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**Suspended Conversations:
Private Photographic Albums in the Public Collection of the
McCord Museum of Canadian History**

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Reasoning from an imperfect analogy with the mysterious culture of porpoises and whales, who abandoned the encumbrance of physical objects when they returned to the sea, and embraced instead a bodiless oral tradition of music, literature, and argumentation, our scholar postulates an Atlantic civilization that expended its entire energy in the making of photographs... [The Supreme Artifact of Atlantis] consisted in nothing less than the synthesis, through photographic representation, of an entire imaginary civilization, together with its every inhabitant, edifice, custom, utensil, animal.

Hollis Frampton, 1972

C'est le cabinet qui constitue l'amateur.

Quatremère de Quincy, 1825

Table of Contents:

v.	Abstract
vii.	Résumé
ix.	Acknowledgements
xi.	Illustrations
xxiii.	Preface
1.	Introduction.
25.	Chapter One: Paradigms and Metaphors
48.	Chapter Two: A Collection of Albums
126.	Chapter Three: Orality and Photography
181.	Chapter Four: <u>Untitled Album</u> (MP 035/92)
212.	Conclusion.
217.	Bibliography
239.	Appendix I: Study Group Catalogue

Abstract

The compilation of albums began almost upon the invention of photography and has continued to this day, migrating now into the realms of electronic and digital imagery. The *private album*, which includes, but is not limited to, the *family album*, is a hybrid of flexibility and conservatism - situational, syncretic and personal in its contents and organization. Interpretation of an album is correspondingly challenging, especially when the album has been separated from its compiler and placed in a public collection.

The McCord Museum of Canadian History has a substantial collection of private albums ranging in date from the 1860s to the 1960s. The collection has been assembled mainly from private donations as a reflection of Canadian social history. Aside from its breadth, the collection offers the researcher a degree of assurance that the albums represent the work of amateur compilers. Bringing this collection to light and raising the museum's consciousness of the value of these objects as *albums* have been important aspects of this study.

The primary focus, however, has been the discovery of an interpretational framework, a way of reconstituting the intentions and methods of the compiler. Albums have been interpreted as visual equivalents of analogous forms, such as journals or Family Bibles, but these categories fail to contain the full nature of compilatory expression which is often multiplistic, redundant, serpentine and obscure. The private album transferred to the public institution needs to be considered in the full context of its creation and presentation - the merging of visual and oral traditions.

A multidisciplinary review of the literature outlines the paradigms and metaphors that inflect our understanding of photographic albums as tools of communication and sources for artists. The function of the album as an *aide-mémoire* for individual life history has long been recognized, but the detailed application of orality's condition and structure to the

photographic album is here an original contribution to knowledge. The reconciliation of photography and orality expands our understanding of both and restores the heuristic conversation that brought the photographic album into being.

Résumé

Né presque immédiatement après l'invention de la photographie, l'intérêt pour la constitution d'albums n'a cessé de grandir, envahissant même aujourd'hui le domaine de l'imagerie électronique et numérique.

Situationnel, synchrétique et personnel, l'*album intime*, qui recoupe mais déborde souvent le cadre de l'*album familial*, obéit autant au lois de l'élasticité qu'à celles du conservatisme. Son interprétation soulève forcément de nombreuses questions, surtout s'il n'est plus sous la garde de son compilateur et qu'il a été intégré à une collection publique.

Le Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne possède une impressionnante collection d'albums intimes montés au cours du siècle qui s'étend de 1860 à 1960. Elle se compose essentiellement de dons particuliers et constitue un reflet de l'histoire sociale du Canada. Outre son ampleur, la collection offre aux chercheurs la quasi certitude que ces albums sont le fruit du travail de compilateurs amateurs. L'étude que nous en avons faite visait à la mettre en lumière, et à sensibiliser le musée à l'importance de ces objets en tant qu'*albums*.

Toutefois, notre démarche a principalement été axée sur l'élaboration d'un schéma interprétatif devant permettre de comprendre le projet et les méthodes du compilateur. Des albums, on a dit qu'ils constituaient essentiellement des assemblages analogiques au même titre que les journaux intimes ou les bibles familiales; mais cette catégorisation, trop rigide, ne permet pas de rendre compte du caractère souvent multiple, superfétatoire, tortueux et obscur de ce que met en jeu l'élaboration d'un album. L'album intime qui a été légué à un établissement public doit être étudié en fonction du contexte global qui a marqué son organisation et sa présentation - soit l'influence combinée des traditions visuelles et orales.

Une étude multidisciplinaire des documents permet d'esquisser les paradigmes et les métaphores qui modulent notre compréhension des albums photographiques en tant qu'outils de communication et sources

d'inspiration pour les artistes. Si l'on reconnaît depuis toujours que l'album sert d'aide-mémoire pour retracer la vie d'un individu, on peut affirmer que l'application aux albums photographiques des modalités et des structures de l'oralité a constitué un apport original à la connaissance. Le rapprochement entre la photographie et l'oralité accroît notre compréhension de l'une et de l'autre, et rétablit le dialogue heuristique qui a donné naissance à l'album photographique.

Acknowledgements

My studies at McGill University have been supported by a number of fellowships and grants that have made completion of this project possible. In 1991-92, I was one of two Ph.D. candidates to receive the first Max Stern Fellowships in Art History. The 1992-1993 renewal of the Max Stern Fellowship was contingent on my teaching a course on the History of Photography. I learned a great deal from that experience. From 1993 to 1995, my research was supported by a Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada. In addition, I have received three travel grants that have enabled me to give papers on this and related subjects from the Faculty of Graduate Studies & Research (1994), the Post-Graduate Students' Society (1994) and the division of International Cultural Relations, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada (1996). In addition to the financial assistance that these awards have provided, the faith in scholarship represented by these institutions and their officers has been much appreciated.

Over the course of this research, it has been very helpful to rehearse preliminary findings. Papers that would eventually form the nucleus of the *Introduction* and *Chapter One: Paradigms and Metaphors* were presented at symposia hosted by the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, Ottawa, the Foto Biennale Enschede in Holland, the Institute for the Humanities of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, and the Society for Photographic Education, Los Angeles. Publishing those papers has forged contacts with other people in the field and kept the project moving. I am particularly grateful to Josephine Van Bennekom, editor of Nederlands Fotogenootschap / Nieuwsbrief, for her clarifying suggestions. Bas Vroege, editor of the Obsessions: From Wunderkammer to Cyberspace catalogue, and Wallace Polsom, editor of Blackflash, both offered timely encouragement.

A number of people have shared information or recommended sources: Louise Dési and David Harris of the Canadian Centre for Architecture;

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Throughout my studies at McGill, I have been privileged to work with Dr Thomas L. Glen. As a teacher and an art historian, Professor Glen has a particular affinity for human experience - the artist's, the beholder's and the interpreter's. His observations and intuitions about the people who compiled these albums have been stimulating throughout. Dr Glen's sensitivity, knowledge, curiosity, integrity and warmth have inspired many students and this one in particular owes him a great deal.

The warmth, support and human comedy afforded by a loving family has been much on my mind as I have pored over these photographic records of private life. I am very thankful for my Langford and Coupal connections, and especially for my parents, Warren and Lucille Langford, my brothers John and Stuart, and my sister, Suzanne Morrison. A more diverse and splendid group of shareholders not even Courbet could have imagined.

Finally, I dedicate this study of photography and orality to my husband, Donigan Towers Cumming, or rather offer it to him, in thanks for his faith and inspiration.

Illustrations:

Extracts from the albums are reproduced with the permission of the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montréal. All illustrations are details, whether double-page spreads, single pages, or single images. Illustrations are treated as unpaginated inserts following a text page. To facilitate reference, the same information is provided with each entry in the Study Group Catalogue (See Appendix I).

<u>Following</u> <u>page:</u>	McCord Museum Accession Number. Album title, page number. Description of contents:
58	MP 2146. <u>Arthur Lindsay Album</u> , p. 26. Top row: J. Beattie, Clifton, England; J. Egan, London, Ontario. Bottom row: J. E. Mayall, London, England; Maitland, St. Catherines, Ontario, <i>Mrs. Arthur Lindsay, St Catherines</i> . Four cartes-de-visite.
60	MP 032/81. <u>Ogilvie Album</u> , p. 15. Unattributed, <i>Alma Dancing Girl, Syrian Girl and Egyptian Women</i> . Four cartes-de-visite.
60	MP 032/81. <u>Ogilvie Album</u> , p. 48. J. Beckett, Glasgow, <i>A Scotch Washing</i> ; unattributed, <i>Kate Kearney's Granddaughter</i> ; Abdullah Frères, Constantinople, <i>Constantinople Sedan Chair</i> and unattributed, <i>Venetian Scissor Grinder</i> . Four cartes-de-visite.
62	MP 598. <u>Captain G. E. Mack Album II</u> , p. 3. Captain G. E. Mack? Untitled (northern family and buildings), c. 1920. Four gelatin silver prints, each 8 x 10 cm.
62	MP 189/78. <u>Becket Actress Album</u> , p. 9. Hugh Wylie

Becket, *Camille Dubois, Langford, Helen Barry and Clara Vesey, 1872-1880. Ink drawing with collaged photographs, 32 x 24.7 cm.*

- 64 **MP 107/82.** Emily Ross Album, pp. 32-33. Emily Ross. Untitled collage (the letter), c. 1869; Untitled collage (portrait of a man), c. 1869. Two collages of albumen prints, watercolour, ink and pencil, each 26.8 x 22.8 cm.
- 66 **MP 1452.** Photographs/Canadian Scenery, pp. 92-93. Alexander Henderson. *Under Table Rock* (20.3 x 15.5 cm) and *Under Table Rock* (15.3 x 21 cm); *American Fall 7th Ice Bridge* (24 x 31 cm). Three albumen prints, sizes as indicated.
- 66 **MP 139.** McCord Red Album, p. 8. Alexander Henderson. Temple Grove Croquet Court (D. R. McCord), 1872. Albumen print, 11.5 x 19.3 cm.
- 68 **MP 010.** Green Album, p. 41. Unattributed. Two views of unidentified site with trees and rubble. Gelatin silver prints, each approx. 10.5 x 12.5 cm; photographic copy of *Plan of Mount Johnson. Showing the land purchased by Sir John Johnson...William Sax, Land Surveyor, 1805.* Gelatin silver print, 14.2 x 17.8 cm
- 68 **MP 1993.** Cannon Album, p. 32. Unsigned, *Tableau synoptique des Papes Depuis Saint Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX* and *Sommer & Behles, Naples & Rome*, three photographs of marble sculptures from the Vatican collection. Albumen prints, each approximately 9 x 5.5 cm.

- 70 **MP 198/81.** John C. Webster Memorial Album, p. 9.
Unattributed. Untitled (John C. Webster as a cadet),
c. 1912. Gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 11.5 cm.
- 72 **MP 586.** Anonymous Amateur Album, p. 35. Unattributed.
Untitled (self-portrait); Untitled (Group portrait -
double-exposure). Two gelatin silver prints, 7.9 x
13.4 cm / 7.6 x 13.1 cm.
- 74 **MP 2160.** Birch Album, detail, p. 10. Notman Studio,
Montreal, *Lieut Clower 30th Regt / Nuckle (sic) headed
monster*, 1864 (13160). Carte-de-visite.
- 76 **MP 016/92.** William Hilliard Snyder Album, p. 25.
William Hilliard Snyder? *W. O Reid, 114th Batt. CEF;
LANGARA B.S.*, 1916. Gelatin silver prints: 14 x 8.8
cm; 10.2 x 7.8 cm.
- 76 **MP 079/86.** Cynthia Jones Album (1917 - 1923), p. 8.
Cynthia Holt Jones, *Watching the Huns Come Over*, 1917.
Gelatin silver prints: 8.1 x 5.5 cm; 6 x 8.2 cm; 5.7
x 8.2 cm; 8 x 5.5 cm.
- 76 **MP 033/80.** Wagner Wartime Album 1912-1917, p. 62.
Mrs Charles W. Wagner. Untitled (serial portrait of
sailor and child; lifeboat?), c. 1917. Three gelatin
silver prints, each 11.7 x 7.4 cm. One gelatin silver
print, 4.4 x 6.6 cm.
- 80 **MP 040/90.** Chambers Red Cross Album., p. 18.
Unattributed. Untitled (Mrs W. D. Chambers "On the
Job" in Italy), c. 1943; 3 views of the
convalescent home. Four gelatin silver prints: 14 x
8.5 cm; 10.5 x 6.5 cm; 6.5 x 10.5 cm; 6.5 x 9 cm.

- 82 **MP 2360.** VIEWS / E. M. W. , p. 60. Larss & Ducloss
Photos, Dawson, *Rev. Mr Wright on Evangelical Tour in
the Klondyke (sic) on a bycycle (sic) at 40 below
zero, c. 1900 (2570).* Gelatin silver print, with
borders 16.5 x 21.5 cm
- 82 **MP 2360.** VIEWS / E. M. W. , p. 67. E. M. Wright?
Untitled (*Reverend Wright working at a table*), n. d.
Gelatin silver print, borders trimmed, 11.7 x 16.8 cm.
- 82 **MP 127/84.** Fred W. Berchem Album 1921-1927 , p. 23.
*Fred W. Berchem. Returning aboard; Returning aboard;
Scrambling 'home'; Hauling and panning seals, 1927.*
Four gelatin silver prints, each 7.5 x 12.7 cm.
- 82 **MP 128/84.** Fred W. Berchem Album 1922-1924 , pp. 16-
17. *Fred W. Berchem. Aboard 'Bayeskimo' Aug. 1922;
Aboard 'Bayeskimo' Aug. 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' July
1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' July 1922, 1922.* Four
gelatin silver prints, each 7.5 x 12.7 cm.
- 84 **MP 028/89.** Souvenirs of a few pleasant days 1898 , pp.
16-17. *Mina Hare. Light-house in Lake St Francis,
July 28; Coteau on the St Lawrence, July 28; Coteau
Bridge, July 28; Coteau Rapids, July 28.* Gelatin
silver prints, 9 x 11.5 cm.
- 84 **MP 2151.** MacDonnell European Travel Album , pp. 4-5.
Unattributed. *Tender "Ireland" taking passengers from
the Campania for Queenstown, Aug. 1904 and Nothing but
a drink on Lake Windermere, Aug. 1904; "Old England
Hotel" on Lake Windermere, Bowness, England, Aug. 1904
and Felton, England, Aug. 1904, "14 Punctures in one
tire in one day."* Four gelatin silver prints, 9 x
14.8 cm.

- 86 **MP 2152.** Bloemfontein to London..., p. 10.
Unattributed. C.J.A. / M.C.M. / *The mode of locomotion in Mombasa; Government Offices, Mombasa; Principal Street and Gov. Offices / Mombasa and M.C.B. on Ghari, Mombasa 1910.* Four gelatin silver prints, each 5.5 x 7.8 cm.
- 92 **MP 145/84.** Lançlois/Gélinas Album, part 2, p. 18 (counting from the back of the album). Unattributed. Six snapshots. Gelatin silver prints, 5.5 x 5.5 cm to 9 x 12 cm.
- 96 **MP 2147.** Baker? Album, pp. 20-21. Notman & Sandman, Montreal (22979-II), *Aunt Eliza Dunning, 1876; Field, Montreal, G. papa's mother, n.d.* Two cartes-de-visite.
- 96 **MP 006/74.** Wardleworth Estate Album, pp. 22-23. Page 22, top left: Unattributed, *Morgan McAyres* (carte-de-visite dedicated to D. W. Ross, Esq., Feb. 1872). Unidentified portraits from Dupee & Co., Portland, Maine; James Inglis, Montreal; and W. B. Burke, Milwaukee, Wis. Page 23, unidentified portraits from Bradford studio, Brooklyn; James Inglis, Montreal; Baldwin, Keeseville, New York; and James Inglis, Montreal. Eight cartes-de-visite.
- 100 **N 060.** McCord Family Album, pp. 2-3. Page 2: Notman Studio. *Copied portrait of Judge McCord (23065), 1866; Mr [David Ross] McCord (28853), 1867-8; Mrs [Anne Ross] McCord (358), 1861.* Three cartes-de-visite. Unattributed. View of graveyard. Half-stereo. Page 3: *Elisson & Co., Quebec, R. A. McCord (signed).* Notman Studio, *McCord brothers [John D. and David*

- Ross?] (984), 1861; Notman Studio, D. R. McCord (34510), 1868. Six cartes-de-visite; one half-stereo.
- 102 **MP 1768.** Small Molson Album, detail. William Notman and John A. Fraser, *Mrs J. T. Molson*, 1866. Hand-coloured carte-de-visite, 8.5 x 5.5 cm.
- 102 **MP 2359.** J. T. Molson Family Album, pp. 16-17. Fratelli D'Alessandri, Rome, *J. T. Molson*, n.d.; Notman Studio, Montreal, Toronto or Halifax, *J. T. Molson*, c. 1892. Two cartes-de-visite.
- 102 **MP 2155.** Lafleur Album, pp. 2-3. Notman Studio, Montreal, *Copy of portrait of Mme Feller (31900)*, 1868. Unattributed, untitled (Portrait of a man). Two cabinet cards.
- 104 **MP 582.** Natural History Picnic Album, p. 13. Unattributed, *2297 St Catherine / Nov. 1900*. Four gelatin silver prints, 9 x 11.3 cm / 10.5 x 7.6 (two oval) / 8.6 x 10.9 cm.
- 106 **MP 042/90.** Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album, p. 64. Charles-Philippe Beaubien. Untitled (portraits of family members in the country), c. 1905. Gelatin silver prints: top - 11.3 x 15.5 cm and 11.5 x 13.2 cm; bottom - 9 x 13.6 cm and 10 x 14.5 cm.
- 108 **N 007/86.** Benson Family Album, pp. 22-23. William Notman & Sons. *Mrs George F. Benson, 'Geof', Dorothy and 'Bill' Benson* (back of the mount inscribed: *Geof 9 years, Billy 7 1/4, Dorothy 4 months*), c. 1905; *G. F. Benson Family. Bill 7 1/4 years, Geof 9 years, Dorothy 4 years*, c. 1908-9. Gelatin silver prints, 17.2 x 11 cm and 16.4 x 11 cm.

- 108 **N 006/86.** Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album, pp. 38-39. J. D. Wallis, Ottawa (John Woodruff). *Monte Shanti. Sarah & Nancy at Front Door. Grace Robertson, Annie Law, Annie Lawford, Dora Cundell, Harriet and Ethel*, c. 1885? *Monte Shanti, Rivière du Loup*, c. 1885? Two cabinet cards.
- 110 **MP 039/76.** Annie Craven Album, p. 9. Stanley Studio, Stanley, England. Portrait of Annie Craven, c. 1890. Cabinet card, 13.1 x 9 cm.
- 110 **MP 039/76.** Annie Craven Album, p. 2. Unattributed, Portrait of Annie Craven, Melville and Andrea Bell?, n.d. Gelatin silver print mounted on card, 14 x 9.6 cm.
- 112 **MP 183/77.** Langelier "Nos Amis", p. 8. Unattributed. *Our Afternoon at the Fort / Five O'Clock / Philistines of the Wilderness*, c. 1900. Two gelatin silver prints, 9.3 x 11.5 cm / 11.5 x 9.3 cm.
- 112 **MP 185/77.** Langelier Album, pp. 54-55. Unattributed. Page 54: Untitled (native families by canoes); Untitled (dog before monogrammed curtain - oval print). Gelatin silver prints, each approx. 9.2 x 11.5 cm. Page 55: *Maggie* (10 x 8 cm); Untitled (child) (5.5 x 3.8 cm) and *"Waggles" now defunct barbarously murdered 1903 by Miss Nepton (?) and her associates* (scalloped print - 9.3 x 11.5 cm).
- 114 **MP 032/80.** Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933, p. 47. Mrs. Charles W. Wagner, Untitled views of the Gaspé, c. 1930. Two gelatin silver prints, each 9 x 14.6 cm.

- 114 **MP 032/80.** Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933, p. 81. Mrs Charles W. Wagner, Untitled views of poverty in the Gaspé, c. 1930. Two gelatin silver prints, each 14.6 x 9 cm.
- 142 **MP 2162.** The Royal Album, p. 2. J. E. Mayail, *The Queen and Princess Beatrice*, c. 1860. Carte-de-visite.
- 142 **N 006/86.** Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album, pp. 10-11. William Notman & Sons. *John Joseph Frothingham; John Joseph Frothingham and May Louisa Frothingham; Louisa Davenport Frothingham with May & Jo.; Family nurse, "Growler," Sarah Campbell and May Frothingham.* Four cartes-de-visite.
- 146 **MP 2360.** VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 27. Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, *Tableau representing Great Britain and Her Colonies at a Concert Given in Aid of Widows and Orphans Created by the War with the Transvaal, Palace Grand, Feb. 15th, 1900* (flashlight photo 2568). Gelatin silver print, without borders, 15.2 x 20.5 cm.
- 150 **MP 016/92.** William Hilliard Snyder Album, p. 18. William Hilliard Snyder and friends. Vancouver. *Constance/Eric. North Arm/Leslie/Kim. Eric/George. Eric/Muh! Muh/Eric. Dark Creek/Leslie/Allen. Gwen. Leslie/Amy/Muh/Katie*, 1916. Gelatin silver prints, each 7 x 4.8 cm.
- 150 **MP 582.** Natural History Picnic Album, p. 11. Unattributed, *On Mount Royal, April 28, 1901*. Two gelatin silver prints, 9 x 10 cm / 9 x 10.8 cm.
- 152 **MP 042/90.** Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album, p. 64.

- Charles-Philippe Beaubien. Untitled sailing and family pictures (self-portrait), c. 1905. Gelatin silver prints, top row - 11.6 x 9 cm; bottom - 10.5 x 15.5 cm and 11.5 x 16 cm.
- 156 **MP 145/84.** Lançlois/Gélinas Album, part 1, p. 21. (no. 94) Unattributed, *Euzebie* (two young women in costumes). Gelatin silver prints, 9.3 x 11.6 cm and 11.1 x 9.5 cm.
- 156 **MP 163/77.** D. M. Murphy Album, p. 13. Unattributed. *Park Ave July 1900*, runners in the street, *D. M. Murphy, The R.S.M. P.T. at Camp, Recruits and Hans Homer*. Five gelatin silver prints, 5 cm in diameter to 6.7 x 9.3 cm.
- 184 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 3. Unattributed. Untitled, n.d. (7.8 x 12.2 cm); untitled, n.d. (6.9 x 11 cm); *Cap-de-la-Madeleine*, n.d. (7 x 11.5 cm); *Baie Georgia 1933* (7.7 x 12.3 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 186 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 9. Unattributed. *St Ours*, 1929 (12.5 x 8 cm); untitled, n.d. (8.7 x 6.5 cm); *St Ours*, 1929 (13.9 x 8.9 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.
- 188 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 21. Unattributed. 14 *Août 1932* (12.5 x 7.9 cm); untitled (school picture), n.d. (? x 4.9 cm); untitled, 1932? (12.5 x 8 cm); untitled, 1932? (12.5 x 8 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 190 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 6. Unattributed. Untitled, c. 1916? (7.8 x 12.7 cm); untitled, n.d.

(
(6.9 x 11.5 cm); untitled, 1926? (8.2 x 6.5 cm);
untitled, n.d. (7.9 x 12.5 cm). Four gelatin silver
prints.

- 190 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 23. Unattributed.
Untitled, n.d. (12.5 x 8 cm); 1929 (8 x 12.5 cm); *St
Ours 1929* (12.3 x 8 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.
- 192 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 46. Unattributed.
Untitled, 1936? (16.5 x 10.7 cm); untitled, 1932?
(17.8 x 12.6 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.
- 194 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 31. Unattributed. 13
août 1933 (12.1 x 7.8 cm); *St Donat 1933* (7.6 x 12.2
cm); *St Barnabé*, after 1937 (7.6 x 12 cm). Three
gelatin silver prints.
- 196 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 64. Unattributed.
July, 1936? Gelatin silver print (12.9 x 17.2 cm).
- 196 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 53. Unattributed. *Le
Pain de Sucre, Lac Noir, 1940?* Four gelatin silver
prints (each 8.2 x 12.4 cm).
- 196 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 41, detail.
Unattributed. *Lac Noir, Août 1939.* Gelatin silver
print (7.4 x 11.7 cm).
- 198 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 57. Unattributed. *St
Maurice 27 Août 1933* (7.7 x 11.7 cm); 1945? (7.1 x
11.5 cm); 1945 *St Adèle* (7 x 11.5 cm); *Ste-Adèle
Lodge, September 1, 1941?* (7.6 x 12.2 cm). Four
gelatin silver prints.
- 200 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 12. Unattributed.

- 1926? (13.4 x 9 cm); St-Ours, 1929? (14 x 8.2 cm).
Two gelatin silver prints.
- 200 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 13. Unattributed.
Untitled, n.d. (13.8 x 8.5 cm); untitled, n.d. (13.9 x
8.7 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.
- 202 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 25. Unattributed. *St
Maurice* 1933 (12 x 7.7 cm); 1926? (12.4 x 7.8 cm); *Ste
Julienne* 1933 (12.2 x 7.6 cm). Three gelatin silver
prints.
- 202 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 72. Unattributed.
Ste-Adèle, 1941? (7.6 x 12.2 cm); 1944 (7.1 x 11.5
cm); 1944 (7 x 11.7 cm); *Ste-Adèle*, 1945? (6.9 x 11.1
cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 204 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 11. Unattributed.
Terrebonne 24 Août 1933 (12.2 x 7.6 cm); untitled,
n.d. (7 x 11.6 cm); *Ste Julienne*, 1933? (12.2 x 7.6
cm). Three gelatin silver prints.
- 206 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 76. Unattributed.
Untitled, n.d. (9.2 x 12.5 cm); *Ste-Adèle*, September
1, 1941? (14.5 x 9.3 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.
- 206 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 40. detail.
Unattributed. After 1937? (7.5 x 11.2 cm). Gelatin
silver print.
- 206 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 27. Unattributed.
1933? (12.2 x 7.6 cm); after 1937? (12 x 7.8 cm); *St
Maurice* 27 Août 1933 (12 x 7.8 cm). Three gelatin
silver prints.

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 36. Unattributed.
Pension Ducharme 1936 (7.6 x 12 cm); untitled, n.d.
(7.6 x 12.3 cm); *Caughnawaga or St-Maurice, 1933?*
(13.4 x 8.2 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.

Preface

The Notman Photographic Archives is known internationally as the repository of 400,000 negatives and documents from the Montréal studio of William Notman (1826-1891). These objects are held by the McCord Museum of Canadian History which was created out of the collection of a Montréal businessman, David Ross McCord (1844-1930). McCord was a photographic amateur, in the sense that he commissioned and collected photographs and photographic albums. Within the museum, these complementary collections were unified and continued to grow. Albums were acquired because they completed or paralleled the production of the Notman Studio. Donations and bequests from local families continued to build on McCord's enthusiasm for Canadian social history; one of the collection's unique features is the proportion of albums coming directly from the compiler's descendants. The merging legacies of nineteenth-century commercial and philanthropic activities have resulted in a diverse group of photographic albums, records of private life and compilatory tendencies from 1860 to 1960. It is my very good fortune to be bringing this collection to light.

Much has been written on amateur photography, and especially on the family album which has been a locus of interdisciplinary studies since the 1960s. A comprehensive review of the literature was important preparation for this project. Its analysis in the first two chapters is intended to stimulate more discussion and exchange. My own perspective is that of an art historian who has concentrated on the modern period, and especially on the history of photography.

Photographic history is itself remarkable for the attention given to amateur activity. Throughout the nineteenth century, the distinction between amateur and artist was something of a moot point. Modern and postmodern production is rife with examples of artists borrowing from the vernacular. The album in particular is a recurrent metaphor in contemporary art. Like most photographic historians, I was very interested in amateur activity for its own sake, and especially for the

light it might shed on artistic practice. Over the course of this project, that hierarchy was reversed as I began to look at artists' albums for what they might tell me about amateur compilations. In Chapter One, a survey of the meta-album functions to interpret the vernacular form.

Determined to understand the amateur album on its own terms, I avoided any kind of qualitative pre-selection. There are approximately 250 albums in the collection of the McCord of which some 230 meet my criteria: that the album be primarily photographic; that it appear to have been compiled for private use. Organizing this material became an interesting problem. Private photographic albums can be divided many ways; analogies are helpful if they can be controlled. Sifted over time, four analogous categories coalesced: the cabinet or collection; the memoir or diary; the travelogue or survey; the genealogy or family saga. But without exception, these categories overlap, or are combined in mysterious ways; the albums deny closure by categorization. Chapter Two thus becomes a provisional taxonomy, introducing the collection and underscoring the inadequacy of existent models.

Something had brought these albums into their solid, serpentine order, something other than the authority of the bookish form. Carte-de-visite and snapshot albums are equally elusive and dichotomous, their frippery and spontaneity so obviously the product of planning and paste. There is no way to parse this material without transforming it completely, stripping it in the process of all specificity and interest. And this was the course on which an album was set when it moved from the private to the public sphere.

Scholars rightfully insist on the need for documentation to accompany such a coded object into a public collection and many of them throw up their hands at the prospect of interpreting an album without documentary support. Ironically, it is a lack of documentation that has made this study possible. When a room is dark, you feel your way around very carefully. The most obscure albums in the collection of the McCord have

made me look harder at the ones in which intention and contents are ostensibly clear. Day after day, I dreamed of long conversations with the compiler. That was the missing key, of course.

To look at an album it is necessary both to study the photographs and to recreate the missing, provisional dialogue of presentation. One might be tempted to describe the process in vampirish terms as an interview with a dead document. The conversational features of an album have been tacitly recognized, but nowhere to my knowledge has that observation been taken to its logical conclusion. If the album depends on oral presentation, the implications of a link between oral culture and photographic culture need to be explored. Certain unanswered questions might then be solved. We know, for example, that social authorities build very slowly yet we hardly question the overnight ascendance of the album, purchased in a shop around the corner and installed on the family shrine. The rapid assimilation of the album - the same basic instrument in use today - suggests that it was somehow recognized by its creators, that it was rooted in pre-existent forms.

Sifting through similar models of human communication, nothing really fits until we arrive at orality. What this study proposes is the missing framework of Everyperson's album: the oral scaffolding of its construction. The explication of this structure within the context of photographic experience and autobiographical memory is this study's principal contribution to knowledge.

A full introduction establishes the principal areas of this research, rehearsing photography's association with collective memory, social ritual, autobiography, representation, performance and oral tradition. An influential figure emerges at the end of the introduction, Walter Ong, whose definition of orality and its conditions has informed this study. In Chapter Three, orality's patterns of inclusion, organization and presentation are correlated for the first time with photographic compilation. Chapter Four takes a single album and elucidates its oral characteristics, ultimately mimicking their sound in a transcript of

performance.

It may at first seem preposterous to argue that a product of the industrial revolution, a survivor of the electronic age, could perpetuate models of oral culture. But the combination is not so very strange. The photograph has often been described, or decried, as a substitute for human memory. That simple equation is incorrect. The mechanical eye, even in the most skillful hands, cannot match the selectivity of memory. The accumulation of photographs does not replace memory; rather it overburdens recall with visual data that explodes in the retelling. Our mimetic *photographic memories* need a mnemonic framework to keep them accessible and alive. The album reflects that need and preserves its evanescent conditions. To *speak* the photographic album is to see and *hear* its roots in orality.

Introduction

Photography is everywhere; likewise, this observation sticks to the facts of photography's instant and widespread popularity. The ubiquity of the photograph is a commonplace of cultural studies in which references to the medium continue to proliferate as though by mechanical reproduction. There are positives and negatives. Photography from the beginning has divided the world into supporters and detractors whose arguments have closely and confusingly intertwined: on one hand, the view that the invention of photography transformed the nature of pictorial information and revolutionized society; on the other, that photography is the natural outgrowth of tendencies and conditions that predated the invention. Since neither side can imagine a world without photography, debate focuses on its legitimacy and competence as an instrument of meaning. Ubiquity promotes uneasiness; familiarity breeds comfort, as well as contempt. Overtaken now by the "post-photographic era,"¹ we are still struggling to capture the photographic in words. As visual literates, we have gradually formulated our task as a form of translation, literally as the inscription of the photographic.

Paraphrasing the photographic offers endless pleasure and ceaseless employment. We like to say that the photograph resists interpretation, but that is the precisionist's conceit. Rather the photograph is too open to explication. Words like photographs are furious multipliers, especially before the image. A thousand for each picture, or so the saying goes. A contextual reading is like a stone dropped in a pond with its ever expanding concentric inclusions, occlusions and intersecting allusions. Everything must be measured, even the spaces between pictures, those productive fields of verbiage, those propagators of codes. Every object must be entered on a list.

Consider Roland Barthes's catalogue of signifying objects in a photographed composition: "a window opening onto vineyards and tiled roofs; in front of the window a photograph album, a magnifying glass, a vase of flowers." His deductive analysis follows: "we are in the

country, south of the Loire (vines and tiles), in a bourgeois house (flowers on the table) whose owner, advanced in years (the magnifying glass), is reliving his memories (the photograph album)."² The owner is François Mauriac; the still life has been taken in Malagar; the photograph appeared in Paris-Match illustrating a text which "renders the connotation explicit."³ In an economic series of gestures, Barthes's hand fans out the objects in the photograph and fills them with meaning. Yet all those pictures that we presume to be in the album are compressed between covers into a single word.

Memory: its association with photography was instantaneous. The photographic album is a compilation of memories, so Barthes and the camera companies have combined to tell us. James E. Paster's analysis of nineteenth-century print advertisements placed by the Eastman Kodak documents the company's suspension of technological claims and its prescient adoption of these slogans: "the snapshot as memory; the camera as storyteller; photography's ability to 'capture' time and extend the experience of the moment."⁴ Kodak's heroic claims became the industry standards. In 1919, an Ansco Vest-Pocket Camera advertisement counselled: "Keep the doors of Memory Open with an Ansco," adding, "Pictures always tell a story better and quicker than words." The accompanying illustration (drawn, not photographed) depicts a fashionable young woman cuddled up beside an elderly lady, as together they gaze at the pictures in an album.⁵

For sociologist Richard Chalfen, this kind of encounter meets the purpose of family photography, "primarily a medium of communication."⁶ Chalfen defines the family album as a site of cross-generational exchange and cultural continuity, transformative and moderating, as family members are exposed to the external pressures of acculturation.⁷ The album fills a void, as Anne-Marie Garat has inferred: "The family album, in its naive and defective way, certainly satisfies the immense need for a story [*le dit*] which for lack of written documents [*l'écrit*] haunts each family."⁸ Chalfen goes further, submitting that the phenomenon he calls Kodak culture may permanently be altering the nature

of story-telling. While oral and written traditions have not completely disappeared, "Memory is being aided and probably reorganized in new ways."⁹

The present study benefits from the contributions of Chalfen and others, but proceeds from a different hypothesis. It assumes that social authorities and human impulses build very slowly; it argues that the roots of the photographic album are embedded in non-pictorial and pre-existent forms. Photographic historians have consistently marvelled at the ubiquity of the album and just as frequently have commented on its idiosyncratic character. How shall we correlate these contradictory traits? By paying attention to the particulars: patience is what a large collection of albums teaches. For just as the fascination of photography cannot be explained without recourse to the whole history of art, neither can the ontology of the album be restricted to the trends and humours of its short existence, or even to the lives of its direct precursors. We need to look closely at this object and to imagine it in use.

The album, its name derived from the whiteness of the sheet, was known in the seventeenth century as the repository of autographs, a foreign custom, according to Samuel Johnson, later traced to Germany.¹⁰ Albums of photographs originated with the first successful prints, sometimes to record photographic progress. The Brewster Album, for example, was started by Juliet Brewster in 1842 as "a book of specimens,"¹¹ preserving the first precious experiments of her husband and others in the St. Andrews circle. The mania for collecting belonged at that time to the cancelled stamp whose dedicated album appeared in the 1860s. Then the photographic album was introduced. It was designed for cartes-de-visite making of its owner a commissioner and collector of miniature portraits, reproductions and views. In practical terms, the album was an early attempt to furnish the photographic consumer with a tool for collection management: convenient, safe and flexible storage for the mounting cartes-de-visite offered by relatives, friends and acquaintances, and recklessly augmented by purchase. The album quickly

claimed a place among the appointments of the Victorian home. The format had already been established in function and respectability: the autograph album has been cited as a precedent; albums of watercolour or sepia views were already on display on drawing room tables. Other genteel activities also migrated across the technological divide, in the content of photographs and in their organization by volume. Victorian intellectual pastimes - sketching, collecting and preserving specimens, mounting theatrical productions, story-telling and conversation - left their mark on the first generation of compilers and continued to influence their descendants.

The photographic compiler, like any hobbyist, was cultivated by example and supply. A comparative study of albums over the next century shows that the initial urge to collect remained strong, even as the source and selection of subject-matter passed from the studio photographer to the shutterbug at home. Rarity, comprehensiveness, variations and oddities - the stimuli of the botanical or philatelic collector - translate easily to the photographic compiler: the special occasion, the annual outing, photographic novelties and social high jinks - experiences collected from life. At the same time, the ease and flexibility of instantaneous photography broadened participation and licensed greater freedom of description and narration. The often, though not exclusively, solemn performances of the studio were largely, though not completely, replaced by more spontaneous photographic acts from which the compiler could order a memoir, a travelogue or a family saga. The dominant impression of the album became more personal, even as possession and authorship passed retroactively to the collective. Papa's Album became the Family Album, his legacy to the children who tolerated his obsession. When photography is taken as a window, materiality, efficiency and formality make common cause against the photographer's particular intention. The invisibility of the photographic compiler follows naturally as a mimetic double blind.

Rapidly, for reasons every child knows, photography became a part of private life, a pastime and a social obligation. The photographic album

also took its place among valued personal possessions. In his study of family albums, historian Robert Taft relates¹² (and Richard Chalfen has repeated¹³) that a pioneer family of the 1860s marked the founding of a new home by placing the family Bible and the photograph album on the cabin's makeshift table: "The Bible was the consolation of these wayfarers from a far country; the album was the most direct tie to their past life, for it contained the images of those most loved but now far distant: Father - Mother - Aunt Sue - Sister Mary - and a host of others."¹⁴ But as forcefully as this passage suggests the widespread acceptance of the album, its connection with the family is by no means secure. We need to look more closely at this enduring anecdote of photography and the American pioneer.

Taft identified his source as Covered Wagon Days, a first-person account of pioneer life, published in 1929 by A. J. Dickson and based on the experiences of his parents.¹⁵ In his preface to Covered Wagon Days,¹⁶ Dickson emphasized the authenticity of his account which he had drawn from his father's journals and papers. Interesting background, for not every man travelling by covered wagon kept a diary, and not every son whose father did was moved to expand and publish the results. But the Dickson story is not precisely as Taft understood it.

Jerome Dickson's memoirs are colourful and detailed. Their remarkable acuity becomes even more striking, and rather poignant too, when one realizes that the diarist is not a man, but a thirteen-year-old boy who is not the son of the house, but the child of a woman who remarried and "according to a current practice...bound out [her son] to Mr. and Mrs Ridgley until he should come of age."¹⁷ Joshua Ridgley ("'Dad,' as he was familiarly called"¹⁸) and his wife Rebecca kept a tavern at their farm north of La Crosse, Wisconsin. In 1864, when the Ridgleys migrated to Montana, the boy Jerome had been with them for three years. Mrs Ridgley may have instilled a propensity for detail in her charge; Jerome remembers her as a great manager and maker of lists. The family Bible is first mentioned at the moment of departure in an inventory of indispensable possessions that also includes the clock.¹⁹ And the

album? Yes, it appears in the unpacking and is placed on the flour-barrel table with the family Bible. Next added to the white-curtained room are "the box of seashells, a vase of feather flowers, a small mirror and a colored print or two,"²⁰ Rebecca Ridgley's homey touches.

The album remains unopened and there is no indication whatsoever that "it contained the images of those most loved but now far distant." In the American Civil War era, the compilation of albums of cartes-de-visite was a mark of civilization. In 1864, John Towles, editor of Humphrey's Journal, gave his impression of the album:

Everyone keeps a photographic album and it is a source of pride and emulation among some people to see how many cartes de visite they can accumulate from their friends and acquaintances...But the private supply of cartes de visite is nothing to the portraits of public characters which are thrown upon the market.²¹

Back home in Wisconsin, the gregarious Ridgleys had been well placed to build their own small collection, though not necessarily to be photographed themselves. There are no pictures of the couple among the photographic illustrations of Covered Wagon Days. Jerome is pictured at sixteen. Perhaps he was photographed when he went back east to visit his recently widowed mother. Though he remained in contact with the Ridgleys, no pictures that pertain to them seem to have been among his papers. The album may have been lost.

Taft tells this story to illustrate the importance placed on the album by the American family. He creates a powerful image, but the actual circumstances of the boy Jerome are more moving still. So many elements of the Dickson story are reflected in the albums (often labelled "family albums") collected by the McCord Museum of Canadian History: the equation of private album and family album from the evidence of happenstance and adjacency; the presumptions of kinship that idealize the past and exaggerate differences in the present; a "family history"

resulting from the close observation of an intimate outsider; the romance of the tale and the realities of the omissions; the valued album that drifts away.

In photographic literature, the indiscriminate stacking of snapshot photography, personal photographs, the changing family and the unchanging album has erected a colossus of aesthetics, social science and myth. Cultural critic Susan Sontag has defined the taking of pictures as "a rite of family life."²² The source and implications of this and other paradigms are considered more fully in Chapter One. But Sontag's statement is so ingenuous that it risks being passed over without comment. She is not wrong, but her notions of family history and ritual are unexamined. Before industrialization (before photography), Sontag imagines an idealized image of family continuity. Social historians have exposed us to a different and harsher reality.²³ As for 'rite', anthropologist Jack Goody has argued for limits on this term, working toward a more precise definition that distinguishes transformative ritual from normative practices, in part, by the elimination of the merely repetitive.²⁴

Repetition, or sameness, looms large in vernacular photography and forms an essential part of this study. But its intent is always at issue and popularity, or custom, is an inadequate explanation. Weddings are rituals and they are photographed, but the ritual aspects of the wedding photograph - its mythic, transformative powers - come into effect after the ceremony, as a story, in the retelling. Critics have sensed an ancient power in the photograph that has sometimes distorted their view of its history. "For at least a century, the wedding photograph has been as much a part of the ceremony as the prescribed verbal formulas,"²⁵ writes Sontag. Can this be true? Not on the basis of albums held by the McCord, and not according to Amy Vanderbilt, the doyenne of American etiquette. In 1962, she reminded her readers that formal photographs of the bride were normally taken at the trousseau shop or at home before the wedding. She also took note of society's awakening desire for candid coverage of the entire event.²⁶ Families of

modest means might have replicated the conditions of the studio in their back yards.²⁷ Two world wars, and other conflagrations, also loosened the stays of convention.²⁸ But many marriages were made without the benefit of photography, a practice that continues to this day.

