have prompted certain questions. What can such photographs tell us about place, then or now, and their subjects' relations to it, and the role of photography in it? Is the picture they give really as unproblematically optimistic as it seems?

Erb was certainly an accomplished craftsman, with an aesthetic flair for composition and, clearly, a good rapport with his subjects. It is, however, crucial to bear in mind that his was a commercial enterprise, which means that he probably never took a photo that he was not commissioned to take or was not reasonably confident that he could sell in multiple copies. What is absent from these recent productions is any indication of the original function of the images—for whom they were taken and why, and how they were presented—their original materiality. Take, for instance, a photograph captioned simply "New Brunswick Telephone Operators" in the *Camera Canada* special edition (fig. 10): consider the rich tonality combined with visual simplicity; the diagonal perspective and the repeated forms; the way the insistent juxtaposition of black rectangles on white and the image's subject matter of new technologies of communication suggest a kind of photographic *mise-en-abyme*—all of this invites the reverence due the purest of straight photography.[15] A corrective to such a focus on the priorities of modernist aesthetics is provided by the postcard collections, however. The authors of *Saint John in the Golden Age of Post Cards* are little concerned with the identification of photographic operators and not in the least concerned with photographic technique or style (see Keleher and Collins 1997). In this case, however, two imperfect sources complete each other, for there are our telephone operators on page 110, surrounded by a decorative scroll and the legends "capacity of board, 6,500 lines. present equipment, 2660 lines. average calls per day, 30,000—The New Brunswick Telephone Co's Switchboard at Main Exchange. St. John, N.B" (fig. 11). Our photograph was produced for Ma Bell—here, in the guise of NB Tel—to advertise their services through the then-new and hot medium of the postcard. As Roland Barthes notes, "a photograph is never distinguished from its referent (what it represents) … a photograph is always invisible: it is not what we see" (1981, 5-6). Paradoxically, it is by fogging our nostalgic, apparently transparent window, by making photography itself a little bit more visible, a bit more opaque, that we can see more clearly, for Erb's photographs are neither whims nor his singular, inspired expression; they are a product of the constitutive material needs and forces of the place itself. So far, so good—and we will see that the notion of *switchboard*, of place of exchange and transit is particularly apt.

The other thing, or things, missing from the published selections of Erb's photographs are just that: the things not selected. Lewis Wilson died in 1998 and the 3,000 Erb negatives were subsequently acquired by the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (*New Brunswick Telegraph-Journal* 1998). The glass plates are fragile and no finding aid has been made; but along with the negatives, the archives also acquired a complete set of 8 × 10 proof prints produced by Jamie Wilson, Lewis's son, during the late 1980s.[16] As I take one after another of the three-ring binders out of the storage boxes and turn page after page after page, the balmy nostalgia of the selections is soon ruffled by increasingly persistent cross-drafts. On

GRAMOPHONE DEPT., MANCHESTER ROBERTSON ALLISON LTD., SAINT JOHN, 1911
NEW BRUNSWICK TELEPHONE COMPANY OPERATORS, 1910

Fig. 10. Page 38 (detail), *Camera Canada*, special edition, "The Isaac Erb Collection," 1977: Isaac Erb, "New Brunswick Telephone Company Operators, 1910," reproduced from a Lewis Wilson toned gelatin-silver print, c1976 (Patterson 1977).



A row of about twenty operators are hard at work in this promotional NBTel postcard, *c*. 1910. The Main Exchange was located at 18–22 Prince William Street. The New Brunswick Telephone Company was formed in the mid-1880s from what had been the Bell Telephone Company. It may be interesting to note that the company first erected "telephone" poles in 1886.

Fig. 11. Page 110 (detail), Terry R. Keleher and Donald Collins, *Saint John in the Golden Age of Postcards, 1900-1915*, 1997: postcard, *The New Brunswick Telephone Co's Switchboard at Main Exchange, St. John, N.B.*

the whole, the broader archival collection simply contains more versions and variations of the images reproduced in the publications I have been considering here; but there are also two categories almost completely omitted from the publications—post-mortem portraits and arrangements of objects. Post-mortem portraits are represented in the published record by the ambivalent inclusion of a single example inside the back cover of the *Camera Canada* special edition (Patterson 1977). Following the original 1976 article and the additional images, and isolated from these portfolios by an article unrelated to the Erb collection, on a page dedicated to an advertisement for the Wilson Studio, we find a post-mortem photograph of a boy as a chimerical supplement. It is obviously difficult to be nostalgic about the high death rate—the extremely high *child* death rate—in the first decade of the twentieth century (Olson and Thornton 2011, 95-108), but the same cannot be said about the other and, apparently, more banal group of photographs of objects: the stuff. This includes toys; articles of clothing and accessories, such as shoes, boots, lace collars, jewellery, handbags, pocket watches, haberdashery, grooming brushes; and items of the table, such as whisks, vases and crockery, cutlery, goblets, tea biscuits; and much more—most

Fig. 12. James Wilson, 8 × 10-inch gelatin-silver proof print, c1985-90. Printed from the original Isaac Erb glass-plate negative (P210-78), c1900-1924. Reproduced courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

likely taken for advertisements or catalogues, as Schwartz demonstrates in her study of two cartes-de-visite of wood stoves produced by the Notman Studio (Schwartz 1986). As Barthes also says, the "'photographic referent'" is "the *necessarily* real thing which has been placed before the lens ... in Photography I can never deny that *the thing has been there*. There is a superimposition here: of reality and the past" (1981, 76). All these things were there, in Saint John, then, when Erb was photographing. In the New Brunswick archives, these objects, bathed in the gentle natural light of Erb's north-facing Charlotte Street studio, erupt from the binders in serial clusters. In a photograph of grooming brushes arranged on a dark, felted cloth, the shallow depth of the view is reinforced, first, by the textural confusion of figure and ground and, second, but on a different order, by the Wilson Studio's ink-stamps of ownership, injunction, and classification, which are further supplemented by an embossed stamp, completing the collapse of represented, commercial, and material object (J. Wilson c1985-90; fig. 12).[17]