As difficult as it is with photography, we must try to distinguish photographic ritual from the mimetic function of recording ritual as it takes place before the camera. This is not to deny photography its ritualism, but rather to delineate its specificity. Two references to philosopher Susanne K. Langer converge on this point. Siegfried Kracauer's photographic introduction to his Theory of Film springs from Langer's admission that "'the medium in which we naturally conceive our ideas may restrict them not only to certain forms but to certain fields.'"²⁹ Kracauer goes on to define the photographic in terms of approach (alienation); affinities (for the unstaged, the fortuitous, the endless and the indeterminate); and appeal (souvenirs and surprises - he cites the album - and source of beauty).³⁰ Sociologist Barbara Myerhoff also calls on Langer to particularize the miraculous in a commemorative ritual that Myerhoff has witnessed: a community of Jewish elders has undergone what "Langer calls a 'transformation,' 'when symbol and object seem to fuse and are experienced in a perfectly undifferentiated whole.'"³¹ Myerhoff continues: "Those present when such transformations occur are filled with wonder and gratitude, and are likely to experience the intense camaraderie Turner has called 'communitas.'"³² Posing for wedding pictures is not a rite of passage. The emotions experienced in posing for wedding pictures are not by nature photographic. They belong to the greater order of choreographed movements that manifest the social (for some, spiritual) rearrangements of the wedding day. The pictures record the outward appearance of an invisible transformation which is perpetuated in the viewing and retelling.

Lisa McCoy situates the married woman's narration of her wedding album in a continuum of planning and acting in the spectacle of her wedding day. In this, she follows John Berger: "The private photograph...is

appreciated and read in a context *which is continuous with that from which the camera removed it.*"³³ The album "reflects a kind of essential wedding,"³⁴ an ideal in relation to the actual event. McCoy divides the wedding album into three levels of representation: the symbolic ceremony, its imperfectly staged enactment and its candid explication as given to her on tape. Her breakdown, while insightful, nevertheless creates a false impression. The bride's meticulous planning of the wedding and her subsequent awareness of the make-believe aspect of the pictures are kept strictly apart. Yet the complicity of the bride and her advisors in choosing from the repertoire of photographic motifs and adapting them in performance is the key to the ritual of the wedding album. As every mother knows, the aging bride will be called upon many times to replay the day of her wedding. The commissioned album is a scenario for improvised recitation that is both formulaic and attuned to its audience. McCoy's interest is the occasion for a revival of the album and a revision of its performance. The bride navigates between past and present - her audience then and her auditor now - when she takes McCoy backstage.

Berger's notion of continuousness evokes what Mircea Eliade termed the "the Great Time, the sacred time,"³⁵ entered by detachment from profane time through the ritual reenactment or recitation of a myth. Berger's programme is, of course, more secular than sacred. By outlining the differences between private and public photography, he is admonishing professional photographers, including artists, to learn from private photographs - to study their relationship to memory. Following Sontag, Berger argues that the public photograph is declarative and closed. The camera which surveys from a position of authority obviates the necessity for memory. Conversely, the private photograph remains open and alive because it respects the laws of memory. According to Berger, the structure of memory is not unilinear in its relationship to events, but criss-crossed with multiple associations. As we saw in McCoy's interaction with the bride, Berger's axial memory must also be understood as performative and additive. To enter the private photograph, even as a spectator, is to alter its meaning. Berger calls

for an alternative use of photographs in a dense and multiplistic context of words and images:

Narrated time becomes historic time when it is assumed by social memory and social action. The constructed narrative time needs to respect the process of memory which it hopes to stimulate.³⁶

Berger expands this conceptual framework in a work co-authored with photographer Jean Mohr. Another Way of Telling proposes the arrangement of photographs in "a field of coexistence like the field of memory."³⁷ Here again, Berger is addressing issues of photographic production, art and communication. The private photograph in private hands is held up as a model which coalesces materiality and experience in an ideal condition, the last bastion of "'timelessness'".³⁸

Surely this condition is at risk when the private photograph becomes public. The interpretive problem is very tricky: how to create pathways to the latent memories in the album without pouring their continuous flow in concrete? The situation is aggravated in public presentation. Mnemonic axes have not found their way into museums where exhibitions combining images and text are biased toward unilinear reception - toward reading. The model that Berger and Mohr have assembled in their book does not escape linearity, but effectively thickens narration to the point of imitating the convergence of three experiential fields: the photographer-teller, the spectator-listener and the subject-protagonist. Interestingly enough, Berger the novelist has followed his critical concepts of continuity and axiality to the peasant culture of France from which he has drawn his trilogy, Into Their Labours.³⁹ He is working, in other words, as close as he can to his definition of the private photograph and to the culture of orality.

Photography and story-telling tend to run parallel in studies whose goals and framework are established to differentiate between types of social experience. Bossard and Boll's Ritual in Family Living drew part

of its findings from 100 published works of autobiographical writing. The dates of these works, from 1856 to 1946, roughly correspond to the photographic albums in the present study, yet the autobiographers, according to Bossard and Boll, make no mention of photography.⁴⁰ It is noteworthy, however, that the autobiographical writers seemed to come from families that already had story-tellers: maiden aunts or grandparents or lifetime servants.⁴¹

Conducting a survey of contemporary family ritual, Bossard and Boll found different levels of photographic practice, separated by class and tradition: the regular commissioning of group family portraits set in the home of the rich; the spottier attendance at commercial studios by children of the middle class. The keeping of a family scrapbook was attributed to only one upper class family which gathered annually in the trophy room to update and celebrate their family cause. Overall, photographic practices were likelier to signify in families where the pictorial tradition was already engrained; they attached therefore to the family's historical sense of identity which was objectified in its portrait gallery or shrine.⁴²

Albums are a different setting for stories which clamour invisibly around the pictures, animating the most stilted of studio portraits with family secrets and subversive tales. Looking and listening to her heart, Jessie Robinson Bisbee wrote in 1917:

We smile as we remember the old family groups, some of them stiff and inappropriate, some of them a bit faded and dim with the years, but close to every smile there lurks a tear, for 'the touch of the vanished hand and the sound of a voice that is still' comes vividly before us with the memory.⁴³

Memories must be shared to be preserved and for the album to fulfil its function. Most of us are spoiled by the ideal circumstances in which we normally encounter an album, with an interpreter in the home. Viewing an album in company must be considered standard practice - the normal

spectatorial experience - so persistent is the framework in popular and scholarly description. This is not because a private album is so openly accessible, but precisely because it is not. Its personal nature and intended restriction to a circle of intimates, even to an audience of one, licenses singular arrangements of situational images which need explanation and are enhanced by a tale.

So firmly established is this concept of togetherness that the inspection of an album in the absence of a guide has been used effectively as a device to evoke alienation and confusion by contemporary novelists such as Cormac McCarthy:

The old musty album with its foxed and crumbling paper seemed to breathe a reek of the vault, turning up one by one these dead faces with their wan and loveless gaze out toward the spinning world, masks of incertitude before the cold glass eye of the camera or recoiling before this celluloid immortality or faces simply staggered into gaga by the sheer velocity of time.⁴⁴

Looking at another person's snapshots, slides, home movies or tapes can be killing; repetition seems endemic to the genre. The real-life domestic experience is loaded with compensatory pleasures - intimacy, conviviality, emotional investment, perhaps a slice of cake. But what happens when the album is shifted away from its proper and private environment to a public museum?

Any artifact extracted from its original context poses questions of provenance and significance; a once private photographic album is perhaps more poignant and insistent in its appeal to reconstruction. Albums generally contain very little written commentary.⁴⁵ Captions are abbreviated and sometimes misleading when added by descendants after the fact. Poring over an album for clues to its origins, one is struck by the direct equivalence between intimacy and loss. So familiar at one time were these faces, places and dates that there was no need for the

compiler to write them down. Now they are lost forever, and they are not the only misplaced keys. If the photograph is mysterious, the problem is compounded in compilation. Such an earnest effort at communication: what was the compiler trying to say?

Marshall McLuhan perceived the photograph as a visual report "without syntax."⁴⁶ If so, the insertion of a photograph into an album ought to function correctively, at least on a grass roots level. Compilation should bring the album's constituent photographs to order within a "net of rationality"⁴⁷ a particular syntactical structure which is more than a convention or a genre. But that structure can be elusive. Transparentness like a photograph is an illusion, nothing more than a glass surface which must be cracked into a network of connections. Call it McLuhan's "net of rationality," Barthes's "code"⁴⁸, or Berger's "field of coexistence." The problem remains the same.

There are, needless to say, popular topics, such as travel, family, friends and holidays by the sea, whose recurrence has been measured and analyzed elsewhere.⁴⁹ But as much as human beings choose their own friends and cherish their own dream vacations, there is room for personal preference and structural variety within this repertoire of cultural motifs. Photographic historian Timm Starl makes the underlying point with regard to the snapshot photographer "who is creating a point of reference for later reminiscences, laying, as it were, a trail into the future...he is answerable to his personal preferences alone."⁵⁰

In terms of style, some albums collect, some describe and others narrate; alternations between functions are common; many albums combine all three. A survey of the McCord Museum collection demonstrates the porousness of stylistic and thematic partitions. Between thin covers of conformity, each photographic album is its own syntactical preserve.

The removal of an album from a private situation to the public sphere does not deprive it of a context, but substitutes one set of viewing conditions for another. An institutional setting, however impersonal,

is never neutral: as there is no generic compiler, there is no standard museum. A private album in a public museum is a microcosm that bridges two macrocosmic collections, the compiler's and the custodial institution's. Their histories intersect, with interesting lessons for the historiographer. In Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill identifies two traditions in writing the history of museums, the first chronological and incremental in objects and personalities, the second a closer, more contextual variation on the first. Neither approach interrogates the material to the satisfaction of Hooper-Greenhill who calls for a third approach, an 'effective history' of museums which replaces linear histories with patterns of convergent historical factors. Her proposal is almost overwhelming in its implications, substituting explanations of links between objects on an encyclopedic chart with detailed questions about the gaps.⁵¹

Puzzles like these are familiar to the student of private photographic albums. In the mind of Timm Starl, the apparent absence of rational interconnections between elements discourages integral or biographical readings of albums; typological analysis of the contents is the only sensible course.⁵² But gaps, as unexplained links, have their own lucidity. While they can never be resolved with unquestionable finality, they are no different from any other ambiguous element in a work of art. To consider them as secrets is misleading. There is no certainty at all that the compiler was aware of or could have explained his or her leaps and digressions. Not all communication is conducted in the open or with full consciousness of its effects. We are accustomed in conversation to weighing both words and silences. The same factors are at play with an album that silently submits itself to verbal translation.

At the McCord, a translation of albums has already occurred, in the sense that they have been moved, as relics, from the private to the public sphere. Their function and meaning have been modified in the process. As a museum of social history, the McCord collects albums as examples of professional and amateur activity, and as quarries for

photographic illustration. Those can be cruel facts in the face of a painstakingly assembled personal document. Searching an album for its original meaning and recording one's findings is a second act of translation which tries to be faithful not just to the object as it was in life (in the hands of the compiler), but as it survives in what Walter Benjamin called its afterlife (where the translator finds it). Benjamin was talking about canonical, therefore highly disputable, works of art, and he was also talking about writing. But what he says about all great texts, that they "contain their potential translation between the lines,"⁵³ certainly applies to the photographic album as found in a public museum.

For what we know from experience to be the album's normal method of presentation - pointing, talking, filling in, digressing - is missing. It must all be supplied from the visual evidence and the framework of its display. Conceiving the album as an act of communication means reactivating a suspended conversation that fills in those gaps by reawakening the actors, the agents that Barbara Hardy calls "tellers and listeners."⁵⁴ Enter the average person, for as Hardy explains:

The man in the street who says that he could write a novel if only he had the time isn't necessarily a laughing-stock. Like everyone else, he is telling stories and scraps of stories every day of his life, assembling and revising the stories of his days into an informal autobiography. It wouldn't necessarily be a readable narrative, let alone a best-seller or a work of genius, and it might be too inarticulate, unformed, and uninventive to be interesting even as a tape-recording of the mind, a kind of récit vérité. But even if we take the dimmest view of the narrative powers of the dimmest mind, story-telling doesn't have to be brilliant in order to perform its good or bad functions. It is characteristic of great story-tellers to warn us not only off books, but also off brilliance.⁵⁵

The album, for all its bookish appearance, needs to be distinguished from analogous literary forms and analyzed in its specificity. For if the album collects, its gaps are enshrined as deliberate omissions from a mechanically reproducible world. If it describes, its optical gaze is both objectively detailed and sentimentally possessed. And if it narrates, its structure is never linear, but idiosyncratic, meandering, stubbornly non-Aristotelian. Against the stability of any text, however provisional, the album seems less like an object, more like Hardy's "man on the street." The organization of the album reflects the workings of his mind.

Anne-Marie Garat sees the family album as a hybrid novel - a saga, a chronicle, a life story, an autobiography, a legend, a photo romance - all these things at once:

A draft always started over in a recitation for several voices. Family photography makes people loquacious. It engenders a text from the oral tradition - collective and sustained by successive contribution.⁵⁶

Researchers such as Boerdam and Martinus, Chalfen, Kotkin, Lesy, McCoy and many others who have studied albums or applied them to related research, have tried to recreate such participatory presentations. Successful interviews stir up memories and stimulate reenactments of the informants' stories. Chalfen emphasizes the "telling and retelling during exhibition events...the story does not appear in the album or on the screen; it is not 'told' by the images."⁵⁷ For an art historian, the performative model is extremely instructive, even if the principal actors can no longer be assembled. Something like the compiler's performance must take place if the album is to be unlocked.

Henry Sayre has described the slide show and the family album as "the mnemonic devices of a new oral history."⁵⁸ This is another way of saying that the album functions as a pictorial aide-mémoire to recitation. Analysis of inclusions and patterns of compilation takes

this observation much further. The album's inclusiveness and labyrinthine design are shown to conform to what Walter Ong has called "the psychodynamics of orality."⁵⁹

At a glance, the resemblances are striking. Sound, like the photographic moment, is evanescent. Its utterance coincides with its disappearance, much like the photographic act. Recitation revives the original utterance, bringing it into a continuous present, just as the viewing of a photograph creates a continuum with the past. Orality invests power in naming which photography does by objective recording. But this is merely the surface. The album's roots in orality run far deeper.

In oral cultures, the test of memory entailed by long and detailed recitations is met by heavy patterning and fixed formulas. Ong describes the additive, aggregative and redundant structure of recitation; content that is conservative and close to the human life world; presentations that are empathetic, homeostatic and situational.

The formulaic nature of photographic albums is well nigh a cliché: typical subjects in typical situations. But translating those images into oral presentation transcends familiarity. The forming on the tongue of the same names, over and over again, casts the compiler's "heavy" or ceremonial characters, the principal actors in her recall. Similarly, the generation of pictorial character description through posing and symbolic attribution is the equivalent of orality's epithetic identifications. Descriptive statements serve to separate and fix the various characters in the mind: the clowning uncle, the beautiful sister, the grandmother who was also an athlete.

The oral condition lingers also in the formulary disposition of images. Some analysts have recognized and dismissed the album's redundancies, clusters and serpentine patterns of information as failed literary attempts. But verbal storytelling works differently. Interruptions occur. We even interrupt ourselves. Albums are full of digressions and

exclamations. Their organization is based on imaginal dialogues, on the lost scripts of presentation.

Next to the human voice, photographic imagery is the ideal instrument for genealogies that are not lists, as family bibles, but accounts of human relations. Even albums of cartes-de-visite - the most rigid form of presentation - articulate relationships between pictured subjects, by adjacency and accumulation, sometimes by omission.

The empathetic and participatory nature of orality is well served by a medium which immerses the spectator in the moment - allows him or her to 'get with it' in almost mythological dimensions (Berger's continuum; Eliade's sacred time). The album in presentation is not a considered memoir, but a telling alive in the moment and alert to its audience.

The homeostatic nature of oral society - its self-maintenance in a continuous and relevant present - also describes the photographic album which, even if not physically altered, can be continuously revised by selective oral presentation.

Those are the principles of the study that follows. A final introductory question should, however, be addressed. Can the photographic album, very much the product of a literate and industrialised society, be considered a vestige of orality? The temporal aspects of photography suggest certain parallels with oral experience are addressed more systematically below, but setting out, shall we treat such similarities as evidence of a relationship, or should we think of them merely as analogical tools?

To answer that question, it is helpful to consider the notion of "secondary orality," a category developed by Ong for activities founded on, though departing from, an individualised introversion of the age of writing, print and rationalism.⁶⁰ Instrumentality is not the key: the identifying mark of Ong's secondary orality is self-consciousness. Explaining this idea in 1971, Ong cited the example of Pop Art which he

defined as a "supercharged romanticism...strangeness is found even in the cliché through exaggerating confrontation with it."⁶¹ We find the same oppositions in artists' quotations or allusions to the photographic album - extreme use of devices such as multiplicity, repetition, juxtaposition and erasure. Self-consciousness, or a consciousness of the self within a social or political order, is a reliable feature of the secondary album which emulates, but does not replicate, the primary form. As the next chapter begins to explain, the private album is something apart, a source for artists and a connection to a greater need.

It has been argued since Plato that writing would spell the end of mnemonic accuracy and the passionate transmission of experience.⁶² Photography, considered as a form of transcription, falls under the same cloud. But perhaps the album can show us something different - less dire in its predictions and polemic. For what we find in the album is an accommodation of technology within the continua of ancient formations. The new has been received. Mnemonic structures that serve oral recitation are put to use as the scaffolding of the pictorial aide-mémoire. We cannot see it, of course. The oral scaffolding by nature is impermanent. It disappears, but the album remains.

It falls to the historian to bring news from the past. Oddly enough, the "psychodynamics" of the album - the intertwining of voice and image that its recitation requires - are met again in the electronic world. The photographic album sets a precedent for the contemporary amateur's digital sampling, time warping and memory making. Both are formulations of direct spectatorial experience. Using the methods and tools at their disposal, people find a way to show their world and tell their stories. By adapting our habits of attention, we can find a way to see and hear them too.

Notes:

1. William J. Mitchell, The Reconfigured Eye: Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1992).
2. Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in Image-Music-Text, Stephen Heath, trans.; reprinted in A Barthes Reader (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) p. 202.
3. Ibid.
4. James E. Paster. "Advertising Immortality by Kodak," in History of Photography, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1992, p. 138. As Paster explains, Kodak's first mass-marketing efforts of 1888 concentrated on ease and instantaneity, but by the turn of the century, had introduced an association with memory that continues in use to this day.
5. "Keep the Doors of Memory Open with an Ansco," advertisement in The American Annual of Photography 1920, Vol. XXXIV (New York: The American Annual of Photography Inc., 1919, p. 1.
6. Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves. The Photograph Collections of Two Japanese American Families (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1991) p. 5.
7. Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves. The Photograph Collections of Two Japanese American Families (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991) p. 212.
8. Author's translation from Anne-Marie Garat, Photos de familles (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994) p. 27: "L'album de famille, à sa façon, naïve et défectueuse, vient sans doute combler l'immense besoin du dit, à défaut de l'écrit, qui hante toute famille."
9. Chalfen, Turning Leaves, p. 221.
10. The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "album."
11. From Sir David Brewster's letter to William Henry Fox Talbot, October 22, 1842, quoted by Graham Smith, Disciples of Light. Photographs in the Brewster Album (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990) p. 13.
12. Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889, c1938 (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1964) p. 138.
13. Richard Chalfen, Turning Leaves, p. 3.

14. Ibid.
15. Taft, pp. 138; note 172, p. 476.
16. Arthur Jerome Dickson, ed., Covered Wagon Days. A journey across the plains in the sixties, and pioneer days in the Northwest; from the private journals of Albert Jerome Dickson (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1929).
17. Dickson, pp. 20-23.
18. Ibid., p. 20.
19. Ibid., p. 41.
20. Ibid., p. 192.
21. John Towles, Humphrey's Journal, cited by Barbara McCandless, "The Portrait Studio and the Celebrity," in Photography in Nineteenth-Century America, Martha A. Sandweiss, ed. (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1991) p. 62.
22. Susan Sontag. On Photography (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978) p. 8.
23. For a concise historical survey of representations of the family, see Virginia Tufte and Barbara Myerhoff, Changing Images of the Family (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979).
24. Jack Goody, "Against 'Ritual': Loosely structured thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic," in Secular Ritual Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff eds., (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977) pp. 25-35.
25. Sontag, p. 8.
26. Amy Vanderbilt, New Complete Book of Etiquette, Revised 1962 (Garden city, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963) p. 75
27. See, for example, English couples recreating studio conditions in their back yards - photographs from the 1920s - in Graham King, Say Cheese! Looking at Snapshots in a New Way (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1984) p. 97.
28. Of the four wedding parties reproduced in King (pp. 94-98, two are from the 1960s; in the other two, from the 1940s and from 1917, the grooms are in military uniform.
29. Susanne K. Langer, Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art (New York: A Mentor Book, 1953) p. 210, quoted by Siegfried Kracauer, Theory of Film. The Redemption of Physical Reality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960) p. 3.

30. Kracauer, pp. 3-23.
31. Barbara Myerhoff, Number Our Days (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1979) pp. 224-225.
32. Myerhoff, p. 225.
33. John Berger, "Uses of Photography" 1978, reprinted in About Looking (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) p. 51; cited by Lisa McCoy, "Looking at Wedding Pictures," in The Zone of Conventional Practice and Other Real Stories, Cheryl Simon, ed. (Montréal: Optica, 1989) p. 70.
34. McCoy, p. 76.
35. Mircea Eliade, Myths, Dreams and Mysteries - The Encounter Between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities, Philip Mairet, trans. (New York: Harper & Row, 1975) p. 23.
36. Berger, pp. 61-62.
37. John Berger, "Stories," in John Berger and Jean Mohr, Another Way of Telling (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd., 1982) p. 288.
38. Berger, "Appearances," in Another Way of Telling, p. 108.
39. For an introduction to the peasant trilogy, see John Berger, Pig Earth, 1979 (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1992) pp. xi-xxvii.
40. James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, Ritual in Family Living (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956) pp. 31-34.
41. Ibid, p. 130.
42. Ibid., pp. 130-133.
43. Jessie Robinson Bisbee, "Photography - Then and Now," in The American Annual of Photography 1918, Vol XXXII (New York: The American Annual of Photography Inc., 1917) p. 128.
44. Cormac McCarthy, Suttree (New York: Vintage Books, 1992, c.1979) p. 129.
45. A notable exception has been discovered by Chalfen. George Nagano, a Japanese American compiler, was also an active keeper of journals and scrapbooks. He even kept a scrapbook for his will! The pages of his albums are heavily inscribed with family history, messages to future generations and personal reflections on the pictures and process of compilation. See Turning Leaves, pp. 65-115.

46. Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (New York; Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library, 1964) p. 171.
47. Ibid., p. 170.
48. Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," (1961) in A Barthes Reader, Susan Sontag, ed., Stephen Heath, trans. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) pp. 194-210.
49. See Chalfen, Snapshot Versions of Life, pp. 75-117 on types of family snapshots; Turning Leaves, p. 9, on types of photographic albums. Photographic historian Timm Starl has completed a history of snapshots from 1880 to the present, largely based on his private collection of 250 albums of German and Austrian origin. "Die Bildwelt der Knipser, Eine empirische Untersuchung zur privaten Fotografie," in Fotoqeschichte, Vol. 14, No. 52, 1994, pp. 59-68, reports his preliminary findings. Starl's emphasis on themes and motifs was outlined in "A Short History of Snapshot Photography," in Taking Snapshots: Amateur Photography in Germany from 1900 to the Present, exh. cat. by Joachim Schmid for the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1993. His approach complemented Schmid's organization of the exhibition which was mostly by subject, such as 'dogs,' dancing couples,' 'Christmas,' and so forth.
50. Timm Starl, "A Short History of Snapshot Photography," p. 7.
51. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) pp. 18-22.
52. Timm Starl, "A Short History of Snapshot Photography," p. 8.
53. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in Illuminations, Hannah Arendt, ed.; Harry Zohn, trans. (New York: Schocken Books, 1969, 1978) pp. 69-82; quotation, p. 82.
54. Barbara Hardy, Tellers and Listeners. The Narrative Imagination (London: The Athlone Press, The University of London, 1975).
55. Hardy, pp. xiii-ix.
56. "Brouillon toujours recommencé d'un récitatif à plusieurs voix. Car la photographie de famille rend disert, elle engendre un texte de tradition orale, collectif, nourri d'apports successifs." See Garat, p. 24.
57. Chalfen estimates each snapshot at 1000 spoken words. See Snapshot Versions of Life, p. 70.
58. Sayre, p. 2.
59. Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word (London and New York: Methuen, 1982) pp. 31-77.

60. Ong, "The Literate Orality of Popular culture today," in Rhetoric, Romance and Technology. Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971) p. 285.

61. Ibid., p. 298.

62. Ong compares the paradoxical message of the Phaedrus (274-7) and the Seventh Letter with technologically assisted resistance to the computer. See Orality and Literary, pp. 79-81.

Chapter One: Paradigms and Metaphors

To understand an album, one should perhaps keep an album. Mine contains no photographs; it is pictorial only in the sense that it evokes images; it is computerized and text-based. The album that I keep is a compendium of scholarly opinion and pictorial variation on the photographic album, here defined as an ordered collection of photographs drawn from the archives of private life. This chapter is that compendium.

The photographic album is an amorphous object, often referred to as the family album, though it be, as Patricia Holland puts it, "guarded by a self-appointed archivist,"¹ though it be about houses, or horses, or holidays. After 1880, the contents of albums are taken to be snapshots, though more formal pictures and more prosaic memorabilia often appear. The idea of album sweeps the particulars of collecting under the cover of collective impulse. As a pseudo-album, this chapter constitutes a pattern book of reception and representation.

The American semiologist, Susan Stewart, offers a remarkable example. In a discussion of the folkloric tableau, she draws a photographic analogy to illustrate her idea of a closed text. She writes:

Here we might think not only of sculpture but also of the photograph, which has made possible the dramatization and classicization of the individual life history. Such "still shots," say, before the family car or the Christmas tree, are always profoundly ideological, for they eternalize a moment or instance of the typical in the same way that a proverb or emblem captions a moment as an illustration of the moral working of the universe. Thus, while these photographs articulate the individual, they do so according to a well-defined set of generic conventions. It is not simply that the family album records an individual's rites of passage; it does so in such a conventionalized way that

all family albums are alike.²

Stewart's comparison of folkloric expression and photography is an interesting one. But like many scholars who have consulted the family album, Stewart bases her study on what she sees as a clear and uncontroversial definition - a paradigm that encompasses the form.

But whose paradigm is it? One of the first scientific studies of amateur photographic activity was conducted in the 1960s by a group of French sociologists under the leadership of Pierre Bourdieu. Un art moyen/Photography: A Middle-brow Art pricked one of photography's prime conceits by showing that the invention had not revolutionized society, but had actually served to reinforce social stratification by confirming the middle class in its traditional values. Thus Bourdieu describes the amateur photographer's capitulation to the "strained, posed and stereotyped photography of the family album."³ A few sentences later, however, a certain reverence creeps into Bourdieu's text as he sketches a modern rite of initiation, the presentation of the family album to the stranger, "in chronological order, the logical order of social memory."⁴ This tribal ritual, he says, confers solidarity and decency on the group whose collective interest overrules the individual. Through this process, according to Bourdieu,

...all the unique experiences that give the individual memory the particularity of a secret are banished from it, and the common past, or perhaps, the highest common denominator of the past, has all the clarity of a faithfully visited gravestone.⁵

By collective will, the strained, the posed and the stereotyped are redeemed. The concentration of family photographs in an album appears to consecrate the object as a reliquary of socialization and faith. It follows that the album is greater than its parts which are subsumed by a higher order that concretes the relationship of the family. So uplifting is this passage from the otherwise trenchant Bourdieu that

historian Jacques Le Goff is moved to echo and to refine it with an appeal to motherhood. The mother, he suggests, is often the family photographer. Le Goff asks: "Should we see in this the conservation of remembrance or, on the contrary, a conquest of the group memory by feminism?"⁶

Unfortunately for Le Goff, Bourdieu found nothing of the sort. His survey indicates higher levels of activity among male photographers than female.⁷ Bourdieu identifies the father as the children's historian.⁸ Photographing the children is assigned to the head of the nuclear family, a paradigm that needs no introduction. Bourdieu's conclusions, like anonymous snapshots, are displayed in the writing of Susan Sontag who grimly expounds on the effect of Western industrialization on the family and its album:

As that claustrophobic unit, the nuclear family, was being carved out of a much larger family aggregate, photography came along to memorialize, to restate symbolically, the imperiled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life. Those ghostly traces, photographs, supply the token presence of the dispersed relatives. A family's photographic album is generally about the extended family - and often, is all that remains of it."⁹

Neither Sontag nor Bourdieu addresses the matter of authorship, that is who actually maintains this document or whose version of events is enshrined in the compilation. The album as attribute of the nuclear family proposes the unworkable notion of collective compilation. As Sontag puts it, "each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself."¹⁰ Or, as Victor Burgin claims, authorship is a function of an overarching set of social and psychic conditions which ensure that "domestic snapshots characteristically serve to legitimate the institution of the family."¹¹

Still searching for the compiler, we are left with two complementary

assumptions. Bourdieu's discovery of an overarching social order determining the domestic use of the camera has seeded far and wide the notion of a family's comprehensive and orderly self-presentation. Le Goff, for his part, automatically assigns authorship to the mother, and he is not alone. The photographic album and the mother are often linked.

Serge Tisseron, writing on photography's function as an envelope, or container, for the photographer and subject, finds his ultimate example in the album: "These characteristics are confirmed by albums that often respond to the desire to gather up the scattered pieces of a family puzzle, as in those families where the mother keeps close to hand images of her children who have spread out across the world."¹²

Autobiographical fiction follows suit. The restlessness of Jack Kerouac is anchored by his mother whose attributes he identifies as "her essential sewing basket, her essential crucifix, and her essential family photo album."¹³ In Ralph Eugene Meatyard's The Family Album of Lucybelle Crater, the masked matriarch appears in every frame and everyone in the album is called "Lucybelle Crater."¹⁴ The same connection is exploited by Wim Wenders in his futuristic film, Until the End of the World (Australia, 1991) in which a son risks his vision and his life to assemble the components of a family album which can only be reconstituted as a form of virtual reality in the mind of his blind mother. Here again, Bourdieu's statistical input is something of a spoiler as he reports a decrease in the activity and intensity of photographic practice correspondent to the dispersal of the urban family.¹⁵ Photographic art and theory nevertheless maintain a connection between the mother's album and the mother tongue, the 'lingua materna', the speechform of the vernacular.¹⁶

As a collective monument, the archetypal album fosters a rotation through pain and consolation. Exactly where the spectator comes to rest in this cycle is more open to question than Bourdieu's domestic tableau would suggest. Critic Johanne Lamoureux has described her uneasiness when, as a child, she was shown her family's only photographic album

which chronicled the funeral of a brother who died before she was born. Despite her mother's patterned and religious narration, Lamoureux recognized that the integrity of the family was highly vulnerable to sudden, shattering loss.¹⁷

The spectral twins, photography and death, teeter on the brink of Flaubert's *idées reçues*. Besides Barthes, Bazin and De Duve here cited, the subject has been adumbrated by such contemporary critics as Philippe Dubois, Christian Metz, Jay Ruby and Susan Sontag. Their theories are rife with productive ambiguity: to be photographed is somewhat akin to dying; to photograph is an act of soft murder; to be photographed is an act of self-perpetuation. None of these primary notions could justly be ascribed to one author. They are founded on a mood that has been visited on photography since its first ghostly appearance in an antipodal century of positivism and pessimism. On June 4, 1857, photography had not yet attained the age of majority when Edmond and Jules de Goncourt made the following observation in their Journal:

At the Hôtel Drouot saw the first sale of photographs.

Everything is becoming black in this century: photography is like the black clothing of things.¹⁸

Photography is always tinged with that realization. Photographic albums as both photographs and books may be doubly cursed, for the inscription of ideas in physical and temporal finality has always been charged with morbidity; before photography, this was the burden of literacy.¹⁹ In "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," Bazin turns to the photographic album to illustrate the morbidity that resides in the indissolubility of the photographed object and the photograph:

Hence the charm of family albums. Those grey or sepia shadows, phantomlike and almost decipherable, are no longer traditional family portraits but rather the disturbing presence of lives halted at a set moment in their duration, freed from their destiny; not, however, by the prestige of

art but by the power of an impassive mechanical process: for photography does not create eternity, as art does, it embalms time, rescuing it simply from its proper corruption.²⁰

The dilemma posed by a medium that perpetuates life by stopping it has also been examined by Thierry De Duve who argues that a photograph excites in the viewer a pre-symbolic condition, a mood not unlike manic-depression. According to De Duve, mania and depression co-exist in front of every photograph, not mingling but alternating in a complex spectatorial reaction.²¹ Carol Mavor's reading of Lewis Carroll's photographic albums follows the same bifurcated vein. Mavor writes:

Carroll's little girls, pasted into his album, were flattened flower buds - some from last spring, some from many springtimes ago - all pressed, pasted, preserved, and arranged into Victorian albums. Carroll wanted his child-friends to be forever little, to remain as Persephone was before she plucked the tender-sweet-smelling narcissus that metaphorically stood for her own breakage, loss and marked change.²²

Such an album is a performative site of desire, according to Mavor whose analysis fits well the type of compilation to which she has been drawn, the cabinet or collection to which the label of fetishism may very well adhere. The family album is somewhat different, though, according to Marianne Hirsch, no less potent with desire. In a Lacanian reading, Hirsch distinguishes two forms of spectatorial engagement, the familial gaze - founded on an ideological and mythological construction - and the familial look - made up of local and mutual desire.²³ As she states, "Recognizing an image as familial elicits a specific kind of readerly or spectatorial look...an adoption of the image into our own familial narrative."²⁴ Adoption, Hirsch continues, is something that can happen by force, against the spectator's will, a phenomenon akin to Roland Barthes's "*punctum*...idiosyncratic, untheorizable: it is what moves us

because of our memories and our histories."²⁵

Barthes had defined a photograph's *punctum* in contradistinction to the beholder's fascination with content as "that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)."²⁶ There is pleasure in Barthes's *punctum* in part because there is no code. The photograph that he describes of his mother, a little girl of five posing with her brother in a winter garden, has been marked by its provenance: "The corners were blunted from having been pasted into an album."²⁷ Barthes, however, is examining his family photographs, one by one. He will not be reconstituting the album:

No: neither album nor family. For a long time, the family, for me, was my mother and, at my side, my brother; beyond that, nothing (except the memory of my grandparents); no "cousin," that unit so necessary to the constitution of the family group. Besides, how opposed I am to that scientific way of treating the family as if it were a fabric of constraints and rites: either we code it as a group of immediate allegiances or else we make it into a knot of conflicts and repressions. As if our experts cannot conceive that there are families "whose members love one another."²⁸

The encoded power of family photographs - Hirsch's own desire to read through it - fuels her analysis. While Hirsch writes from a psychoanalytical perspective, she echoes Bourdieu's sociological findings when she says that, "Family albums tend to include those images on which family members can agree, which tell a shared story."²⁹ As a critic, she places theoretical and pictorial interpretations of albums between herself and her own photographic history. She sees the photographs of Urs Lüthi, Ralph Eugene Meatyard and Cindy Sherman as "photographic texts which constitute a commentary on [albums] and thereby form a meta-photographic discourse."³⁰ She seeks that commentary to break the "hermetic circle of familial hegemony."³¹

In the latter half of the twentieth century, there is no shortage of such meta-photographic texts whose interrogation is also a family affair, based on epistemic agreement as to the nature, function and limits of the norm. The shared story, a meta-story about the ideal album, is a starting point for creative play. The framework of the album is a pretext, the envelope or container, for the analysis which is embedded in its contents. The exegesis is thus performative, an interpretation based on assumptions and experiences assumed by the artist to be shared by the audience.

Meatyrd's The Family Album of Lucybelle Crater uses the paradigm to delineate the grotesque.³² His central character, Lucybelle Crater, wears an opaque mask with the downcast features of an elderly female, while her various companions, Lucybelles all, have their features distorted by a semi-transparent disguise. The masks wrench Meatyard's staged domesticity out of normality, creating an oddly subdued carnival atmosphere - an unspecified secular ritual that never seems quite to begin. In its still pregnancy, the album shifts from a closed pronouncement on family into a permanent state of transition, grotesque in Mikhail Bakhtin's sense of its relation to time: "For in this [grotesque] image we find both poles of transformation, the old and the new, the dying and the procreating, the beginning and the end of metamorphosis."³³

Meta-albums as artistic statements began to take shape in the 1960s, coalescing under the Snapshot Aesthetic and the Social Landscape. The elevation of the snapshot from mass culture to high art thus coincided with Neo Dada, Nouveau Réalisme and Pop. For photography, the moment was perhaps more decisive; it was certainly more paradoxical as the overthrow of the young Modernist canon by old 'snapshot' values.³⁴

As Nathan Lyons remarked in his defining essay on the Social Landscape, the look of the snapshot had exercised influence on all graphic media since its inception.³⁵ But the characteristics of the amateur

photograph were only part of what Duane Michals extolled as its "simplicity and directness,"³⁶ a state of grace achieved within an authentic photographic tradition. A professional photographer like Michals returning to the snapshot reversed the order of biographical evolution: "When I was a child, I used to talk like a child, and think like a child, and argue like a child, but now I am a man, all childish ways are put behind me."³⁷ Photography was not supposed to be a childish pastime, but a vocation. For Roy Stryker, the irrevocable change in photography's purpose and status had taken place in the thirties: "In 1936 photography, which theretofore had been mostly a matter of landscapes and snapshots and family portraits, was fast being discovered as a serious tool of communications, a new way for a thoughtful, creative person to make a statement."³⁸

Yet even in the thirties, and right under Stryker's nose, amateur photography still exerted a hold on the professional. In his spare and dispassionate style, Walker Evans recorded two anonymous snapshots, pinned up on the walls of an Alabama sharecropper's cabin.³⁹ The doubling of desire, latent in this act of photographing a photograph, was fleshed out in words by his partner, James Agee:

A small octagonal frame surfaced in ivory and black ribbons of thin wicker or of straw, the glass broken out: set in this frame, not filling it, a fading box-camera snapshot: low, gray, dead-looking land stretched back in a deep horizon; twenty yards back, one corner of a tenant house, central at the foreground, two women: Annie Mae's sister Emma as a girl of twelve, in slippers and stockings and a Sunday dress, standing a little shyly with puzzling eyes, self-conscious of her appearance and of her softly clouded sex; and their mother, wide and high, in a Sunday dress still wet from housework, her large hands hung loose and biased in against her thighs, her bearing strong, weary, and noble, her face fainted away almost beyond distinguishing, as if in her death and by some secret touching the image

itself of the fine head her husband had cared for so well had softly withered, which even while they stood there had begun its blossoming inheritance in the young daughter at her side.⁴⁰

The snapshot rephotographed in its allusive power encouraged the development of an analogous photographic style. Subject-matter came first: the order of things is significant, replicating the amateur's alteration of the snapshot in use. In the same year that Agee and Evans visited Alabama, László Moholy-Nagy included the snapshot in a list of eight varieties of photographic seeing: "Rapid seeing by means of the fixation of movements in the shortest possible time: snapshots."⁴¹ Moholy-Nagy's technical description retains the term's original connotation of hunting and differs substantially from Steven Halpern's domestication of the genre, a categorization based on social content: "From its beginnings the snapshot has had two basic characteristics: a constant focus on family life and an informal, casual style that was consistent with the new freedom within the family and derived from the mobility of the hand-held camera."⁴²

An image of the snapshot formed in spontaneous effect has given shape to artistic reenactment and emulation. In a snapshot economy, artlessness equals candour equals truth; in practice, the scale and reproducibility of machine-processed prints encourages multiplicity, repetition, juxtaposition, erasure - methods that refer to the amateur and the amateur album. Snapshot art conflates the direct representation of the vernacular as object, or sign, and its indirect representation as action, or trace. Photographer and teacher Lisette Model detected another order of influence when she wrote:

A snapshot is not a performance. It has no pretence or ambition. It is something that happens to the taker rather than his performing it. Innocence is the quintessence of the snapshot. The professional photographer, in spite of the instantaneous and spontaneous means at his disposal can

never achieve that degree of innocence. He may try to imitate the snapshot. He may wait on purpose for the loose, unconventional moment. The moment may be unstructured, but the photographer is not. He may make a masterpiece by selecting the moment but he can never make a snapshot.⁴³

Model's distinction is important, as is her reference to performance which at the time of her writing, the early 1970s, intentionally or accidentally evoked the impromptu, sometimes inept, records of artists' performances. These snapshots have gained historical importance as documents of ephemeral artistic events, the life-styles of the performers and their audiences. Andy Warhol's pseudo-family album of his entourage at The Factory is only the most famous example, among many. Conceptual art's devaluation of the object valued the loose feeling of the Instamatic, the Polaroid, the Diana, the Lure Camera, the One-Shot, the Super-8 and the camcorder. Photographs could be produced by throwing the camera into the air.

The profligacy of such actions generated concern. In 1976, critic Janet Malcolm could not differentiate between the snapshot and the Snapshot Aesthetic, like the "dreary, gray, blurred little pictures" from the toy cameras of children or the avant-garde.⁴⁴ Wright Morris, whose photographic work of the 1940s had honoured his ancestors' few precious pictures,⁴⁵ later bundled the snapshot and Earth Art into one sardonic reflection on the camera as a mechanical "picture-maker,"⁴⁶ allied to an absurd art that rejects "romantic and aesthetic icons."⁴⁷ Morris cited Christo. Lisette Model was very likely to be concerned with the direction of a recognized photographer such as Robert Frank whose photo album is excerpted in the same publication that contains her essay.⁴⁸

The work of photographer and filmmaker Robert Frank is marked throughout by his attraction to the icons of popular culture which he began to collect mechanically in his shooting for the The Americans (1959; Les Américains published in France, 1958). Thereafter, Frank's increasingly spontaneous manner translated onto his film, while the sequential and

narrative elements of the cinema were reapplied to his photography, emerging publicly in the autobiographical 'scrapbook' The Lines of My Hand (1972) and in his photographic collages made up of cheap colour prints, souvenirs, letters and his own inscribed titles, such as In Mabou - Wonderful Time - With June (1977). His photography migrated restlessly between the public and the personal. In photographic pieces of mourning and tribute, the intensely private was expressed in a Main Street vernacular of snapshots and simple phrases. The same processes were at work in his videotape, Home Improvements (1985) which features June Leaf, Pablo Frank, Robert Frank, the trash collector and the postman. Philip Brookman likens the tape to a "visceral diary of daily thoughts and events, revealing important occurrences and glimpses of the people around him."⁴⁹ This literary analogy downplays the stops and starts, the leaps and digressions of Frank's montage. The deceptively crude and fragmentary nature of visual sequences, combined with Frank's comments in the moment, refer to the guileless amateur style of domestic videography, the electronic album. But Frank's utterances, in their verbal and pictorial totality, are knowingly reflexive as he ponders his own lack of innocence.

The distinction between amateur and artist has been taken up by sociologist, Richard Chalfen, who rejects blanket comparisons of snapshots and artistic or commercial facsimiles, citing substantial disparities in intention, presentation and audiences.⁵⁰ His reasoning echoes Model; the decisive factor is the object, not the agent. Thus, we would infer that the photographs of Edgar Degas, depicting friends in intimate surroundings, made for pleasure and limited circulation, must be snapshots. Some art historians would disagree.⁵¹ The same rules would also disqualify from art the quintessential amateur, Jacques-Henri Lartigue, leisured for life to keep diaries and photographic albums and only 'discovered' by the art world when he was in his sixties.⁵² There are countless examples that blur the lines between amateur and artist. Our view of nineteenth-century photography is populated with amateurs and applied photographers whose oeuvres have been invested by Modernist historians with artistic motives, then divested of those motives by

Postmodern critics who suspect the motives of the Modernists.⁵³

The eternal question of photography's status will not be resolved here, but the photographic vernacular's *call to disorder* can be brought into the debate. In 1974, Richard W. Christopherson analyzed the history of photography's struggle for legitimization as an art form within a framework of tradition - the history of art and the history of fine art photography. He based his discussion on E. C. Hughes's observation that, "New occupations, like new families, seek a heroic genealogy to strengthen their claims to license and mandate."⁵⁴ Insufficiently ripe for consideration, the anti-hero culture of the 1960s might have provided Christopherson with another history: the anti-heroic photographic genealogy that presents itself in the amateur album. Its history is as influential today. An appeal to status through negative aesthetics still operates in the full effectiveness of contradiction. Artist Joachim Schmid's interpretive recycling of discarded amateur photographs is illuminated by his declaration of principle: "No new photographs until the old ones are used up."⁵⁵ The authority of the artist is asserted through a photographic readymade.

The found photograph, appropriated from individual collections or archives, is the basis of another photographic convention in which the alienation of the image from its original context is an ontological source of meaning. In the early 1970s, Christian Boltanski's 'albums' - in installation, Album de photos de la famille D., 1939-1964 (1971) or book form, Tout ce que je sais d'une femme qui est morte et que je n'ai pas connue (1970) and Inventaire des objets appartenant à un habitant d'Oxford précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi de quelques réponses à ma proposition (1973) - were fictional biographical reconstructions based on the artist's hypotheses and deductions from the images. Such projects can be related to developments in cultural anthropology; Boltanski has acknowledged the indirect influence of his brother, Luc Boltanski, a colleague of Pierre Bourdieu and a contributor to Un art moyen.⁵⁶ Books by artists such as Didier Bay, Francesco Clemente, Annette Messager, Ed Ruscha, and others collect categorically and

concentrate spectatorial experience in the manner of a private album.⁵⁷ A recent work by Hans-Peter Feldman derives from the photographic archives of a woman that he knows and whose identity he conceals from the beholder. 324 photographs of this woman, taken by 200 photographers and spanning more than 50 years, have been placed by Feldman in strict chronological order. The artist's ironic interference, the imposition of the "logical order of social memory," strips the photographs of meaning that might otherwise form around themes, motifs and recurrent figures.⁵⁸

The shifting meaning of the vernacular in avant-garde art can be traced through the work of German painter, Gerhard Richter. Since the early 1960s, Richter has been accumulating a massive collection of photographs and photographic reproductions. Initially gathered as source material for his Photo Paintings, the archive has since coalesced into a public art-work-in-progress called Atlas. Richter's index correspondingly has expanded from snapshots of known provenance to anonymous portraits, historical photographs, likenesses of friends and personalities, kitsch, sex, aerial views of cities and model cities, topographical views of land and canvas - subjects which are arranged on boards in grids or clusters. Thus while Richter continues to make paintings that equivocally address the objectivity of the photograph, his relentless activity as a compiler constitutes a vast and elastic amassment of photographic data - the cabinet of curiosities, a vessel of memory and rhetoric, unmoored by what Franco Ferrarotti has blamed for "the end of conversation:"

The flood of images which now flows out every day on a global scale tends to deprive the image of its value as basic evidence. We shall have to start thinking that in the beginning there was not the word but rather the image.⁵⁹

Photography is an established research tool for ethnographers, anthropologists and sociologists; likewise, contemporary works of art intended to explore the psychological, biological, social and political

aspects of representation have benefitted from the methods and findings of cultural anthropology in their deconstructions of photographic evidence. Seeking to identify the ideological frameworks that shape personal identity, artists and critics have delved into the family album. Patricia Holland includes albums with "those public narratives of community, religion, ethnicity and nation which make private identity possible."⁶⁰ Discoveries of anomalies, deviations from the norm, naturally depend on the stability of the paradigm. Holland describes the album as an instrument of forced conformity and suppression of difference. The family album, she argues, overvalues the nuclear family, neglecting "the worlds of production, politics, economic activity and the institutional settings of modern life."⁶¹ In the process of idealization, negative images of divorce, antisocial behaviour, illegitimacy, disease, disability and violence are suppressed. Or more precisely, they are not pictured, which is not to deny their latent presence in the content of the work.

The Smithsonian Institution's Family Folklore Program, conducted between 1974 and 1976, involved thousands of informants in the reconsideration of their family albums. Researcher Amy Kotkin was impressed by the difference between happy photographs and the sad stories that they sometimes rekindled in the participant.⁶² The real-life deconstruction of family photographs begins at the kitchen table and extends through therapeutic practice to photo-therapy displayed on gallery walls. British artist Jo Spence founded her work on the basis of popular and formulaic imagery, social constructs which she unpacked through reenactment and incisive commentary. Spence's partner in photo therapy, Rosy Martin, restaged a picture of herself as child, excavating the "'good little girl' image"⁶³ from the pages of the family album:

I wanted to examine, recreate and transform this construction, to reclaim myself as a child, in all her aspects, to take back the power I/she had, the capacity to be creative, autonomous, joyous, independent - as well as angry, grief stricken and vulnerable.⁶⁴

Photo therapy's integration of autobiography and political activism in photographic art has encouraged such projects as Paul O'Neill's A Picture That Hangs Upon Your Wall⁶⁵ in which survivors of sexual abuse write letters to their tormentors on the surface of photographs that depict them in normal family life.

Henry Sayre has discussed the Postmodern portrait's conflation of mimesis and deconstruction using photographer Nicholas Nixon's family-type portraits of the Brown sisters as his point of departure: "They not only ask what is the family, they ask us to contemplate whether the family is itself only a simulacrum - a simulacrum, perhaps, of the very idea of community."⁶⁶ Works that undermine the authority of the photographic album depend for their effectiveness on the beholder's devotion to the myth. Julia Ballerini has analyzed the projected images of Lori Novak in terms of amplification and subversion of personal and historical identities. A recurrent motif is Novak as a child, an extract from the family album overlaid with other images that, according to Ballerini, "disrupt a logical narrative of family album, addressing the elusive psychological conjunctions of an immaterialized camera."⁶⁷

The album as symbol privileges the idea of the container over what is actually contained. Photographic images have been made about this idea. Pictures of empty albums serve as memento mori in the work of Mari Mahr and Christian Gattinoni, as generic monuments to the displaced or the disappeared. Nancy Spector has discussed the album motifs of Felix Gonzalez-Torres in the same vein. Whether fragmented, as a jigsaw puzzle, or constituted whole and empty, as a vessel of remembrance, the album is considered an indexical sign for the human trace, an emblem of mortality.⁶⁸

The metonymic character of photography imbues references to the vernacular with the forceful co-presence of flesh and blood. A photograph of a hurt child leaves only the heartless unaffected. To discover that child behind a photographic gloss of happiness and

normality is a betrayal that never loses its sting. But the effectiveness of works discussed in this chapter depends equally on detachment from specific and overburdening circumstance. Or rather, effectiveness depends on the overt and productive erection of attachment and detachment as a binary conceptual framework. Everyman and his mother must be masked, blurred, or otherwise abstracted. Their home must be Middletown; their vacation, an odyssey; their cabinet, our world. The meta-albums of Ralph Eugene Meatyard, Christian Boltanski, Mari Mahr or Felix Gonzalez-Torres are metaphoric devices whose uniform features are the scrimms of spectatorial projection. In a work of art, the idea of album fulfills the critical prophecy of conformity as a gravestone in a field of gravestones, as one unit of memory among many. Voices echo through the chambers of the meta-album, but the strain of orality that lingers in the vernacular album seems purer, more direct. In its primary state, the album maintains its connection to orality by never reflecting on its conservatism and inherited function.

Notes:

1. Patricia Holland, Family Snaps (London: Virago Press, 1991) p. 7.
2. Susan Stewart, On Longing. Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984) pp. 48-49.
3. Pierre Bourdieu, Photography: A Middle-brow Art [Un Art Moyen, 1965, trans. by Shaun Whiteside] (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990) p. 30.
4. Ibid., pp. 30-31.
5. Ibid., p. 31.
6. Jacques Le Goff, History and Memory [Storia e memoria, 1977, trans. by Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) pp. 89-90.
7. Bourdieu, Un Art moyen. Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1965, 1993) pp. 346. The appendices, including a list of focus groups, the questionnaire and resultant statistics are not included in the English-language edition.
8. Ibid., p. 53.
9. Sontag, On Photography, p. 9.
10. Ibid. p. 8.
11. Victor Burgin, "Looking at Photographs," in Thinking Photography, Victor Burgin, ed. (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1982, 1984) p. 144.
12. Author's translation of "Serge Tisseron, "L'inconscient de la photographie," in La Recherche photographique, No. 17, automne 1994, p. 84: "Ces particularités sont renforcées dans les albums, qui répondent souvent au désir de rassembler les morceaux épars d'un puzzle familial, comme dans ces familles où la mère garde à la portée de main les images de ses enfants dispersés à travers le monde."
13. Jack Kerouac, Desolation Angels (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1965) pp. 333-334.
14. Ralph Eugene Meatyard, The Family Album of Lucybelle Crater (Millerton, New York: The Jargon Society and the Book Organization, 1974). Meatyard's series is a photographic reading of the snapshot convention in the pictorial tradition of the grotesque.

15. Bourdieu, Photography. A Middle-Brow Art, p. 25. "...si la pratique décroît avec l'âge, c'est que l'affaiblissement de la participation à la vie sociale et particulièrement à la vie d'une famille éparpillée fait disparaître les raisons de photographier;" Un art moyen, pp. 46-47.
16. Summary of an article by Karl Heisig, "Muttersprache: ein romanistischer Beitrag zur Genesis eines deutschen Wortes und zur Entstehung der deutsch-franzoesischen Sprachgrenze," in Muttersprache 22, no. 3 (1954) by Ivan Illich and Barry Sanders, A B C. The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1988) pp. 145-146.
17. Johanne Lamoureux, "L'Album ou la photographie corrigée par son lieu," in Trois, Vol. 6, Nos 2-3, Hiver/Printemps 1991 [Montréal: Dazibao, 1991. Corriger les lieux après la photographie de voyage, exh. cat.] pp. 185-191.
18. George J. Becker and Edith Philips, trans. Paris and the Arts, 1851-1896. From the Goncourt Journal (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971) p. 40.
19. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 81.
20. André Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," in What is Cinema? trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967) p. 14.
21. Thierry De Duve, "Time Exposure and Snapshot: The Photograph as Paradox," in October 5 (Summer 1978) pp. 113-125.
22. Carol Mavor, Pleasures Taken. Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995) pp. 25-26.
23. Marianne Hirsch, "Masking the subject: Practising theory," in The Point of Theory. Practices of Cultural Analyses (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994) p. 114. Hirsch relies on Kaja Silverman's elaboration of Jacques Lacan's Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis.
24. Ibid., p. 116.
25. Ibid.
26. Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida [La Chambre Claire, 1980, Richard Howard, trans.] (New York: The Noonday Press, 1981) p. 27.
27. Ibid., p. 67.
28. Ibid., p. 74.

29. Ibid., p. 122.
30. Ibid., p. 109. Hirsch explains the range of texts, "from self-portraits to family portraits...because these genres exist in a continuum, a continuum that traces the subject's constitution in the familial and the family's visual reflection of the individual subject."
31. Ibid., p. 122.
32. For a broader discussion of Meatyard, photography and the grotesque, see Martha Langford, "A Machine in the Grotto: The Grotesque in Photography," in JAISA: The Journal of the Association of the Interdisciplinary Study of the Arts, Vol. X, No. X, Spring 1996, pp. X-X.
33. Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, Helene Iswolsky, trans. (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1968) p. 24.
34. Margery Mann, columnist for Popular Photography, explored the phenomenon in a number of columns, mentioning not only the snapshot's effect on photographic art, but also on painting. Five related articles, all from 1970, are listed in the bibliography.
35. Nathan Lyons, Toward a Social Landscape (New York: Horizon Press, in collaboration with the George Eastman House, Rochester, 1966) pp. 6-7.
36. Duane Michals, from quoted from a letter to Nathan Lyons in Toward a Social Landscape, p. 7.
37. 1 Cor. 13:11.
38. Roy Emerson Stryker, In This Proud Land: America As Seen in the FSA Photographs (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1973) p. 7.
39. "Family Snapshots in Frank Tenge's Home, Hale County, Alabama, Summer 1936" (Library of Congress catalogue number: LC-USF342-8153A). See Library of Congress, Walker Evans. Photographs for the Farm Security Administration 1935-1938 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975). The photograph in question was produced while Evans was photographing sharecroppers under contract to Fortune magazine. No field photographer's shooting script that I am aware of specifically lists the subjects' photographs as worthy of documentation although other aspects of the vernacular were singled out. Stryker asked the FSA photographers to record wall decorations in homes; his shooting script is reproduced in In This Proud Land, on p. 187. Evans's list for New York included chalk drawings. But his study of the Tenge snapshots may have related to his own photographic development. He was at that time taking what he called "snapshots," in 35 mm format, made with a Leica. See Jerry L. Thompson, "Walker Evans: Some Notes on His Way of Working," in Walker

Evans at Work (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1985) p. 13 and Evans's list in the same volume, p. 107.

40. James Agee and Walker Evans, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980) pp. 163-164.

41. László Moholy-Nagy, "From Pigment to Light," in Telebor, Vol 1, No. 2, 1936, pp. 30-36; reprinted in Photographers on Photography, Nathan Lyons, ed. (Englewood cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966) p. 78.

42. Steven Halpern, "Souvenirs of Experience: The Victorian Studio Portrait and the Twentieth-Century Snapshot," in The Snapshot, Jonathan Green, ed. (Millerton: Aperture, 1974 [also published as Aperture 19:1]) p. 66.

43. Lisette Model, untitled statement in The Snapshot, p. 6.

44. "Diana & Nikon," originally published in the New Yorker and reprinted in Janet Malcolm, Diana & Nikon (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980, p. 72.

45. Wright Morris, Photographs & Words, James Alinder, ed. (Providence: Matrix Publications and The Friends of Photography, 1982) pp. 44-46 and plate 4.

46. Wright Morris, "In Our Image," The Massachusetts Review, Vol XIX, No. 4., 1978; reprinted in Photography in Print. Writings from 1816 to the Present, Vicki Goldberg, ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981, p. 543.

47. Ibid.

48. Frank's note to the editor explaining the layout is also reproduced:

Dear Jonathan

Here are the Polaroids from the "ALBUM." This is my selection. I realize that even the selecting of these three pages takes away from the Anonymous-ness quality which the Album had.

Now they become more like my "Photographs."

I thought I'd send you SNAP-SHOTS - gone is that time of the "S-S." But I hope that they are POLAROIDS.

Whatever

Salut

Robert

Robert Frank, in The Snapshot, Jonathan Green, ed., pp. 120-123.

49. Philip Brookman, "Windows on Another Time: Issues of Autobiography," in Robert Frank. Moving Out, exh. cat. by Sarah Greenough, Philip Brookman, et al., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1994, pp. 159-160.
50. Chalfen, Snapshot Versions of Life, pp. 152-153.
51. See, for example, Douglas Crimp, "Positive/Negative: A Note on Degas's Photographs," in October 5, Summer 1978, pp. 89-100.
52. Jacques-Henri Lartigue, Les Photographies de J.-H. Lartigue: Un Album Famille de la Belle Époque (Lausanne, 1966).
53. See, for example, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "A Photographer in Jerusalem, 1855: Auguste Salzmann and His Times," in October 18, Fall 1981, pp. 90-107
54. E. C. Hughes, The Sociological Eye: Selected Papers on Work, Self, and the Study of Society, (New York: Aldine-Atherton, 1971) p. 293; cited and developed by Richard W. Christopherson, "From Folk Art to Fine Art: A Transformation in the Meaning of Photographic Work," in Urban Life and Culture, Vol. 3, No. 2, July 1974, p. 144.
55. John S. Weber, "Joachim Schmid - Anti-Auteur, Photo-Flâneur," in Joachim Schmid, Bilder von der Straße (Berlin: Edition Fricke & Schmid, 1994), p. 11.
56. Lynn Gumpert, Christian Boltanski (Paris: Flammarion, 1994) pp. 30-36.
57. For an overview of artists' books see Tim Guest, Books By Artists (Toronto: Art Metropole, 1981) and the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Livres D'Artistes, exh. cat. by Anne Moeglin-Delcroix, 1985.
58. Hans-Peter Feldman, Porträt (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1994). The purchaser of a related project, Feldman's Ferien (Düsseldorf: Wiener Secession, 1994), receives a packet of anonymous holiday pictures and a blank book to put them in according to personal preference.
59. Franco Ferrarotti, The End of Conversation. The Impact of Mass Media on Modern Society (New York; Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1988) pp. 1-2.
60. Holland, p. 3.
61. Ibid., p. 7.
62. Amy Kotkin, "The Family Photo Album as a Form of Folklore," Exposure, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1978, p. 4.

63. Rosy Martin and Jo Spence, "Photo Therapy: New Portraits for Old. 1984 Onwards," in Jo Spence, Putting Myself in the Picture (London: Camden Press, 1986) p.174.
64. Ibid.
65. Paul O'Neill. A Picture That Hangs Upon Your Wall (Dublin: The Irish Museum of Modern Art, 1995).
66. Sayre, "The Rhetoric of the Pose. Photography and the Portrait as Performance," in The Object of Performance. The American Avant-Garde since 1970, p. 65.
67. Julia Ballerini, Sequence (con)Sequence. (sub)Versions of Photography in the 80s (New York: Aperture, 1989) p. 81.
68. Nancy Spector, Felix Gonzalez-Torres (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1995) pp. 111-133.

Chapter Two: A Collection of Albums

The history of private photographic albums moves from richly bound volumes for cartes-de-visite and cabinet cards into miniature versions of the same; from thematic scrapbooks to snapshot albums that give equal space to milestones and pretty days. By happy coincidence of vision, ambition and chance, the collection of the McCord Museum of Canadian History has come to embody a history of the genre, starting in the 1860s when albums first appeared on the market and continuing over a century of amateur compilation.

This chapter is neither a history, nor a survey of the McCord's collection of photographic albums. Hopefully, that project will one day be undertaken by the museum. Rather, this introduction to the collection has three cumulative goals. The first is to establish the institutional context through which a substantial collection of private albums came to be available for research. Calculated to an end-date of December 31, 1993, there are more than 300 albums in the collection of which some 230¹ met the criteria of this study: that the album be primarily photographic and that it appear to have been compiled for private use. This group constitutes the reference collection from which 40 albums have been selected for close study (See Appendix I: Study Group Catalogue).

The second aim of this chapter is to describe the empirical basis of this research. The reference collection can be divided in a number of ways that reveal its concentrations and strengths. It will be seen, for example, that the majority of albums in the collection are concerned with intimate human relations. These are often called family albums. Analysis by content, source and period sharpens focus on this vague category, creating sub-divisions that are reflected in the composition of the study group.

Finally, individual albums from the study group are considered under four analogous categories: the cabinet or collection; the memoir or diary; the travelogue or journal; the genealogy or family saga. This is a provisional taxonomy intended primarily to fix key albums in the reader's mind. At the same time, by contextual and comparative analysis, the specific intentions of

individual compilers begin to emerge. The entire study group is introduced with the exception of one album, Untitled Album (MP 035/92) which is treated more thoroughly in a separate chapter.

The Institutional Context

The McCord Museum of Canadian History did not set out systematically to record and preserve a history of photographic albums. Rather, the collection has grown almost organically between the two main pillars of the porch, nineteenth-century entrepreneurship and philanthropy.

The photographic collection is known internationally as the Notman Photographic Archives after William Notman (1826-1891) whose Montréal studio is the source of some 400,000 negatives in the collection.² Founded in 1856, the studio remained in the Notman family until it was sold in 1935 to another commercial concern, the Associated Screen News. Business continued as usual for nearly twenty years; with the reorganization of the company in 1956, the studio and the archives were separated. Plates, negatives, prints and accompanying documentation were donated to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning (McGill University, Montréal), to be held by the McCord Museum.³ Largely through donations, the Notman Photographic Archives has been developed to include works by other photographers, all in the vein of Canadian social history, while efforts have continued to expand the museum's print collection of Notmans.

The McCord Museum is the legacy of another nineteenth-century businessman, David Ross McCord (1844-1930) whose somewhat alarming motto, "When there is no vision the people perish,"⁴ summarizes the urgency of his quest. McCord's interest in aboriginal and colonial history is more positively expressed in a collection of artifacts and documents held by his namesake museum. These include photographs and photographic albums from Montréal families. McCord himself was a compiler and he also commissioned photographic compilations, most notably from the Montréal landscapist, Alexander Henderson. In 1919, McCord succeeded in his campaign to give his collection to McGill University - the beginning of a fifty-year bureaucratic struggle for its proper housing

and display. In 1971, under the direction of Isabel Barclay Dobell, the museum opened in its current building which was subsequently renovated and expanded, reopening in 1992.

Faithful to its domestic origins, the McCord Museum is sometimes referred to as the "attic of English Montréal."⁵ Accordingly, many of the albums in the collection have simply been transferred from one attic to another, often part of larger donations of private papers and works of art. In keeping with the spirit of the founder, friends of the museum continue to identify objects of social historical interest, including albums, that they acquire on behalf of the museum. With the merger of the two collections, albums were donated to the McCord because they contained Notman photographs. Of particular interest in the collection are the Notman family albums which, like any ordinary family's, trace an evolution in the source and style of the contents, from studio portraiture to the snapshot.

The twinning of business and education that created the museum is perpetuated in institutional policies that have enhanced some aspects of the operation while hampering others. The McCord is not an art museum, but a museum of social history. The albums are therefore valued more for their illustrative potential - the subject-matter of component images - than for the meaning of each album as a whole. The photographic collection, famous because of Notman, also serves the other interests of the museum, complementing its holdings in decorative art, craft and costume as records of the objects *in situ*. The collection is much consulted by historians, curators and art directors in search of visual records and atmospheric illustrations. Cataloguing of the collection has been shaped by external demands and a sense of purpose patterned on the marketing strategies of the nineteenth-century studio. The former curator of the collection, Stanley G. Triggs, and his colleagues who carried on during the course of this project - Nora Hague, Anette McConnell, Heather McNabb and Tom Humphry - are each in their way very involved with the albums and sensitive to the impulses that made them. Their knowledge and intuitions have been immensely helpful. But in cataloguing the contents of an album, little attention can be paid to factors of selection and organization except as they help to situate and explain individual pictures. Those

pictures can then be put to use.

In this study, the priorities and processes have been reversed. Identification and listing of images have served to illuminate the intentions of the compiler. Creating an index for the raiding of the albums is antithetical to the principles of this research which has been conducted on the assumption that each album is an inviolable unit, a discrete product of individual creativity. Insistence on this point is more than an academic hypothesis; it is a matter of intellectual property and museological ethics. The albums in the collection must be protected in their integrity so that future generations can better understand the individuals and societies who created them.

Reference Collection to Study Group

My own familiarization with the collection began in November, 1992 - Friday the 13th, to be precise - when Stanley Triggs took me on a tour of the collection in its remodelled facility. He began with the Notman studio archives, then moved to 'Other Photographers' which at 300,000 objects⁶ is a much used and little known collection. The albums were introduced to me within the mission of the McCord as visual records of Canadian social history. Photographic experience plays a part in that history and it was clear from Triggs's comments that the phenomenal popularity of cartes-de-visite and snapshots justified in his mind the collection of albums not just for their contents, but as evidence of a social trend. Indeed, some albums had been acquired without pictures as examples of album design, an ancillary collection that parallels the museum's holdings in photographic equipment. On the same visit, Triggs pointed out albums acquired for their state of preservation, earnestness of presentation and documentary rigour.

Most of the albums were laid out in banks of drawers, numbered and labelled generally as to contents. The albums were further divided according to size. In the clinical surroundings of the vault, the luxurious materials of the covers made a striking impression: jewel-like miniatures in brilliant morocco; mother-of-pearl and japanned covers; gold stamp and gilded edges; burgundy velours and brass fittings. Beautiful and immutable they appeared as

private worlds, preserved for the ages in their conditioned resting place. Turning the pages, some albums and pictures seemed remarkably fresh, otherworldly in their direct mediation with the past. Others, lifted from the drawer for inspection, were revealed in pitiable fragility: bindings weakening or splitting; cartes-de-visite sunk into their pockets; pictures fading; photo corners dried and springing loose; botanical samples (or tokens of affection), once tucked safe between the pages, now crumbling to a greenish dust.

Closed covers, reinforced with white muslin ribbons, lent an air of completeness and uniformity that the albums on opening betrayed. Loose prints or negatives that had come with the albums thankfully were still there. There were also lists, family trees and personal letters. Despite the institutional setting, the drawers seemed stubbornly to retain the productive unruliness of the domestic photographic hoard, so bitinglly described by novelist, Padgett Powell:

One's personal history, it seems dangerously obvious to me, is ordered precisely as a drawer of family snapshots: it is not ordered, it is lost, it is illogically duplicate (there are several copies of insignificant photos, while dear ones are absent - one lives dull days again and again, while the big moments go forever underexposed), it is finally random. To recount a history, you open a drawer. You find twenty-five-year-old 2"x 4" Smithsonian-grade black-and-whites somehow on top of last year's lousy instant Polaroids. You discover packets of orange negatives melted together which could yet be developed into public prints.⁷

Anyone who has unpacked a family's photographic storehouse and who also understands the principle of exponential growth will appreciate the challenge of the McCord. The project began with a drawer-by-drawer inventory. Preliminary notes were schematic: a basic description of each album; a generic list of contents; notes on accompanying documents, such as letters or family trees; a sampling of inscriptions, such as names, locations and dates, sometimes annotated as to their accuracy⁸; provenance and the museum's

rationale for acquisition. In many cases, a staff member or volunteer had listed the photographs by subject-matter and source. Occasionally, a person connected to the compiler had ventured some identifications, with predictably mixed results. The existence of such lists was noted, but the data was not systematically checked. The information gathered was entered on a form, with additional remarks on the condition and pertinence of the object. This initial stage was followed by a second stage of corrections, then a third adding missed or relocated objects.⁹ The establishment of a reference collection was a long, educational process, though the results can be summarised in concise and familiar terms.

Within the reference collection of 230 albums, the breakdown between albums made up of studio photographs and albums made up of amateur photographs is roughly half-and-half. There are almost as many albums of cartes-de-visite, cabinet cards and tintypes as there are snapshot albums, even though the golden years of studio photography (1860 to 1890) represent less than a third of the period in question. The museum's concentration on nineteenth-century photography seems entirely within the parameters set by the two founding collections. A strong emphasis on studio portraiture, especially of family and friends, also marks this period. Images derive from studios in eastern and central Canada, the northeastern United States, Britain, Europe and sometimes further afield. Montréal-area families predominate as both compilers and subjects; their albums are also visited by the famous and the unknown. A number of scrapbooks fall within this group - collection and display as photographic pastimes. Albums of innovatory specimens; private compilations of landscape and architectural views; albums of cartes-de-visite dedicated to art reproductions, celebrities, and exotic peoples: such thematic albums, while individually impressive, form a very small part of the McCord's holdings, a reflection perhaps of their established value on the market. In expanding its collection of albums, the McCord has relied mainly on donations. Ironically, the museum's enforced dependence on its "family" of supporters has increased the value of its collection of albums, at least to the researcher, by reducing the likelihood of creative tampering by a dealer.

Compilations based on amateur photographs began to appear with the

introduction of a simple, roll film camera in 1888, but slowly; the system had its flaws. The first Kodak camerist had 100 frames to expose before Kodak could "do the rest." By 1892, a daylight-loading roll film had reduced the number of exposures to 12. In 1900, the introduction of the Brownie made picture-taking even simpler, cheaper and more immediately rewarding. As it was easier to photograph the family, so more esoteric subjects came within reach. Family albums and thematic albums are present in equal numbers in the collection. Furthermore, albums based on the family are invaded by extraneous subjects: the categorical problem becomes one of cause-and-effect; whether the evolving definition of family modifies the compilation, or vice versa.

Histories of photography are punctuated by technical advances whose shaping of the cultural development of the medium can sometimes be overstated. The advent of the snapshot associated with the introduction of simple, roll film cameras, is evidence for some of positive social change and bemoaned by others as an insufferable vulgarization. There is no denying that styles of representation underwent substantial change during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Milestones are easy to identify as they correspond to vigorous advertising campaigns by the manufacturers that emphasized the new and the improved. Accessibility encouraged spontaneity; the technical skills required to operate a camera could be mastered quite easily. The new compact models were no physical burden, even to a lady. What had been a luxury for the rich became a luxury for the middle class.

But against the prevailing opinion that the introduction of a simple amateur camera - the Kodak - revolutionized all aspects of amateur photographic activity, the albums in the collection of the McCord demonstrate a continuity of interests that transcends technical change. The implications of a shift in production, from the professional studio to the bathroom darkroom, can here be minimized, for they entailed no change in status and arguably little change in the fundamental programme of the particular amateur who is the focus of this study, the compiler.

In the snapshot world of the reference collection, the highest proportion of family-type albums are from 1900 to 1920; there are approximately half as many

from the 1920s through the Second World War. It stands to reason that amateur albums from 1945 to the present have not yet come to the museum, although some exceptions are there to break the heart. Little representation from the fifties and sixties means very little colour. Most snapshot albums are comprised of gelatin silver, black and white prints made in commercial laboratories. Some snapshots have been printed in amateur darkrooms and some have been hand-coloured, trimmed into shapes or otherwise transformed.

Within the thematic group, albums dedicated to travel represent a small, though interesting component, clustered around the turn of the century. Travel is a constant secondary theme of other albums, whether they are family or individually focused as diaries or memoirs. Albums as memoirs are energized by a certain sense of urgency in the moment. Typically, they stop when normal life is restored. Still another approach to snapshot compilation is relatively detached from immediate circumstance and channelled into personal interests. The results are often constructed as scrapbooks, some with encyclopedic ambitions.

Overall, albums of social relations dominate the reference collection, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the objects. Thematic albums represent little more than a third, though their presence in the collection seems larger. Documentary projects tend first of all to be bigger than family-type albums of the same vintage. Some thematic albums extend to several volumes; they are voluminously detailed. Stanley Triggs signals the importance of "one group numbering over 6,000 photographs...taken in the High Arctic between 1865 and 1960...snapshot albums compiled by officers of Hudson's Bay Company ships who made the long voyages from Montréal to supply company trading posts on the Arctic Islands and Hudson's Bay."¹⁰ As records of service, industry, national expansion, feats of engineering and urban renovation, a number of thematic albums are comprehensive and accomplished, complementing the legacy of the Notman Studio. Access and timing - the amateur's luck - elevate their status in the collection.

The selection of the study group was the last stage in the familiarization process and the beginning of my own meta-compilation. The oral framework

needed testing within a variety of contexts. A certain level of copiousness and digression seemed to suit the topic. The problem I faced has been faced by generations of photographic compilers: how to tell this intricate story without exhausting my audience. Plundering the albums for illustrations would have been more than ironic, given my emphasis on authorial integrity. Each album had to come to the reader in its totality, with its pretexts, excesses and digressions intact. The solution was a three-part presentation: conventionally, in terms of a catalogue entry; analogously, through contextual interpretation; elementally and structurally, within a performative oral framework.

Restriction of the study group offered the only viable economy. What seemed at first an optimum number of twenty - five albums per pretextual category - only doubled once in the doing. Each of the four categories required special elucidation: the album as collection sought proof of diversity; the album as memoir wanted comparable self-presentations; the travel section had to grapple with the project of tourism; the family album needed redefinition in terms of perspective and social parameters. All of these issues influenced selection.

Final choices sometimes came down to the future of the collection. It seemed more urgent, for example, to catalogue the album of an unknown photographer than to examine the private holdings of the Notmans. There is an article there for someone, and there are many more discoveries to be made about the albums of the McCord Museum.

Four Categories of Compilation

Faute de mieux, a taxonomy of albums draws its terminology from analogous forms. The classing of albums tends most commonly to literary models for obvious reasons. The album looks, and is looked at, like a book, regardless of the pattern of its creation. A hobbyist's way of collecting and organizing pictures may mimic scientific or curatorial practice. Or, the amassing of metonymic images may function as an individual life history, replacing the diarist's pattern of daily entries with an autobiographical collage. Ian

Frazier captured these connections when he labelled the boxes of his parents' papers and photographs, "THE DAD MUSEUM" and "THE MOM MUSEUM."¹¹ Frazier's simple device may be extended to the album as a paper museum, a collection or a cabinet.

The album as cabinet automatically entrains an ancient and imposing tradition. Frances Yates has reconstructed it in The Art of Memory as an architectonic arcana of retention and discourse - a form of mastery over the universe through possession and recitation of emblematic marvels.¹² The image excites a number of associations, many already nested in metaphysical readings of photography by André Bazin¹³ and especially, by Philippe Dubois who rehearses Yates's discoveries, emphasizing the photographic inscription of mental images on the unconscious.¹⁴

Katherine C. Grier's analysis of the Victorian parlour casts the room and its centrepiece album in the same light. Within the strict demarcations of a Victorian home, Grier defines the parlour as a public space whose arrangements of furniture and decoration, built by symbolic connection, were "sites for certain kinds of conventionalized cultural information, which families could 'own' in the form of possessions."¹⁵ The parlour, however modest, synthesized domesticity, intuition and judgement within complex systems of classification and transmission. Its centre table, illuminating the family circle by its single, precious lamp, constituted a shrine of domestic treasure: "hair wreaths in glass frames, photo albums, and large family Bibles with decorative covers."¹⁶ For Grier, "the image of the 'memory palace' is a suitable metaphor for what decor could mean to properly susceptible and sensitive Victorians."¹⁷ In fact, as Grier had earlier discovered, the image of the parlour had migrated from the home to the photographic studio, lavishly emulated in reception rooms for the clientele.¹⁸ In perfect symmetry, the simulated parlour that so often formed the backdrop in the studio returned within the metonymic structure of the photographic album to its domestic source.

The circle is thus complete for the nineteenth-century album is by design an architectural conception. Cartes-de-visite and cabinet cards are set in

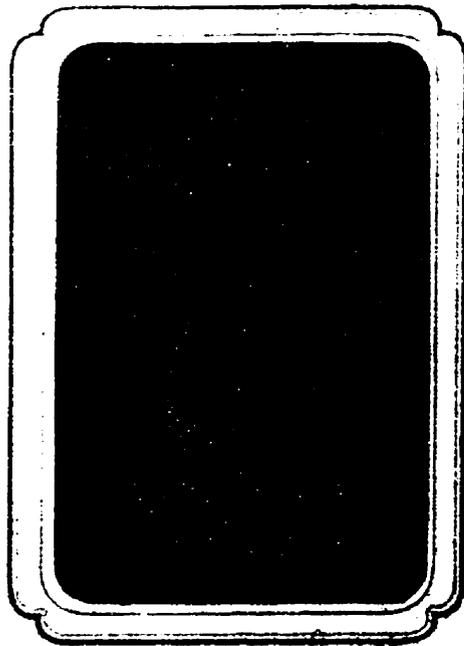
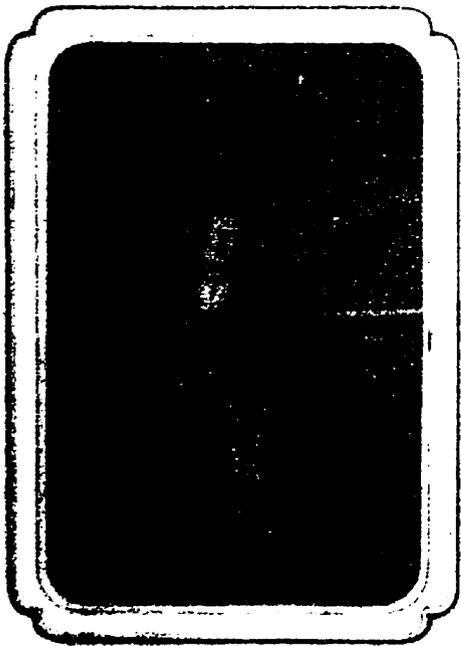
arched windows whose borders of line and shadow add to the effect of a niche. Within this fictive space, the illusionism of a photograph gives roundness and depth to the figure. The portraits are like sculptures arranged within the blind arches of a court, an impression rarely spoiled by the intrusion of a caption. Most albums designed for cartes-de-visite contain an index page to keep the inscriptions at bay. The prototype, The Royal Album (MP 2162), published by the London studio of J. E. Mayall, came with 14 cartes-de-visite of the British Royal Family. Their names were printed on the contents pages. In the example held by the McCord, no names were added to the list when portraits of four supplementary Royals were slipped into the empty slots; those figures remain anonymous.

The Arthur Lindsay Album (MP 2146), compiled after 1866, follows protocol for over one hundred cartes-de-visite, tracing Britain's royal family through to its aristocracy, continuing with the royal houses of Europe and ending with the portrait of Mrs Arthur Lindsay. Her name has been crudely written in by someone other than the compiler, someone who did not recognize her lady companions on the page. Mrs Lindsay's internally committed recitation has not come down with her album, but the hierarchical logic of it survives in the breadth and order of presentation. Thus brought to life, her album is a chronotope (another literary metaphor, taken by James Clifford from Mikhail Bakhtin who borrowed it from mathematics)¹⁹ - a fictional fusion of space and time. Narration creates a dream-place of reception at court or procession into the upper levels of society, both past and present in her imagination.

Amateur ethnologies, or world-making private collections, are represented at the McCord by the Ogilvie Album (MP 032/81), signed by W. W. Ogilvie in 1868. Like the Royal or Lindsay albums, the Ogilvie album is a stratified display of rulers, commoners, and even slaves. Geographically, Ogilvie has ranged

Illustration

MP 2146. Arthur Lindsay Album, p. 26. Top row: J. Beattie, Clifton, England; J. Egan, London, Ontario. Bottom row: J. E. Mayall, London, England; Maitland, St. Catherines, Ontario, Mrs. Arthur Lindsay, St Catherines. Four cartes-de-visite.



further in his collecting, but the differences in his project are more significantly vested in the organization and labelling of his material. Subjects are clustered according to status, nationality, race, occupation and gender. Labelling - these images are almost all carefully captioned - differentiates the notables from the colourful characters and human specimens that crowd the pages of Ogilvie's book.

A censorious reading can be made of these stereotypical portraits; certainly, captions such as "The Sultan's Dwarf Clown," or "Circassian slave" seem in hindsight to embody Western colonial attitudes, or racism in the dominant culture's representation of another. Nineteenth-century attitudes toward nationality and race were conflicted, to say the least, shaped by competitive interests and paradoxical in visual expression. Roslyn Poignant's analysis of the Royal Anthropological Collection reviews the British institute's use of photographs, a history which begins in 1869 as part of an emerging, much debated, scientific discipline:

By the 1860s an essentially historical Prichardian ethnology, which had attempted to establish a typology of the diverse races of mankind, was being gradually transformed by the Darwinian revolution in scientific thought into an anthropology that applied systematic methods of classification to produce developmental models of social revolution that were in essence hierarchical.²⁰

The evidential worth of photography was gradually admitted by learned societies at a time when the display of living human specimens was also justified by the advancement of knowledge. Cartes-de-visite, of the kind collected by Ogilvie, were presented in hierarchical arrangements as atlases of types. Poignant describes three albums of cartes-de-visite, superficially "within the social frame of a Victorian family album,"²¹ that were compiled by the Racial Committees of the British Association for the Advancement of Science to illustrate the human composition of the British Isles through comparative physiognomy. In Album C, which includes Teutonic types from England, Scotland, France and Germany, "The total effect is of Teutomania superimposed on Cartomania to provide a composite view of a supposed highest

plane of Victorian Society."²²

Poignant's allusion to the typical Victorian album as a closed, hierarchical system (from Queen, to Royal family, to Men of Rank, to family in genealogical order, to servants)²³ throws Ogilvie's private atlas into sharp relief. Working like the Racial Committees from commercial photographic stock, Ogilvie's approach is less rigorous, even stubbornly unscientific. His presentation proceeds neither from the top to the bottom, nor from the general to the particular, but rather meanders as a traveller whose attitudes are sometimes expanded, sometimes reinforced through strange encounters. Pictures with such captions as "Syrian friends" are pregnant with stories, the compiler's versions of The Thousand and One Nights. An uncaptioned carte-de-visite, tentatively identified as Ogilvie and a male companion in Arab costume, reinforces this Romantic image. Edward Said's definition of Orientalism as a discipline is not impertinent to Ogilvie's somewhat disorderly world view. The album illustrates Said's essential and frequently cited remark that "Orientalism is - and does not simply represent - a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world."²⁴ Ogilvie's syncretic groupings epitomize the mirror-effect of the unreflective Western gaze. As a popular vehicle for stock characters, the album disseminates the more sophisticated theatre of Orientalism. As noted by Said:

A field is often an enclosed space. The idea of representation is a theatrical one: the Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. On this stage will appear figures whose role is to represent the larger whole from which they emanate. The Orient

Illustrations

MP 032/81. Ogilvie Album, p. 15. Unattributed, *Alma Dancing Girl, Syrian Girl and Egyptian Women*. Four cartes-de-visite.

MP 032/81. Ogilvie Album, p. 48. J. Beckett, Glasgow, *A Scotch Washing*; unattributed, *Kate Kearney's Granddaughter*; Abdullah Frères, Constantinople, *Constantinople Sedan Chair* and unattributed, *Venetian Scissor Grinder*. Four cartes-de-visite.





then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe.²⁵

Still another aspect of Ogilvie's album hints at a different programme, unruliness by intent. His collection is bound between tartan-patterned covers that feature a medallion portrait of Bonnie Prince Charlie. One anomalous inclusion is a copied portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots. Hensch and Hensch have noted that photographic studies of national dress, or symbolic bits of the landscape, could be considered seditious political messages within a foreign-dominated country.²⁶ A picture of a Georgian soldier (Ogilvie Album, page 27) fits within this repertoire of costumed human symbols.

Yet again, if Ogilvie wanted to honour the distinct nature of his Scottish descent, he was also capable of self-deprecation, and even mockery. Near the end of the album (p. 48), a carte-de visite from J. Beckett studio in Glasgow depicts "A Scotch Washing," two uncapped maidens standing together in a washtub, their striped skirts raised above their knees, their oblique expressions cast in melodramatic abjection. The models' traditional costumes mark them as fisher lassies from Newhaven, an ethnic community of Huguenot descent, documented around 1845 by the Edinburgh partnership of Hill and Adamson. Colin Ford has proposed that the Hill and Adamson series was part of a public campaign to improve the safety of the fishing fleet. Still it was not long after, Ford continues, that the Newhaven costume became identified with women of loose morals.²⁷ Ogilvie's album contains two other cartes-de-visite of Newhaven fisherwomen, both from the Edinburgh studio of Ross and Pringle (p. 49). But the young women posing provocatively in their washtub boat are more complex creations, embodying nostalgia, prejudice and pleasure. They stand close to the sea and not very far from their sister Odalisques.