We are dealing here essentially with still life, a genre which is, paradoxically, both the most intimate and the most anonymously universal. On the one hand, I am struck by the haptic quality of all these things, *their* things, the things *they* handled every single day—the smoothness of the leather as they pulled on their boots; the weight and engraved texture of the watches in their pockets; the bristles stroking their faces; biscuit under their tooth. On the other hand, as Norman Bryson argues, because still life addresses us on the level of our most basic creatureliness, it also denies individuality and particularity. It is for this reason, he thinks, that still life is relegated to the lowest level of artistic genres, made the most marginal—it can have a threatening power and we consequently tend to repress it (Bryson 1990, 12-14, 136-45). Why, though, in the rediscovery of Erb's oeuvre should these images be rejected, and what can this have to do with place? The absent presences of these images highlight another distortion: in contrast to the Centennial and post-Centennial productions, the archive is dominated not by people but by infrastructure projects: the expansion of the port facilities, the building of railbeds and bridges, and an endless parade of warehouses, wholesalers, and retailers. J.M.S. Careless, in his classic article, "Aspects of Metropolitanism in Atlantic Canada," outlines how Saint John's traditional economic basis of high-grade timber and shipbuilding collapsed in the late nineteenth century with the introduction of iron shipbuilding—in mid-century, fully one third of the British Empire's merchant marine was built in Saint John.[18] The city had embarked on several railway schemes in order to try to dominate overland routes to the continental interior; but Saint John was ill-placed for controlling the newly emerging continental system in which land access, not ocean access, was key. With its membership in the new Canadian Confederation, however, what Saint John did have to offer was year-round access to the ocean. Through a combination of massive infrastructure development and political pressure to gain postal subsidies, Saint John established itself at the turn of the century as Canada's winter port. As Careless notes, "Thereafter, as the western Canadian boom developed, prairie grain flowed out of the port and imports for central Canada came in. Both the city and the CPR repeatedly enlarged the harbour facilities in a veritable race to keep up with cargoes" (1969, 123). Fittingly, a photograph from this period that was very likely taken by Isaac Erb and that shows a long view down Prince William Street to the harbour was published as a postcard by the Chas. J. Mitchell Co., Limited, Toronto, with the prominent legend printed on its face in fancy type, "Best Wishes from Canada's Winter Port" (fig. 13).

Fig. 13. Postcard, *Best Wishes from Canada's Winter Port*, c1904, Chas. J. Mitchell Co., Toronto.

The *raison d'être* of Saint John, in the period of Erb's photographs, had thus become that of a transshipping node in the emerging global consumer economy of manufactured things: those elided objects in the still life photographs are in fact at its *centre*: it is for them that the roads and railways and bridges and ports are being built. The more one contemplates the archive, the more it seems that all revolves around these objects: the shops and offices and schools and civic institutions and events and the people who fill them all depend on and consume these things—their lives and every gesture are mediated by these manufactured things made by others, elsewhere. It is space and its structures of exchange and interconnections impinging very heavily on place and dwelling; they cannot be disentangled. In a different context, but also around the time of the Centennial, Northrop Frye suggested that a confusion involving place is deeply imbedded in the Canadian imaginary: "It seems to me that Canadian sensibility has been profoundly disturbed, not so much by our famous problem of identity, important as that is, as by a series of paradoxes in what confronts that identity. It is less perplexed by the question 'Who am I?' than by some such riddle as 'Where is here?'" (1971, 219). The archive makes no bones about the historical imbrication of space and place, but perhaps it is too close to the bone for those looking back from 1967 and later, for viewers desirous of a yesteryear less fraught with the ambivalences of today.

Pictures at the Port

SHARON MURRAY

As the primary port of entry into Canada between 1928 and 1971, Pier 21 received immigrants, refugees, soldiers, war brides, British guest children, and many others who landed on Canadian shores at Halifax. Pier 21's significance to Canada's history is well recognized, as demonstrated by the number of books that have documented, deconstructed, or celebrated its history (Mitic and Leblanc 2011; Mount Saint Vincent University, Art Gallery, and Pier 21 Society 1994; A. Thompson 2002). Many of these books are richly illustrated with images, pointing to the fact that during its 43 years as an immigration station, countless photographs were produced at the pier of and by the people who passed through the station. Press and commercial photographers regularly stopped by Pier 21 to photograph new arrivals, since it was always alive with people and therefore a prime place for photo opportunities. Passengers on the boats, cameras at the ready, would take snapshots of their first experiences of Canada—the family's first cup of tea at Pier 21's kitchen or group photographs of women and children in the Red Cross nursery. These are some of the types of photographs now part of the digital collection developed by the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

Established in 1998, the Pier 21 Immigration Museum began to collect oral histories, photographs, and memorabilia belonging to those who passed through the port. In 2010, Pier 21 became a national museum and was renamed the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, and its collecting mandate expanded accordingly. The photographic collection is very much a product of the digital era in which the museum was founded. It contains some original photographs, but is largely made up of digital scans, compiled from a variety of sources, including, as the website explains, "Sisters of Service, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canadian National Railway, the Halifax Port Authority, and the Allan S. Tanner Collection (images that show Canadian service personnel returning to Pier 21 in 1945). Also included are thousands of scanned newspaper clippings, immigration-related documents, and ship memorabilia" (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 2014). The museum states, however, that the majority of the original and digital images in the collection "have been donated by individuals and families." At the time of this writing, the digital collection numbered 28,000, and has no doubt grown due to the museum's active online solicitation (Smith 2013).