Since the first flurry of commercial world-taking activity, the ethnologist-collector of photographic specimens has learned to consider the conditions and motives operant on both sides of the camera. Michael Taussig has argued that the mirror of representation works both ways as, for example, in the radically

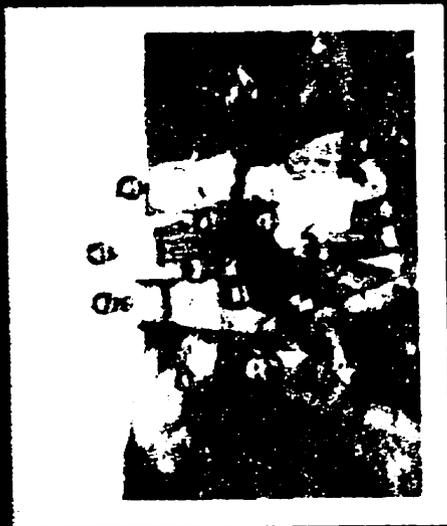
traditional costume of Cuna women and the western-style dress of Cuna men, clothing put on when the wearer expects to be photographed by an outsider: "photography concentrates to an exquisite degree the very act of colonial mirroring, the lens coordinating the mimetic impulses radiating from each side of the colonial divide."²⁸ In the collection of the McCord, there are numerous opportunities to assess just how quickly and how affectively these lessons could be absorbed by the makers and subjects of ethnographic photographic studies. A lead-coated implacability inhabits the albums of two naval officers in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company during the first quarter of this century. Photographs of Inuit men and women found in the Fred W. Berchem Album 1922-24 (MP 128/84) are not portraits, but systematized physiological records that will be labelled and grouped into categories as part of his documentary album (pp. 14-15). Interest in the results of interracial breeding are part of his collection, and an explicit theme of another album of the same period and place, the Captain G. E. Mack Album II (MP 598). Accessioned by the museum in 1947, the object was recorded as containing photos of "Eskimo and mixed breeds, costumes, tents, igloos, hunting scenes, RCMP and HB Co. officials."²⁹ An extended study of one large family, the father apparently of European descent and the mother Inuit, illustrates the results of interracial marriage (p. 3).

Another type of typological album - its portraits unquestionably transactional - is the Becket Actress Album (MP 189/78), compiled in Montréal after 1872. Of the scrapbook type, the Becket album is dominated by celebrities, mainly actresses, whose portraits are mounted on hand-decorated pages. Their names or their most famous parts are inscribed in the vignettes. This album can be compared with another scrapbook, or sketchbook, in the collection, the Emily

Illustrations

MP 598. Captain G. E. Mack Album II, p. 3. Captain G. E. Mack? Untitled (northern family and buildings), c. 1920. Four gelatin silver prints, each 8 x 10 cm.

MP 189/78. Becket Actress Album, p. 9. Hugh Wylie Becket, *Camille Dubois, Langford, Helen Barry and Clara Vesey*, 1872-1880. Ink drawing with collaged photographs, 32 x 24.7 cm.





Ross Album (MP 107/82), dedicated to the compiler by her brother on January 1, 1869. The Ross album illustrates the integration of photography into established avocations, intellectual pastimes and "ornamental skills"³⁰ that had secured the album its place in the fetishistic Victorian home.³¹ The intimacy and preciousness of ornamental works are conveyed by one writer's recollection of his evening with two elderly sisters:

...she placed in my hands an Album, containing a number of water-colour sketches of flowers and of seaside resorts painted by her sister and herself during their earlier years, together with old Valentines, coloured prints, Baxter and otherwise. There were also steel engravings from long-neglected "Books of Beauty," pressed flowers, leaves and seaweed; quoted verses written in delicate penmanship and wreathed in floral borderings; and many other suchlike garnerings from the scythed fields of Time.³²

The Ross album was never completed and not all of its collages are from the same hand or of the same quality, but the finished pages which consist of photographs and painted vignettes more than justify its presence in the collection. The photographs appear to have been lifted from cartes-de-visite. Their presentation on the page is enhanced by framing devices which to varying degrees contextualize the descriptive images in narration. Photographs are enclosed in "frames" decorated with lyrical floral (female subject) or geometrical pattern (male subject) motifs. These images project little more than creative proposals for the formal presentation of photographs. They are windows, intensifying the edges of the image, and not emanations from its narrative center, as Rosen and Zerner have defined the Romantic vignette.³³

Other images introduce more of the personality of the artist, and an inkling of her yearnings. In one case, five portraits are mounted on the vanes of a fan. While nicely done, this is not an original conceit. Miss Ross was probably aware of a Miss Stevenson's photographic dress, accessorised with camera hat and photograph-and-feather fan, which was recorded by the Notman studio in 1865.³⁴ A fourth collage, the most interesting, inflects the interpretation of the rest by breaking the boundaries of the enclosure. The

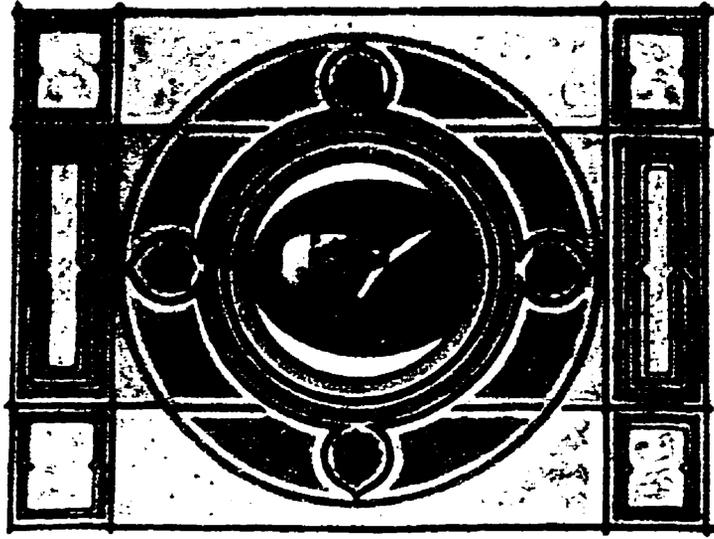
carte-de-visite is shown falling out of an envelope which is rendered in realistic detail with the postmarks of Kingston and Montréal, as well as a monogrammed seal. The envelope as drawn has been torn open; the photograph, a portrait of a man, falls out of it sideways toward the bottom of the page. Here the vignette achieves full narrative potential by shifting the static image into continuous, pleasurable rediscovery. The motif of the letter pierces the Victorian framing device, the walls of the domestic cloister.

Hilary Thompson has suggested that the effect of narrative closure afforded by the Romantic vignette is of a moral order.³⁵ If so, the message of this album accords with the colliding influences of the second half of the nineteenth century, as reflected in the world of children's fiction. In the middle third of the century, Daniel T. Rodgers sees children's stories surrounding "Northern middle-class children...with a set of socializing pressures and interlocking moral injunctions critically different from those impressed upon children before them...the 'semi-mechanical' virtues of industry and regularity - drummed in by the regular discipline of schools and school-modelled homes, reinforced by didactic storybook example..."³⁶ In the latter third of the century, Rodgers perceives a shift from "a code of restraint to one of heroic impulse."³⁷ Female storybook figures "found themselves confined by a set of emotionally constricted, often much too hard-working parental surrogates whom they won over to their purer, more sentimental creeds of spontaneous love."³⁸ With its metaphoric tokens, the Ross album projects similar fantasies of individual and societal transcendence.

Photographic collections of prints, compiled in the nineteenth century, will not easily be pigeonholed as amateur or professional. Private circles and amateur societies, such as exchange clubs, were the engine of photographic experimentation until the end of the 1850s when the twin forces of professional supply and popular demand changed the nature of production.³⁹

Illustration

MP 107/82. Emily Ross Album, pp. 32-33. Emily Ross, Untitled collage (the letter), c. 1869; Untitled collage (portrait of a man), c. 1869. Two collages of albumen prints, watercolour, ink and pencil, each 26.8 x 22.8 cm.



In 1865, Canadian landscape photographer, Alexander Henderson, himself a member of the Stereoscopic Exchange Club, published his work for the first time under the title, Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur. Though independently wealthy, Henderson was a self-employed Commission Merchant. He was also an amateur of art and the founding president of the Art Association of Montreal, a group of twenty-three artists, politicians, professionals and businessmen (William Notman among them), started in 1860 to encourage fine arts in the city.⁴⁰ Within two years of his first publication, Henderson had opened a studio in Montréal where he specialized in architectural, urban and landscape views, supplementing his activity with portraits; still, the status of his work remained in flux. In the studio, Henderson did not discriminate between his amateur and professional stages, transferring and inventorying his pre-1866 plates as needed.⁴¹

Despite Henderson's self-identification, his published album cannot be classified as an amateur compilation. It should already be clear, however, that professional photography occupies considerable space in amateur compilation, in the contents and sometimes in the organization of an album intended for private enjoyment. One of the many albums that have come to the McCord from the Molson family of Montréal is a compilation commissioned from Alexander Henderson by May, Hattie and Ethel Frothingham, and presented to their uncle, John H. R. Molson, on January 1, 1879. Photographs / Canadian Scenery (MP 1452) is a lavish presentation of 189 albumen prints, organized geographically, by town, waterway and region, and complementally according to theme, season and photographic interest. Almost all the prints are Henderson's tranquil descriptive views. Breaking the flow are five composite photographs from the Notman Studio, inventive accounts of Montréal social life and sporting pleasure. They seem out of place until one considers the commissioner. Other photographs and albums from the Frothingham connection - the Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album (N 006/86), given to their mother in 1876 by May and Hatty⁴² and Ethel's album, the Benson Family Album (N 007/86), for example - demonstrate the Frothingham family's enduring enthusiasm for photographic tableaux. The intrusion of Notman's flagrant artifice underscores the tension between "artificial" and "natural" effects that lends so much interest to the Henderson oeuvre.

Another album of scenic views, this one entirely composed of Hendersons, is nevertheless also marked by the desires of its commissioner, David Ross McCord. Of the 48 albumen prints in the McCord Red Album (MP 139), the first 9 are architectural views of three McCord houses. Henderson made these photographs on assignment around 1871, then or later turning the plates over to his client. The value of the plates was ensured by the senseless destruction of the Henderson archives. Interest is further piqued in relation to the series presented in the album.

For Henderson photographed not three, but four McCord houses: two ancestral homes on the Nazareth Fief, the Ross house on Champ de Mars and the McCord family seat, Temple Grove, built in 1837 by John Samuel McCord.⁴³ The Champ de Mars house predated Temple Grove as a family monument. It was built in 1813 by David Ross, David Ross McCord's maternal grandfather, who was connected by marriage to the McCord clan. Neoclassical in style and richly appointed, the Champ de Mars house was much admired. And yet, while David Ross McCord commissioned Henry Bunnett to draw the house, inside and out, he left Henderson's photographic view out of the album.

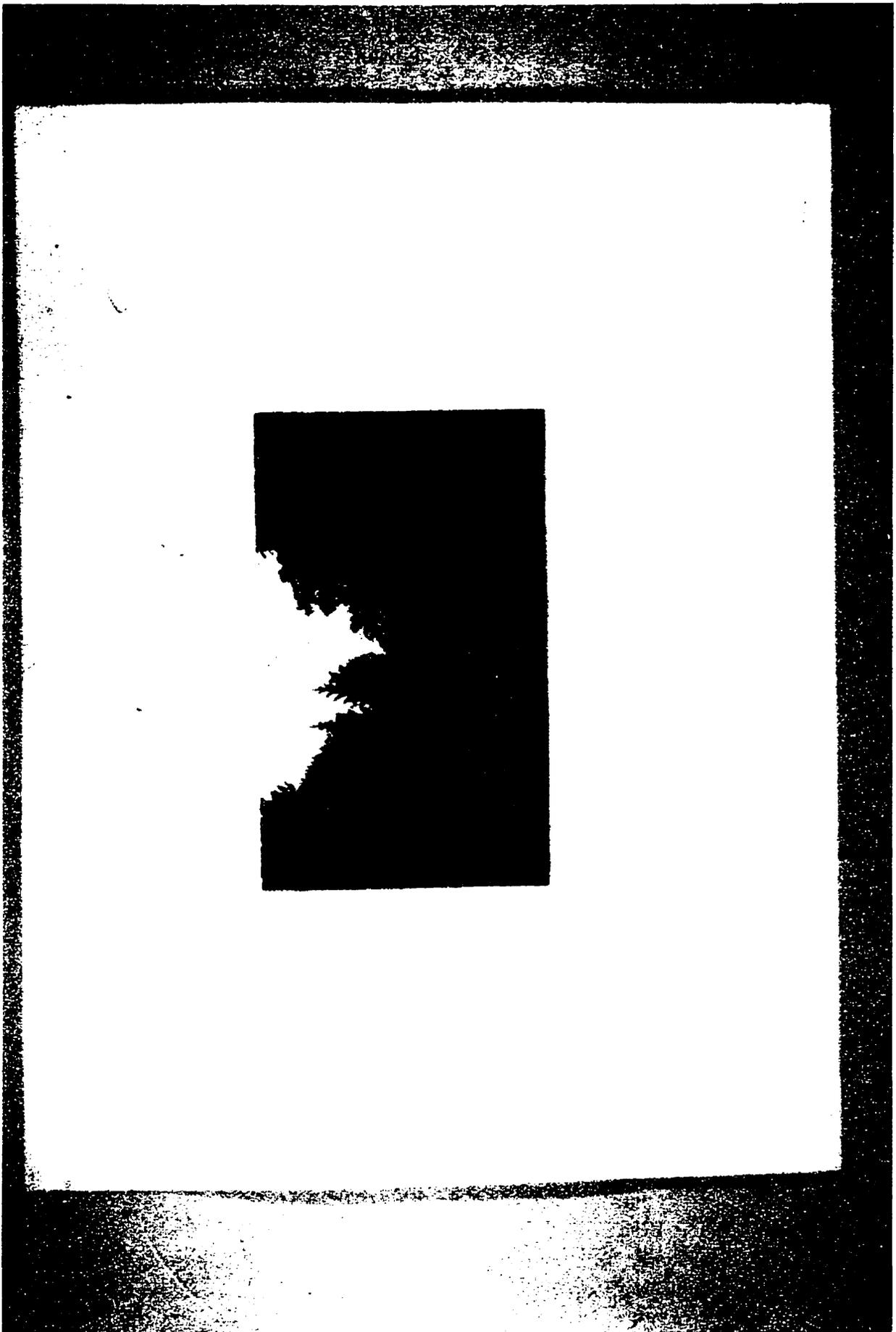
McCord's omission redefines his album as an architectural genealogy. Samuel McCord had died in 1865; his wife five years later. But the unexpected and significant factor was the death in 1866 of David Ross McCord's older brother, John Davidson McCord. Although David Ross McCord would not take over Temple Grove until his marriage in 1878, it was as master that he commissioned the photographs of the exterior of the house. His stance between the columns of the porch affirms his possession and sense of destiny. Henderson's views of

Illustrations

MP 1452. Photographs/Canadian Scenery, pp. 92-93. Alexander Henderson. *Under Table Rock* (20.3 x 15.5 cm) and *Under Table Rock* (15.3 x 21 cm); *American Fall 7th Ice Bridge* (24 x 31 cm). Three albumen prints, sizes as indicated.

MP 139. McCord Red Album, p. 8. Alexander Henderson. Temple Grove Croquet Court (D. R. McCord), 1872. Albumen print, 11.5 x 19.3 cm.





Temple Grove are followed in the album by 12 blank pages, some with abrasions and traces of glue. The Henderson prints that follow constitute part of McCord's photographic collection and his preservationist mission. The sequencing of the prints is more loosely associative than the album created for John Molson. Blank pages indicate that collection and compilation of prints was planned to continue.

Susan Stewart has argued that the material souvenir, shifted into the realm of the collector, leaves its maker behind, generating a myth of origins which is the "narrative of the possessor."⁴⁴ Following Thorstein Veblen's The Theory of the Leisure Class (1953), Stewart equates the narrative of possession with a genealogy.⁴⁵ Such a transformation takes place in the Red Album. All of McCord's collecting activities were imbued with a notion of immanent disappearance. Everything in his hand became a souvenir. Such an elegiac dynastic myth germinates in the proprietary preamble of the McCord Red Album and stretches to the nation as a whole through McCord's photographic purchase of the Canadian landscape.

Sieberling and Bloore have shown that the function of photographic albums evolved over the 1850s, "from a general repository for all kinds of specimens, images and reminders, which typified the outlook of early amateurs, to a collection of images of a particular type."⁴⁶ A photographic focus, modelled on drawing or print collection, was replaced by other interests that previously might have been satisfied by the accumulation of objects and lore. The shift is exemplified by the breadth of the Green Album (MP 010) in which have been identified photographs from the Montréal studios of Notman, Henderson and Barnes (possibly Wilfred Molson Barnes, active in Montréal from 1900 to 1940⁴⁷). Purchased prints are combined with snapshots, maps, photographic copies of paintings and drawings, and a pressed botanical specimen. Of disparate sources and spanning up to ninety years, photographs and other visual documents gathered into the album seem to have been chosen for their representation of Québec's colonial and military history. Twentieth-century maps and copies of nineteenth-century military engineer's plans are distributed throughout. The photographs are organized neither geographically nor chronologically, but rather amassed in a private

museological display - a bullwark against disappearance.

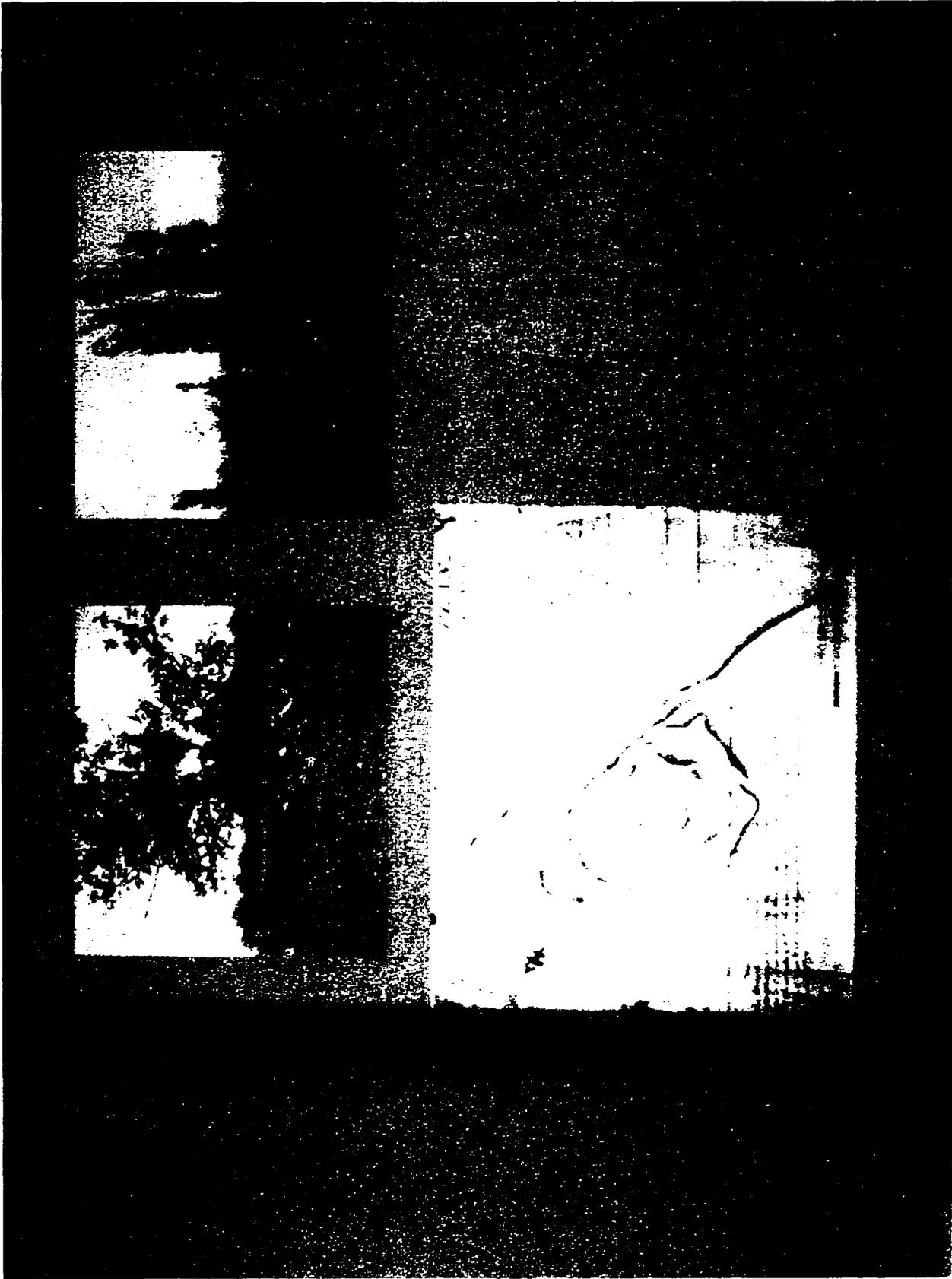
The Green Album seems the product of applied passion, especially by comparison with the Cannon Album (MP 1993), so-called because of its prominent brass cover motif. Made in Vienna, the album has been filled with cartes-de-visite of historic European sites, buildings and works of art. The photographic format - no pun intended - is reductive, levelling all monuments to the same manageable proportions, to miniatures. The presentation is dry. No traveller's tale or aesthetic appreciation enlarges the objective experience, and the charms of these cartes-de-visite may seem rather remote to our sated late twentieth-century eyes. It helps to be reminded that, in the nineteenth century, engraved illustrations of art works were not so abundant, that foreign places and monuments dwelt mostly in the imagination from textual description.⁴⁸ Thus for the armchair traveller, adult or child, compilations of art works reproduced in miniature combined canonical instruction with intense, sensory stimulation. Looking was allowed, even on a Sunday, when most other distractions were forbidden.⁴⁹ Victorian rationers of pleasure may have been banking on the cooling effect of unaccommodating scale and silent Sabbatical contemplation, but they were innocent of the effects of these portable museums: Benjamin's devaluation of the cult-object⁵⁰ and a countervailing sense of authenticity blending in memory from real and photographic experience.

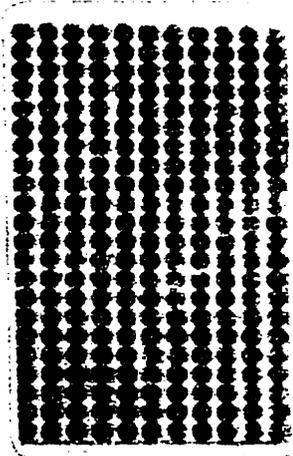
If the provenance of the Cannon Album tells us little, the ontology of the

Illustrations

MP 010. Green Album, p. 41. Unattributed. Two views of unidentified site with trees and rubble, gelatin silver prints, each approx. 10.5 x 12.5 cm; photographic copy of *Plan of Mount Johnson. Showing the land purchased by Sir John Johnson...William Sax, Land Surveyor, 1805*. Gelatin silver print, 14.2 x 17.8 cm

MP 1993. Cannon Album, p. 32. Unsigned, *Tableau synoptique des Papes Depuis Saint Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX* and *Sommer & Behles, Naples & Rome*, three photographs of marble sculptures from the Vatican collection. Albumen prints, each approximately 9 x 5.5 cm.





object is more lucid. The album is a repository of shadowy knowledge, copies upon copies of vestigial abstractions, reminders of a wellspring called Western taste. The yearnings of the compiler are arrayed in this metonymic diaspora whose meaning depends on the illusory nature of collection, especially the collection of souvenirs.

The souvenir, according to Susan Stewart, is a trace of authentic experience that is always incomplete, a metonymic reference "impoverished and partial so that it can be supplemented by a narrative discourse, a narrative discourse which articulates the play of desire."⁵¹ Stewart understands the photographic souvenir as utterly dependent on its story which itself becomes the object of nostalgia. Every element of her model album goes through a transformation from the public to the private by absorption into the lore of the possessor. She fortifies her argument by distinguishing between purchasable souvenirs and mementoes of individual experience. The memento attaches to a life history; it is the material sign of an abstract referent which is transformation in status.

Stewart admits only the memento to her archetypal album, and her discussion of this point signals her strong literary bias - the blindspot in her vision.⁵² Her model compilation seems to be based on a closed autobiographical text, closed to the constant revision of performative re-presentation and surprisingly closed to fantasy. The substance of that text is external reality: "events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that exist only through the invention of narrative."⁵³ Her definition disregards the motility of photographic experience; it slights the imagination; it reduces the image to a mnemonic hook. Stewart locates the souvenir in a structure of longing, a fixed referential gap between past and present, a cradle of narrative. That gap must remain open. Stewart insists that past and present cannot meet:

As in an album of photographs or a collection of antiquarian relics, the past is constructed from a set of presently existing pieces. There is no continuous identity between these objects and their referents. Only the act of memory constitutes their

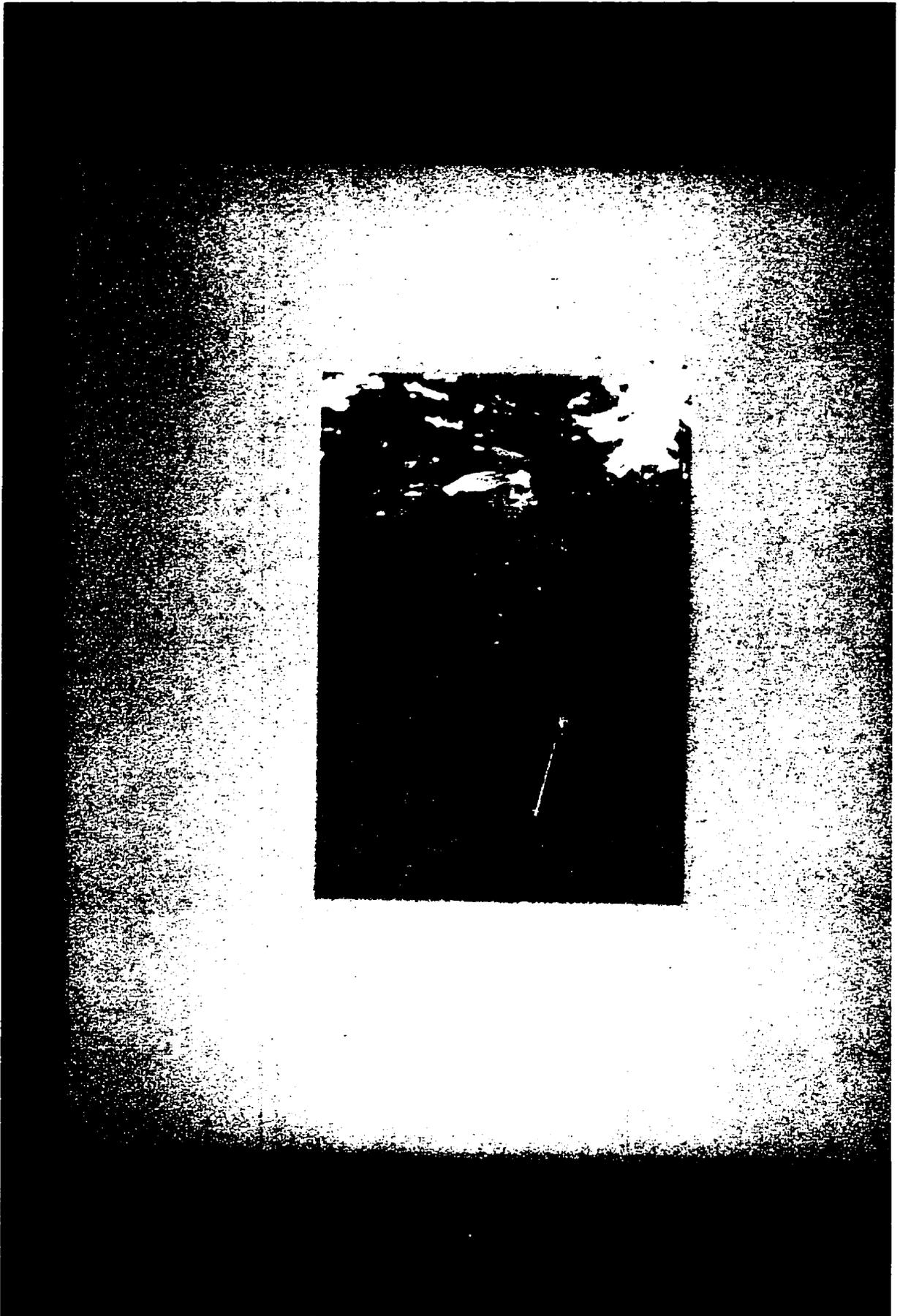
resemblance. And it is in this gap between resemblance and identity that nostalgic desire arises. The nostalgic is enamored of distance, not of the referent itself. Nostalgia cannot be sustained without loss. For the nostalgic to reach his or her goal of closing the gap between resemblance and identity, *lived* experience would have to take place, an erasure of the gap between sign and signified, an experience which would cancel out the desire that is nostalgia's reason for existence.⁵⁴

The story-telling nature of an album constitutes *lived* experience (real and imagined) that neither erases nor cancels sites of longing, but continuously revisits them in a moving present. The actualization of the past - its blending in the present - is illuminated by an album-collection that is the very picture of longing. The Johnny Webster Album (MP 198/81) is a compendium of photographs and newspaper clippings that chronicle the life and accidental death of a distinguished Canadian flyer. The album was donated by the second husband of Webster's widow, sometime after her death. The compiler is unknown, but it is unlikely to have been Webster's young widow. There are no wedding pictures, no sentimental views of courtship or early marriage. The bride who was also a flyer joins her husband only on the airfield. The biographical sweep of the album, from baby pictures to newspaper reports of the fatal accident, suggests that it may have been compiled by Webster's mother.

The album fits into a pattern of bereavement that Colin Murray Parkes explains as a form of selective searching: "Searchers carry in their mind a picture of the lost object."⁵⁵ Their restlessness is insoluble because driven by the impossible goal of finding the person that is lost. "Preoccupation with thoughts of the lost person and events leading up to the loss is a common feature in bereaved people."⁵⁶ Their memories are photographically clear: "maintaining a clear visual memory of lost people facilitates the search by

Illustration

MP 198/81. John C. Webster Memorial Album, p. 9. Unattributed. Untitled (John C. Webster as a cadet) c. 1912. Gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 11.5 cm.



making it more likely that they will be located..."⁵⁷

The photographic album preserves the life story of the departed within a concrete and bounded report. The telling of the album perpetuates the search which is additively transformed by each experiential narration of the keeper. Time arbitrarily has stood still for the protagonist, but time will not wait for the keeper whose endless search, embodied by the album, gradually will be expanded to include not only the departed but a person much altered by loss and recovery, the searcher himself. And if, as Christian Metz has argued, the photographic image has helped the mourner to love the departed "as dead," this transformation in the nature of feeling must be experienced over time.⁵⁸ The memorial album reconciles mourning and adjustment as a progressive and expansive redefinition of the self. Illich and Sanders explain:

In oral cultures, one may retain an image of what has been - yesterday, at the time of the full moon, or last spring, but the person then or now exists only in the doing or the telling, as the suffix comes to life only when it modifies a verb. Like a candle, the 'I' lights up only in the activity and is extinguished at other times. But not dead. With the retelling of the story, the candle comes to glow again.⁵⁹

Autobiographers ride out to meet mortality and its cycles by bridging the gap between past and present. Autobiographies keep the compiler-protagonist alive and in wilful engagement with the now. Some albums are autobiographical in nature, meeting the basic criteria of authorship and personal data, as well as the ancillary functions of explanation and justification, which one can easily imagine in oral supply. Rare, however, is the compiler who would attempt to relate his or her entire life. The famous exception is Jacques-Henri Lartigue who treated his albums as the photographic pendant to the diary that he was privileged to maintain for most of his life.⁶⁰ But diarists, according to Thomas Mallon, come in many forms: chroniclers, travellers, pilgrims, creators, apologists, confessors and prisoners.⁶¹ Only the chronicle pretends to full, autobiographical coverage as "carrier of the private, the everyday, the intriguing, the sordid, the sublime, the boring - in short, a chronicle of

everything."⁶² Chronicling is both a method and an incentive for writing a diary. Mallon offers two very pertinent and painful examples: an entry in the diary of zoologist, Philip Gosse, which notes in order of occurrence the birth of his son and the delivery of a new specimen; Virginia Woolf's pretext for her diary being the basis of memoirs that she will write when she is sixty.⁶³

A compiler's intentions may be unconscious or unsteady, but the framework of intention is sure. Photographic diaries or memoirs follow the fundamental rules of personal narrative. Photographic in nature and communicative at cause, they carve out segments of their compiler's life for re-presentation. Personal narratives are stories predicated, according to John A. Robinson, on "tellability,"⁶⁴ admitting the remarkable, the commonplace and the shameful, and "the point,"⁶⁵ excluding no possibilities between forceful instruction and vulnerable self-analysis. Much depends on the listener. Robinson explains personal narrative as a form of conversation, shaped by its modes of expression and interactional protocols. Different conversational patterns such as association, problem-solving, interrogation and clarification-of-misunderstanding; the optional perspectives of storytelling, whether as spectator or participant; diverse styles of dialogue, such as presenting, sharing, matching, polarization and sociable legend:⁶⁶ conversation's complex and fragile ecology provides a model for the album whose express subject is the self. An appropriate and consensual discursive pattern is essential. The personal photographic compiler must feel as Albert Camus: "I am happy to be both halves, the watcher and the watched."⁶⁷

Prefiguring Camus's reflexive gaze is the work of an avid amateur photographer whose Anonymous Amateur Album (MP 586) and negatives came to the museum prior to 1973 as an anonymous donation. The album which contains 169 snapshots can be dated only approximately to the teens and early twenties. The photographer

Illustration

MP 586. Anonymous Amateur Album, p. 35. Unattributed. Untitled (self-portrait); Untitled (group portrait - double-exposure). Two gelatin silver prints, 7.9 x 13.4 cm / 7.6 x 13.1 cm.



appears to have lived in or around Montréal; sojourns in Winnipeg and Ottawa are also recorded. The album is a merging of three compulsive interests, the first of which is formal or technical, that is, purely photographic. The album opens, for example, with an image of the sun breaking through the clouds. A second theme anachronistically could be labelled the social landscape.⁶⁸ A subjective process of selection shapes this aspect of the album, but the legacy is nevertheless valuable as a record of early twentieth-century urban life and one senses the photographer's investment in this journalistic project. The album participates in a form of social realism as an ongoing report gathered by an observant, peregrinating citizen. The modern city, a heterogeneous expression of progress and continuity, is transformed photographically into a place of self-discovery. The compiler's precise programme is unknowable, but his movement in and out of the archetypal city resonates with the memories of Lewis Mumford, formative experiences of city and country which culminated in his utopian vision:

The city represents and is the plenitude of human nature: so Mumford argues. The city is a human project: man making his self. As such, it is an encyclopedia of man-in-general.⁶⁹

A modernist, metaphoric fusion of man and city forms the third sub-category in the album: a series of self-portraits which is fitted in throughout. Identification has proceeded from one key image: a portrait of a man dressed in sombre business attire sitting in a wood-panelled room beside his camera which exposes the scene through reflection in a mirror (McCord #76). This carefully considered and serious self-portrait is mounted on a page with an outdoor portrait of a man and two women, favourites who figure elsewhere in the album (McCord #77). The residential street has been double-exposed, layering a second ghostly view of houses and light standards on top of the grinning trio. The snapshot, which might have been rejected, instead is well placed to comment on the photographer's endeavour. The contrasts in this single pair of images - interior and exterior, dark and light, solitude and sociability, precision and accident, preservation and dematerialization - encapsulate the binary oppositions of this very photographic album.

James M. Cox has made the rather neat point that the birth of autobiography - its separation from preceding forms of confession and memoir - coincided with the French and American revolutions, "when the modern life was being liberated as well as defined."⁷⁰ From that point on, the relation of one's life "bared the inner thoughts" and "recounted the career."⁷¹ Compiled after 1862, the Birch Album (MP 2160) would have fulfilled both functions in presentation by its compiler, Richard J. W. Birch.

A self-made modern man is announced by the inscription: "Richard J. W. Birch, Oct. 13th 1862 / A present from himself." The album is a collection of 46 cartes-de-visite, focusing, though not exclusively, on Birch's military service with the 30th Regiment at Québec. On page 11, the undated portrait of Miss Voss as a Normandy Peasant refers to the Notman composite, The Skating Carnival, Montreal (1870). The majority of the subjects are men, some in uniform, others in civilian clothes or studio-supplied costumes. No captions are visible. Birch has inscribed the names and ranks of his companions on the mounts, but he has not transferred this information to the page. Some photographs are identified as pre-dating the purchase of the album; the cartes-de-visite are not in chronological order, nor were they arranged in order of receipt. With the album thus assembled, Captain Birch controls the story whose pleasure in the telling is compressed into one revealing caption: "Lieut Clower 30th Regt / Nuckle headed monster." The photographs constitute the memoir; Birch's hidden comment is the grain of his confession. The officer and the man are met in conversation.

In the Birch album, tellability obtains at the most basic level: the compiler evinces a sense of his own uniqueness. For the collecting museum, it is perhaps his representativeness that signifies. This is certainly true of other memoirists whose albums have been collected by the McCord. Their personal histories are nested in historical events whose global conditions and local ramifications are serviceably represented. Four albums in the study

Illustration

MP 2160. Birch Album, detail, p. 10. Notman Studio, Montréal, *Lieut Clower 30th Regt / Nuckle (sic) headed monster*, 1864 (13160). Carte-de-visite.



group belong to the Canadian social history of the First World War.⁷² Their young compilers, two men and two women, were to varying degrees affected by the war. Their photographic memoirs recount their experiences which, unfortunately, were not unique except, of course, to them.

The William Hilliard Snyder Album (MP 016/92) belonged to a soldier from Vancouver who died in action near Amiens. The album covers Snyder's last days in Canada, April to October, 1916. His snapshots of family and friends in Ottawa, Edmonton, Lake Louise and Vancouver are interspersed with pictures of Camp Hughes in Manitoba where he trained as a recruit. The album which is accompanied by letters, keepsakes and other contextual material is very affecting as a first-person account. Hilliard Snyder's excitement as he embarks on this tremendous adventure - his generation's war⁷³ - is palpable throughout. He knows that he will want a photographic record of his experiences; that is all he knows for sure.⁷⁴

The exhilarating openness of Snyder's project is indicated by the two-part inscription. The first, on the flyleaf, is the certainty of beginning - his name, the date and place of the acquisition - April 2nd, 1916, at home in Vancouver. The second identification and location, added to the inside front cover, eclipses the first: the ascendant constellations are the 195th Battalion and Camp Hughes. Their solidarity and purpose bring order without closure to Snyder's youth. Two snapshots on page 25 are symbolic of the moment: on the left, the heroic portrait of an erect, somewhat forbidding, officer; on the right, four friends in civilian clothes laughingly form a human wall by balancing on each other's shoulders. Like these bodies, Snyder's album is poured in arrested anticipation of life in and after the war. As Langness and Frank suggest, unfulfilled expectation is fundamental to autobiography: "From a Heideggerian point of view, our lives always have within them something still outstanding which has not yet become realized."⁷⁵

Robinson states plainly that the autobiographer cannot write about her own death.⁷⁶ Like any historian, he or she is obliged to construct an arbitrary and fictive framework, the "exit and entrance"⁷⁷ that bracket the tale. Beginnings and endings make personal narratives possible, while tipping the

hand of intention, conscious or unconscious. The Cynthia Jones Album (1917-1923) (MP 079/86) is a scrapbook of snapshots, purchased photographic postcards and cartoons. The compiler, Miss Holt at the time, served as a nurse in England and France during World War I. First snapshots record her September 1917 departure for Europe on the American troopship, S. S. Adriatic. A purchased view of the Officers Rest Home at Broad Oak Lodge at Sturry in Kent situates the snapshots of patients and nurses that come after. One of these is captioned: "Watching the Huns come over." Holt's chronicle of service in France is supplemented by picture postcards of Canadian field hospitals including Etaples which is shown in ruins after the bombing raids of May 1918. Cartoons lampoon the agonies inflicted by nurses on patients in "The Chamber of Horrors" and "The Electrical Ward."

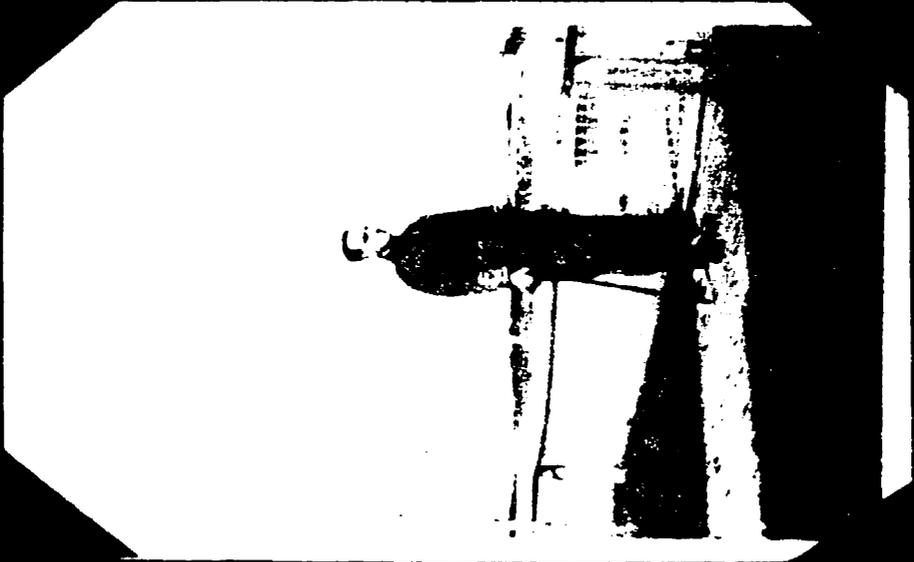
The Holt/Jones album continues after the war with a trip to Europe (1922) and ski vacations at Ste-Marguerite and other resorts (1922-1923). Jones was not immune to the horrors that she experienced overseas - far from it - but the extension of her wartime memoir into the twenties suggests that she viewed the war and its aftermath integrally, as a coming of age, before her life of marriage and children demanded their own separate account. Consequently, the Cynthia Jones Album II - 1928-1931 (MP 080/86 - uncatalogued), while very much the viewpoint of one woman, is likely to be classified as a family album, while the memoir of Miss Holt melts into the pictorial history of the Great War.

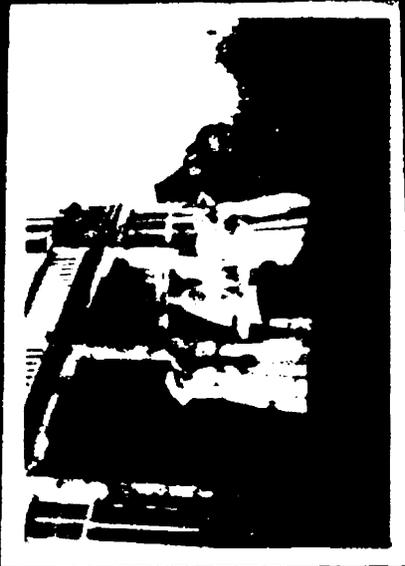
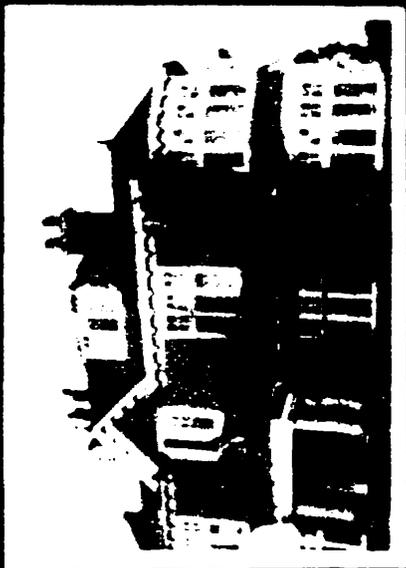
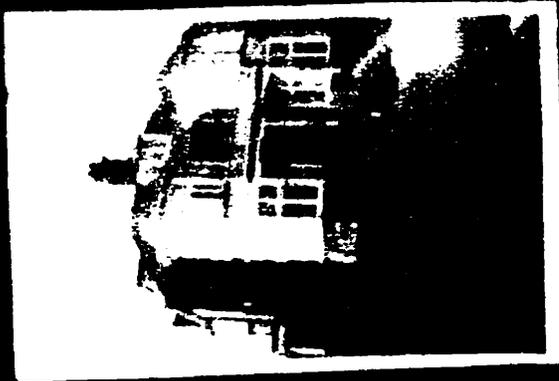
Illustrations

MP 016/92. William Hilliard Snyder Album, p. 25. William Hilliard Snyder? W. O Reid, 114th Batt. CEF; LANGARA B.S., 1916. Gelatin silver prints: 14 x 8.8 cm; 10.2 x 7.8 cm.

MP 079/86. Cynthia Jones Album (1917 - 1923), p. 8. Cynthia Holt Jones, *Watching the Huns Come Over*, 1917. Gelatin silver prints: 8.1 x 5.5 cm; 6 x 8.2 cm; 5.7 x 8.2 cm; 8 x 5.5 cm.

MP 033/80. Wagner Wartime Album 1912-1917, p. 62. Mrs Charles W. Wagner, Untitled (serial portrait of sailor and child; lifeboat?), c. 1917. Three gelatin silver prints, each 11.7 x 7.4 cm. One gelatin silver print, 4.4 x 6.6 cm.







Another woman's wartime memoir, the Mrs Charles W. Wagner Album (1912-1917) (MP 033/80), is the earliest of four albums donated by the compiler. Mrs Wagner was a keen-eyed photographer - an amateur journalist - who alternated easily between individual, social and historical cycles, weaving all three into her visual diary. The settings of this album include Beaupré, Kamouraska, Valcartier, Ste-Anne's and Halifax. Some places, dates and names are supplied; captions otherwise consist of wisecracks, initials and rhetorical prompts: "Some 'nun' eh what!?" A young man clowning in a nun's habit, the ritual washing of a girl's long hair and the marking of a tennis court are innocent pleasures, darkly mirrored in the donning of military and nursing uniforms, the masking of faces in bandages, the recording of ships in Halifax harbour.

Western autobiography's presumed "'spatiotemporal' orientation"⁷⁸ is easily upset by the memoirist's reconstructions. Mrs Wagner's album cultivates a feeling of prescience or suspense. The concentrated display of troop and supply ships on an annotated and dated page, "21/9/17...Halifax," impresses her account with the full weight of history by foreshadowing the massive explosion that occurred in December of that year. Oddly disorienting, the chronological order of this album seems at once predictive and retrospective. Across its pages, courtships are pursued, culminating in informal wartime weddings. A little boy in a sailor suit is embraced for posterity by a seaman.⁷⁹ Bathing beauties, knitting sisters, the hearty, the blinded and the maimed cluster before the camera as the future narrator prepares to explain, "This is how it was before this happened and it was different."

Finally, the D. M. Murphy Album (MP 163/77) could be renamed *The Education of a Canadian Soldier*. It is a composite of Canadian outdoor life, including snowshoeing, skiing, canoeing, rowing, foot-racing, soccer, horseback riding, camping, courtship, military training and photography.⁸⁰ The album spans nearly twenty years; 1901 and 1919 are the beginning- and end-dates. The organization of pictures is not chronological and for all the liveliness of the snapshots, a caption such as "The future H.M. Geo V in Ottawa 1901" steeps this album, like Wagner's, in conscious reconsideration. The album is divided generally into themes - episodic, geographical or categorical - which are

neatly summarised in one or two pages. The design of the album helps to order the tale since each page holds only five pictures in decorative combinations of round, oval, square or rectangular apertures. Indeed, the album seems the portable offspring of the Victorian parlour table which significantly is acknowledged in the album's first image. A densely populated whatnot features in the portrait of a man, a woman and a lap-dog. The same page also includes an urban view of a line of row-houses and three informal, individual portraits of two young men and a young woman.

Its family history complete, the D. M. Murphy Album concentrates on the activities, interests and accomplishments of a young middle-class male passing from a nineteenth-century childhood to twentieth-century adulthood through the phase now commonly referred to as adolescence. The moment of this pre-war, adolescent memoir is doubly fascinating as it coincides with the recognition of adolescence as a distinct life stage, a theory propounded in 1904 by G. Stanley Hall in Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education.⁸¹ The Murphy album was compiled as late as 1919 in a society attuned to the special nature of adolescence and actively creating institutions for its protection. The album by its very existence immures and validates those sentiments: the turbulent adolescent years are deemed by their veteran to be precious and worthy of preservation. The individual photographs, on the other hand, seem of a different programme - enthusiastic, declamatory and heroic - admitting nothing but the perfect outward self. In the Murphy album, the self-conscious and romantic adolescent is enlisted as the biographer of an aggressively visible proto-adult - the man that Murphy-child was brought up to be. For many historians, the Victorian era ends with the First World War, but the Snyder and Murphy albums suggest something different: the artificially extended adolescence of a new era that was not allowed to play out, but abruptly was stopped and pushed back on the previous generation's values. Joseph F. Kett acknowledges the period's shifts and dichotomies:

It was ironic that the trumpeting of manliness and will power in late 19th-century success tracts should have become one of the impulses behind the establishment of institutions for adolescents,

since the adolescent was a stranger to manliness, at least insofar as manliness meant intellectual and spiritual maturity. Middle-class values at the end of the century downgraded maturity and intellectuality in youth while upgrading physical prowess and perpetual becoming. The word "manliness" itself changed meaning, coming to signify less the opposite of childishness than the opposite of femininity.⁸²

However secular and progressive in outer appearance, the boys-work which occupies Murphy and his friends is the evergreen legacy of nineteenth-century Christian manhood. One seeks its roots in the writings of Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes and other Victorians whose valorizations of physical and metaphysical prowess formed the notion of "Christian manliness" or "muscular Christianity." Donald E. Hall's history of "muscular Christianity" traces its label and definition to a literary review of 1857 by T. C. Sandars:

[Mr. Kingsley's] ideal is a man who fears God and can walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours - who, in the language which Mr. Kingsley has made popular, breathes God's free air on God's rich earth, and at the same time can hit a woodcock, doctor a horse, and twist a poker around his fingers.⁸³

The Murphy album is illuminated by Hall's explanation of the pedagogical programme of "muscular Christianity" - its metaphoric shaping of a male body that was inseparable either conceptually or physically from the body of the British empire. On its fictional playing fields, in the panoramic outdoors, tenets of physical and moral strength are gulped down as pure oxygen, "free air," infected with bias and risk. Hall justifiably is wary of such intoxicating metaphors: "As both literary and social history has shown [...], when words are made flesh, they often form the bodies of soldiers."⁸⁴

Bodies suspended in the adolescent state of "perpetual becoming" are the stock characters of a parallel orality - songs of self-discovery meant to be sung again and again. The Snyder, Jones, Wagner and Murphy albums communicate far more than *their* war. Shaped to the compilers' individual needs, the albums

function as conversations earnestly conducted in what Robinson has called the "heuristic mode".⁸⁵ The war becomes the backdrop to the adolescent plot.

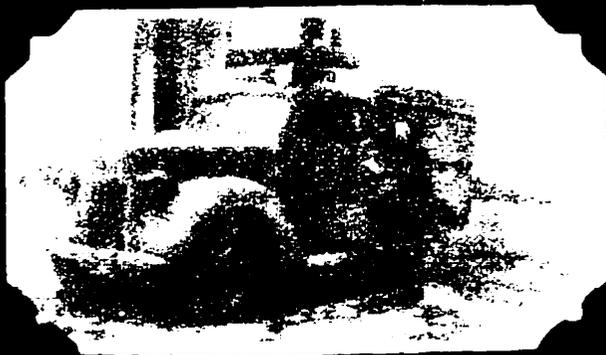
A fifth wartime memoir in the study group approaches the theme quite differently with a view to containment. The Chambers Red Cross Album (MP 040/90) is a scrapbook-memoir of World War II. The compiler was Mrs W. D. Chambers, commandant of transport service for the Woman's Voluntary Service Corps of the Red Cross. Mrs Chambers was a veteran ambulance driver. In World War I, as Evelyn Gordon Brown, she had served with the First Aid Yeomanry Ambulance Convoy earning the Military Medal. Captions filed with Canadian Military photographs locate Mrs Chambers's World War II service in Sicily and North Africa, placing her among "the first Canadian nursing sisters to serve in territory wrested from the enemy."⁸⁶

Mrs Chambers's album had been plundered prior to its donation, but the forty-seven pictures remaining suggest something of its original quality and focus. The basic ingredients of this album are not unlike those of the Snyder or Jones albums, but Mrs Chambers's selection is more disciplined. Nothing before or after the war distracts from its unifying purpose; nothing beyond Mrs Chambers's personal experience is allowed to intrude. The album combines ordinary snapshots with official "human-interest" shots which Mrs Chambers would have obtained from the Military Photographer. Often she is an actress in these scenes which are optimistic visual narratives of Canada carrying on. Mrs Chambers's own pictures tell the same cheerful story of friends and family in service, important visitors, colourful characters, recuperating patients and herself.

Quite deliberately it seems, the European theatre has been shrunk photographically and placed in a familiar container. The album's snapshots of

Illustration

MP 040/90. Chambers Red Cross Album, p. 18. Unattributed. Untitled (Mrs W. D. Chambers "On The Job" in Italy), c. 1943; 3 views of the convalescent home. Four gelatin silver prints: 14 x 8.5 cm; 10.5 x 6.5 cm; 6.5 x 10.5 cm; 6.5 x 9 cm.



a mobilised nursing sorority could easily be transposed into a family album; even the Military Photographs are designed to defuse anxiety and bring the global tempest to domestic teapot scale. Circumstances admittedly are unusual, but on the evidence of this album, not so much frightening as testingly foreign. The Chambers wartime album can be compared to the traveller's journal, a document initiated in the belief that something worthy of re-presentation is about to take place and should be stored, "as an antidote to the familiar."⁸⁷ The positive nature of the album is strategic, finding strength in the fictive framework of beginnings and endings. This war, like the last one, must end.

A last entry in this section of the study group is VIEWS / E. M. W. (MP 2360), a memoir of life in the Yukon, compiled by Miss E. M. Wright around 1910. Like the Chambers album, the Wright album bridges the genres of autobiography and reportage. Imbued with the rugged romance of the northern frontier and punctuated with nostalgia for the Canadian south, this seems to be the album of a traveller - the photographic record of a spatiotemporal shift. The sojourn, however, is purposeful and extended. Miss Wright, it seems, is the relative of a Presbyterian minister whose parish is the Klondike just after the Gold Rush. She is a stranger to the region and a minor figure in the evangelical plot. Nevertheless, her album develops a strong sense of place and the authority of implantation. Its liberal interests and studied repetitions bespeak patience, custom and familiarity.

Within the terms of a photographic study, travellers can be recognized by the way that they see. As John Taylor says, "Travellers practice the gaze, which is contemplative and penetrative; tourists glance, which is accumulative but shallow; and trippers see everything (if they see at all) in disconnected blinks, blurs or 'snaps'."⁸⁸ In the Wright album, seeing is balanced by having been seen - of having become pictured and storied characters in the community. In the album's second image, a commercial photograph from Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, depicts a bundled, half-frozen figure, "Rev. Mr. Wright on Evangelical Tour in the Klondyke [sic] on a bicycle [sic] at 40 below zero." This comic outdoor tableau appears more than once, as does its serious indoor counterpart - a grainy snapshot of the minister working at his

makeshift desk under a single source of light. Miss Wright's Views are very much a singular view. Lively, situational tales of the north are shot through with longing, symbolized by the recurrent image of a Peterborough gravesite and culminating in a series of snapshots of an unnamed, cultivated landscape, somewhere in the Canadian south.

It is interesting to compare the Wright compilation with the albums of the two Hudson Bay officers, Berchem and Mack. (MP 127/84; MP 128/84; MP 598). Their own approaches are quite different. Berchem's albums are very orderly, restrained in their selection of pictures which are sequenced or gathered into groups, then neatly captioned. His photographic essay on sealing is a complete exposition, showing the dynamic group action of the men as they set out for the herd and return to the ship (MP 127/84). Berchem records the appearance of typical sealers, as well as their prey; the hunt is recorded from beginning to end. His album can be divided between extended essays (March - May, 1927) and general views (1921 - 1927). Captain Mack, on the other hand, is a collector of impressions, fragments of Arctic experience which are his as commander to relate. One of his two albums defies the cataloguer (MP 597). It literally bulges with images, over 500, appearing to describe everything he might have seen on land and sea during his twenty-two year command of the S. S. Nascopie. Dedicated to this period of service, the

Illustrations

MP 2360. VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 60. Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, Rev. Mr Wright on Evangelical Tour in the Klondyke (sic) on a bicycle (sic) at 40 below zero, c. 1900 (2570). Gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 21.5 cm.

MP 2360. VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 67. E. M. Wright? Untitled (Reverend Wright working at a table), n. d. Gelatin silver print, trimmed, 11.7 x 16.8 cm.

MP 127/84. Fred W. Berchem Album 1921-1927, p. 23. Fred W. Berchem. *Returning aboard; Returning aboard; Scrambling 'home'; Hauling and panning seals*, 1927. Four gelatin silver prints, each 7.5 x 12.7 cm.

MP 128/84. Fred W. Berchem Album 1922-1924, pp. 16-17. Fred W. Berchem. *Aboard 'Bayeskimo' Aug. 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' Aug. 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' July 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' July 1922*, 1922. Four gelatin silver prints, each 7.5 x 12.7 cm.







RETURN TO BOARD



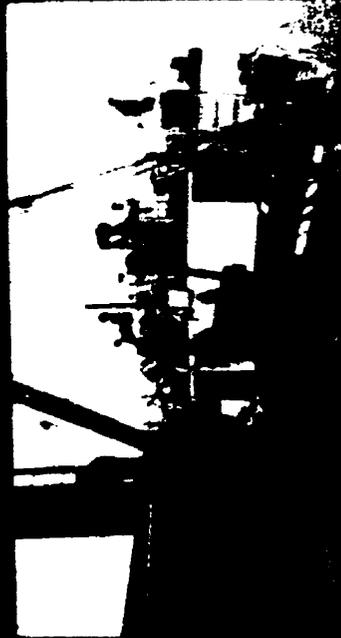
RETURNING TO BOARD



RETURN TO BOARD



RETURNING TO BOARD



album serves as a professional and personal memoir in which the interests of the Hudson Bay Company are the stable factors. Displacement is not a temporary condition, but the norm. In Berchem's album of 1922 to 1924, the ship is both the focal and the vantage point. Everything that is recorded is expressed in relation to the ship. The ship is a community and a place - for Berchem, a ship has meant 'home' since he was a little more than a boy.

Travel is a component of most private albums, when it is not the main event. Taylor's three manners - "gaze, glance and blink"⁸⁹ - are workable metaphors for the cognitive habits and mechanical options of modern tourists with cameras. Immerse these products in an album, however, and the distinctions begin to disappear. The album itself is a protracted gaze and an extended experience, however short its component vignettes; it is in itself a journey. In effect, the day-tripper's "blink" is metabolized by the photographic corpus into a pause or a digression that comments on the compiler's life as a whole. If the Western imagination has assimilated the archetype of travel as a metaphor for self-discovery, then its appearance in the life-chronicle of a particular is a synecdoche for the life-cycle.⁹⁰

In family albums, especially, members' travel is a common narrative device. The Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album (MP 042/90) is divided quite equally between trips, excursions and periods at home. Mrs Charles W. Wagner's albums of family life on the Gaspé peninsula take in many local excursions. The most formulaic of these (MP 034/80 - uncatalogued), a classic case of tourism in hierarchical terms,⁹¹ combines purchased scenic views with Mrs Wagner's adept imitations.

Three travel albums in the study collection expand on the nature of amateur experience. Souvenirs of a few pleasant summer days 1898 (MP 028/89) chronicles a nine-day holiday of sightseeing and cruising the St-Lawrence River and adjoining waterways. The album appears to be an expression of gratitude. The photographs, which are objective and crisp, record what the visitor saw on her carefully guided tour. Her benefactress is pictured in "Home and Hostess, August 3," which appears on the last page of the album. Views of Montréal and Québec are typically picturesque, dominated by

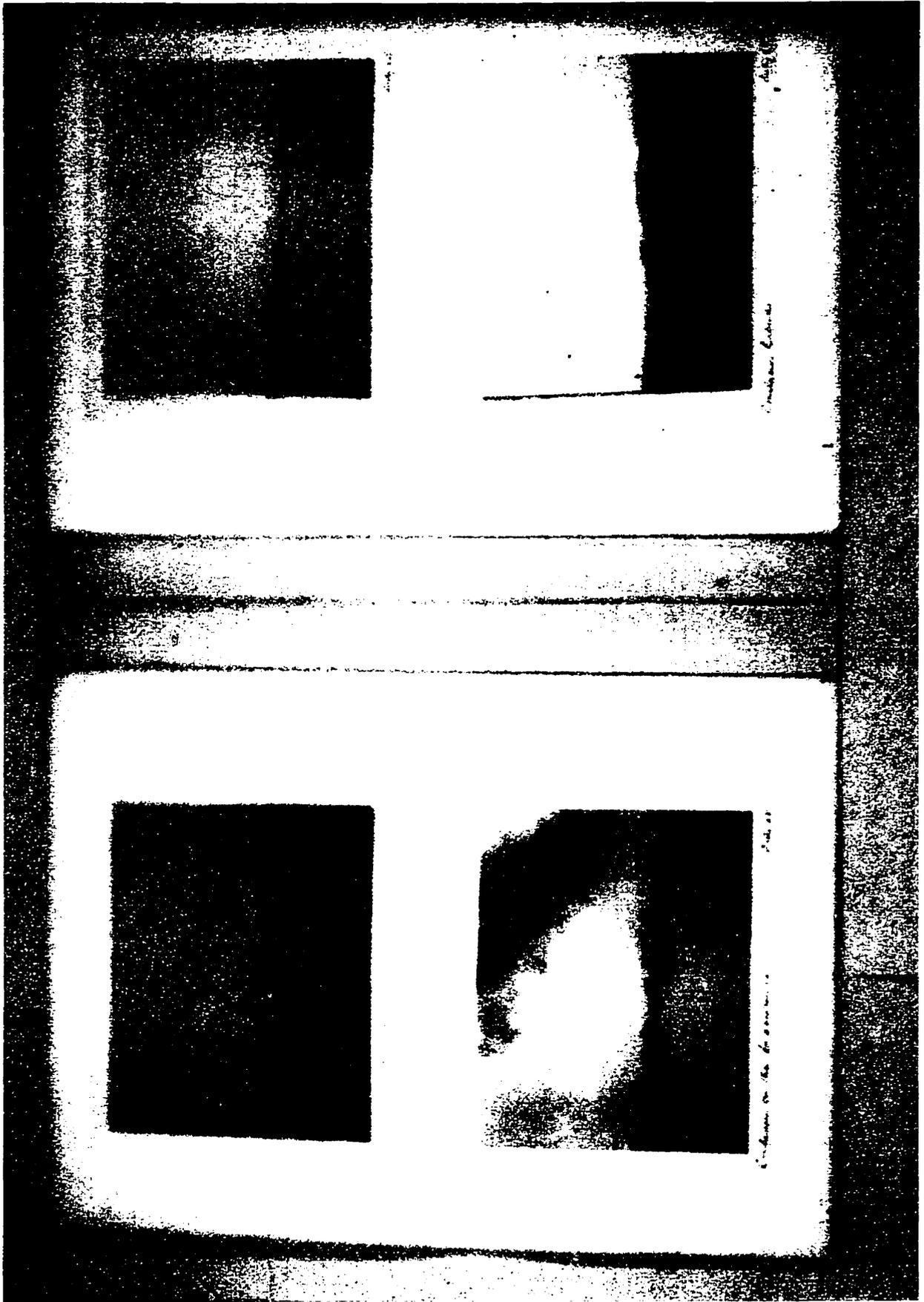
architecture and statuary, and unspoiled by a distracting population. Only the authentic staffage of monks, peddlers and urchins appear. The photographs have been framed from a mid-body vantage point which increases the proportion of foreground, sweeping the viewer into the frame. A significant number of images have been taken from the ship; they picture untroubled surfaces and atmospheric depth to an incalculable distance that invites exploration. Indeed, these still images are full of movement. The compiler's dedication lyrically invokes the sensation of memory as a "backward rush." Literally and figuratively, the tourists seem to have been transported through space and time across the surface and into the optical field.

The MacDonnell European Travel Album (MP 2151) of 1904 is equally caught up in the romance of travel. Of its forty-eight views, almost a third comment on the new industry - tourism - burgeoning in Britain at that time in the form of rail service, luxury hotels, motorcars and guide books. The motorcar is the dominant motif, though it is always the McDonnell's car that we see. It is a sign of adventure. Travel by steamship and rail was far more common; the Automobile Association would produce its first touring guide only seven years later.⁹² A photograph of the stoic compiler and her grandchildren sitting in a car surrounded by curious, though polite, bystanders, "Felton England, Aug. 1904 - '14 Punctures in one tire in one day'" (page 5) sums up the condition of the roads.

Illustrations

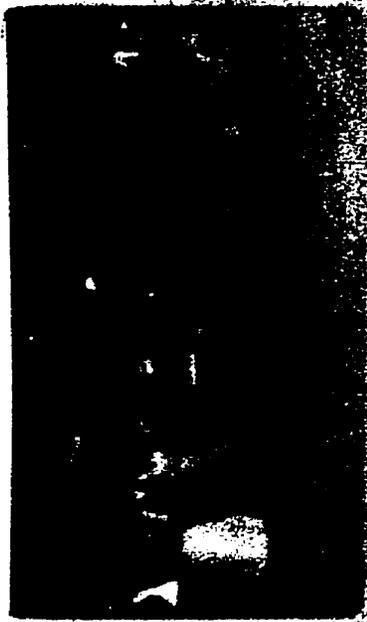
MP 028/89. Souvenirs of a few pleasant days 1898, pp. 16-17. Mina Hare. *Light-house in Lake St Francis, July 28; Coteau on the St Lawrence, July 28; Coteau Bridge, July 28; Coteau Rapids, July 28.* Gelatin silver prints, 9 x 11.5 cm.

MP 2151. MacDonnell European Travel Album, pp. 4-5. Unattributed. *Tender "Ireland" taking passengers from the Campania for Queenstown, Aug. 1904 and Nothing but a drink on Lake Windermere, Aug. 1904; "Old England Hotel" on Lake Windermere, Bowness, England, Aug. 1904 and Felton, England, Aug. 1904, "14 Punctures in one tire in one day."* Four gelatin silver prints, 9 x 14.8 cm.





View of the ...



View of the ...



View of the ...



View of the ...

Progressive ideas set the tone of this album, making staunch moderns of its Edwardian protagonists. In this green and pleasant land, they find not a single pastoral landscape. Sheep do not graze on Scottish hillsides; they cluster inconveniently on narrow Scottish roads. The English Lake District, romanticized by Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey and adopted as his own by Ruskin, may have been recognized by the children as the quintessential English landscape in miniature - Farmer McGregor's garden in Beatrix Potter's The Tale of Peter Rabbit (1902).⁹³ But the rabbit is nowhere on the scene. The *genius loci* of this ribboned landscape is another anthropomorphized figure: Kenneth Grahame's Toad of Toad Hall, doomed on first sight to an illicit passion for the motorcar:

"Glorious, stirring sight!" murmured Toad, never offering to move. "The poetry of motion! The *real* way to travel! The *only* way to travel! Here to-day - in next week tomorrow! Villages skipped, towns and cities jumped - always somebody else's horizon! O bliss! O poop-poop! O my! O my!"⁹⁴

For the McDonnell party and their motorcar, parked before the luxurious Prince of Wales Lake Hotel, the stream of impressions is similar: "Nothing but a drink on Lake Windermere" before returning to the open road.

Bloemfontein to London Via East Coast, Egypt and the Continent / M.C.B. and C.J.A. / Feby to May 1910 (MP 2152), is the inscribed title of the third travel album to be considered - an orderly compilation of 176 luminous prints. The personal nature of this album is evident from the start. The use of initials can be interpreted as a meaningful gesture on the part of the compiler (M.C.B. - a woman) whose affection and respect for her travelling companion (C.J.A. - a man) is evident throughout. The exact nature of their relationship is unclear.

The album was occasioned by the return of this pair to England from Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony (O.R.C.). Their journey took place at a significant historical moment. As part of the United Kingdom, the Orange River Colony was terminating a three-year period of colonial self-government -

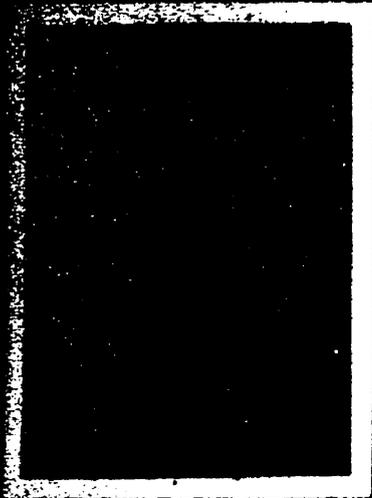
1907 to 1910 - and becoming the Orange Free State Province of the Union of South Africa. Royal proclamation of the Union of South Africa was given on December 2, 1909, and took effect on May 31, 1910.⁹⁵ In Bloemfontein, C.J.A. had occupied the post of District Engineer from 1907 to 1910. The album marks his leaving.

A cog in the imperial wheel, C.J.A.'s role in South African affairs has ended, and as we follow his progress northward, back to England, we share a particular kind of tourism, an engineer's progress through fields of colonial endeavour in East Africa and Egypt. Comparison with contemporaneous travel literature - Mrs Charlotte Cameron's A Woman's Winter in Africa (1913)⁹⁶ - brings out some of the nuances in the album. Its first five pages cover goodbyes and the departure sequence through "Jo'burg" and the Rhodesian anchorage at Beira. The sixth page is spent on Mozambique, which Mrs Cameron speaks of as a Portuguese penal settlement, unhealthy, uninteresting and not recommended.⁹⁷ Our travellers pause respectfully before the gates of the fort, the harbour and the British consulate. The next stop, Dar-es-Salaam, German East Africa's largest port and, according to Mrs Cameron, a place of numerous attractions,⁹⁸ is confined to three photographs in the album. They are combined on one page with a view of the Zanzibar Railway at Clove Plantations, reportedly beautiful and regretfully missed by Mrs Cameron: "Ninety per cent of the world's supply of cloves comes from Zanzibar."⁹⁹ On the streets of Zanzibar, a multicultural city of picturesque ruins and colourful natives (Mrs Cameron), M.C.B. is pictured with different British officials, among them the Commissioner of Police.

Mombasa is then approached through the harbour at Kilindine, the terminus of the Ugandan Railway. The album records Mombasa's hybrid mode of transportation (the 'ghari' - a cross between a rickshaw and a trolley), as

Illustration

MP 2152. Bloemfontein to London..., p. 10. Unattributed. C.J.A. / M.C.M. / *The mode of locomotion in Mombasa; Government Offices, Mombasa; Principal Street and Gov. Offices / Mombasa and M.C.B. on Ghari, Mombasa 1910.* Four gelatin silver prints, each 5.5 x 7.8 cm.



well as British government offices. Colonial, transient and native accommodation, contrasted by Mrs Cameron,¹⁰⁰ is passed over by the travellers who photograph the stations, railway yards, steamship and landing on the way to Uganda.

Mrs Cameron's itinerary did not include Uganda, but this part of the Bloemfontein to London album is illuminated by another contemporary memoir, The Baganda At Home (1908) by C. W. Hattersley of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.).¹⁰¹ Indeed, Hattersley might have served as the travellers' guide, so closely does their vision of the colony match his outlook and priorities. The album includes views of the Botanical Gardens, the C.M.C. Mission Hospital (showing a victim of sleeping sickness, a problem to which Hattersley dedicates a full chapter), and the impressive Namirembe Cathedral. There are several snapshots of the young Bagandan Kabaka, Daudi Chwa (1897-1939), who poses with his tutor. Hattersley explains:

The King was under the tuition of some of the leading chiefs, assisted by pupil teachers trained in the C.M.S. school at Namirembe, until he was eight years of age. Now he has a private tutor, appointed by the Colonial Office, and is being carefully brought up in much the same style as a European prince.¹⁰²

God and mammon alternate in colonial Uganda. Hattersley makes the point that European settlers are few, perhaps 450 in all.

Whether it is that the Government has not offered sufficient inducement to [settlers] to take up land, or whether their means have been insufficient, is uncertain, but very few have been able to make a living, and comparatively little land has been taken up by them; nor do I think there is much prospect of people without a large capital making a success of life in Uganda. A few 'wasters' keep turning up from the Cape, and prove to be of no credit to either their country or origin or the home of their adoption, though others may merely have had, as they say, bad luck.¹⁰³

Some of the lucky ones are pictured with the travellers on a picnic at Ripon Falls or making up shooting parties on the various estates. The album then makes rather a jump from the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza to the coast at Aden. The monumental and the picturesque appear for the first time in Egypt, though not without pressure from the much admired, much documented Suez Canal. Their invisible guide to the antiquities seems to be Thomas Cook whose tours of Egypt and the Holy Land had been operating since 1869.¹⁰⁴ One of his steamers is pictured on the Nile. All together, the Egyptian sojourn takes up 13 pages of the album. Individual images are less pointed, tending more to indulgence in anecdotal thickness. There are market scenes, donkey rides, atmospheric views of the cities and sailboats on the Nile. The travellers seem very much at ease. After all, as a Thomas Cook pamphlet explained, Cairo was "'no more than a winter suburb of London.'"¹⁰⁵

Elements of a Grand Tour, spotty and unfashionably out of season, bring the album almost to a close. The last few pages are reserved for the funeral of Edward VII. Visual references to his death - the end of the Edwardian era - first crop up in Florence. It is May 6, 1910, and the flags on the piazza are flying at half-mast. A fortnight more of tourism in Venice, Charlottenburg and Potsdam, and the two travellers reach London by May 20 to witness the funeral procession of the King.

To summarize the album in this way deprives the viewer of its interesting extremes, from impenetrable personal messages to the most predictable photographic clichés. Nevertheless, the album lends itself to linear treatment and entertains aspirations of a definitive reading. Its apparently seamless chronological and geographical organization enables the viewer to visualize a map. It is only when the actual trip is plotted on that map, the map of Edwardian colonialism, that gaps and concentrations of interests begin to appear. Was C.J.A. scouting the continent for a new engineering post? What aspects of Western advancement mattered to him at that moment, a professional disruption coinciding with the last burst of British imperialism?

To these questions, the album as 'aide-mémoire' to an oral recitation pieces

together a possible answer. Its categorical vacillation between private and public agendas is a clue. The travel album is generally assembled after the fact, but unlike the retrospection of the memoir, it is the travel album's lack of reflection that gives it value as a closed system of attitudes and symbols, an itinerary predetermined and fulfilled photographically. In this case, the death of the King is the surprising climax to the travellers' return. In psychological terms, we have in this intersection of historical and personal events a classic illustration of the "flashbulb memory."¹⁰⁶ The album transforms the travellers into historical personages playing on an imperial stage.

In his influential study of tourism, Dean MacCannell went back to the turn of the twentieth-century as the "first moment when modern mass tourism and its support institutions were fully elaborated as we know them today."¹⁰⁷ MacCannell's taxonomy of attractions closely matches the interests of our compilers: establishments, groups, occupations, transportation networks, vehicles and public works.¹⁰⁸ Work itself, claims MacCannell, has been transformed over this period into "an object of touristic curiosity."¹⁰⁹ Even the Pyramids have been secularized and detached from their historical context to be presented (in Marxist terms) as "monumental representations of 'abstract, undifferentiated human labor'."¹¹⁰ This observation informs MacCannell's ethnological critique of postindustrial modernity - a hardy mixture of social performance and semiology which has percolated through the literature of tourism as his theory of staged authenticity. The nature of curiosity when labourers gaze upon labour and the diversity of roles that tourism creates are insights that unlock the traveller's album. These will bear fruit in subsequent discussions of typology where MacCannell's candour will also be of help: "It is intellectually chic nowadays to deride tourists."¹¹¹ His comment could be applied to Susan Sontag for her much-cited sketch of the guilt-ridden vacationer, working at taking pictures to appease his anxiety over having fun.¹¹² Sontag's idea of fun seals the tourist album in aphorism.

On the cusp of twentieth-century modernity, these travel albums exhibit - indeed embody - Victorian society's fascination with progress whose

representation is doubled in instrumentality. Steamships, railways and motorcars are seen as forward-looking painters and writers saw them, in a positive light, beneficial to users and recorders. "Here to-day - in next week tomorrow" co-mingled in Victorian and Edwardian travel albums, rushing as motifs into the albums of the next generation.

Just as the *idea of travel* is a recurrent theme or pretext for an album, the *idea of family* influences most of the albums in the McCord collection. Many albums discussed in terms of collection, memoir, or journal are designated by the McCord as family albums, and the label is not incorrect. Treatments of private life are naturally inflected by the family plot; sometimes, as in life, they are consumed by it and those are the albums that will concern us next. The album as genealogy, the album as family saga, these constitute the last and the largest group within the study collection. The analogies chosen are far from synonymous, the first schematic and suggestive of a family tree, and the second, perhaps more formulaic and embroidered with lore. The family album is neither one, nor the other, but something of both, amounting to an expression of identity.

A family album is not by a family, but about it, and its reasons for existence. The album synthesizes those reasons; a member of the family synthesizes the album. Albums of family photographs are the individual gleanings of a collective harvest. Reception is similarly conditioned. John Kouwenhoven's pleasure in his family's snapshots is tied up in his recognition that he is "a member of the first generation in human history whose awareness of the past comprises a multiplicity of unarguably real informal images of our parents' childhood worlds as well as our own."¹¹³ The pictures he goes on to describe have been taken by one of his mother's older sisters, "one of the Philadelphia maiden aunts who dutifully but not joylessly 'kept house' for their widowed mother, my Quaker grandmother."¹¹⁴ Kouwenhoven sees his family from his aunt's "inarguably real" perspective which is inseparable in his mind from the family ethos, but perhaps not in hers, or ours.

The activity of compiling sets the doer apart, concreting what may already be the compiler's relationship to the collective. Death or disavowal, whichever

comes first, may cause the album to change hands, possibly to be continued by another. A dramatic example of successive compilation is the Langlois? Family Album (MP 145/84). The first half contains black and white snapshots from the early 1900s to 1925, carefully trimmed and mounted in an orderly presentation. The second half begins upside down from the back. A mixture of colour, and black and white prints, is stapled together in the most disorderly fashion with prints overlapping. The same family appears in both sections; their delegate, or volunteer, has changed.

The spectator's romance with the family must not obscure individual agency. The family compiler is the daughter to one woman and the sister to another. Objective or omniscient compilation is not an option. The question generally posed of a family album - who is this family? - must therefore be expanded, or rather prefaced, with the following: who is the presenter of this family; why has he or she taken on this role? Interrogating the family album in this way also spotlights its fictive entrances and exits, underscoring the point that the album is only a fragment of a larger family history, definitive (if at all), temporarily.

Current literature on the family emphasizes diversity. Families come in all shapes and forms; this point is easily grasped and applied to the analysis of a family album. But pigeonholing in haste, even into new paradigms, is akin to what historiographers confusingly have called "the 'snapshot' method,"¹¹⁵ research that freezes the family unit in time. Alternative approaches peel off those sticky labels of convenience, such as 'nuclear' and 'extended', which tend to confound status with stasis. Family-cycle analysis is recommended because it does what most collections of snapshots cannot do - it captures the vagaries of family life over time. The assumption, as Tamara Hareven explains, is "that individuals live through a variety of patterns of family structure and household organizations during different stages of their life cycle, and that families and households evolve different types of organization, structure and relationships."¹¹⁶ An album may result from sudden or accelerated change, creating a permanent picture of mutability. The Small Molson Album (MP 1768), a nineteenth-century album, partakes of that ambiguity by enshrining the death of a wife and mother.

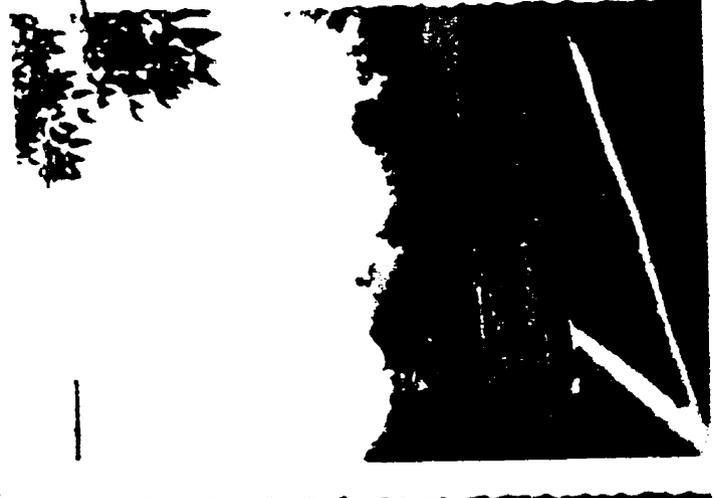
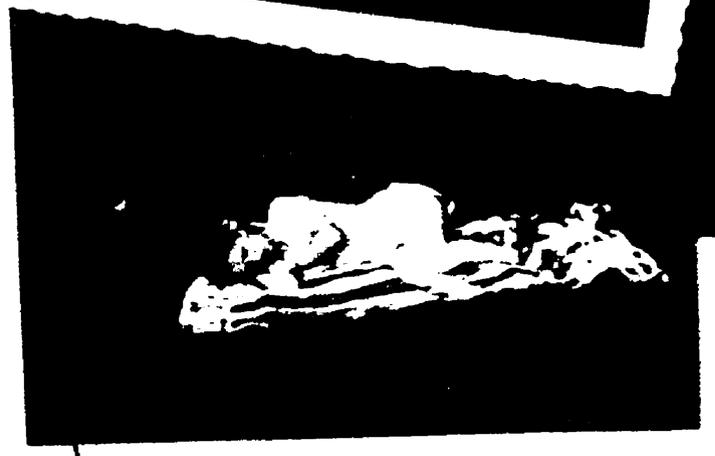
We hear much now of redefinition, but the notion of family has always been needful of elaboration. The usual tendency of photographic specialists, present one included, has been compulsive application of the noun-adjective 'family' to any document of private life. In his fascinating study of nineteenth-century photographic experience, Alan Thomas falls into the family trap even as he mines the psyches of his female compilers.¹¹⁷ The Emma Hoyle album, for example, is the compiler's passage from girlhood to adulthood; the album ends shortly after she marries and has a child. If this is a family album, its outlook on marriage is bleak. On the other hand, its exposition of girlhood and courtship is unusual and compelling. The point is not to challenge Thomas, but rather to underscore his tacit recognition of individual lives shaping what he sees as family chronicles. Hereven, among others, makes the recipe clear: what historians really need is a method of isolating and synchronizing individual time, family time and historical time.¹¹⁸

The so-called family album combines those dimensions in a fragile ecology. Separating the album from the compiler means a loss of individual time, a temporary inflation of family time, and the inevitable eclipsing of both by a generalized historical time, drained of all specific meaning. A fourth temporality lost is performance time - the real time of presentation that weaves through a fixed photographic sequence, making sense of the impossible surfeit of photographic lives. The album's air of completeness and candour makes this performance possible, and immeasurably striking.

Analogous temporal confluences can be found in Victor Turner's discussion of historical writing in Iceland. Considering the Sturlunga Saga, Turner wonders why Icelandic historical writing evolved so differently from the European pattern of annals into chronicles, and chronicles into written history.

Illustration

MP 145/84. Langlois/Gélinas Album, part 2, p. 18 (counting from the back of the album). Unattributed. Six snapshots. Gelatin silver prints, 5.5 x 5.5 cm to 9 x 12 cm.



Icelandic history instead interwove with fictional writing. Turner postulates "that the thirteenth century Icelanders were still innocent of the later attempts to confirm historiography to positivist notions of 'objectivity,' 'evidence,' and 'documentation,' and that their 'narratives' are value-laden."¹¹⁹ His terminology rings photographic, and more so as he continues:

One of the most conspicuous features of Icelandic saga-writing, however, is its famed stylistic 'objectivity' - its sober, matter-of-fact epic authority. Yet since the 'objectivity' is stylistic, made up of carefully calculated artistic effects, and not of substance, one cannot regard sagas relating even contemporary or near-contemporary events as straightforward records, but rather as aesthetic restraint the better to stress the violent passions described so soberly.¹²⁰

The family album is also objective, evidentiary, authoritative and formulaic in its effect. Family photographs are what one expects to find. Julia Hirsch has defined the family photograph as a portrait of at least two people who seem to be related; she insists on visual evidence of a blood tie.¹²¹ Richard Chalfen introduces "two characteristics of kinship groupings, namely people who live together as a residential unit, and relatives who are grouped in a pattern of contemporary (or horizontally related) kin relatives."¹²² In the Japanese-American families that Chalfen studied, "vertical continuity,"¹²³ or communication between past, present and future generations, is patterned on Japanese custom and, quite literally, reproduces it in photographs of rituals honouring the dead. Boerdam and Martinus classify family photographs by subject and social environment, including pictures of family members and pictures kept by family members because of their familial associations: "interiors, friends of the family, 'the car', a former house, domestic pets, etc."¹²⁴

The conventions of portraiture and social experience strongly suggest that cultural identity and family lore are encoded in the symbologies of costume, attribute and bearing (a tartan, a locket, a thrust of the chin). But the messages of portraiture are not simply decodable, as Richard Brilliant has

observed:

Social roles, however enacted, are like masks or disguises, carefully assumed by individuals in order to locate themselves in a society conditioned to recognize and identify these forms of representation in practice and in art. If there were nothing more than that, then representing a person in a role, defined by society, would not be a disguise to conceal some uniquely private kernel of being, because there would be nothing to conceal, no inner reality that the portraitist would be obliged, somehow, to uncover and express.¹²⁵

The family wishes to be known, if not to be photographed, and uses the tools of communication at hand. The photographer translates. Still, without confirmation, can our reception of these messages be trusted? Are subtle nuances of culture and character entrusted to a private album at all accessible to the uninitiated spectator? Some are, some are not; some are ambiguous, some will be missed. But the real answer to these questions, equivocal as it may sound, is that microscopic analysis or exegesis of an album can be a blind alley. While each photograph, in selection and placement, might conceivably have been dissected and analyzed by the compiler, the density of impression anticipated and shared in re-presentation necessarily would have been lightened.

The real-time reception of a family album encourages comparison with the watching of a cinematic film, meaning that it exists within a temporal framework of speed (frames per second) and duration. One can stop the film and scrutinise a key frame for all of its messages, one can enlarge a piece of that frame or amplify a scrap of sound, but it is intolerable and ultimately senseless to consider doing that to the whole film. As an outsider, unleashed in the vault of a museum, one is liable to ask too many detailed questions of a private album. The discipline of performative viewing - within reasonable protocols of telling and listening - needs to be imposed.¹²⁶

Not everything will be revealed. To argue that an oral framework would have

to be reconstructed to understand fully the meaning of an album is not the same as arguing that it can. A family album transferred to a public collection with little or no supporting information can be stubbornly silent.