Joanna Sassoon (2004) and James Opp (2008) caution that digitizing archives of photographic objects is not without consequences. Much is lost in translation from object to digital file despite the fact that this shift can enable greater public access to image collections (Sassoon 2004, 186). Their remarks are directly applicable to a small portion of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21's holdings and to the public and commercial collections that have shared their resources. The museum's efforts to scan, archive, and (in some cases) make public on the museum's website the photographs donated by immigrants and their families raises separate, although related, questions. The digital images in Pier 21's collections are a unique archive of the photographic experience of Canadian immigrants, although

Fig. 14. "Are You in This Picture?" (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 2015a).

Fig. 14. continued.

as some scholars have noted, one that is far from comprehensive and might be considered exclusionary (Vukov 2002; Dolmage 2013). These criticisms are taken on board in what follows, which addresses the construction of collective identity through a set of photographic effects.

Pier 21's collection of donated images includes photos taken of immigrants just prior to departure from their homeland, shots taken on the ship on route to Canada, and images of their new lives and new homes, including what Carrie-Anne Smith, chief of audience engagement and former manager of research at the museum, categorizes as "firsts"—photographs of a family's first car, first house, or first television set, and so on (Smith 2013). This archive could be seen as a kind of meeting place, since it brings together images and memories of people who are now dispersed across the country and continent. What links these disparate people together, however, and what Pier 21's archive records, is their shared experience of immigrating to Canada, and for the most part, their shared experience of that place: Pier 21 (a few photographs depict people landing in other Canadian ports such as Montreal—part of their expanded collection mandate as a national museum). Moreover, any collection of photographs representing an immigrant's life likely includes photographs taken in his or her native country and/or in transit to Canada—photographs that are often encoded with the visual and cultural traditions of other countries. Pier 21's archive of images is therefore significant to Canadian photographic history not only because of its content but also because it encourages us to reconsider the boundaries of national photographic collections.

As a national institution, the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 (2014) has developed a website that features stories and images that are part of its collection. While the museum's long-range goal is to offer collective access to the digital archive, for the time being, only a small portion of the collection can be viewed online (Smith 2013). The photographs published on the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 website include *many* images from diverse sources of the ships that docked at the pier; personal snapshots embedded within the *Online Story Collection* (2015b); professional photographs, such as Ken Elliott's 1963 photo essay, "A Day in May"; Bert Wetmore's images of new immigrants, mainly children; and two collections scanned from the archives of the *Chronicle Herald*, all photographs taken at the pier. Amongst these collections, a page entitled "Are You in This Picture?" (2015a) stands out from the rest and has become the focus of my interest. It currently contains 123 group photographs that appear to be taken by a range of producers and are quite unlike the other coherent and authored bodies of images on the museum's website (fig. 14). This page features groups of war brides, staff and volunteers at Pier 21, soldiers embarking, ship passengers participating in parties and games, groups of immigrants at various stages of the immigration process, and numerous group portraits—both large and small—taken on decks of ships that ferry newcomers to Canada. This collection surveys the museum's archive, compiling images from all sources, which are identified in the captions. They tell us something about what was and continues to be considered photo-worthy—the desire to record and remember specific experiences—during the migration experience of these travellers. The posed, group shots taken on deck are of particular interest to photographic history, suggesting a pattern and recurrent motif. These group portraits were clearly produced on a regular basis, given the number of them on this website alone.

The similarity in form suggests that this was a common means of representing the experience of being aboard ship: a group of smiling faces are pictured gathered on deck; one of them, often a child in the centre of the frame, holds or wears a life-preserver marked with the name of the ship (fig. 15). A number of these photographs contain stamps or watermarks that indicate they were taken by a commercial photographer—perhaps someone hired as a member of the ship's staff. Others reproduce the style of these commercial images by gathering more intimate groups on deck for a photo (although often lacking the inclusion of the life-preserver) (fig. 16).

These group portraits paint a bright picture of the Canadian immigrant experience, people filled with hopes and dreams of making a new home in Canada. As Trudy Mitic and J.P. Leblanc write about the experience of those landing at Pier 21, however, this was not the subjects' experience: "The exhausting journey, the faltering resolve, the money running out, the language and currency and customs all so new—this was almost too much for [many immigrants] to bear, a kaleidoscope of confusion threatening to overwhelm" (2011, 14). Moreover, bright smiles seem to belie the hardships some may have experienced in their now-former homelands (for instance, refugees and those seeking asylum in Canada). Some passengers, too, had to endure rough seas and cramped quarters, while others faced yet further trials once they landed at Pier 21—medical examinations and sometimes lengthy detentions (Mannik 2013, 2-4). Perhaps, then, these portraits are what Olaf J. Kleist calls "heroic images" that present an idealized vision of the "complex journey" of immigration (2011, 121); yet these same photographs could also be assigned to what Allan Sekula calls the museum's "shadow archive" (quoted in Dolmage 2013, 107), since a percentage of the people pictured on this page must have been deported—another trial some faced upon arrival at Pier 21 (Mannik 2013, 67). While they may be pictured on the immigration museum's website, as Jay Dolmage (2013) and Tamara Vukov (2002) point out, the deported are excluded from what Roxanne Mountford calls the museum's "rhetorical space" of Canadian nationalism (quoted in Dolmage 2013, 103). Furthermore, the prevalence of White-skinned people in these group pictures—and on the website as a whole—points to Canada's exclusionary immigration policies during the bulk of the years Pier 21 was an active immigration station (Vukov 2002, 17).

As Lynda Mannik observes, group photographs such as those posted on the Pier 21 "Are You in This Picture?" page assert "that a collective identity is … instated through collective experience" (2013, 35). In the spaces of these photographs, people are captured together in a place *in between*—a gateway between past and future, old and new, memory and imagination. This is a liminal space defined as much by what has been left behind as it is by the place that they are moving towards. This in-between place is signified by the photographic act: a group has gathered to memorialize their journey, their shared experience of being aboard ship, and their experience of migration. In this sense, these photographs are relational objects, objects that, according to anthropologist and photo historian Elizabeth Edwards, create and define relations between people (2005, 27). The photographic act is only one part of this process. The fact that this photograph still exists means that someone chose to hold onto it as a means of remembering his or her journey and sharing it with others—family, old friends, new friends, and so forth. This photograph was likely invested with personal memory and meaning, signifying the immigrant's

Fig. 15. "Passengers on Board the *M.S. Saturnia*," 1952 (DI2014.280.5). Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

Fig. 16. "Passengers aboard the Nea Hellas," spring 1953 (DI2014.276.10). Marrone Family Collection of the Pier 21 Society. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

physical voyage inasmuch as his or her inner journey to make Canada *home*. Moreover, by sharing this image with the Canadian Museum of Immigration, this photograph, too, has undergone a change: once an object of personal memory, it is now an object of collective memory signifying the photographic experience of Canadian immigration rather than the individual experiences of a person pictured.

The relational role of these photographs is furthered by their placement on the museum's website. Smith explains that the purpose of "Are You in This Picture?" is to gather stories and information about these photographs and the people pictured, since their donors provided few details. Moreover, the staff at Pier 21 hope that the posting of these photographs might allow those who travelled together on these ships to reconnect (Smith 2013). In this sense, "Are You in This Picture?" can be likened to social media, since its goal is to create a virtual meeting place for a dispersed people with a shared history. As Mannik discovered during her interviews with passengers from the SS *Walnut*, the experience of finding one's face in the photograph of a crowd or being able to give names to those that have been forgotten can help immigrants legitimize their memories and experience of migration (2013, 115). These photographs are records of the place where many of the subjects first met—a literal meeting place. Their placement on the website, however, means that these photographs are now also meeting places of memory, or what Liisa Malkki terms "accidental communities of memory" (quoted in Mannik 2013, 169). This is the afterlife of these photographic images; they are more than just records of the people on board, a visual ship's manifest. These photographs bring together those with a shared experience of place: both the place in between a home left behind and the new one ahead; also a place of memory—the photographs themselves. These places converge in the virtual space of the museum's website. By gathering together images that represent the faces and histories of those who passed through the port, Pier 21 has been recreated on this page as a symbolic meeting place. As such, this archive of images on the website, however partial or flawed, is a unique collection of images that represent both real and imagined meeting places, places between home and away, past and future, places experienced, and places remembered. Diasporic histories are, by nature, relational histories, and as such, the photographs published online to represent these histories are relational images.

Every Foot of the Sidewalk: Boulevard Saint-Laurent[19]

PHILIPPE GUILLAUME

Every Foot of the Sidewalk: Boulevard Saint-Laurent is the title of a work in photography and video that I made between 2010 and 2012. The location represented is a public urban space in a major city, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. For this project, I repeatedly walked and photographed the sidewalk along both sides of boulevard Saint-Laurent's 11 kilometres, including the facades of the buildings from the opposite side of the street. My principal motivation for this work was to combine photography and walking in the city and to translate these two ways of accumulating sensorial experience into image, or as it turned out, into a vast assemblage of 2,524 images taken on the street where I live (fig. 17).

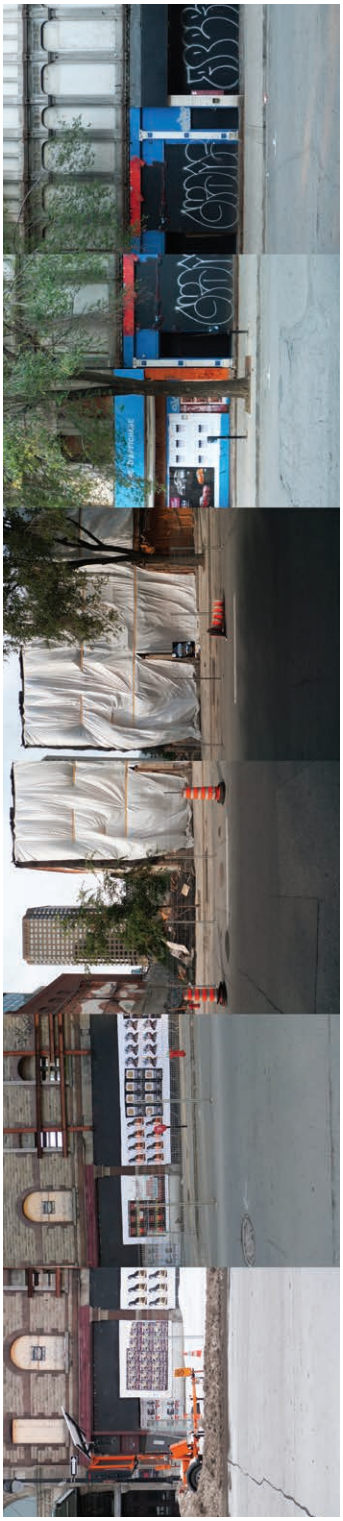


Fig. 17. Philippe Guillaume, *Every Foot of the Sidewalk* (detail), 2010-12. Pigment prints. Reprinted by permission from the artist.