The Baker? Album (MP 2147), like a number of albums in the reference collection, is a nearly anonymous collection of cartes-de-visite. The compiler never completed the index page. The name of the donor has been lost. At some point, while the album was still in the family, someone other than the compiler tried to identify some of the portraits. The concentration of relatives - mother, sister, uncle, brother - confirms that this album came from a family, tentatively identified as 'Baker' which name comes up more than once and in different locations. A handwritten note enlarges certain figures offering the barest whiff of the missing commentary. Gazing on her formal portrait, one would certainly need to be told that Aunt Eliza D. was "very witty."

Tracing the numbers inscribed by the studio on the back of the mounts would further annotate the Baker album. Not all studio indexes have been preserved, however. The beauty of the Notman Archives is that the commercial studio's retrieval system is still in use. In the Wardleworth Estate Album (MP 006/74), the Notman Index has facilitated identification and rough dating of thirty-four cartes-de-visite, less than half of the contents. Nevertheless, this information and a smattering of inscriptions, added to the general preponderance of Montréal studio stamps, suggests compilation around 1879 by some member of the Ross family of Montréal, a person with friends and connections in Burlington, Vermont, other places in New England and as far west as Detroit. "Allan," or "Allen," and "Ross" are recurrent names, but, unlike the previous example, the only reliable transactions are those between Notman and his clients. The motivations of the sitters and the compiler can only be guessed. What this album does offer is evidence of total disinterest in chronology on the part of the compiler. The album skips back and forth, mainly in the early 1870s, though dipping back to 1864 and forward to 1879. Another system was imposed, apparently one of kinship and association, for the famous are assimilated or absent.

The hand of a compiler is a firm hand, but not necessarily the dealer of linear, objective truths. The opposite is the case and the reason one would like to know the compiler and his intentions better. In her typological readings of family photographs, Hirsch gives us three fictional responses to the same image, the doting niece's, the prodigal son's and the stranger's. Each is imbedded in a personal, oral account which, as Hirsch says, "usually has more texture and complexity, reaching far beyond the scope of the picture itself."¹²⁷ Not one of these accounts is reliable, however, nor does Hirsch trust the absent captioner of the picture, but only the evidence before her eyes: "Family photographs do not change, only the stories we tell about them do."¹²⁸

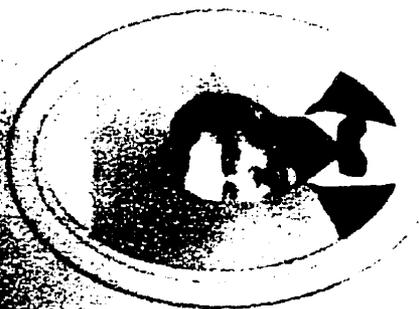
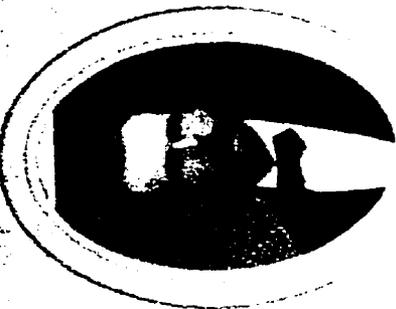
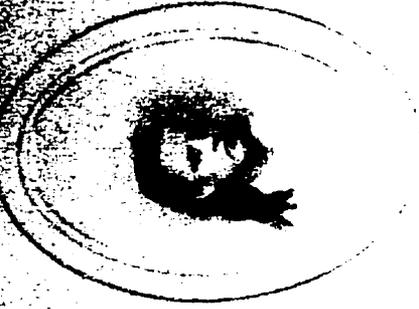
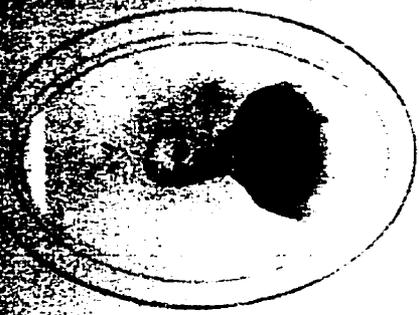
Albums, on the other hand, do change. At least, the possibility of alteration is a reasonable pretext for a story, and food for thought for the photographic historian. In "Photographs and History. Flexible Illustrations," James C. A. Kaufmann discusses a short story by Lee Zacharias, written from the perspective of an adolescent girl about her grandmother's death and the family album.¹²⁹ The girl is fascinated with the album, especially pictures of herself, and she has become its compiler.¹³⁰ The grandmother is confined to hospital for what the family knows is the last time and she asks the girl to bring her the album. After her grandmother's death, the album returns. Eventually, the girl takes it out to reminded herself of what her grandmother looked like. The album has been pillaged, leaving only a single photograph of the grandmother, young and beautiful. The girl-narrator surveys the

Illustrations

MP 2147. Baker? Album, pp. 20-21. Notman & Sandman, Montréal (22979-II), Aunt Eliza Dunning, 1876; Field, Montréal, G. papa's mother, n.d. Two cartes-de-visite.

MP 006/74. Wardleworth Estate Album, pp. 22-23. Page 22, top left: Unattributed, Morgan McAyres (carte-de-visite dedicated to D. W. Ross, Esq., Feb. 1872). Unidentified portraits from Dupee & Co., Portland, Maine; James Inglis, Montréal; and W. B. Burke, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Page 23, unidentified portraits from Bradford studio, Brooklyn; James Inglis, Montréal; Baldwin, Keeseville, New York; and James Inglis, Montréal. Eight cartes-de-visite.





destruction which has swept away everyone in the grandmother's frame: "Mother, Mary Lou, and Grandma, Christmas, 1968. Four more photo-mount corners, one torn loose, hanging by a pinhead of glue."¹³¹ Three generations are eliminated at a stroke, a personal photographic file is wiped clean, right back to the grandmother's own self-absorbed teenage years.

Kaufmann is struck by the instant authority of the remaining portrait: "clearly not the whole truth, this single photograph attains the power of history by the default of the other visual historical documents."¹³² He sees the grandmother's de-compilation as a symbolic effort to deny death:

The material reality of her slow decay is erased, and she becomes instead an image - fictionally specific, but historically incomplete. Though the visual documentation of the grandmother's life is deficient, it becomes the substitute image for the sum of a life. History becomes a photograph.¹³³

A more ingenuous version of the same editorial process has been witnessed when an engaged couple is introduced to the family photographs on each side. Jaap Boerdam and Warna Oosterbaan Martinius draw on the findings of Berger and Kellner to describe the pre-nuptial scene.¹³⁴ After a brief genealogy is recited, the young people swap stories from their pasts:

...looking at each other's collection of photographs has the function of adjusting the two individual pasts to form a joint memory...a process of reinterpretation of the separate pasts from the common present.¹³⁵

Berger and Kellner had sensed this transformation occurring over the course of the couple's conversation. Boerdam and Martinius suggest that "it is just as likely that it occurs as *they look*."¹³⁶

Such cheerful revision seems almost blasphemous if one accepts the derivation of the album from the Family Bible. This bibliographic *Roots* is a commonplace of photographic literature. In Camera Culture, Halla Beloff introduces the

family album within this Christian tradition:

At one time the Family Bible contained the record of the members' lives. Truthfully, austerely, and without comment, it stated the facts of the rites of passage and the coming and passing of relationships. Each event, christening, confirmation, marriage and death was given equal weight.¹³⁷

The family album has superseded the Family Bible, according to Beloff: "The family milestones are still recorded, and the arrangements of their photographing in an album brings order and progression to the fragmentary and jumbled impressions and memories of events in daily life."¹³⁸ But the album introduces "selection...varnishing of truth...omission...liveliness and informality, and a wealth of possibilities for memories and nostalgia that was unthought of before."¹³⁹

Tying the Family Album to the Family Bible - the Image to the Word - endows the album with a powerful lineage of solemn and ancient authority. Succession entrains a literary bias that insists that the album be read as a book - The Book. Two problems arise with this theory. First, the Album and the Bible are contiguous; they co-habited the nineteenth-century Christian home. Taft places them side-by-side on the flour-barrel table and that image, at least, is correct.¹⁴⁰ True, the Family Bible, as distinguished from the church Bible - the lavishly illustrated scriptures and glossary; the inscribed tablet of family history; the keeper of letters, photographs and mementoes - had been developing since the late-eighteenth century. Its popularity peaked, however, after the Civil War.¹⁴¹ Second, the encyclopedic ambitions of the Family Bible as a central source of spiritual and temporal information were not all passed down to the album. If the album tore a page from the Family Bible, it was the 'Family Record' which, if the family was pictorially inclined, was predicted visibly by the framed effigies of ancestors hanging or clustered on a table in the parlour.

Ironically, if the Family Bible is to be invoked as the precedent for the Family Album, its sentimental associations and hidden lacuna make the

strongest arguments. The Family Bible coincided with a shift in Victorian religious practice. In the ideal Victorian home, the mother replaced the father as the reader of the Bible and the spiritual teacher of the child; the image resonated in sensory associations of touch and voice.¹⁴² This archetype, as we have seen, has adhered to the photographic album. On the dark side, the album has succumbed to the same human frailties that flawed the authority of the Family Bible. Colleen McDannell has found instances of omission from Family Bible records, in one case, by loss of enthusiasm as the children kept coming,¹⁴³ and in another, by righteously angry deletion when a child went astray.¹⁴⁴ Snapshots by the roll of the first child, dwindling to a Polaroid for the last; subtle elisions and brutal beheadings of disgraced relatives: these are the fingerprints of the compiler. In proof of love and damnation, the Family Album and the Family Bible functioned much the same. But their transcriptions of family history were quite different.

In the nineteenth century, the album as genealogy was seriously delimited by the newness of the invention. Photographic portraiture formed a thin ancestral crust. Health and luck holding, two, possibly three, generations might have been photographed. Daguerreotypes, if possessed, lived apart from the album; tintypes could barely fit in. There are examples in the McCord of compilers' ingenious efforts (MP 182/78 - not catalogued) - thick description, indeed.

A photographic genealogy could never replace the biblical list of begats. In the social register of cartes-de-visite, there was nothing to put between aristocrat and arriviste. Symbols of association were the proven solution. The album as social positioner, inserting the ordinary family into a vertiginous hierarchy, has already been discussed as a collection, illustrated by the Arthur Lindsay Album (MP 2146). Representation of one's national background and racial status might be achieved as in the Ogilvie Album (MP 032/81) by symbolic packaging and the inclusion of a national icon. The architectural suite in the McCord Red Album (MP 139) constructs its genealogy from possession and place. The line continues in the family album.

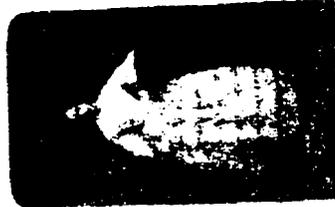
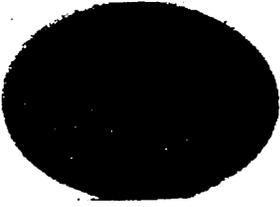
The McCord Family Album (N 060) is an orderly presentation of cabinet cards,

half-stereos and cartes-de-visite. The album is organized to reflect blood ties, connections by marriage and association. Pride of place is given to John Samuel McCord (1801-1865) whose portrait appears on the first page and on the second, in smaller format, where it is accompanied by portraits of his wife, Anne Ross McCord (1807-1870) and son, David Ross McCord (1844-1930), along with a half-stereo of a graveyard. On the facing page, page 3, are photographs of the McCord brothers, John D. McCord, Robert Arthur McCord and David Ross, again. The McCord sisters are conspicuous by their absence.

David Ross McCord was the fourth child and second son of the family. His older brother, John Davidson McCord, a medical doctor, died in 1866. His younger brother, Robert Arthur McCord, an officer in the 30th Regiment, died in 1882. David Ross McCord also outlived his sisters, Eleanor Elizabeth (1836-1863), Jane Catherine (1838-1914) and Anne (1848-1929). He inherited his father's estate and his mother's predilection for collecting, marrying those legacies in the content and structure of his family album. A number of cartes-de-visite must have come from his mother's personal collection since they are inscribed to her. The compilation, however, has to be assigned to David Ross whose genealogical statement, here as in the Red Album, is transparent. He presents himself as the anointed head of the family. The collection confirms that photographs of his siblings were available, but before sentiment could be displayed, David Ross McCord's family album had first to establish his patrimonial claim. One can imagine this album displayed in the parlour of Temple Grove for it is very much a public document.

Illustration

N 060. McCord Family Album, pp. 2-3. Page 2: Notman Studio. Copied portrait of Judge McCord (23065), 1866; Mr [David Ross] McCord (28853), 1867-8; Mrs [Anne Ross] McCord (358), 1861. Three cartes-de-visite. Unattributed. View of graveyard. Half-stereo. Page 3: Elisson & Co., Québec, R. A. McCord (signed). Notman Studio, McCord brothers [John D. and David Ross?] (984), 1861; Notman Studio, D. R. McCord (34510), 1868. Six cartes-de-visite; one half-stereo.



Two contemporaneous albums from the Molson family exemplify more intimate uses of a family album. The earlier of the two is the Small Molson Album (MP 1768), a black leather-bound volume designed for one carte-de-visite per page. This album apparently contained very few photographs on acquisition; it has suffered from internal loans since. But despite its fragmentary condition, the album articulates a definition of family which is both touching and removed from modern times.

The album can be dated to the first marriage of John Thomas Molson (1837-1910) to Lillias Savage (1839-1866). A cluster of portraits expresses their union, a family of two increased by the only issue of this marriage, a daughter named for her mother. The death of the first Mrs Molson forms a natural break in the album, but does not bring it to a close. On the contrary, portraits of the second Mrs Molson, Jennie B. Butler (1850-1926), and the first children of this marriage continued to be added. This family album can only be understood as a private photographic sanctum, which though unsigned, must have belonged to John Thomas Molson. The memory of his first wife, Lillias, is maintained in the fullness of his affection for the second. Still, as his second family grew, the combinatory album did not. It appears to have served its compiler through the complexities of happiness, loss, adjustment and transference.

The perspective of the J. T. Molson Family Album (MP 2359) is quite different. It is probably that of Jennie B. Butler Molson. There are no portraits of the first Mrs Molson, but Lillias, Jennie Molson's step-daughter eventually figures as part of an extended family of children, aunts and uncles from both sides. The dominant figure is John T. Molson, photographed several times in Montréal and while travelling in Scotland and Italy. Daughter Naomi also travelled and was photographed with a friend in a London studio. This is a livelier compilation, unclouded by grief, and more comfortably shared with the compiler. The carte-de-visite taken at Fratelli d'Allessandri in Rome may be indistinguishable from its North American counterpart, but knowledge of its provenance makes the portrait more precious and unique. An armchair tourist could acquire a collection of views, but having one's portrait taken while travelling formed the basis of a story and gave proof of authentic experience. In the Molson family album, the hidden stamp of an Italian studio perpetuates

the eighteenth-century *dilettanti* ritual of commissioning one's Italian portrait, while foreshadowing the evidential function of a tourist snapshot.

Extending the definition of family to its harbouring community, the Lafleur Album (MP 2155) marks the intersection of private lives and public histories. The album seems to have come from the family of Reverend Theodore Lafleur (1821-1907) who was a Baptist missionary active in Longueuil and Montréal. His brief institutional history, The Semi-Centennial Historical Sketch of the Grande-Ligne Mission, 1885¹⁴⁵, sketches the highlights of his career and offers some clues to the identity of figures in the album. The family's connections were widespread. Mme Lafleur was French; greetings to the children from her sisters in Paris are included in the album. Many of the Baptist missionaries to Québec were Swiss. A key figure in the evangelical movement was Mme Feller (1800 - 1868) whose portrait, copied in the cabinet card format, is the second image in the album. The copy was made by the Notman Studio in the year of her death, no doubt for commemorative distribution. Periods of prosecution in Québec (1837-1838) had forced temporary migrations, forging permanent links with missionaries and teachers in the United States. Reverend Lafleur's collecting tours kept these relationships active as evidenced by the sources of cartes-de-visite, studios in New York, New Haven, Fall River and Providence. Closer to home, a portrait of Daniel Coussirat, dedicated to Reverend Lafleur, connects his evangelical movement to the school of theology at McGill University. Alice Lafleur, age 15, posing with her schoolmates, adds a younger generation. The family and its album form the nucleus of many concentric circles.

Illustrations

MP 1768. Small Molson Album, detail. William Notman and John A. Fraser, Mrs J. T. Molson, 1866. Hand-coloured carte-de-visite, 8.5 x 5.5 cm.

MP 2359. J. T. Molson Family Album, pp. 16-17. Fratelli D'Alessandri, Rome, J. T. Molson, n.d.; Notman Studio, Montréal, Toronto or Halifax, J. T. Molson, c. 1892. Two cartes-de-visite.

MP 2155. Lafleur Album, pp. 2-3. Notman Studio, Montréal, Copy of portrait of Mme Feller (31900), 1868. Unattributed, Portrait of a man. Two cabinet cards.

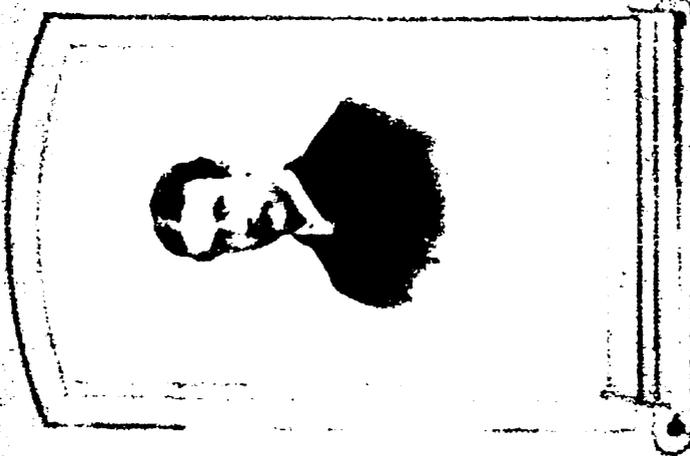


1881

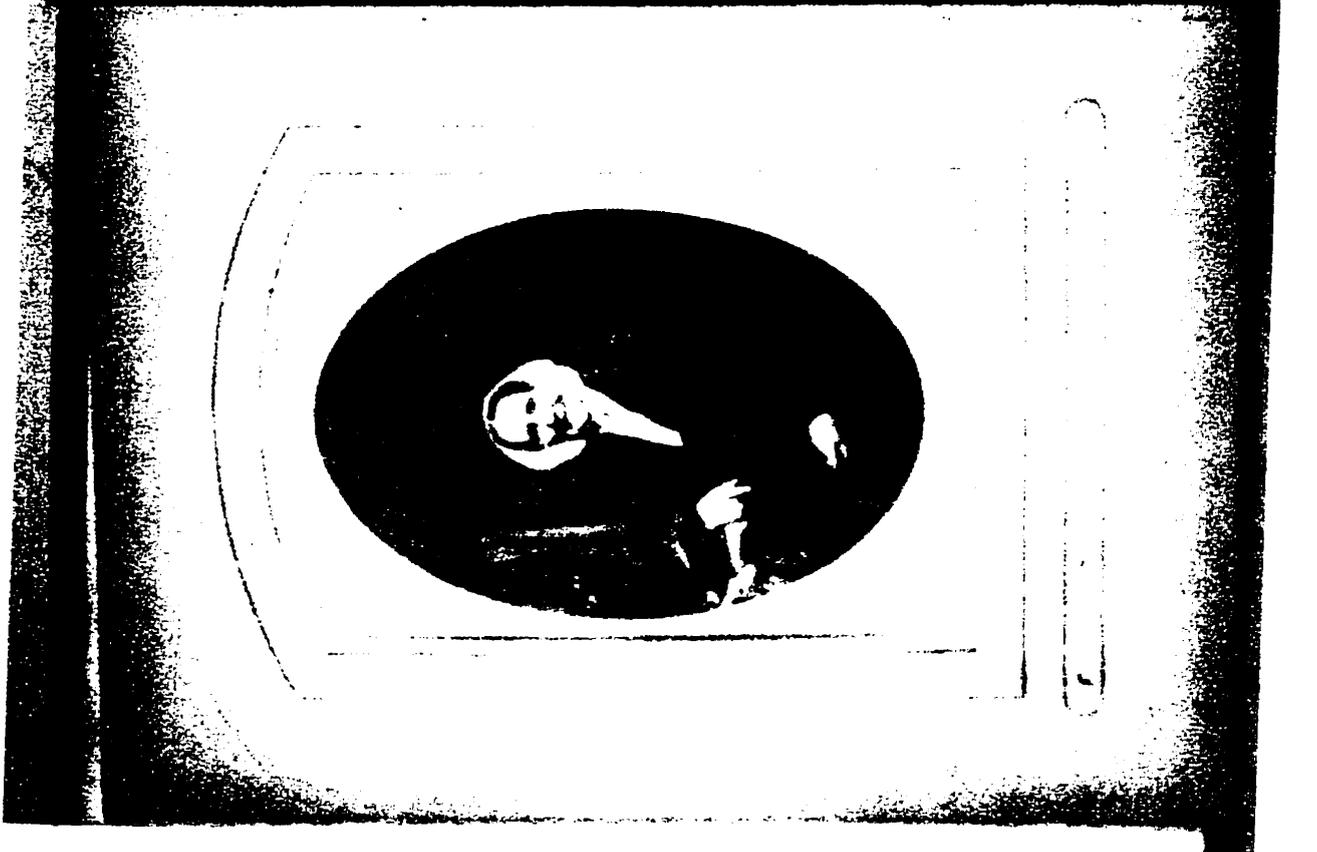
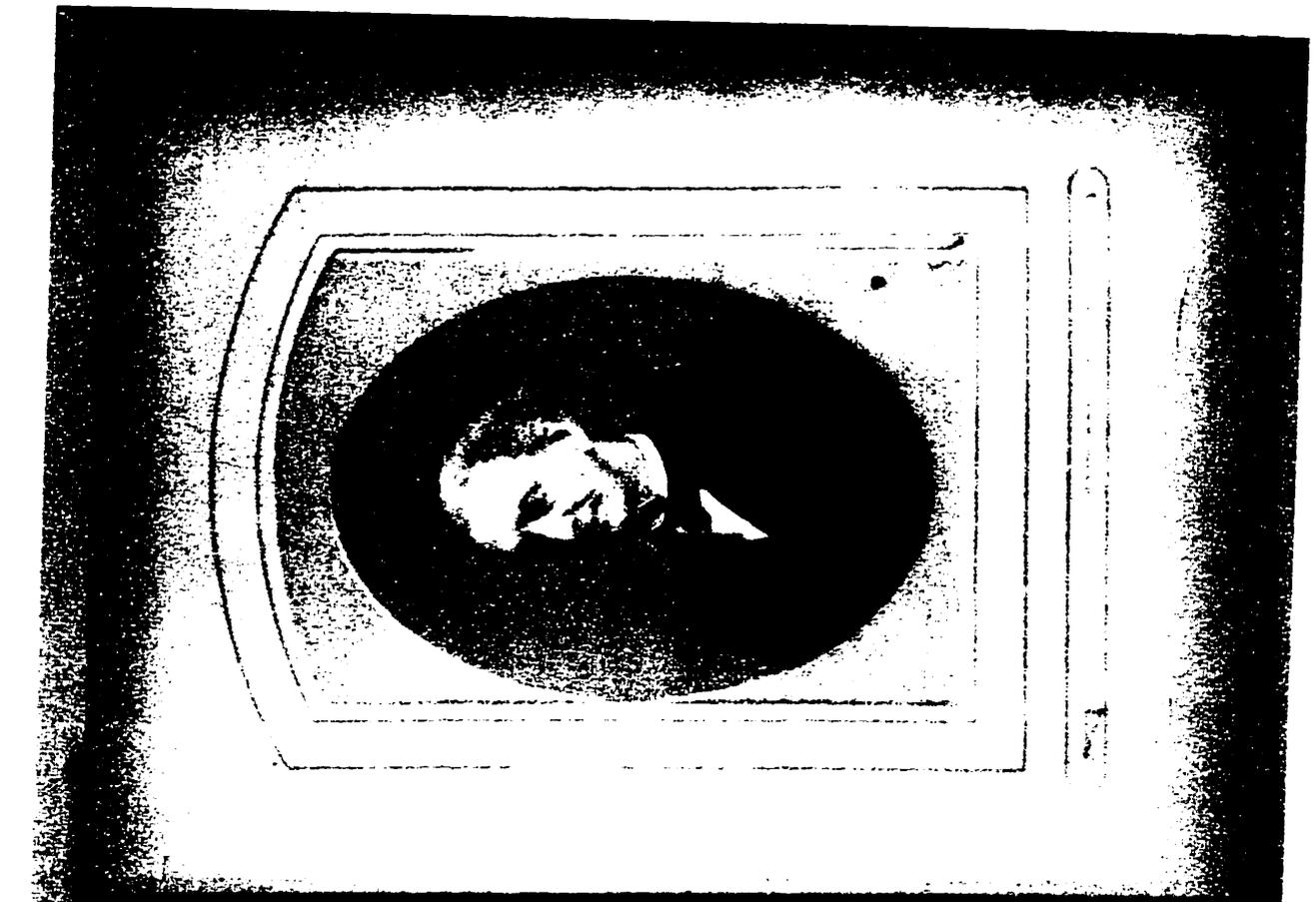
1881



J. T. M. C.



J. T. M. C.



Modeled on the same formula, and leading directly to it, is another Montréal album with a family of sorts at its centre. The Natural History Picnic Album (MP 582) is a collection of snapshots datable by the few inscriptions as ranging between 1900 and 1908. The photographs could be classified mainly as informal group portraits. Most of the subjects are young, and those who are not are likely to be surrounded by young people, a zany group of men who are the album's main characters. Their interests are displayed within the album and they are largely social, ranging from card parties to marriageable women. Most of the photographs could be described as conversation pieces. There are relatively few single portraits, with the notable exception of cats, photographed individually on lawns, loafing in baskets, performing tricks for a young woman, or posing against plain backdrops. Passages of scenic views mark trips (1000 Islands 1900), special events ("Duke of York: Visit Sept 1901"), noteworthy incidents ("Thos May Fire Jan 1901") or temporary situations ("Military camp, Three Rivers, Q. June 25. July 6, 1901"). Echoing the sociability of the contents, individual photographs are gathered into generous bunches by subject, location and occasion. Indeed, the classificatory tendencies of the compiler are contextualized within the first few pages which contain photographs of young people on natural history picnics, scenes of leisurely self-improvement, as Carl Berger explains:

The fad of natural history was most evident in the fashion of making one's own collection of natural history objects. The materials were accessible and the equipment minimal, and everything had a place within the orderly Linnaean system of classification in which each item was described by two names - one referring to the family, the other to the particular species.¹⁴⁶

Discouraged before 1880, young women increasingly were welcomed on these walks and became the majority after 1900.¹⁴⁷ The group pictured in the album is quite balanced, and the photographs, staged in a rustic setting, seem more about courtship than science.

The anonymous compiler has left tantalizing clues in the album: One name ("R. W. Sterling Toronto July 1907") on a page of young men's group portraits,

as well as three street addresses that Lovell's Montréal Directory assigns to J. Boyd Dunlop, shirt manufacturer, Thomas Brethour, contractor, and F. W. McKenna, surgeon dentist, and Walter G. Penny, commercial traveller. Those names appear nowhere: friends would never be forgotten; landlords are of little account. The rooms or houses are remembered as havens of great conviviality. In these smoky interiors, the camera acts as a theatrical spotlight prompting extravagant gestures - mugging and swaggering - completely unlike the restive poses assumed by both sexes outside.

The album can be compared with the pre-war 'memoir' albums examined earlier, an exercise that underscores its distinctly collective ethos. In 1900, families and their pastimes were changing by degrees, patterned on the conventions of the Victorian era.¹⁴⁸ Divisions by generation and gender are apparent in this album, which also gives evidence of continua through new rites of passage. Courtship rituals were moving to different settings, but as Peter Ward points out, and the album confirms, the Victorian cult of domesticity still held sway:

By 1900, then, women courted in familiar as well as unfamiliar places. By moving into the domain of men they had broadened their opportunities for male friendships. But when the prospect of marriage arose women found security in their own traditional province.¹⁴⁹

The album concludes in a survey of a turreted house and picturesque garden. The masculine domain dissolves into the comfort of the family porch.

The Molson, Lafleur and Natural History Picnic albums illustrate a variety of family-type configurations. Having insisted on the impossibility of Bourdieu's *idea* - the family album arranged in "the logical order of social memory" - one would like to assert that no such album exists, at least, at the

Illustration

MP 582. Natural History Picnic Album, p. 13. Unattributed, 2297 St Catherine / Nov. 1900. Four gelatin silver prints, 9 x 11.3 cm / 10.5 x 7.6 (two oval) / 8.6 x 10.9 cm.



McCord. That in fact is true, but two albums in the collection come very close to the sociologist's platonic form.

The Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album (MP 042/90) was donated to the museum by Gretta Chambers, granddaughter of the photographer and compiler. This album is one volume of an extensive series now spread among the grandchildren whose parents appear in the photographs. Charles-Philippe Beaubien was born in 1870 to a prominent Montréal family whose history to 1914 is outlined in his uncle Charles-Philippe Beaubien's Écrin d'amour familial. Détails historiques au sujet d'une famille, comme il y en a tant d'autres au Canada qui devraient avoir leur histoire.¹⁵⁰ The amateur photographer was by profession a lawyer. His biographical entry in The Canadian Men and Women of the Time notes his education, marriage to Gretta Powers, religion, club memberships, and his reputation as "A powerful speaker."¹⁵¹ In interview, Mrs Chambers characterised her grandfather as a passionate amateur photographer who believed in keeping a "running commentary"¹⁵² of his life. He travelled regularly for business and pleasure, often starting an album with an important journey.

This album begins about 1903 with an Atlantic crossing and a trip through Europe with his wife and child. On their return, the album continues with pictures of the family in city and country, gathering for group portraits, or absorbed in their pastimes, swimming and sailing at their country estate on Lac Nominingue. The porch at Nominingue becomes the gallery for a command performance of an itinerant troupe of dancing bears. More journeys follow in the order of occurrence, including a trip to the American west coast. Compilation follows a pattern of openings and closings: visions of the distant, outside world are kept in balance by images of home and family. Nevertheless, symbols of transport - boats, buggies, cars, ladies carrying a lady in a voluminous woven basket - never disappear from this account. They are distributed among signs of ease and stability - houses, parents and babies.

Beaubien the photographer was consistent in his vision and painstaking in his work. Vantage points are considered and reached with some physical effort.

Sublime landscapes are carefully organized, from 'repoussoir' to deep space in which his companions stand patiently for scale. It is interesting to compare his subjects with the emblems of authenticity gathered by others travelling at that time in England. Working against the grain of nostalgia, Beaubien demonstrates little interest in "Shakespeare land," in capturing or staging the natives in genre scenes. He disdains, or is innocent of, the prescribed list of ancient and natural charms.¹⁵³ His pictures of England, the Continent, and even the American West, are romantic in a different, more optimistic sense, rooted in an eternal present. As an educated man, a connoisseur, he associates himself photographically with what is good and lasting: geological formations, picturesque ruins, architectural monuments, sweeping boulevards and formal gardens.

There are no captions or dates on any of the pages. Mrs Chambers's reconstruction of the narrative hinged on her recognition of the figures, her recollection of the family tree, and her identification of milestones, such as visits or trips, impressed on her mind in the retelling. Looking at the photographs prompted stories - affectionate family secrets. As a child, she had been shown the albums. She recalled one occasion, just before the Second World War, when her grandfather showed her pictures he had taken of German architecture and gardens. He urged her not to judge Germany by the ugliness of that moment. The album contained his faith in the redemptive power of art.

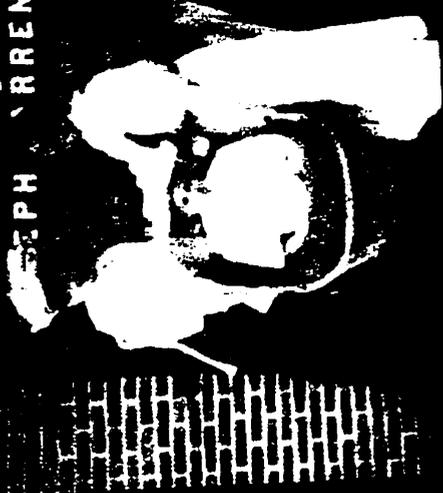
The Benson Family Album (N 007/86), the album of Etheldred Norton Frothingham Benson, aspires to completion and internal logic. The photographs, all studio portraits, date from the 1870s to the First World War. The Frothingham family loved to be photographed and Etheldred attempted as a wife and mother to extend the experience to her children. She began the album with pictures of her own childhood. In a Notman composite, Etheldred and her two sisters are

Illustration

MP 042/90. Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album, p. 64. Charles-Philippe Beaubien. Untitled (portraits of family members in the country) c. 1905. Gelatin silver prints: top - 11.3 x 15.5 cm and 11.5 x 13.2 cm; bottom - 9 x 13.6 cm and 10 x 14.5 cm.



TEA
SEPH ARREN.



depicted tobogganing with their father; on the facing page, Etheldred appears as a debutante.

In the next picture, Etheldred is married; she and her husband share a picture spread. Her portrait appears on the left, and on the right is George Benson. With respect to photography, Etheldred appears to have married the wrong man. Indeed, she may have been misled since there is evidence that George did take the time to sit for a portrait before they were married. His carte-de-visite appears in another Frothingham album, paired with a portrait of his fiancée (N 005/86 - p. 47). The portrait of George Benson as husband, awkwardly inserted in the family album, is an extract from Who's Who In Canada. He is quite the foil to Etheldred's play-acting father. The clipping spoils the chronological flow of the album since the text mentions the two sons and one daughter who have yet to appear.

As the album continues, Etheldred attempts to restore the photographic lustre of her family. The arrival of her children is marked one-by-one. Her daughter is photographed at the same studio where Etheldred was photographed and in much the same style. But her husband appears only the once as an alien visitor from the world of business. Etheldred was unable to persuade her husband to 'get with it', to participate in her photographic genealogy. The flaw in her self-presentation speaks volumes. Appropriately, the last item in the album marks the dissolution of the closed family unit, as her oldest son, George, departs for military service in Europe.

The family construct in the Benson album is wholly dependent on children. The album has a storybook quality: Etheldred is a child who grows up and has children of her own. As babies come along, they are displayed in their christening dresses to the camera, first cradled in their mother's arms, then propped up in a first go at independence. Eventually, they must have wailed and been taken away. By whom, one wonders? Few albums answer that question, though nurses and maids were certainly part of even the middle-class family until the 1930s. The Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album (N 006/86), compiled by Etheldred's mother, includes pictures of Sarah Campbell, a.k.a. "Growler," the Frothingham family nurse (p. 11), as well as a group portrait with

servants forming a backdrop to visitors at the family's summer home (p. 38). But the Benson Family Album is almost exclusively concerned with Bensons. The relationship between mother and child has been simplified and pictorially strengthened.

A second album by Cynthia Jones (MP 080/86 - uncatalogued), a collection of 219 family snapshots, was not included in the study group because the binding had failed and the sequence was unreconstructable. The photographs are from 1928 to 1931; many of them are of young children. Mrs Jones is photographed with her babies. She also took several pictures of baby Maureen in the arms of a nurse, and more of a toddler, playing with a maid. Mrs Jones, it will be remembered, was a nurse in World War I; perhaps she felt some kinship with another woman in uniform. Whatever the case, her family photographs of servants and children in tender and playful engagement are intriguingly rare.

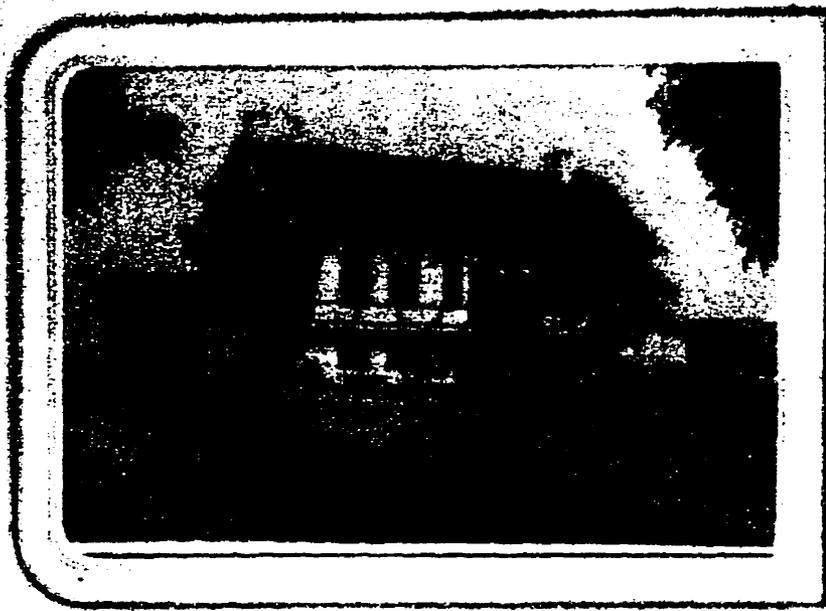
More unusual still is an album that explores the life inside a life in service. The Annie Craven Album (MP 039/76) is an expression of personal identity bound up in the expression of family, her own and the ones she serves. This is a sad, fragmented document, valued by the museum for its japanned cover and printed fabric pages. Annie Craven was an Englishwoman, born in 1880, in Wakefield, West Yorkshire. She was nanny to a Canadian family that donated her album to the McCord. The album includes photographs of her relatives in England, her charges in Canada and the Royal Baby, Prince Charles. These images, scattered over place and time, comprise the

Illustrations

N 007/86. Benson Family Album, pp. 22-23. William Notman & Sons. Mrs George F. Benson, 'Geof', Dorothy and 'Bill' Benson (back of the mount inscribed: Geof 9 years, Billy 7 1/4, Dorothy 4 months), c. 1905; G. F. Benson Family. Bill 7 1/4 years, Geof 9 years, Dorothy 4 years, c. 1908-9. Gelatin silver prints, 17.2 x 11 cm and 16.4 x 11 cm.

N 006/86. Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album, pp. 38-39. J. D. Wallis, Ottawa (John Woodruff). Monte Shanti. Sarah & Nancy at Front Door. Grace Robertson, Annie Law, Annie Lawford, Dora Cundell, Harriet and Ethel, c. 1885? Monte Shanti, Rivière du Loup, c. 1885? Two cabinet cards.





attachments and associations of a life in service. The album is an incongruous container, one is tempted to speculate, a gift from her employers. Its rigorous format of recessed pockets would have suited a more conventional collection, but Annie Craven's photographic trove everywhere feels awkward and out of place.

Two photographs of Annie Craven are interesting to compare. In the first, she presents herself to the camera as a forthright, determined and comely young woman. The photograph was taken in Stanley, England, at some distance, therefore, from Wakefield. Perhaps Miss Craven was already in service. This photograph, or one like it, may have been her presentation piece to potential Canadian employers. Her costume is simple, and without pretension, a full white blouse lightly trimmed with lace. She gazes forcefully at the camera, her seriousness only slightly undermined by a dark ribbon choker, tied in a flirtatious bow. The reception of her portrait would in any case have been conflicted, her employers wanting a girl who looked well enough, but who would not run off and get married.¹⁵⁴

In the second portrait, she is stamped as a nanny. Dressed in uniform, she is with her charges and part of them. Her eyes are focused on the camera, but her head is turned toward the baby who sits on her lap, distracted, no doubt, by an animating assistant. The most self-possessed of the trio is a young male child who stands behind Miss Craven and the baby, with his arm around the nurse's neck.

The source of this album adds to its interest for it came to the museum as part of a donation from the descendants of Annie Craven's charges. It had returned, if only briefly, to the family at its core, the Bell children linked through its pages to Annie Craven's Aunt Lizzy, Uncle Will and Cousin Florie in England, to Baby Tommy Beauclair who died at 46, to the Royal Family, to the mysterious glamour girl from Birmingham. The stories of those lives, like Annie's arms, encircled the babies Bell; they possessed them with their own.

The literary trope of the servant-narrator is heavy with authority in works such as Gil Blas, Jane Eyre and The Turn of the Screw, but the device also

creates temporary powers, as Bruce Robbins observes:

In addition to all of these, we can count the minor servants, featureless and perhaps even nameless, to whom the author nevertheless chooses to give the floor at some strategic point, who emerges into ephemeral being in order to deliver messages, commit indiscretions, impart family secrets, administer consolations, emit prophecies, make recognitions, and so forth - through whom, in short, the business of divulging decisive information is largely carried on.¹⁵⁵

Robbins explains very well the literary traditions and substantive conditions that give the servant-narrator such a strange mixture of impotence and believability. In plays, Robbins tells us, the servant colludes in his asides with the audience, while in certain novels, the reader either accepts the word of the servant, or stops reading.¹⁵⁶ In visual/oral terms, the fictional servant mirrors/echoes, the spectator's curiosity; his evanescent body is the surface/instrument of record.

The verisimilitude of the fictional servant-narrator naturally depends on fact. Children have always made alliances with their nannies; they have often relied on them for the facts. In Ritual in Family Living, Bossard and Boll noted that "servants who had remained in the family for generations kept the family past alive, often through stories told to children at bedtime."¹⁵⁷ While the servant does not always figure in the album, what the servant knew, and told, may well constitute the album's recitation.

One is encouraged by the Benson, Beaubien and Craven albums to think about the use of photography in making up families, while questioning the role of the

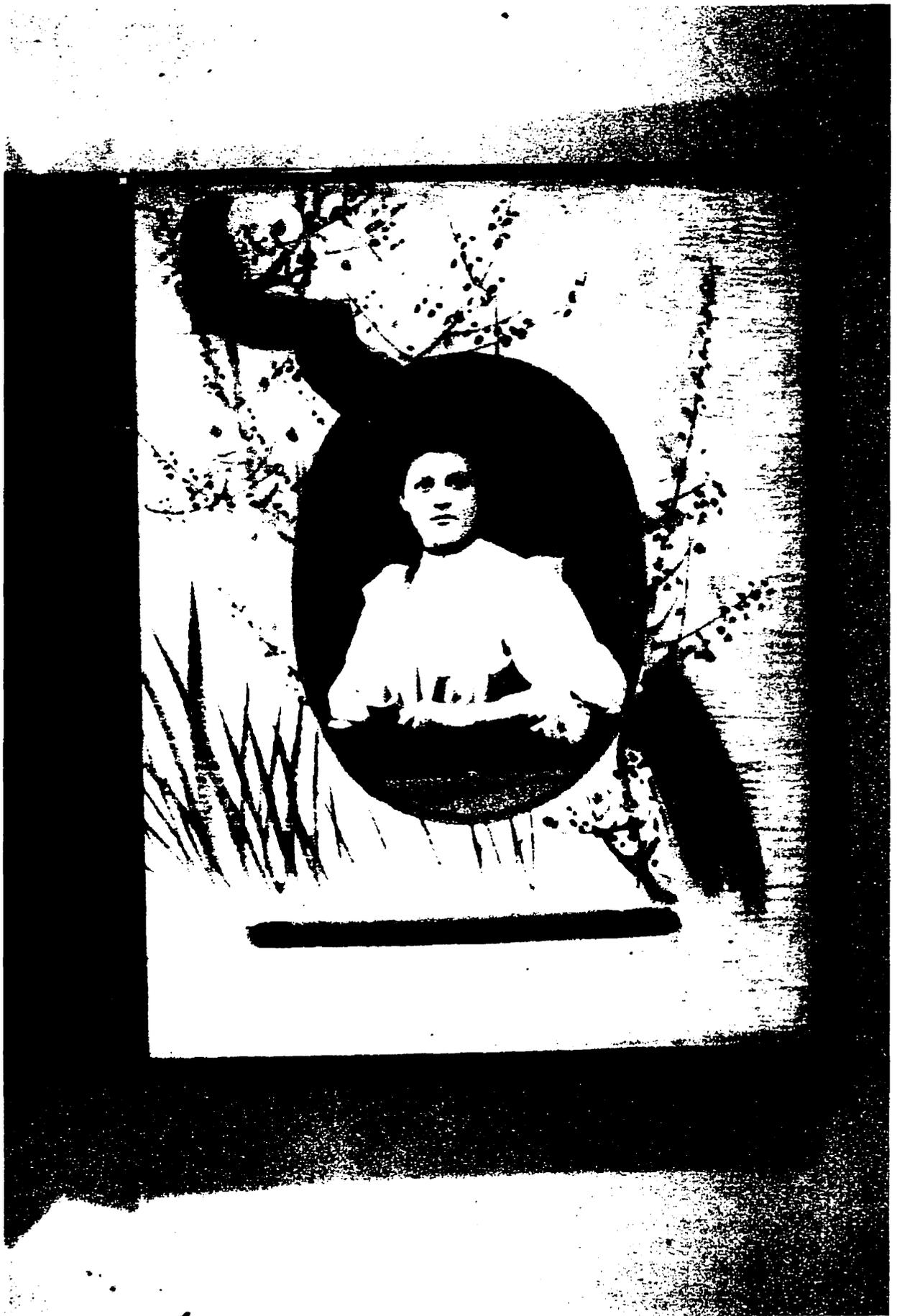
Illustrations

MP 039/76. Annie Craven Album, p. 9. Stanley Studio, Stanley, England.

Portrait of Annie Craven, c. 1890. Cabinet card, 13.1 x 9 cm.

MP 039/76. Annie Craven Album, p. 2. Unattributed. Annie Craven, Melville

and Andrea Bell?, n.d. Gelatin silver print mounted on card, 14 x 9.6 cm.





compiler: instigator, participant or observer? Charles-Philippe Beaubien clearly operated within an orderly universe that gave space to his artistic instincts. He honoured the family - his family - as he honoured the achievements of Western civilization. Etheldred Frothingham Benson was born and bred to maintain a Victorian sector, the domestic protectorate within the masculine empire.¹⁵⁸ She is not the photographer, but a patron of the photogenic family. Annie Craven raised other people's children and puzzled together her family album as an inside-outsider.

The role of observer, however, is not strictly reserved for some biological other. Acuity and detachment flourish at many levels, conscious and unconscious. A photographic album, which so often is presented as an instrument of cohesiveness, may in fact exist in parallel with, or in retreat from, the dominant culture within the family. Photography was, and continues to be, an isolating hobby; isolation can be productive; it can certainly be a relief. For the family photographer, home life may offer a compelling subject, a smokescreen for self-expression, or both.

Two albums by the same compiler, the Langelier "Nos Amis" (MP 183/77) and Langelier Albums (MP 185/77), combine the functions of family album, diary and creative pastime. Brief captions give a ritual undertone to the presentation of photographs. Each seems to fit within an annual cycle of events held on familiar territory. Hunting scenes are captioned, "The first of the season," while a tea party is layered with ironic annotation: "Our afternoon at the fort / Five O'Clock / Philistines of the Wilderness." Langelier "Nos Amis" appears to have been a first, highly personal compilation, full of private jokes and dedicated to the compiler's unfettered existence in nature. The second album (MP 185/77) appears to have been done as a gift. The same sentiments are expressed - and the same tensions - but generally with more poetry, especially in the captions. The same sense of humour is organizing the pictures, however. "Lest We Forget," a spread of pictures dedicated to home and hearth includes the family, the parlour, and an array of moosehead trophies hammered to an outside wall (pp. 4-5).

The layout of the Langelier albums follows the direction set by mid

nineteenth-century scrapbook albums, such as Emily Ross's (MP 107/82) and Hugh Wylie Becket's (MP 189/78). In the Langelier album, there are no vignettes; manipulation of the image takes place in the darkroom. Experimentation extends to the shapes of the pictures (hearts and maple leaves) and to their decorative borders (scalloped or indented). These are not cut, but masked in the printing; the images have a thin white border. The layouts of rectangular prints also demonstrate flair, with photographs set at angles to the page. The compiler's personal investment in this work is announced on the first page of MP 185/77 where a self-portrait is inscribed, "ME." The subject is a young man in his twenties.

Mrs Charles W. Wagner's wartime memoir and travelogue are complemented by a third snapshot album. Mrs Charles W. Wagner - 1928-1933 (MP 032/80) is a woman's record of domestic life on the Gaspé peninsula. The Wagner family appears to have been living in a lumbering and fishing community year-round. House, car, clothing and leisure time confirm the prosperity of the family. Mr. Charles W. Wagner is clearly of the management class.

For Mrs Wagner, there are fishing parties, sugaring-off parties, walks by the sea with little children and puppies. Mrs Wagner is a stranger to this environment. She and her visitors 'make strange' in a number of images, even as she quietly explores the rugged beauty of the landscape. These visions are often juxtaposed. In one photograph, a woman and a man pose with a large dead

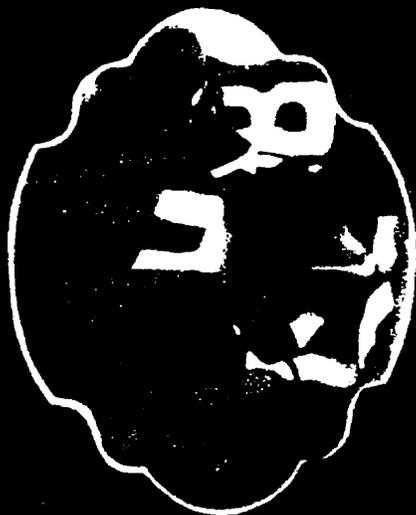
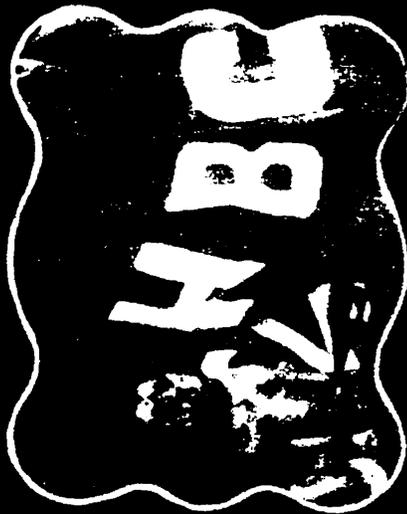
Illustration

MP 183/77. Langelier "Nos Amis", p. 8. Unattributed. *Our Afternoon at the Fort / Five O'Clock / Philistines of the Wilderness*, c. 1900. Two gelatin silver prints, 9.3 x 11.5 cm / 11.5 x 9.3 cm.

MP 185/77. Langelier Album, pp. 54-55. Unattributed. Page 54: Untitled (native families by canoes); Untitled (dog before monogrammed curtain - oval print). Gelatin silver prints, each approx. 9.2 x 11.5 cm. Page 55: *Maggie* (10 x 8 cm), Untitled (child) (5.5 x 3.8 cm) and "*Waggles*" now defunct barbarously murdered 1903 by Miss Nepton (?) and her associates (scalloped print - 9.3 x 11.5 cm).



1952



(
bird held up between them. The man grins impishly. The woman, caught at an oblique angle, looks slightly demented. She appears to be talking her way through the experience. On the same page, is a landscape of road and misty mountains. The album alternates between candid shots of outdoor activities and respectful views of the environment. The Gaspé seems a very nice place to live and bring up a family.

Suddenly, this idyllic vision is interrupted by a sequence of pictures taken on a ladies' charity mission. The essay, which begins with views of shacks and the arrival of a car, goes on for several pages. The living conditions and unhealthiness of the charity recipients are appalling. The women's bodies have ballooned from child-bearing and malnutrition. Their gawking crippled children suffer from hunger, rickets and lice. Almost as shocking is this adventure in concerned photography which ends as abruptly as it begins, the album returning to the family's normal programme of comfortably roughing it in the bush.

Taking into account the values of another time, the charity mission can be interpreted as a discrete autobiographical chapter within the larger memoir of the family, itself a discrete segment of an upper middle-class life. Or, less charitably, ulterior motives for the mission can be supplied. After one world war, charity work was considered women's work, absolved of nineteenth-century suspicions that too much activity outside the home would threaten traditional family life.¹⁵⁹ Still, charity work functioned as an outlet for its participants. Isolated in a rural community, Mrs Wagner was completely encircled by tradition. More than a hint of frustration is embedded in her pictures of grown-ups at play. As her accumulation of albums shows, the photographer-compiler was an avid amateur whose personal ambitions were contained by her choice of motherhood and societal expectation. Her essay is bracketed by the same sets of conditions.

The essay on poverty in the Gaspé fixes an aspect of Mrs Wagner's self-image in a retrievable, presentable form. For her children and others who were not present, the essay within the album is a visual prompt for the showing and telling of a sharp break in her normal life as wife-mother-friend-hostess and

official photographer. Filling in the void, do we hear grief, nostalgia, apology or triumph? This specific episode lives within the continuous present of family life as a vivid flashback - more past somehow than the continuum of the normative context. Within the Wagner family saga, Mrs Wagner's narrative digression has its own clear voice.

The private album takes direction from a variety of sources, and changes direction in performance. The photographic notations of a tourist, for example, may fulfil different needs, from awakening pleasant memories to guiding the ploughshare and the sword. Historians of the family album say look to the genealogy: the portable portrait gallery is the descendant of the Family Bible. But no family album is so prescriptive or hieratic. Theories of collection suggest another, much older precedent, one with rhetorical and mnemonic functions, the album as cabinet. This model illuminates the others, even as the cabinet's epistemology is leavened by the narrative digressions of a diarist, traveller, or intimate observer. Here, as anywhere, analogies are helpful, but a taxonomy of albums based exclusively on extrinsic models exposes a variety of forces that structurally will not hold. Thematic partitions are porous and unreliable. They serve this study as temporary corridors from the particular to the general, from the album as object to the very nature of compilation. Orality is the key as an analysis of motifs and presentational patterns will show.

Illustration

MP 032/80. Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933, p. 47. Mrs. Charles W. Wagner, Untitled views of the Gaspé, c. 1930. Two gelatin silver prints, each 9 x 14.6 cm.

MP 032/80. Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933, p. 81. Mrs Charles W. Wagner, Untitled views of poverty in the Gaspé, c. 1930. Two gelatin silver prints, each 14.6 x 9 cm.





Notes:

1. Numbers will remain approximate since the inventory and cataloguing of the collection is in process. Due to the physical expansion of the museum, the collection has been moved several times over the last decade. Throughout this period, the Notman Photographic Archives has endeavoured to maintain public access to the collection, even while preparing exhibitions and publications. Collection research and the computerization of records is advancing, but slowly due to external demands and competing institutional priorities.
2. The Montréal studio was the flagship of a greater firm whose interests extended to branch offices and partnerships in Ottawa, Toronto, Halifax, Saint John and Boston. Stanley G. Triggs, curator of the Notman Photographic Archives from 1965 to 1993, has conducted considerable research into the history of the firm. The most recent summary of his findings appeared as an article in a special issue on Canadian photography: "The Notman Photographic Archives," in History of Photography, Vol. 20, no. 2, Summer 1996, pp. 180-85.
3. Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds and Stanley Triggs, The World of William Notman (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993) pp. 61-64.
4. Donald Wright, "David Ross McCord's Crusade," in La Famille McCord. Une vision passionnée / The McCord Family. A Passionate Vision, exh. cat. by Pamela Miller, et al. (Montréal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992) p. 89. Consulted by telephone on January 17, 1997, Pamela Miller, former Curator of Archival Collections, explained that the motto was part of David Ross McCord's letterhead and pointed to its Biblical source, Proverbs 29:18: "Where there is no vision, the people perish: but he that keepeth the law, happy is he." McCord drew inspiration from the King James Version. A modern translation of Proverbs 29:18 underscores the motto's hidden meaning: "Where there is no vision the people get out of hand."
5. Conversation between the author and Robert Graham, January 20, 1995.
6. Triggs, "The Notman Photographic Archives," p. 183.
7. Padgett Powell, "Hitting Back," in A World Unsuspected. Portraits of Southern Childhood, Alex Harris, ed. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987) p. 14.
8. Most albums in the collection of the McCord contain very little text and are supported by precious little documentation from the donor or seller. Inscribed titles on the pages or prints are spotty and schematic, sometimes contradictory when compared with what is written on the back. It is often difficult to determine when and by whom captions were written in. In some cases, honest efforts at annotation by relatives or agents of the original owner have only muddied the waters with conjecture.

9. The reconciliation of my list with the nascent data base of the McCord was part of the inventorying process. A computerized search, keyed to the word 'album', produced a master list of some 463 objects - private albums, as well as loose pictures or pages from albums, objects acquired in lots that included albums, published 'albums'. With adjustments and corrections on both sides, the list eventually was reduced to some 230 objects - a near complete inventory of private albums acquired by the McCord up to the project end-date of December 31, 1992.
10. Triggs, History of Photography, p. 183.
11. Ian Frazier, Family (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1994) p. 37.
12. The historical connections between architecture, memory, rhetoric and magic are chronicled by Frances A. Yates, The Art of Memory (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, 1972).
13. André Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," in What is Cinema? trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967) pp. 9-16.
14. Philippe Dubois, L'Acte photographique et autres essais (Paris: Nathan, 1983, 1990), pp. 266-269.
15. Katherine C. Grier, "The Decline of the Memory Palace: The Parlor after 1890," in American Home Life. A Social History of Spaces and Services, Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992) p. 58.
16. Grier, p. 53.
17. Grier, p. 58.
18. Katherine C. Grier, Culture & Comfort. People, Parlors, and Upholstery. 1850-1930 (Rochester: The Strong Museum, 1988) pp. 44-48.
19. Clifford adopts the term to designate a place of mental collection, Claude Lévi-Strauss's syncretic view of New York during World War II. See Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 215-251. Bakhtin's semi-metaphoric use of the term is developed in "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," in The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays [trans. Voprosy Literaturny i estetiki, Michael J. Holquist] (Austin: University of Texas Press, c. 1981), pp. 84-28.
20. Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection," in Anthropology & Photography, Elizabeth Edwards, ed. (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1992), p. 45.
21. Poignant, p. 58.

22. Poignant, p. 60.
23. See Poignant's endnote 42, pp. 69-70.
24. Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) p. 12.
25. Said, p. 63.
26. Hensch and Hensch, pp. 350-353.
27. Colin Ford, An Early Victorian Album. The Photographic Masterpieces of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976) pp. 36-37; illustrations pp. 155-191; see also the essay by Roy Strong which details the Newhaven fisherwoman's costume, pp. 58-59.
28. Michael Taussig, Mimesis and Alterity. A Particular History of the Senses (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. 185-187.
29. McCord Museum accession number - M 20107.
30. According to Maria Tippett, 'ornamental skills' was a perjorative term for the fine arts. See Making Culture: English Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission (Toronto; Buffalo; London: The University of Toronto Press, 1990) p. 38.
31. A survey of Canadian women's artistic pastimes can be found in Una Abrahamson, God Bless our Home: Domestic Life in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern Limited, c. 1966) pp. 136-143. For a thorough examination of the scope of women's albums, see Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in Radical History Review, No. 38, 1987, pp. 16-36.
32. Mark Edward Perugini, Victorian Days and Ways, Illustrated by Reproductions from "Punch" and from Contemporary Prints (London: Jarrolds, 1938), p. 234.
33. Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art (New York: The Viking Press, 1984) pp. 81-84. Hilary Thompson builds on their observations in "Narrative closure in the vignettes of Thomas and John Bewick," Word & Image, Vol. 10, No. 4, October-December 1994, pp. 395-408.
34. Notman Photographic Archives, no. 14647-1, also illustrated in Hensch and Hensch, p. 65.
35. Thompson, p. 397-408.
36. Daniel T. Rodgers, "Socializing Middle-Class Children," in Journal of Social History, Vol. 13, 1979-80, p. 358.
37. Rodgers, p. 359.

38. Ibid. Note 14 (p. 366) brackets the period with Martha Finley's Elsie Dinsmore (New York, 1868) and Eleanor H. Porter's Pollyana (Boston, 1913).
39. Grace Seiberling and Carolyn Bloore, Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 1-16.
40. Jean Trudel, "Une élite et son musée," in Cap-aux-Diamants, No. 25, Printemps 1991, pp. 22-23.
41. Stanley G. Triggs, "Alexander Henderson: Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photographer," in Archivaria, No. 5, Winter 1977-78, pp. 45-59.
42. The different spellings of Harriet Frothingham's nickname suggest either that the presentation card accompanying the commissioned album was inscribed with an error, or Harriet herself had decided on a different form. She was a young person at the time.
43. The history of the McCord and Ross families is based on Pamela Miller and Brian Young, "Private, Family and Community Life," in The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, pp. 55-83. The catalogue includes a family tree.
44. Susan Stewart, On Longing, p. 136.
45. Stewart, p. 137.
46. Sieberling and Bloore, p. 102.
47. The existence of Barnes's studio was confirmed by the listing in Louise Dési, L'histoire de la photographie au Québec à travers les périodiques 1839 - c. 1880 (Unpublished Master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1984). Barnes's dates were extended by searching in Lovell's Montréal Directory.
48. Hensch and Hensch make this point in relation to the photographically illustrated book, citing the memoirs of Edmund Gosse (1849-1928) who saw his first sculpture in reproduction when he was thirteen. See Hensch and Hensch, p. 336.
49. Abrahamson, p. 137.
50. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, Hannah Arendt, ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1978) pp. 217-251.
51. Stewart, p. 136.
52. Stewart, pp. 138-139.
53. Stewart, p. 135.
54. Stewart, p. 145.

55. Colin Murray Parkes, Bereavement. Studies of Grief in Adult Life (Madison, Connecticut: International Universities Press, Inc., 1986) p. 66.
56. Parkes, p. 68.
57. Parkes, p. 69.
58. Metz, however, bases his argument on the fixed meaning of the photographic image, having established its symbolic connection with death. A photograph of the departed helps the mourner through this passage because the photograph's inherent morbidity eases acceptance of the fact. While this may be true, the metamorphosis of the mourner complexifies the meaning of the photograph, whether in contemplation or presentation. Its usefulness as a fetish is undermined in the process. See Metz, "Photography and Fetish," pp. 83-85.
59. Ivan Illich and Barry Sanders. A B C. The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1988) p. 72.
60. Other, less famous, examples might also exist. The Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album (MP 042/90) represents a life's work that runs to many volumes. The point here relates not to quantity or persistence, but to the process of keeping an album as a journal. Not even Lartigue made an entry for each day and he is known to have excised certain painful or embarrassing passages.
61. Thomas Mallon, A Book of One's Own: People and their Diaries (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1984).
62. Mallon, p. 1.
63. Mallon, pp. 28-33.
64. Robinson discusses criteria set by William Labov and Joshua Waletzky and elaborated by Teun A. Van Dijk in light of changing criteria, accepting narrations of the commonplace and accounts of victimization. See John A. Robinson, "Personal Narratives Reconsidered," in Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 94, No. 371, 1981, pp. 59-63.
65. Robinson, pp. 63-70.
66. Robinson, pp. 77-85.
67. Quoted by Mallon, p. 143, from Albert Camus, Notebooks 1935-1942, Philip Thody, trans. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978).
68. Nathan Lyons's discussion of the snapshot's influence on the movement he called the "Social Landscape" has already been cited.
69. Lewis Fried, "Lewis Mumford: The City as Man," in Makers of the City: Jacob Riis, Lewis Mumford, James T. Farrell, and Paul Goodman (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990) p. 68.

70. James M. Cox, "Autobiography and America," The Virginia Quarterly Review 47, No. 2 (Spring 1971) p. 256. Illich and Sanders build on this observation in their chapter on "The Self," pp. 71-83.
71. Ibid.
72. The positive effect of the war on Kodak's sales is discussed by Brian Coe and Paul Gates in The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939 (London: Asch and Grant, Ltd., 1977), p. 34. British and Italian perspectives are presented in Photography/Politics: Two, Patricia Holland, Jo Spence and Simon Watney, eds. (London: Comedia Publishing Group, 1986). The issue includes an article by Silvana Rivoir, "The Soldier Photographer," which makes particular mention of albums; see pp. 82-89.
73. "'But this is our war! How do you get into a war?'" Grace Morris Craig vividly remembered that excited response to the declaration of war in August, 1914. See Grace Morris Craig, But This Is Our War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 26.
74. An Ansco Company advertisement, published in 1917, reflects the general tenor of the home front photographic campaign. Entitled, In War as in Peace, and illustrated with a vignette of a uniformed soldier, the advertisement begins: "AnSCO Photography has a very real place to fill. Pictures tell a story better and quicker than words. They convey an instant impression of places and persons and things that pages of written description cannot adequately portray. To keep in closest touch with friends who are far away nothing suffices so well as pictures of people and events sent from one to another in letters." The same issue includes tips on military photography during training. See The American Annual of Photography 1918, Vol. XXXII (New York: The American Annual of Photography Inc., 1917).
75. L. L. Langness and Gelya Frank, An Anthropological Approach to Biography (Navato, Ca.: Chandler & Sharp Publishing, 1981) p. 114.
76. Robinson, p. 255.
77. Robinson, p. 254.
78. Langness and Frank, p. 90.
79. In his survey of private collections, Chalfen makes a connection between portraits of young recruits and "Earlier snapshots featuring a G.I. Joe or sailor's outfit...repeated in somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy." These pictures are not necessarily of the same people; Chalfen is commenting on a general trend. Organizations that want to ban military toys for children draw similar parallels. See Chalfen, Snapshot Versions of Life, p. 86. Wagner, on the other hand, seems deliberately predictive in her doublings and juxtapositions. Her photographs and compilations draw these types and antitypes into the same frame.

80. Connecting photography and sport, it is interesting to note the existence of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association Camera Club, organized May 1, 1906. See The American Annual of Photography 1918, Vol. XXXII (New York: The American Annual of Photography Inc., 1917) p. 297.
81. Thomas J. Schlereth, Victorian America. Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915 (New York: Harper Collins, 1991) p. 277-278.
82. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage. Adolescence in America. 1790 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1977) p. 173.
83. The passage from T. C. Sandars is taken from Merle Mowbray Bevington, The Saturday Review 1855-1868 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941) p. 188; see Donald E. Hall, "Introduction: Muscular Christianity: reading and writing the male social body," in Muscular Christianity. Embodying the Victorian Age (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 7.
84. Donald E. Hall, "On the making and unmaking of monsters: Christian Socialism, muscular Christianity, and the metaphorization of class conflict," in Muscular Christianity, p. 64.
85. Robinson, p. 70.
86. G. W. L. Nicholson, Canada's Nursing Sisters (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada and Samuel Stevens, 1975) p. 133.
87. Mallon, p. 42.
88. John Taylor, A Dream of England. Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994) p. 14. Taylor ascribes distinct ways of seeing to three groups whose touring practices have been analyzed by Daniel Boorstin, Dean MacCannell, Paul Fussell and Jonathan Culler. See Taylor pp. 7-8.
89. Ibid.
90. Nancy Spector's thoughts on the meaning of travel in the work of Gonzalez-Torres are indebted to Georges Van Den Abbeele, Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1992). See Spector, Felix Gonzalez-Torres, pp. 56-57 and p. 84, note 8.
91. Taylor, p. 7.
92. A. J. Burkart and S. Medlik, Tourism. Past, Present, and Future (London: Heinemann, 1974) p. 19.
93. Shelagh Squire, "The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism," in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 21, 1994, p. 109.
94. Kenneth Grahame, The Wind in the Willows (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, 1960) p. 36.

95. Paul Knaplund, The Unification of South Africa; a study in British Colonial Policy (Wisconsin: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1924) pp. 12-20.
96. Charlotte Cameron, A Woman's Winter in Africa. A 26,000 Mile Journey (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1913).
97. Cameron, pp. 89-95.
98. Cameron, pp. 65-75.
99. Cameron, pp. 76-80.
100. Cameron, pp. 55-59.
101. C. W. Hattersley, The Baganda At Home (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1908).
102. Hattersley, p. 6.
103. Hattersley, p. 87.
104. Burkart and Medlik, p. 20.
105. Thomas Cook pamphlet quoted by John Pemble, The Mediterranean Passion. Victorians and Edwardians in the South (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) p. 47.
106. Flashbulb memories are the personal memories associated with public milestones: "what people can remember of the circumstances in which they learned of an outstanding and usually surprising national/international event." They are generally associated with high levels of emotional reaction and consequentiality; they are often revisited. Personal anecdotes associated with the assassinations of Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy are prime examples. See Martin A. Conway, Autobiographical Memory. An Introduction (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1990) pp. 61-87.
107. Dean MacCannell, The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Schocken Books, 1976) p. 59.
108. MacCannell, pp. 53-55.
109. MacCannell, p. 6.
110. Ibid.
111. MacCannell, p. 9.
112. Sontag, On Photography, p. 10.
113. John A. Kouwenhoven, "Living in a Snapshot World" in Half a Truth is Better Than None. Some Unsystematic Conjectures about Art, Disorder, and

American Experience (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982) p. 149.

114. Ibid.

115. Tamara K. Hareven, "The Family as Process: The Historical Study of the Family Cycle," in Journal of Social History, Vol. 7, 1974, p. 322.

116. Ibid., p. 323.

117. Alan Thomas, "The Family Chronicle," in Time in a Frame: Photography and the Nineteenth-Century Mind (New York: Schocken Books, 1977) pp. 43-64.

118. Tamara K. Hareven, "Cycles, Courses and Cohorts: Reflections on Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Historical Study of Family Development," in Journal of Social History, Vol. 12, 1978-79, pp. 97-109.

119. Victor Turner, The Anthropology of Performance (New York: PAJ Publications, c1986) p. 43.

120. Ibid.

121. Hirsch, p. 3.

122. Chalfen, Turning Leaves, p. 188.

123. Chalfen, Turning Leaves, pp. 196-206.

124. Boerdam and Martinius, p. 96.

125. Richard Brilliant, Portraiture (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) p. 12.

126. Here, again, I seem to take issue with Christian Metz who follows Peter Wollen's distinction between film and photography in terms of spatio-temporal dimensions and the conditions of reception. While one can agree that a single image, or page from an album, can be the object of fascination (a fetish), the presentation of an album, as imagined and rehearsed by the compiler, lives within an optimum temporal framework as an act of communication. Fundamental to Metz's photographic theory is his assumption of silent contemplation and reliable response - no heuristic dialogue, even with oneself. See Metz, Photography and Fetish, pp. 81-85.

127. Hirsch, p. 5.

128. Ibid.

129. James C. A. Kaufmann, "Photographs & History. Flexible Illustrations," in Reading Into Photography. Selected Essays, 1959-1980, Thomas F. Barrow, Shelley Armitage, William E. Tydeman, eds. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982) pp. 193-199. See also Lee Zacharias, "The Photograph

- Album," in Helping Muriel Make it Through the Night (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975) pp. 72-79.
130. Zacharias, p. 73.
131. Zacharias, p. 77.
132. Kaufmann, p. 195.
133. Kaufmann, p. 198.
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135. Boerdam and Martinus, p. 116.
136. Ibid.
137. Halla Beloff, Camera Culture (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1985) p. 188.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid.
140. Taft, p. 138.
141. Colleen McDannell, Material Christianity. Religion and Popular Culture in America (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 67-102.
142. McDannell, p. 84-87.
143. McDannell, p. 67.
144. McDannell, p. 90.
145. Theodore Lafleur, A Semi-Centennial Historical Sketch of the Grande-Ligne Mission. 1885 (Montreal: s.n., 1900?)
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147. Berger, pp. 10-14.
148. Donna R. Braden, "'The Family That Plays Together Stays Together': Family Pastimes and Indoor Amusements, 1890-1930," in American Home Life. A Social History of Spaces and Services, Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992) p. 146-147.

149. Peter Ward, Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada (Montreal & Kingston; London; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) p. 89.
150. Charles-Philippe Beaubien, Écrin d'amour familial. Détails historiques au sujet d'une famille, comme il y en a tant d'autres au Canada qui devraient avoir leur histoire (Montréal: Arbour & Dupont, Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1914).
151. Henry James Morgan, ed. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912), p. 76.
152. Interview with Gretta Chambers, June 19, 1995.
153. Ways of seeing and photographically preserving vestiges of Elizabethan England are explored by John Taylor, A Dream of England, pp. 64-89.
154. In William Catermole, Emigration, the Advantages of Emigration to Canada (London, 1831), David Gagan found a warning to "employers of emigrant English girls of 'the only real evil' they could anticipate - 'they are sure to get married.'" See Gagan, "'The Prose of Life': Literary Reflections of the Family, Individual Experience and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century Canada," in Journal of Social History, Vol. 9, No. 3, Spring 1976, p. 372.
155. Bruce Robbins, The Servant's Hand. English Fiction From Below, p. 92.
156. Robbins, p. 94.
157. Bossard and Boll, p. 130.
158. Etheldred was the third of three daughters from a family noted for its wealth and independence of mind. Her aunt, Louisa G. Frothingham, married John H. R. Molson in 1873 (the Henderson album, Photographs/Canadian Scenery [MP 1452] has been discussed in this connection), but not without a detailed marriage contract guaranteeing her free administration and enjoyment of her assets. See Peter Ward, Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada, p. 146.
159. Arthur W. Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family From Colonial Times to the Present Vol. III (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919) p. 193.

Chapter Three: Orality and Photography

The study of orality began as a study of text. This curious inversion has its own peculiar logic, however tangled the outcome. The exegete, the Homeric scholar and the folklorist worked with what they had, transcriptions of oral performance. The process was transformative; the provisional aspects of orality tended to be obscured by features more fitted to the permanence of writing. Vestigial sound is nought. In the study of ruins, we train our reconstructive imaginations on the sites and fragments of buildings, but in the study of orality, sound is supplanted by its representation on the printed page. Much like *ekphrasis*, another work of art extends the life and alters the memory of the old. New readings of oral texts want to rethink linguistic hierarchies; still, the written word stands as gatekeeper to the utterance.

Modern interests in oral tradition can be identified under numerous headings: the Finnish historical-geographical method, tracing the spread of archetypes; comparative philology and mythology, examining Indo-European roots; psychological analysis, Freudian and Jungian; direct correlations between oral arts and society; Marxist and feminist perspectives; structuralist, post-structuralist and narratologist readings; the 'oral theory' stressing formula and process; and the 'ethnography of speaking', observations of human artistry in social performance.¹ Ruth Finnegan, whose survey of the field this is, underscores the pluralism of oral studies and, in her summary of current trends, reports increased attention to human agency - "individual voices, repertoire and creativity."² The present study's reunification of orality and photography flows from the product of human creativity and extends the oral condition to material culture.

In a comparative discussion of epic and novel, Bakhtin writes of the hardening of genres that have completed their development: "All of these genres, or in any case, their defining features, are considerably older than written language and the book, and to the present day they

retain their ancient and auditory characteristics."³ Students of orality depend on the stability of textual survivals, on typical patterns of phraseology, theme and development, beautifully trapped like flies in amber.⁴ Axel Olrik was one who pioneered this approach in his "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative,"⁵ a checklist of genetic markers outlined in such terms as the Law of Opening and Closing, the Law of Three, the Law of Twins, the Law of the Single Strand and the Use of Tableaux.⁶

Still today, the application and extension of oral-formulaic theory (the Parry-Lord theory) is concerned, according to John Miles Foley, "with the interpretation of style and structure as evidence of a work's traditional provenance."⁷ Important considerations always are the technical problems of retention and transmission of an oral composition. Jack Goody's studies of present-day West African orality contain numerous observations that, he would argue, apply equally to Homer. He insists, first of all, on the co-existence and reciprocal influences of oral and literary tradition.⁸ On the question of memory and its sustaining formulations, Goody's observations in the field dictate broader definitions: "the concept of sameness may be much looser; it may refer not to verbal identity but to some kind of unspecified structural similarity."⁹

The scent of orality can be pursued in many ways. To each of Finnegans theoretical headings, methods of detection, indicators and specialized terminology can be attached - myth, legend, archetype, reflection, doubling, codes, bundles, functions, intertextualities, narrative, spin-storying, and performance - duplicative, complementary or mutually antagonistic in use. Photographic discourse already shares much of this terminology; examples of its application to albums fill the previous chapters with paradigms and analogies. My intentions for this chapter, and the one that follows, are considerably more specific. If, as others have suggested, the album belongs in a continuum of oral tradition, then, stylistically and structurally, orality should have left its trace on albums in the collection of the McCord.

Folklorists and sociologists (Chalfen, Kotkin, Musello, Ohrn, and Boerdam and Martinus) consistently have made the point that the album is unlocked by the story-telling of the compiler. Michael Lesy, Marianne Hirsch, Stanley Milgram and Roslyn Banish, among others, have analyzed the themes and archetypes that have emerged from their face-to-face interviews with respondents (Hirsch interviews herself). But in a public collection, we have neither respondents, nor guides. No one is shaping these albums into digestible narratives; no one is filling or glossing over their lacuna or 'intertextual' references. This, as I have stressed, is a loss. At the same time, the total absence of oral accompaniment (its virtual silencing) is precisely what allows the oral framework of the album to resurface.

The framework that I have chosen against which to test the orality of the album was set out by Walter J. Ong in Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word (1982).¹⁰ Building on Milman Parry, Albert B. Lord, Eric A. Havelock, Jack Goody, Marshall McLuhan, and others, Ong casts a wide net from the school of oral theory. He came to this work via the history of rhetoric, having concentrated on the dialectical order of Petrus Ramus. Drawing on his research in mnemonic systems and psychology, Ong set out to correlate the content and structure of oral composition with human consciousness. Aspects of the problem had been addressed in The Presence of the Word. Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History (1967)¹¹ and Interfaces of the Word. Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture (1977).¹² In the latter collection, Ong had applied his theory to a study of 'wordless' communication, the pure sound of "African Talking Drums and Oral Noetics."¹³

Ong's work naturally recommended itself to an interdisciplinary project involving classification, memory and oral presentation. My encounter with Orality and Literacy coincided with my completion of the reference collection survey. Ong's description of the oral condition elicited in me what can only be described as a shock of recognition. The rhetorical tradition that adheres to the cabinet of curiosities - a rather obvious

model for any collection of objects, including pictures - suddenly found its place in a family of oral compositions. Ong's framework applied to the organization of an album immediately helped clarify the desires of individual compilers. Their illogical procedures began to make sense. A vague notion that albums and story-telling were related seemed suddenly verifiable and, more interesting still, the older mentality was clearly driving the new. Discovering structures of oral tradition imbedded in a snapshot album put claims of the Kodak revolution into perspective, and cast the photographic industry and its customers in a more sensible light. "The camera as storyteller" had touched a chord that was already there.

Nothing new in that thought, but the idea that photography reactivated a condition dormant in Western consciousness, that it ignored dominant structures of literacy and made books - photographic books - based on oral formula has not, to my knowledge, been argued systematically before. Ong's approach to the problem of orality opens this possibility because of his insistence on the specificity of the oral condition. He champions it, in effect, against what he perceives as the hegemony of writing. His essential argument for attending to the "psychodynamics of orality," is that its conditions are radically different. Ong's attention to difference - his distillation of a purer orality - facilitates comparison with other patterns of consciousness. Application of his framework to albums does not turn photography into a text, verbal or written, nor does it demote photography to illustration. On the contrary, it illuminates the particular qualities of individual photographic experience - its own psychodynamics. The complementarity of photographic theory and Ong's orality is unfailingly surprising, and would perhaps surprise Ong whose diverse scholarly interests barely touch on the visual arts.

An intellectual biography of Ong and a substantial critique of his work are beyond the scope of this study and have in any case already been done. A biographical portrait and selected bibliography were part of an Ong festschrift in Oral Tradition (1987).¹⁴ Bruce E. Gronbeck, Thomas

J. Farrell and Paul A. Soukup have edited a collection of essays that evaluates and builds on Ong's contributions to studies of rhetoric, media and consciousness.¹⁵ Running through most of these essays is an ideal of sensory and linguistic interactivity sometimes culminating in integration. Ong's Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness (1981)¹⁶ is extended into feminist debate, dismantling gendered oppositions and social practices.

Ong's readers also include detractors, among them, Martin Jay who includes Ong in his history of antiocular discourse. Jay extracts most of his proofs from The Presence of the Word, a book in which Ong argues from a defensive position to reclaim some territory for the oral. Jay calls Ong's, Goody's and Donald M. Lowe's theories of culture "grandiose."¹⁷ He disapproves of William M. Ivins's discussion of Plato and its influence on Ong. He challenges Ong's assertion that medieval stained glass was more decorative than instructive. Generally, Jay's view of Ong is inseparable from his opinion of Marshall McLuhan who was Ong's teacher; he thinks both are prone to hyperbole. At the same time, he builds on their ideas regarding the invention of printing.

Surprisingly, Jay overlooks Ong's emphatic critique of John Locke's famous comparison of human understanding to an image formed by light and fixed in permanence (essentially a photograph). In this passage, Ong literally fumes:

Locke assimilates the entire sensorium to sight and converts consciousness into a *camera obscura*, a hollow into which and through which light rays play. The visual simplicity of Locke's model is matched only by the naivete of his assumption that the model is adequate to the real state of affairs.¹⁸

While it is clear that adequacy would entail more than the substitution of one sense for another, Ong, like many scholars, is guilty of constructing his arguments in apposition. Examining the mind-body split

in Western consciousness, Ruth El Saffar notes that "Dualism is a byproduct of script culture."¹⁹ Ong and his readers are products of that culture. As El Saffar reports, "Ong associates vision, paramount after the seventeenth century, with the 'male sky god,' and touch with 'mother and earth.'"²⁰ Whenever Ong mentions literacy and orality, or vision and orality, he privileges orality as his topic and his predilection. When he considers the psychosexual stages of the child, he does not glance at the Lacanian mirror. Rather he conceptualizes the child's coming to language in terms of flow and constriction (orality and literacy).²¹ The same zero-sum game of opposites in perpetual isolation feeds Ong's discontent with the visual, or rather his pleasure in the oral. Sound for Ong is "the special sensory key to interiority,"²² proceeding from one interior to another, revealing the interior "without the necessity of physical invasion."²³ Ong seems never to have 'entered' a painting or a photograph in the way that Michael Fried, for example, understands the experience of spectatorial absorption running through into eighteenth-century representations of reading, listening, preaching, drawing, reciting, or blowing a bubble: "perhaps it is simply that Chardin found in the absorption of his figures both a natural correlative for his own engrossment in the act of painting and a proleptic mirroring of what he trusted would be the absorption of the beholder before the finished work."²⁴ One of the texts that instructs Fried is Abbé de La Porte's commentary on a genre scene by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, Un Père de famille qui lit la Bible à ses enfants (Salon of 1755), a painting that describes the family's nearly seamless absorption:

The little boy, who is making an effort to grab a stick on the table and who is paying no attention whatsoever to things he cannot understand, is perfectly true to life. Do you not see how he does not distract anyone, everyone being too seriously occupied? What nobility and what feeling in this grandmother who, without turning her attention from what she hears, mechanically restrains the little rogue who is making the dog growl! Can you not hear how he is teasing

it by making horns at it? What a painter! What a composer!²⁵

For his part, Ong says that, "Sound situates man in the middle of actuality and in simultaneity, whereas vision situates man in front of things and in sequentiality."²⁶ Jay is not wrong in his detection of bias in Ong; there is productive bias in both. Jay's rehearsal of ocularcentrism is a valuable backdrop to any discussion of the sensorial partition of experience. Perhaps Ong truly is closed to visual experience - an aural being to the core. Or, perhaps he shares the opinion of novelist Flannery O'Connor who explained the violence of her stories as a means of persuasion: "to the hard of hearing you shout, and for the almost blind, you draw large and startling pictures."²⁷ This, in any case, characterizes Ong's contribution to the present study which is a search for an *adequately complex* compilatory model. His shouting voice has been immensely useful in freeing the album from the impoverishments that *silent reading* ironically helps to impose.

The computerization of the word has created a new arena for Ongian debate. His dissection of print culture stimulates interest in Ong's work while implicating him in the crisis of illiteracy. Henry S. Sussman reads in Ong a form of nostalgia or "longing"²⁸ for an oral order. He is also struck by the religious rhetoric that he finds in studies of orality (Ong is a Jesuit priest) and ponders the connection between orality and theological propagation.²⁹ Sussman wants Ong on side against illiteracy, which of course Ong is, within the context of his own programme:

Orality is not an ideal and never was. To approach it positively is not to advocate it as a permanent state for any culture. Literacy opens possibilities to the word and to human existence unimaginable without writing.³⁰

The printed page is after all Ong's medium for the delicate reconstruction of oral consciousness. Sussman's assessment of Ong's

achievement in this area is unreservedly positive:

...the constellation of oral behaviours, skills and attributes that he assembles throughout the main part of his book constitutes a major contribution to the theory of linguistic behaviour. Within Ong's scenario, orality and literacy do not so much threaten as condition, extend, and in some cases stimulate each other. Some of Ong's ongoing concerns about writing, such as its impact on memory and memorization, may have been shared by Plato, but the research that he marshals to support his profile of oral traits is a good deal more recent. Ong's fascination for his subject has enabled him to explore a wide range of its conditions - physical, temporal, cognitive, logical, social psychological, and metaphysical.³¹

What then are the psychodynamics of orality and how do they relate to the photographic album? Ong begins his chapter on psychodynamics by exploring the nature of sound: "It is not simply perishable, but evanescent and it is sensed as evanescent."³² Sound relates doubly to power: its source, potentially threatening, is dynamic; and naming in magic (or science) is an act of empowerment. In oral culture, knowledge of the problem-solving kind depends on memory. The recipe is simple: "Think memorable thoughts."³³ And those are: "heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulary expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's 'helper', and so on), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in other mnemonic form."³⁴ The practical necessity of retention shapes its mental organization: "In an oral culture, experience is intellectualized mnemonically."³⁵

Ong's inventory of characteristics then divides into nine categories, some cast from the duality of his title: additive rather than

subordinative; aggregative rather than analytic; redundant or 'copious'; conservative or traditionalist; close to the human lifeworld; agonistically toned; empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced; homeostatic; situational rather than abstract.³⁶ Relating these traits to the album, I have reordered Ong's list under three facets of compilation: patterns of inclusion, patterns of organization, and patterns of presentation. Different aspects of these traits fit into different sections: aggregates, for example, which are organizational patterns (groupings of photographs), are made up of aggregative particulars (photographic formula) which are analyzed under inclusions. Technically consecutive, all sections are also contiguous, in the sense that results, consciously or unconsciously, are rehearsed in anticipation. Predictably, these compilatory phases correspond to the first three canons of rhetoric: finding or researching; arranging or organizing; fitting one's material to audience and context.³⁷ Performance and memory, the fourth and fifth canons, shape any discussion of the album in use.