People walk this street every day, perhaps more conscious of their social relations and daily tasks than of the photographic history of their neighbourhoods. Boulevard Saint-Laurent has been much photographed, in different styles and to different purposes. Exemplifying important tendencies in urban photography in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and constructing multiple understandings of urban space, the photographic history of boulevard Saint-Laurent is layered as cultural memory into my work.

Boulevard Saint-Laurent, also known as the Main, is one of the oldest streets in Canada, one of the first thoroughfares to cross the island of Montreal from shore to shore. With its "concentration of history and humanity" (Anctil 2002, 9), the Main is defined as a place of immigration. As Pierre Anctil explains, "Looking for inexpensive housing and services suited to newcomers, post-war immigrants naturally gravitated to the Main ..., in a neighbourhood that already bore the obvious traces of the ethnic communities that had come before them" (61). It is also a place where generations of photographers and artists have met, walked, lived, and worked. Those whose images have specifically referenced boulevard Saint-Laurent include Raymonde April, Melvin Charney, Serge Clément, Tom Gibson, Clara Gutsche, Edward Hillel, Nancy Petry, Gabor Szilasi, and Sam Tata.

Clément, who has lived on the street for most of his adult life, knows it as a place where he has walked and photographed, and where he was acutely conscious that others had been before: "People were talking about Edward Hillel who had photographed the shopkeepers. Then there was Denis Plain, who photographed there for his work on Montreal in the 1980s ... Saint-Laurent was my training ground of discovery and experimentation even before I moved here. It was also a frontier, not just geographic but linguistic" (quoted in Guillaume 2012, 114). Motivations for engaging with this place on foot are as varied as the different cultures that have lived, worked, and created communities in neighbourhoods along Saint-Laurent. The photographs that have resulted from walks along this historic corridor show discrete preoccupations, which include representing home, narratives of place and space, the social landscape, the built environment, poetics of place, and place as didactic space. By photographing boulevard Saint-Laurent in its entirety over two years, my project has certainly generated a document, but it was never conceived in terms of documentary photography. I was interested in creating an aesthetic experience grounded in spatial theory.

Fig. 18. Jean-Paul Gill, *Boulevard Saint-Laurent*, c1957. Gelatin silver print. Archives de la Ville de Montréal (VM94-40-152).

An important component of theories regarding space and place involves areas of human interaction in the public sphere (Tonkiss 2005; E. Wilson 2002); the sidewalks of Saint-Laurent are just such spaces (Dessureault 2005, 133). Pondering the shape of my work, I wondered what the photographs could reveal if boulevard Saint-Laurent's sidewalks were photographed empty, devoid of human traffic. Showing this space only when there was no one in the picture frame struck me as a means of leading the spectatorial imagination to the street's hermeneutic layers. This would also show this street photographically as it had never been seen.

Researching the photographic history of boulevard Saint-Laurent, I discovered the ironic fact that even documentary photographs commissioned as evidence for demolition included the soon-to-be displaced residents. In 1957, Jean-Paul Gill (b. 1928), a photographer working for the City of Montreal, took numerous

walks to photograph a popular neighbourhood on the eastern edge of boulevard Saint-Laurent below Sherbrooke Street. His assignment was to photograph the old, densely packed, brick-and-wood houses along the narrow streets of the low-income Faubourg Saint-Laurent (fig. 18). At that time, this area had the highest concentration of gambling houses and brothels in North America. Gill's photos, now held by the Archives de la Ville de Montréal, were commissioned as visual proof of a lurid space that the city wanted to demolish and replace with a low-income housing project (originally to be called Cité Radieuse, an homage to Le Corbusier).[20] While these photographs are now valued for documentary purposes, they were never intended to preserve a record of a neighborhood, but to offer proof of a dreadful "before," in order to rationalize the creation of a better "after."[21] Most of Gill's photos include an identification number placed within the setting, a strategy that further imbeds a negative connotation in the image, which becomes a "mug shot" of a place.

Like the American documentarian Walker Evans, who photographed Depression-era sharecroppers (Agee and Evans 1941), Gill sometimes used a harsh flash to maximize the dramatic effect in his black-and-white photos. The figures in his Faubourg Saint-Laurent images are not filthy or dressed in rags, however. Indeed, despite Gill's intention to construct a "heterotopia of crisis" (Tonkiss 2005, 133), his photos reveal places and streets mostly walked not by tramps but by ordinary working-class people. These photos also indicate that some inhabitants of the Faubourg Saint-Laurent were proud to pose for Gill as he walked the narrow sidewalks of the area with his camera; they were probably oblivious to this development detective's agenda and to the fact that these images would be evidence for the city to bulldoze their homes. A few years later, architect and artist Melvin Charney (1935-2012) was also walking and taking photos a couple of blocks south of where Gill did his work, but his images were of a distinctly different nature. Alessandra Latour explains that "For Melvin Charney the city is a place of knowledge, an 'encyclopedia' in which architecture becomes the metaphorical representation of human beings" (1991, 14). *The Main* is a series of frontal views Charney took in 1965 of the buildings along boulevard Saint-Laurent between what was then boulevard Dorchester (now boulevard René-Lévesque) and rue Sainte-Catherine; the images were cut and combined in sequence to "create a continuous image [or] a panorama" for each side of the street (Landry 2002, 152). For Charney, "the photographer as an artist is an observer, obliged to remain outside the melée" (158). He conceptualized the work as a walk down a corridor, whose photographic record was separate and distinct:

> A photograph of a street, however, transforms the space into an image of itself, into an object reflecting this "self." This becomes a second way of looking at a street. There are no longer any voids or absences. The street is taken as an object, a defined place; the specific form of the place determined by its capacity to absorb the passage of people within its confines, and the character of its enclosure. (158)

For Charney and other contemporary artists, walking and photography were conceptual strategies for merging art and actions from everyday life. In 1970, sculptor and photographer Bill Vazan (b. 1933) walked up boulevard Saint-Laurent, taking a snapshot at each street corner while always looking ahead; the resulting photos capture an artist crossing a place that is replete with history while heading towards a point at infinity in space (Guillaume 2012, 134-36; fig. 19). A short time later, Clara Gutsche (b. 1949)

Fig. 19. Bill Vazan, *Walking into the Vanishing Point, Northward on St-Laurent*, 13 June 1970. Contact sheet. Courtesy of Vox, centre de l'image contemporaine. Reprinted by permission of the artist.

photographed shop windows on boulevard Saint-Laurent (Tweedie 1980). Her frontal black-and-white photos make a direct connection with the history of photography as a reflection of Eugène Atget's Paris. The unseen spaces between the *vitrines* were walked; they can be imagined as spaces for thought, layering the artist's preoccupations with feminism, Marxism, and psychoanalysis onto shop windows that have reflected the figures of so many ambulating photographers and artists.

That people are not pictured in my 2,524 photographs of boulevard Saint-Laurent does not mean that they are absent. On the contrary, they are present in two ways. They are visible in the material culture of boulevard Saint-Laurent: in the buildings, signs, and objects that line the sidewalks. A partial list of these things, drawn from the photographs, would look something like the following: public fountain, apartment building, stop sign, house, office building, army surplus store, bar, satellite dish, park, cigarette butt, slush, tobacco store, ice-cream stand, box, curtain, thrift store, copy centre, advertisement billboard, currency exchange counter, charcuterie, dome, cinema, hair salon, pub, antique shop, cup, stairs, gutter, clothing store, *dépanneur*, fire hydrant, fish market, post office, furniture store, trash, fire alarm, gas station, tree, grocery store, glass, window grill, hair salon, hardware store, head shop, bush, lamp, jewellery store, music store, nail salon, pet shop, puddle, car, paint store, pop can, gate, newspaper stand, paper, stool, drawing, pediment, pizza counter, porn theatre, parking meter, tattoo parlour, peep show, red square, barber shop, restaurant, strip club, bottle, shoe store, snow, TV antenna, second-hand store, smoked-meat restaurant, stationery store, sculpture, bakery, scooter, theatre, door knob, travel agency, water fountain, traffic light, street sign, weed, walk sign, manhole, gas duct, waste bin, chair, water hose, flowers, photo studio, flower shop, pillar, advertisement poster, truck, ashtray, bicycle, cabaret, brick, motorcycle, fence, sports store, alley, side-street, public parking, table, butcher shop, umbrella, arch, civic number, truck, chimney, pond shop, street lamp, cone, electronics store, private parking entrance, street traffic line, library, parking sign, bicycle stand, bus stop, hotel, crack in the street, bus shelter, crack in the sidewalk, phone booth, dry cleaner, public bench, grass, gravel, cement, cobblestone, metro station, beauty salon, door, bank, window, graffiti tag, tent, flower pot, arched window, liquor store, blackboard, camera store, menu, massage parlour, flag, mosque, mailbox, door handle, church, spa, wood, door frame, mannequin, drainpipe, window frame, garbage bag, pharmacy, public bath, paper scrap, sewing machine, gym, and wig.

In addition to this evidence of human habitation, there is no lack of social interaction in the making of *Every Foot of the Sidewalk*. The project is upheld by unplanned interaction with strangers. During the two years I photographed this work, people often stopped me to ask what I was photographing. Some came out of their homes wondering why I was taking a picture of their house from across the street. Most were genuinely interested to hear about my artwork, and many were perplexed when I explained that it was not their house but the empty sidewalk that passed in front of their home that was the real space I was snapping with my camera. Making this work often involved waiting for someone to pass by or asking lingerers to step out of the picture frame. In this sense, this project resulted in a form of spontaneous social activity where strangers interacted and thought about art because of this project. As I began to see the results of

this visual experiment, I was struck by something of a categorical shift. The series bridges representations of the city and the wilderness. Indeed, without any visible human presence along the street, boulevard Saint-Laurent appears in its own state of wilderness.

Like Gill's, then, my project on photography and walking contains its own paradoxical meaning relating to emptiness in photographic representation. My decision to keep the human figures out also refers to current conditions of street photography in Quebec where there is a legal restraint on photographing people in public places without their permission. Meanwhile, street photography has taken on a whole new meaning with Google Street View. Now the ambulating photographer is replaced with an unmarked corporate camera methodically driven throughout the city to take clandestine photos of all the street and sidewalk space it comes across, with the resulting images consumed by viewers around the globe. Between these extremes of global integration and local fragmentation, *Every Foot of the Sidewalk* participates in the power struggles taking place in spaces in which we stage our daily lives.

Conclusion

MARTHA LANGFORD

In 1989 (the sesquicentennial of photography's invention), literary theorist Gillian Beer wrote, "Reading takes place always in the present. The heat of writing has already been cooled in published work by the mortification of cold print." There is, she notes, a *space* between writing and reading: "That is the space of enactment and recoil: the argument with the past" (Beer 1989, 4). Any photographic history worth a candle is nested in similar spaces of reconsideration, and these are the spaces that opened to our imaginations when in 2012, a call for papers on the theme of meeting places came across our screens. As readers of the image—armchair tourists—we have performed the kinds of minor rebellions that occur in armchairs, as our imaginations have poked through the seamless experience offered by the book. Led by Elizabeth Cavaliere and Karla McManus, we have imaginatively roamed the stacks, listening to "a fictive conversation among the holdings," as Michael P. Steinberg captures art historian Aby Warburg's well-known principle, the "law of the good neighbour" (Steinberg 2012). Aurèle Parisien's essay properly warns us about nostalgia, but as the digitization of Canadian material culture accelerates, and in many libraries and archives, the file becomes the object, we are standing up for the materiality of illustrated magazines, commemorative books, carte-de-visite and snapshot albums, and articles published in heritage magazines, as well as the apparatus and ephemera of high art photographic experience, including those tiny catalogues, the kind that slip between the cracks of library shelves. At the same time, Sharon Murray's investigation of the digital image collection at Pier 21 shows us the continuity of impulses binding older and newer technologies, as a different kind of family album does digitally what their paper parents also did very well, which was to paper over the cracks of disappointment. Donors to the Pier 21 collection have created that space of "enactment and recoil" (Beer 1989, 4) that pictures still seem

to want (Mitchell 2005). To unearth these desires, our photographic history drills down into the local, mindful of the global trend in photographic studies to do just that, and equally mindful of the variety of attention that earlier actors have already bestowed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, for example, remind us that photography's "observable space" is framed by the nineteenth-century will to list and classify (2003, 2). For Parisien, confronted in the archives with Erb's subject-objects, this photographic way of seeing can be teased out into a socio-economic backstory. For Philippe Guillaume, an inventory of boulevard Saint-Laurent becomes a poetics of space.

Guillaume's study also performs another kind of work that is nevertheless closely related and informative through consideration of artistic process. Describing a fixed route, and giving it a *very* thick description through a temporal layering, *Every Foot of the Sidewalk* follows certain rules of engagement that are not unlike illustrated bookmaking or digital compilation. While Guillaume translates images from viewfinder to white box and projection screen (with many steps along the way), the premise of this photographic work is an ambiguous illusion—an empty street that bespeaks inhabitation. Careful readers of Guillaume's photographic map will wonder two things: Why are there so many pictures of particular locations? Why did the project take two years? The answers speak to form and place: some locations resisted emptying out and had to be visited again and again to be photographed empty; Canada is a country of four seasons, as well as transitions between seasons, and this cyclical experience seemed crucial to boulevard Saint-Laurent's "placialization" (Casey 1993, 307).

Taking both thematic and regional approaches, and written in six distinct voices, this essay reproduces and interprets narratives of the medium as experienced by creators and consumers. We offer a polyphonic account of Canadian photography and a guided tour of libraries, archives, and collections scattered across the country. As art historians, cultural theorists, and picture-makers, this is our way of thinking about Canadian photography and producing its history.

NOTES

1. *Sights of History/Vos photos … Notre histoire* was an outdoor travelling exhibition organized by the Still Photography Division of the National Film Board of Canada, a compilation of 360 photographs of events and monuments, both public and private, submitted by living photographers. The project was conceived and designed as a massive family album.
2. Michael de Courcy's website is a brilliant example of using digital technology to reinvigorate a work, indeed to allow its individual photographs to be appreciated as never before. See his "Four Mapping Projects," posted on the artist's website (de Courcy 2015).
3. The Canadian Photographic History/Histoire de la photographie canadienne (CPH/HPC) research group, based at Concordia University in Montreal, has been working together since 2010 to assemble an account of Canadian photographic history, drawing on a variety of published and unpublished sources, and using disciplinary frameworks, such as history from below, micro-history, oral history, and archival theory, as well as interdisciplinary approaches from across the humanities and the sciences. Our bibliography, now numbering around 1500 titles,

builds on earlier bibliographies and databases (Mattison 1996; Lerner and Williamson 1991, 120-34; Béland 2008). The ultimate goal of the research group is to produce an open-access digital resource that will support both the accumulated research of the group and future research projects on Canadian photography. In addition to the six authors of this essay, past and current team members include Samuel Gaudreau-Lalande, Michel Hardy-Vallée, Corina Ilea, Michelle Macleod, Jennifer Roberts, Pablo Rodriguez, Erin Silver, John Toohey, and Zoë Tousignant.

4. See, for example, Benjamin Buchloh and Robert Wilkie's edited collection *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures, 1948-1968: A Selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay, Cape Breton* (1983), which framed the Shedden archives in a Marxist analysis, including that of visiting scholar Allan Sekula in his "Photography between Labour and Capital" (193-268). A vigorous debate was launched by critic Peter Wollheim (1983), who argued that Leslie Shedden had been misinformed as to the nature of the publication and unjustly treated.
5. This classic historiographical dilemma was addressed at a round-table organized for the 2010 Canadian Historical Association meeting in Montreal (see Sandwell et al. 2011).
6. Some interaction between Carrel and Clubb might be imagined, since both were leading Rotarians (see Assemblée Nationale du Quebec 2012). Chelsea Perry, in a *Rotarian* article, noted that Clubb had received a travelling bag for his service as the 1912 president of the Winnipeg Rotary Club (Perry 2013).
7. At this time exhibitions in galleries and museums across the West, as well as in Central Canada, primarily through the National Film Board, Still Photography Division (Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography), begin to emphasize Western photography and cultural identity.
8. Universities and archives across the West have played an important role in preserving and promoting Western Canadian photography, as well as hosting many photographic exhibitions and producing publications from their collections.
9. For an overview of publications based on archival holdings in Atlantic Canada that appeared during the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, see Schwartz, "Beyond the Gallery and the Archives" (1981a). Publication with extensive critical analysis of a more contemporary archive in the region was provided by Buchloh and Wilkie's *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures, 1948-1968* (1983). This publication provided the original context for Sekula's influential essay, "Photography between Labour and Capital" (1983).
10. Innis (1956) and those inspired by him have argued that Canada, while participating in the larger Western currents of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industrial capitalism, is characterized by distinctive institutional, political, and cultural features due to its place within this larger economic and ideological space as a provider of staples. For more recent interpretations of Innis's model, including the need for the analysis of Canadian culture to be inflected by this particular dynamic, see the collection *Harold Innis in the New Century*: *Reflections and Refractions*, edited by Charles Acland and William Buxton (1999).
11. Juneja, who was then much involved with the National Association for Photographic Art, which published *Camera Canada*, recounted to me that he had been in Saint John to participate in a workshop with Freeman Patterson, had gone in to the Wilson studio to buy film, and was intrigued by the vintage camera equipment they had on display; when he learned of the negative collection from Wilson, he proposed the idea of the article to Patterson (Juneja 2015).
12. According to Freeman Patterson, they had not anticipated such a strong response and the September issue completely sold out. Patterson also stressed that "no issue of *Camera Canada* had a higher print run" than the subsequent special edition. The photographs for the September issue and the special edition were selected by Patterson and Lewis Wilson (Patterson 2015a, 2015b).

13. Again according to Patterson, for the captions and dates he "used what was provided" (2015b). Along with the negatives, Lewis Wilson inherited logbooks compiled by Erb at some point late in his career. Unfortunately only a small number of the negatives are inscribed with numbers that allow them to be correlated with logbook entries. According to James Wilson, Lewis Wilson's son and eventual successor, his father made use of the logbooks but he also "liked to make up titles" (J. Wilson 2015).
14. Details regarding the acquisition and exhibition of the Erb photographs by the NFB's Still Photography Division are pieced together from the division's *Photo '77* exhibition records (box 39) and the "Turn of the Century Photographs—Isaac Erb" file (box 38) located in the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography fonds, held at the Library and Archives of the National Gallery of Canada. The Still Photography Division's Erb acquisition is unusual since it appears to contravene the division's mandate, which, as explained in the introduction, was restricted to contemporary Canadian photography. The purchase of the prints from Lewis Wilson underlines the images' temporal, cultural, and aesthetic ambiguity as material photographic objects—contemporary (1970s) fine prints of historical negatives. I wish to thank Philip Dombowsky, assistant archivist, National Gallery of Canada, for his generous help with the materials from the Still Photography Division and related queries.
15. A modernist aesthetic ideal that came to prominence among art photographers in the early twentieth century and remained influential into the 1970s, *straight photography* is characterized by an emphasis on producing photographs using techniques that are considered inherent to the new mechanical medium and that manifest its distinctive formal qualities, such as sharp detail, tonal range, and the compositional exploitation of abstract geometry. Guided by a desire for expressive authenticity through photographic purity, straight photographers condemned practices such as intervening on the negative by etching or with paint to augment or eliminate elements, creating artistic effects such as soft focus, producing composite images using several negatives, or cropping—anything that would compromise the autonomy of photographic technique and the photographic image (see Hartmann [1904] 1978).
16. The Provincial Archives of New Brunswick began substantive discussions and fundraising for the acquisition of the Wilson Studio's Erb collection in the late 1980s and commissioned James Wilson to produce the proof prints as part of this process. The acquisition was completed in several allotments between 1996 and 1998 (Farrell 2015). James Wilson (2015) explained that, using Isaac Erb's enlarger, he contact printed the 3,000 6.5 × 8.5-inch negatives on 8 × 10 paper over a roughly five-year period between 1985 and 1990. He also described the large, north-facing windows that provided natural light in Erb's studio. I wish to thank Fred Farrell, provincial archivist, for his patient guidance and thorough explanations on several occasions and Jamie Wilson for his generosity in sharing his first-hand knowledge and experiences with the Isaac Erb Collection.
17. "T.S. Simms & Co. Ltd" can be made out on the brush in the upper left corner as well as on brushes in similar photographs in the Erb collection, and the images were probably made for this Saint John manufacturer. The business was founded by Thomas Stockwell Simms in Saint John in 1872. Simms, an American from Portland, Maine, may have been enticed to locate his business in Saint John due to the construction of the European and North American Railway, which linked Saint John with New England and thus gave the city the advantage of providing both good access to imported raw materials through the port and transportation links for the distribution of the finished product. The family business, handed down through four generations, continued manufacturing in the city until 2013, when it could no longer compete with products being produced overseas (McGahan 2003; CBC News 2013).
18. For a recent survey of the intensive scholarly analysis of this period in the economic history of Saint John and Atlantic Canada, see Nerbas (2008).

19. This text draws freely on my master's thesis, "A Study of Photography and Walking through the City in Modern, Postmodern, and Contemporary Canadian Art," Concordia University, 2012.
20. Throughout most of the 1950s, city planners worked on this project, which was hailed as a first step towards renovating the city core; it would be completed in 1959 and named the Habitations Jeanne-Mance.
21. This photographic project became known as the Plan Dozois, after Paul Dozois, a member of the city's executive committee, who drove the project, which was financed by the provincial and federal governments.

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