What elements are included in a private photographic album? If the photographs and other keepsakes were selected in an oral consciousness, they should be conservative or traditionalist; close to the human life world; situational rather than abstract. Images should be formulaic, epithetic or proverbial, casting individuals or scenes in absolute clarity. Presentation in the album ought to generate 'heavy' or ceremonial characters.

The conservative or traditionalist orientation of oral culture derives from its methods of storing knowledge; the past needs to be repeated lest it be lost. Originality consists in reshuffling formulas and themes, introducing minor variations to engage the audience, or even major ones to accommodate political or religious shifts. Syncretism in small doses is the key to perpetuating old stories in changing contexts. Information that needs to be transmitted - histories, genealogies, methodologies - cannot be ordered as objective records or instructions: "An oral culture has no vehicle so neutral as a list."³⁸ The Iliad's

vast catalogue of ships, leaders and territories is an account of human action from which procedures and commands can also be absorbed, almost by example, as occurs under apprenticeship. Conceptual thinking in oral systems follows the same general rule, meaning that it adheres very closely to real life situations. Ong's discussion of this point draws heavily on fieldwork conducted in the 1930s by A. R. Luria whose report, Cognitive Development: Its Cultural and Social Foundations, was first published in 1974. The source is intriguing because Luria explored orality's incompatibility with abstraction using visual figures which the respondents were asked to name or classify. A circle, for example, might be identified as a plate or a moon. Asked to eliminate one dissimilar object from the group of hammer, saw, log and hatchet, the response was situational; it seemed logical to eliminate one of three cutting tools since, without one, the log might still be put to use. Deliberation based on experience dominated categorical or syllogistic constructs; concrete examples provided the best definitions.

The formulation of thoughts and descriptions in reliable verbal clusters is a boon to retention and unambiguous characterization. Ong shows how "antitheses, epithets, assertive rhythms, proverbs, and other formulas of many sorts"³⁹ create 'heavy' or heroic characters: "The hero is always a type character, a kind of personalized formula, such as wise Nestor, wily Odysseus, furious Achilles, a weighted, standardized figure hung with appropriate cultural values or antivalues."⁴⁰ Formulaic phrases also contribute to the flow of performance: "the oral poet who feels a tree surfacing in his imagination has an abundance of options for maneuvering the tree gracefully into his metric current: aged tree, living tree, native tree, goodly tree, withered tree, and so on."⁴¹

According to the framework, figures and situations presented in the album should be types sketched in broad, reproducible strokes that unambiguously amplify character and circumstance. The compositions of characters and scenes should be logical within a functional, situational construct. Symbolic relations should tend to metonymy in close mimetic connection to the real world.

Types abound in photography; the album is a litany of clichés. Types and typology nevertheless form one of photography's more complex problems. The most cursory examination of a collection quickly turns up themes and motifs that are confirmed by empirical study. 'People' inevitably leads the list of subjects (59.6% of Timm Starl's photographic stocks); holidays are favourite themes (42.1% according to Starl).⁴² The typical "Album of Snapshots" compiled by Brian Coe and Paul Gates includes people, leisure, the seaside, townscape, work, interiors and events.⁴³ Starl would add parties (3.3%) and military themes (10.4%); under subjects, he divides cities (5.6%) from villages (1.6%), and counts buildings (11.2%), sights (1.6%), transport/technology (3.5%) and animals (2%).⁴⁴

Such categories have their limitations for they are plainly subjective and can only overlap. Bourdieu throws a statistical wrench by reporting that vacations constitute the high season of family life.⁴⁵ It is obvious that photographs convey different data at different times. Early concentration on remembering or recreating a special event can be diluted by the shifting circumstances of the participants (as when, sometime later, the unremarkable young woman in the receiving line proves herself capable of rifling her uncle's till and running off with the postman). But even in the moment, a photograph runs deep with informational currents. Wagner's wartime album (MP 080/86) includes an outdoor gathering of young people whose dress and behaviour tentatively suggest an informal wedding. The same photographs could be classed under people, party, ceremony, family reunion, landscape, transport or military, depending on the attitude of the cataloguer.

Graham King divides the photographic hoard into three distinct groups: material assets (home, automobile, pets, power lawnmowers, vacation homes and garden furniture); achievements (trophies and their recipients, marking graduation, hunting and fishing); snippets of satisfaction (parties, picnics and holidays).⁴⁶ King's approach underscores the importance of objects in photographs which he narrowly

interprets in terms of status. Chalfen catalogues the same drives ("conspicuous success, personal progress, and general happiness"⁴⁷), which he plots on a human time-line, naming subjects that typically are photographed (children crawling⁴⁸) and those that are not (breast-feeding⁴⁹), and explaining how photography is experienced at each stage of life. Individuals, he insists, have the power of selection, yet their inclusions and omissions are conformist and resolutely positive: "Snapshot collections manifest a pride-filled movement toward adult life."⁵⁰

Objects have a variety of symbolic attachments, as Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton have shown in relation to depth psychology, anthropology, sociology and mythology: "Just as depth psychologists immediately interpret a person's relationship to an object in terms of sexual symbolism, sociologists tend to look at the same relationship in terms of status symbolism."⁵¹ The usual example is the car. The motorcar dominates the family in the MacDonnell European Travel Album (MP 2151). The charming motif of English village folk solemnly posing around the car miscarries in a picture from the Wagner charity mission (MP 032/80) showing their wretched beneficiaries flocking around. The car itself functions quite differently in these two examples. The Wagner car gives the women independence and protection as they venture forth on their mission. The car announces their arrival, and fortifies the barrier between rich and poor. The McDonnell car is also an expression of distinction, but one rooted in nineteenth-century progress. The family is endowed with a certain sense of power which is not purely symbolic, but derives from the symbolic object in use. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton take from Clifford Geertz the concept that "symbols can be both 'models of' and 'models for' reality. In the first sense, they reflect what *is*; in the second, they foreshadow what *could be*; and thus become a vital force in determining cultural evolution."⁵² The car enhances the physical energy of the owner: "He or she, like the car, can be auto-mobile, literally self-moving."⁵³ In a photographic album, a picture of a car can function as an epithetic prompt, summoning the energy, adventure or

acquisitiveness of its owner in the linking of a picture with a phrase. In the chaotic second section of the Lanqlois/Gélinas Album (MP 145/84), a car becomes the attribute of one man; it transpires, or rather, suggestions accrue, that it is his last car after a lifetime of auto-mobility. The man, slightly stooped, and his car faithfully are recorded, and the extended portrait is stapled into the album beside another man's *In Memoriam* as his.

The photographic type can be understood as an occasion, as well as subject or theme, expanding the repertoire of recurrence. A vast section opens up under the umbrella of daily life, photographs of people whose portraits are cast in the familiar light of habits, hobbies and mundane affairs. Diarists and memoirists in the collection are particularly attuned to this genre. In the Beaubien album (MP 042/92), portraits are made of people sitting on the porch because it is typical of family members to do so; they gather there regularly under the matriarchal rule of relaxation. They also take walks, boat, bathe and play tennis. Of course they are on vacation, but to their dedicated chronicler, they are really on display. A day in the country brings family and friends into the light, their inner beings released as specimens in a natural habitat. In these portraits, or conversation pieces, 'occasion' entrains 'occasionality', Hans-Georg Gadamer's sense of connotation based in the portraitist's intentions. Brilliant, following Gadamer, includes this latent meaning in the expression of individuality, *not type*, that both believe to be the essence of the portrait.⁵⁴ But an individual may aspire to be a type; the grip and manifestation of that desire may constitute his or her self-image.

Classifying typologists have tended to concentrate on the snapshot since it is supposed to reflect directly and spontaneously the interests and personality of its user; snapshot trends are thus measured as social, ideological and psychological indicators. Conversely, the nineteenth-century studio photograph is deemed more homogeneous. Its types are largely assumed to be products of technological limitation, commercial expediency and long-standing pictorial convention.⁵⁵ The meaning

encoded in the act of patronage and the manner of self-presentation tends to be neglected in relation to pictorial treatment and general reception.

But nineteenth-century types were not born in the studio, they came to the operator in a mature state, prepared as for a social or business call. A formal call or attendance at a photographic studio required foresight and training. In Erving Goffman's sense of self-presentation, they are closely related performances.⁵⁶ While a spectator like Richard Brilliant can divide the population into those who occupy the public space in a significant way and those who do not, every person, however modest, partitions the world into public and private.⁵⁷ If anything, this was more keenly felt in the nineteenth-century when position, station or *place* was so clearly demarcated, even in the domestic sphere. Social calls, which took place in the *public* rooms of the *private* home, involved visitors and hosts in short performances, generally no longer than twenty minutes. "Through the portière, a theatrical curtain, every entrance became an occasion," writes Grier.⁵⁸ Visitors retained their outer wraps; hostesses generally put down their occupations and looked alert: it is interesting to see the same proscenium, posture and props extended to the *carte-de-visite*. Men might have the choice of holding or wearing their hats⁵⁹; Mrs Arthur Lindsay draped herself in a voluminous lace shawl (MP 2146). The parlour's repertoire of meaningful gestures comes through. For example, a substitute or metonymic image for paying a call might be a letter or a note. To see a woman reading a letter (MP 2146), rather than conversing, would mean that she was alone, or that her visitor was a close friend. Either way, a bond of intimacy would generally be understood; recreating that performance for a *carte-de-visite* would have the same intimate effect.

Deciphering these codes of behaviour is far from a science and the strangeness of the photographic environment would have challenged anyone's sense of decorum. As Henisch and Henisch explain, early studios were often outside with painted backdrops giving the illusion of a parlour; once indoors, studios mounted elaborate outdoor scenes. The

operator was both stage director and social advisor.⁶⁰ Novelty and incongruity sometimes animated the results, but publicness and typicalness are more reliable features of cartes-de-visite, exposing the the formulas or cults that guided the sitters through self-presentation.

Yes, the wise man too speaks, and acts, in Formulas; all men do so. And in general, the more completely cased with Formulas a man may be, the safer, happier it is for him.⁶¹

Thus wrote Thomas Carlyle whose ideal Victorian male, carefully analyzed by Herbert Sussman, is a typological construction enshrined in a Bible of industrial manhood, Past and Present (1843). Sussman explains: "In seeing heroic manhood as a timeless, divinely sanctioned pattern manifested through human history, in the past as in the present, the text naturalizes, even sacralizes, male superiority and presents patriarchy itself as the realization through time of divine Will."⁶² Following Richard Sennett's The Fall of Public Man, Sussman shows that reserve - the strong silent concealment of one's inner life - is a key to Carlylean masculinity: "Public life became focused not on individual expression or theatrical presentation of the self, but...on the heroic leader who acts out the emotions of less manly men."⁶³ Victor Turner might consider such deliberate self-regulation as a form of cultural performance, more than the theatre of everyday life, more than Goffman's social dynamic: "...cultural performances are not simple reflectors or expressions of culture or even of changing culture but may themselves be active agencies of change, representing the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board on which creative actors sketch out what they believe to be more apt or interesting 'designs for living'.⁶⁴ Turner's social drama arises out of conflict or crisis, passing over the threshold (*limen*) to resolution.⁶⁵ At the intersecting axes of family and individual time is the Small Molson Album (MP 1768) in which a Captain of Industry, John Thomas Molson, rehearses the manly exterior of mourning.

Usefully, Sussman points out the strains and contradictions in

nineteenth-century male models, and the dilemma that they pose for their students: "the problem of power and patriarchy calls for a double awareness, a sensitivity both to the ways in which these social formations of the masculine created conflict, anxiety, tension in men while acknowledging that, in spite of the stress, men accepted these formations as a form of self-policing crucial to patriarchal domination."⁶⁶ In direct consequence, to paraphrase Orwell, all creatures are typical, but some creatures are more typical than others. Annals of colonialism in the collection - the Ogilvie Album (MP 032/81), Bloemfontein to London... (MP 2152), the Captain G. E. Mack Album - need to be approached in an awareness of types predictively generating types, a conundrum of almost unbearable complexity when the role of local "culture brokers" is taken into account.⁶⁷

As Margaret Homans has shown, a process not unlike the colonial phenomenon of mimicry⁶⁸ took place at the heart, or hearth, of the Victorian reign as the Queen cooperated in a pictorial programme of regal domestication: "She helped her nation to become powerful and prosperous by helping it to see itself as a middle-class nation, just as she smoothed the transition to a wholly symbolic monarchy that would have taken place with or without her in the nineteenth century."⁶⁹ The spectacle of royalty, sprinkled throughout the study collection in cartes-de-visite and snapshots, contains within its popularity the seeds of transformative consumption. A cat may look at a king, and the average cat still wants to. Only now, the onstage image of the king or queen must resemble a backstage image.⁷⁰ While electronic media have accelerated the process, the displacement of the ceremonial character into the situational or human life world can be traced to the sequencing of albums as a procession of royals, lesser aristocrats, accomplished commoners, foreigners and intimates (MP 2162; MP 2146; MP 032/81). Nothing except knowledge of the principals distinguishes the cartes-de-visite of Sarah Campbell (Growler) and May Frothingham (N 006/86, p. 11) from that of Queen Victoria and Princess Beatrice (MP 2162, p. 2). The Duke of York's visit to Canada of 1901 is given no more space than the antics of kittens in the Natural History Picnic Album (MP 582). The

same occasion is piled onto a trip to Ottawa in the D. M. Murphy Album (MP 163/77). The funeral of Edward VII which concludes the Bloemfontein to London album (MP 2152) is absorbed into the travellers' chronicle and partially eclipsed by the colonial plot.

The typological method of Carlyle was overt and highly orthodox, drawing directly on the Scriptural figure of Sampson to fashion his nineteenth-century man. Carlyle's modern nemesis must be Grizelda Pollock who audaciously has essayed a feminist prefiguration. Beginning with the story of Naomi and Ruth, and situating her exegesis in the context of what she calls a post-biblical and post-colonial era, Pollock succeeds typologically in projecting "an astonishing act of *woman-to-woman* covenanting"⁷¹ onto her own memories and awakening resistance to the territorialization of desire.

Pollock's example inspires one to consider the typological underpinnings of the Benson Family Album (N 007/86) in light of a study by Jan Lewis into the nature of "Mother's Love."⁷² Guided by the teachings of women's magazines, Lewis develops an image of nineteenth-century motherhood as the instrument of Protestant moral instruction. The mother taught the child by example, by inspiration: "The children of such a mother would come to 'revere her as the earthly type of perfect love...they cannot but desire to conform themselves to such models."⁷³ Such love was eternal, because it was preserved in the children's memories, and because it was reincarnated in the children as "an almost corporeal part of themselves."⁷⁴ Lewis finds myriad examples of this

Illustrations

MP 2162. The Royal Album, p. 2. J. E. Mayall, *The Queen and Princess Beatrice*, c. 1860. Carte-de-visite.

N 006/86. Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album, pp. 10-11. William Notman & Sons. *John Joseph Frothingham; John Joseph Frothingham and May Louisa Frothingham; Louisa Davenport Frothingham with May & Jo.; Family nurse, "Growler," Sarah Campbell and May Frothingham.* Four cartes-de-visite.





message: the mother is to reproduce herself in the child, "'a mental and moral daguerrotype of herself'... 'a fragment'... 'a mirror'." ⁷⁵ As a model, a mother must conform to type, internally and externally, for "the face was the 'index and agent of the soul'." ⁷⁶ Mothers were exhorted to make themselves look like Christ, and mothers' reading, advice and fiction, assigned to them the role of dying so that their children might achieve eternal life: "'the example and counsel of a living mother could hardly equal in power, upon the filial heart, the silent but thrilling preaching of a departed one.'" ⁷⁷

Etheldred Benson was perhaps innocent of her typological destiny, but in every other way, her image conforms to the type of motherly love. Her album is a catechism for her children to follow, and she makes its teachings very clear by including pictures of herself as a little girl. New arrivals are first presented in her arms, and her gaze consistently is upon them. The little ones themselves often look back at the camera, but they are gazing, as Etheldred understands, at themselves in the future, gazing back at this icon of motherly love. Their condition is hopeful, predictive and prescriptive. In one family photograph (fatherless, to be sure), Etheldred and the children are pictured as a group in the "Notman outdoors," though not on a tricked-up toboggan as Etheldred was with her father and sisters, but formally posed in their outdoor clothes before an atmospheric backdrop. This is a public presentation of the Benson family, the last in the album, before the children, the mirrors of the mother, splinter off into the outside world. In the event, Etheldred's immolation is more Marian than Christ-like, since it is her first-born son who is offered up to the European conflagration.

Understanding of nineteenth-century typology is deepened by Paul J. Korshin's discussions of abstracted and natural modes, literary forms which Korshin accommodates within a strict understanding of typology as Biblical, predictive, plotted and consciously so. ⁷⁸ Typology as exegesis and typology as classification intersected when seventeenth-century theologians began to compile types into typological handbooks. ⁷⁹

These would ultimately facilitate the extension of typology, first to other inspired texts, then to "natural phenomena, historical events, and ultimately, all aspects of human experience."⁸⁰ The continuous presence of divine inspiration is captured in a phrase, "the book of nature,"⁸¹ the perpetuation of a sixteenth-century system of knowledge which Michel Foucault has elaborated in terms of semiology and hermeneutics: "The great metaphor of the book that one opens, that one pores over and reads in order to know nature, is merely the reverse and visible side of another transference, and a much deeper one, which forces language to reside in the world, among the plants, the herbs, the stones, and the animals."⁸² The mutated form of that system, a linguistic ecology of ethnology and psychoanalysis (the totem and the taboo),⁸³ runs parallel to the amateur album; indeed it could be argued that a Renaissance method of exposition - the spectacle of resemblances⁸⁴ - is more recognizable in the album than contemporaneous systems of order. The Book of Nature lingered in metaphors of the pastoral⁸⁵ and the sublime; as Korshin says, "natural typology had become so common by 1800 that there was no longer any reason to mention it."⁸⁶

For Victorian Canadians, the binocular vision of Providence and Progress projected the Old World onto the New.⁸⁷ In 1905, Henry J. Morgan and Lawrence J. Burpee surveyed the Canadian landscape from the imagined perspective of "the first white man who set foot in America,"⁸⁸ sketching the picturesque from East to West as a composite of European types: dyke-lands and marshes from Holland, landscapes from rural England, fiords from Norway, mountainous wilderness from the Alps; the pastoral and the sublime are contiguous in a typological panorama, "from dainty bits of landscape to scenes almost appalling in their grandeur and immensity."⁸⁹ Keith Bell has remarked that photographs of the Canadian west used in immigration and colonization campaigns were carefully cropped to resemble European farmland with the intention, of course, that the illusion would come true.⁹⁰ Within Canada, popular historic and geographic illustrations propagated ideological constructs - myths of identity - that nationhood projects have aimed to fulfil.⁹¹ A typology of Canadian primitives inflects Alexander Henderson's

Photographs / Canadian Scenery (MP 1452) in which loggers and Natives are woven into a topography of natural resources and traditional ways. Snapshots in Souvenirs of a few pleasant summer days 1898 (MP 028/89) similarly are marked by a lack of figures, except for the ubiquitous "party of monks," a peddler with his horse-drawn cart and a street urchin, all drawn from the repertoire of Québec types.

Photography's fabrication of heavy or ceremonial characters is illustrated by a report of the Smithsonian Institution Family Folklore Program. Amy Kotkin relates a story based on a single photograph that was told to her by a woman about her great-uncle Max. The photograph of Max in his cowboy hat and chaps, so described in interview from memory, had generated an ironic epithetic title: "One Gun Blum, The Jewish Cowboy." On the basis of a single photograph, a man who spent most of his life as a tailor in Newark, New Jersey, had gone down in the annals of his family as a cowboy. The life of the photograph had been extended for, as Kotkin discovered, the woman had spun from the photograph her own epic tales of Max the Cowboy that she had passed on to her children.⁹²

The mixture of "antitheses, epithets, assertive rhythms, proverbs, and other formulas of many sorts"⁹³ that creates the heavy or heroic characters is colourfully illustrated by the Klondike ministry album, VIEWS / E. W. W. (MP 2360). The hero of this album is the Presbyterian minister, Reverend Wright, who bicycles on his evangelical rounds at 40 below zero (Fahrenheit), who mounts prayer services in the Railway Dining Tent, who serves his flock of rugged parishioners at the outer edge of "CIVELAZITION." Reverend Wright's status as a living legend is established from the second image. The tale is embroidered by ironic views of characters and situations, most cast in an exaggerated objectivity as tableaux vivants, not unlike the Tableau representing Great Britain and Her Colonies at a Concert Given in Aid of the Widows and Orphans Created by the War with the Transvaal, Palace Grand, Feb. 15th 1900 (p. 14). Photographs in the album do not chronicle Reverend Wright's Yukon period in any rational way, rather they cause it to

bubble up in legends that connect circumstantially to his life. At the same time, the album documents his implantation in the struggle and camaraderie of an improbable community. This is what photography can show: victory in the now that points inferentially at the future. The banal practicality of the Chambers Red Cross Album (MP 040/90) is a model in its attachment to real life situations, to Canada carrying on. Such responses to crisis are both reflective and reflexive, notes Barbara Myerhoff:

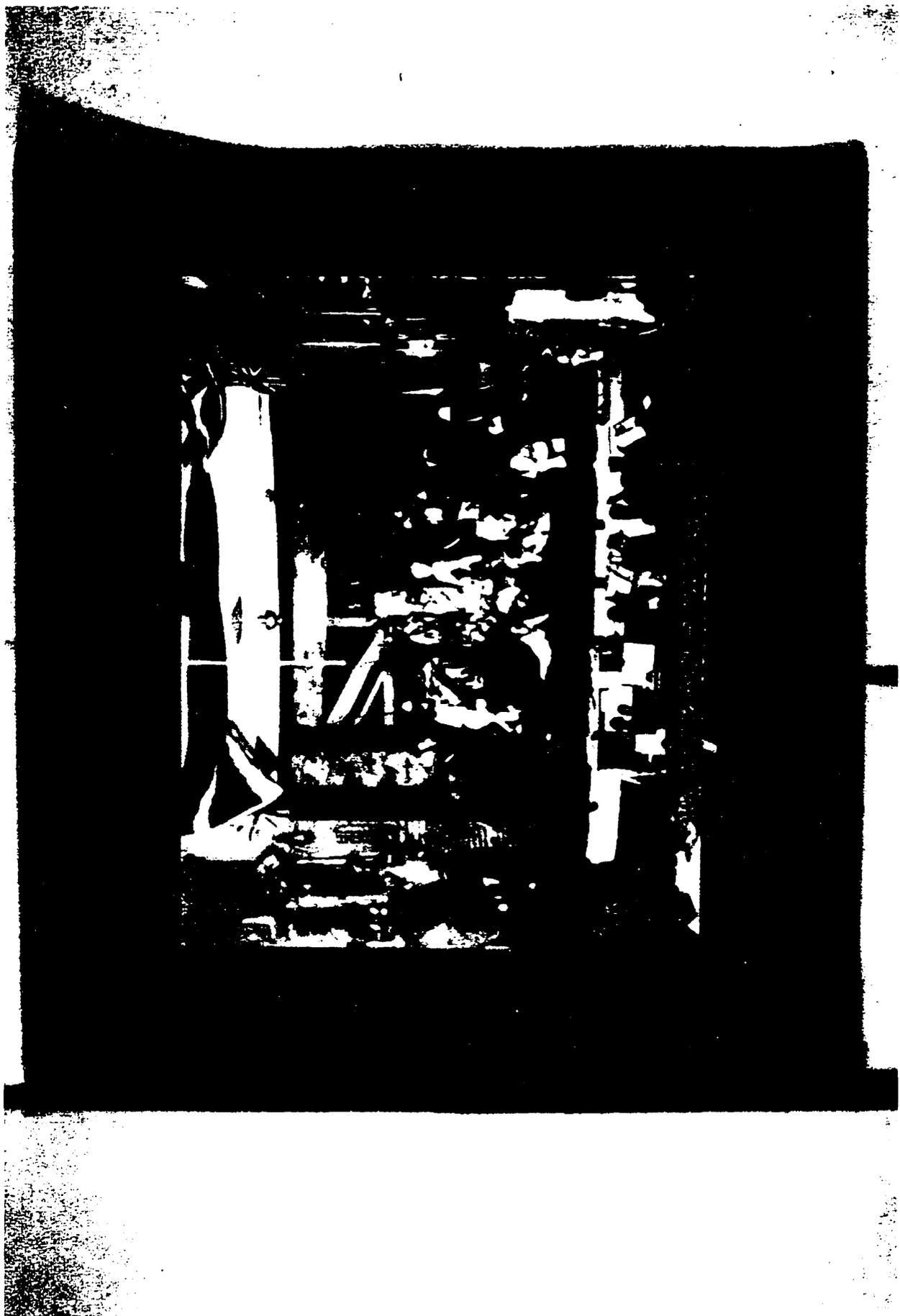
As heroes in our own dramas, we are made self-aware, conscious of our own consciousness. At once actor and audience, we may then come into the fullness of our human capability - and perhaps human desire - to watch ourselves and enjoy knowing that we know.⁹⁴

Experience itself is predictive, suggests Korshin. We interpret signs and anticipate outcomes based on a typology of conscious and unconscious memory: "One might describe the mixture of psychology and semiology whereby the human mind predicts - whether rightly or wrongly - such conclusions as the psycho-typology of everyday life."⁹⁵

Whether nested in a system of codes, figures, conventions, myths, tropes or archetypes, however relational and provisional its meaning, photography's mechanical and mimetic nature hooks it *experientially and performatively* into the real. Philippe Dubois has justly attended to the epistemology that arises from the indivisibility of the photographic "image-act" - the combination of factors that define the relationship of image to referent at the moment of production ("moment de la 'prise'")

Illustration

MP 2360. VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 27. Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, *Tableau representing Great Britain and Her Colonies at a Concert Given in Aid of Widows and Orphans Created by the War with the Transvaal, Palace Grand, Feb. 15th, 1900* (flashlight photo 2568). Gelatin silver print, without borders, 15.2 x 20.5 cm.



and the moment of reception ("moment de la reprise").⁹⁶ The spectatorial experience arising from that dual nature must be one of fusion and reenactment; "to see the picture is to see through the lens is to be there taking the photograph," as I once described the experiential ritual of photography.⁹⁷ The concentration on vision to the exclusion of other senses in both these viewpoints would dismay Ong, but their general understanding nevertheless fits within his framework. The photograph, like spoken language, is only minimally abstract; its genesis is situational.

How shall these typical, typological and situational elements be organized for presentation? First of all, by deliberate repetition: formulas are not only typical, but they are constantly recycled within the same oral composition. Redundancy, or copiousness, serves the speaker in several ways, amplifying important ideas, restating points that may have been missed, and gaining time in which to marshal his or her thoughts. Another requirement met by repetition or elaboration of a theme is the cultivation of praise or vituperation. What Ong calls the 'noetic economy' of orality is agonistically toned - shaped by intense engagements between characters whose merit or worthlessness must be clear. Ong stresses the exteriority of orality's narrative crises, in contradistinction to the interiority of literary forms. The polarities of good and bad, brave and cowardly, noble and ignoble must be *shown* through the actions of heroes and villains. As Ong points out, "Enthusiastic description of physical violence often marks oral narrative."⁹⁸ Orality preserves what the ear has heard and the eye has seen.

In Ong's oral-aural paradigm, African drum language, nicknames are expansions of praise formulas; in certain regions, a programme of glorifying kings and chiefs can take over the drums completely. Conversely, a campaign to rid a village of an undesirable person can be a steady and unbearable drumming out of insults. Between clans or villages, sound can become a contested site alternating between efforts at praise and blame.⁹⁹

By comparison with written language, the syntax of oral composition is simple. Parts of sentences are strung out in succession rather than woven together in subordinate clauses. Ong's example of the additive oral style is the creation narrative in Genesis 1:1-5. He compares the Douay version (1610) with the New American Bible (1970), finding the older version still steeped in the pragmatics of oral presentation, and the current one recast into the syntactical structures of narrative writing. The Douay version contains nine introductory 'ands' of which there are five in Genesis 1:1-3:

In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: Be light made. And light was made.¹⁰⁰

Genesis 1:1-3 in the New American Bible reads as follows:

In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless wasteland, and darkness covered the abyss, while a mighty wind swept over the waters. Then God said, "Let there be light," and there was light.¹⁰¹

Ong's points of comparison are essentially structural, though other qualities emerge when the two passages are read aloud. The introductory 'ands' of the Douay version create spaces of bodily rest¹⁰² and mental re-collection; they separate phases of creation and states of consciousness - the different messages that come from seeing, feeling and hearing. The compound structure of the American version smooths the successive impressions still recoverable from Douay by unifying the experience - formlessness, darkness and wind are transmitted in a rush. Breaks in the passage are closed, and the sensorial shifts between sight, touch and sound disappear with them.

Orality's requirement for repetition is well served by the mechanical nature of photography. At the simplest level, a photograph can be produced in multiple copies and used more than once in the same album. In the McCord Family Album (N 060), a cabinet-sized portrait of John Samuel McCord (p. 1) first establishes his position as the head of the family, then as a carte-de-visite (p. 2), signals the legacy of his son, David Ross McCord. In the Klondike album, VIEWS / E. M. W. (MP 2360), the presentation of the Peterborough gravesite among the spirited pictures of the Yukon suggests remoteness and yearning (p. 36); its representation (p. 59) as the first in a series of southern farmland rightly, or wrongly, locates those views and identifies them as the compiler's real home. More common, however, is the repetition of a formula: the same subjects photographed together again and again, the same place, the same pose or facial expression.

Repetition is used to Chaplinesque effect in the William Hilliard Snyder Album (MP 016/92). Hilliard, or 'Muh', and friends horse around with a camera on a Vancouver pier (p. 97). Three of the photographs are very closely matched - same general location, same flamboyant poses with the protagonists switching places. The fourth slightly alters the formula - there are more figures - but the scale is the same, so that the four miniature tableaux, framing the other snapshots on the page, leads the eye through a flickering 'cinematic loop' that brings the party to life.

In the Natural History Picnic Album (MP 582) multiple images of five main characters celebrate the virtues of male friendship. Photography is part of their ritual; planning pictures and posing is done with great relish and the results are posted in the album. One pair of photographs (p. 11), mounted on a vertical axis, appears to have been taken on the same nature walk. The season could be early spring, the location could be Mount Royal: the trees are bare, the ground dusted with snow, but the men are comfortable in jackets. For one group portrait, they dangle in a line on a railing. For another, mounted above the first, the men have removed their hats and jackets, draping them like military trophies on a single tree that rises behind their bunched heads. The railing

portrait reappears in the album on a full page of men's group portraits, the second time masked in the printing into a circular medallion which eliminates the surroundings and intensifies the all-important sociability of the group (p. 14). Looking through the pages of this album, we learn almost nothing about these men, except that they are handsome, vital, dapper, witty, urbane, affectionate, generous, industrious, adventurous, creative, faithful to family and friends, close to nature, kind to animals, and comfortably well-off. The album visibly supports this litany of praise.

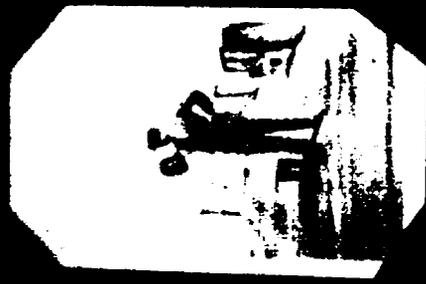
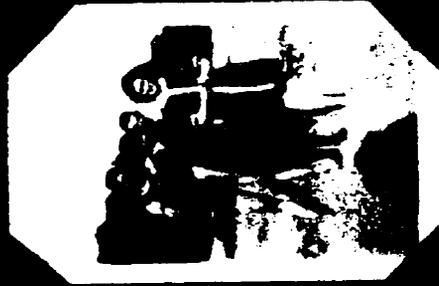
Vituperation is harder for the neutral stranger to assess, though assumptions can be made based on the recorded reactions of people to photographs. The critical refrain of conformity is hardly kind to people who have invested time, energy, money and ego in expressing their uniqueness. Private opinions can be even harsher, more cruelly accurate. One would like to say that people are hardest on themselves, but there is insufficient evidence to support that claim.

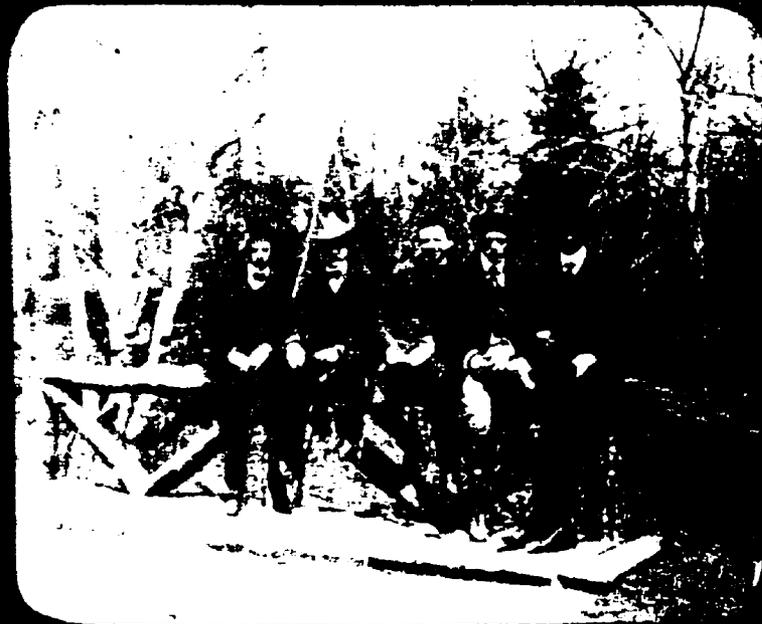
Some photographers seeking to establish the consensual nature of their portraiture have incorporated the verbal responses of their subjects into their work.¹⁰³ An early project in that vein by Roslyn Banish, examined by social psychologist, Stanley Milgram, demonstrates the layers of response to a family photograph. Milgram wholeheartedly approves of Banish's portraits, though some of her subjects do not. They are disappointed by symptoms of age, sickness, disunity and inconsequentiality, seen in themselves and their relatives.¹⁰⁴

Illustrations

MP 016/92. William Hilliard Snyder Album, p. 18. William Hilliard Snyder and friends. Vancouver. Constance/Eric. North Arm/Leslie/Kim. Eric/George. Eric/Muh! Muh/Eric. Dark Creek/Leslie/Allen. Gwen. Leslie/Amy/Muh/Katie, 1916. Gelatin silver prints, each 7 x 4.8 cm.

MP 582. Natural History Picnic Album, p. 11. Unattributed, On Mount Royal, April 28, 1901. Two gelatin silver prints: 9 x 10 cm; 9 x 10.8 cm.





Christopher Musello sees three approaches to family photography: idealization, natural portrayal and demystification which may include "people vomiting, asleep, half nude, strangely dressed, and so on. They may catch the embarrassing or ludicrous, and serve ultimately to demean, tease or otherwise present the person as silly, funny, or in their least ideal image."¹⁰⁵ Musello says that such photographs add depth to the family collection and are cheerfully received. Life experience might also submit that the worst images have been culled and that even the mildest parodies are retained by negotiation. The second section of the Lançlois/Gélinas Album donation album (MP 145/84) supports Musello's basic premise. It is full of unflattering snapshots, including an older couple hot-flashed from below at their dining table, a buxom figure crouching down to some task by the shore, a sleeper in a deck chair, and a middle-aged woman caressing a mop. But these are the pictures that were added to the album with a stapler, one could say, the very opposite of deletion. Most albums contain traces of some elisions, marks of reconsideration after the fact.

In 1971, Ralph M. Hattersley asked the readers of Popular Photography to consider "Family Photography as a Sacrament,"¹⁰⁶ offering little prayers as needed to produce loving and pleasure-giving pictures. His underlying point was clear: "Respect the fear that people have of being photographed, and resist strongly any temptation to be a bully with your camera."¹⁰⁷ Duane Michals vividly recalls his grandmother's resistance to being photographed, concluding rather harshly that she was "vain."¹⁰⁸ And yet she was photographed and obliged to look at herself afterwards, with all the discomfort that the unwanted meeting must have caused. The photograph in its tactless reproduction carries equal quotients of praise and blame, and shifts between states. The most beautiful image of a young and vibrant creature is full of reproach for its aging subject. A 'Before' picture that once dismayed may become the evidence of a triumphant metamorphosis in the 'After'.

The organization of photographs in an album is based on the photographic integer, which is mounted image by image, page after page, by episodic

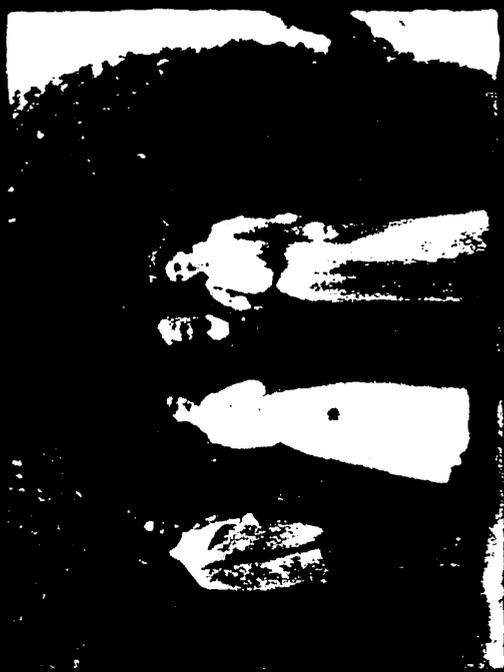
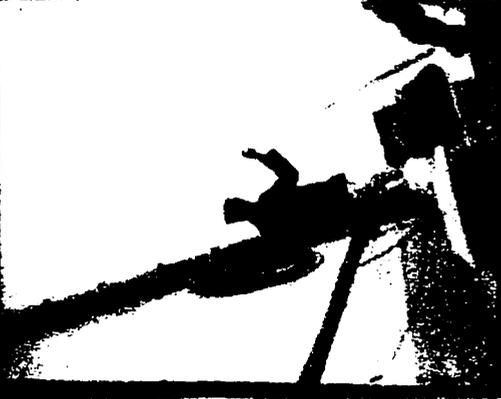
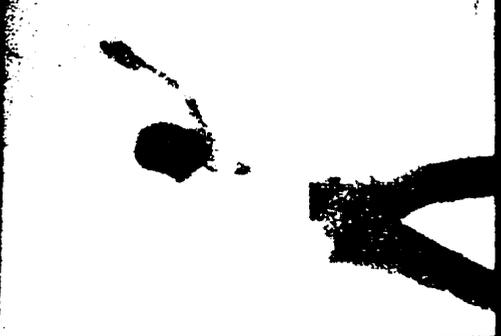
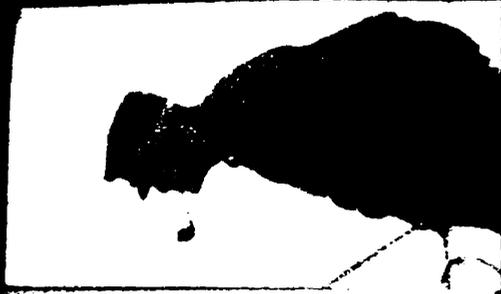
or thematic cluster. Photography affords views from many perspectives, built up in close-ups, wide-angles, sequential exposures - photographs that say *the same thing, in different ways*. What appears to be a theme in an album often turns out to be a single subject - a person or an occasion - revealed in as many dimensions as the compiler can muster. Pictures of a type may form complementary and adjacent groups, or they may be spread throughout the album as recurrent motifs. As numerous examples in the previous chapter showed, subjects are developed through multiple encounters, each adding something of detail or expression. The role of the compiler - the genesis of the collection - is rarely neglected.

A succinct example can be found in the Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album (MP 042/90), consisting of six photographs on one page. The top register consists of four prints, vertically framed, and mounted edge to edge. They are all concerned with sailing. The first photograph, shot down the boom from the stern, sights the direction of the boat through the eyes of a figure who leans against the mast looking out over the water; an older man, he is correctly attired in yachting costume and cap. But there is an awkwardness to the photograph, just the same. The horizon line has not been levelled and there are two distracting elements. One of the passengers is curled up on the roof of the cabin; all may not be well with him. A third figure is cut off at the right edge; his arm, stabilizing his body, and a bit of his torso intrudes into the image.

The second photograph has also been taken on the water, but perhaps closer to the point of departure. Five people are pictured - four men and a boy. Charles-Philippe Beaubien is part of the group, though set

Illustration

MP 042/90. Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album, p. 64. Charles-Philippe Beaubien. Untitled sailing and family pictures (self-portrait), c. 1905. Gelatin silver prints, top row - 11.6 x 9 cm; bottom - 10.5 x 15.5 cm and 11.5 x 16 cm.



apart by his attribute, the morocco camera case from which the instrument has been removed. This photograph is more carefully composed; the group is tightly framed and mostly unified, although the arm of the boy has been cut, oddly echoing the severed arm of the first frame. Three of the men look directly into the camera; one has his hand on the shoulder of the boy; the fourth man, the older yachtsman, stares off at an oblique angle as he smokes his pipe.

The third photograph features the photographer. Jacket and hat removed, legs braced, face concentrated, he appears to be dealing with a line; the pose is vigorous, handsome, self-consciously heroic. The image is light overall, keyed to the surrounding water and sky. The boat does not feature in this photograph; nothing is really solid but the man. Beaubien's head, hands and trousers are the graphic counterpoints to the atmosphere, expressing the total engagement of mind and body, the powerful self-sufficiency that paradoxically separates him from his all-male group.

The fourth photograph in the row represents a timeless seafaring type; a man portrayed without vanity in his rough woven clothes and fisherman's cap. He is on the boat; he is, perhaps, of it in a way that the occasional sailors are not. Across the register, different types and relationships are portrayed as extracts from the flow of shared experience.

The two photographs on the bottom have no obvious connection to the top, and no physical contact with each other. On the left is an image of a horse-drawn carriage before a columned porch. A party that seems to include Beaubien's wife and daughter sits in the open carriage. On the bottom right is a small group portrait, composed before a leafy backdrop, including Beaubien's mother and his wife, Gretta. These photographs reiterate the main themes of the album, family and place, the earthly harbours that nurture one's fleeting evasions by water. The upper register does not include Gretta Beaubien, but likely would have charmed her. According to her daughter, she was an avid sailor.

Elsewhere in the album, she is pictured being ferried across a beach to a moored boat. The portrait of her husband, a hero in this sailing frieze, expresses a shared and mutual passion.

The internal structure of most albums expresses the step-by-step reconciliation of a distinct photographic unit with other distinct units within an overarching intention and a restrictive design. Alan Trachtenberg's close study of the opening sequence of Walker Evans's American Photographs offers a concise model of Saussurean-type analysis. Trachtenberg sets out to read the photographs as a text; interestingly, however, his metaphor for reception follows the lead of William Carlos Williams; the pictures are utterances; reception is aural. The photographs speak in relation to each other: "Each picture completes itself only in the complete work, its voice returning to it as an echo of the whole."¹⁰⁹ Trachtenberg hears echoes in a pattern of pictorial relations: inside and outside views; juxtapositions of style and anti-style; art paralleling the vernacular; the device of a frame within a frame; craft over the machine. What he makes out from all this is Evans's "pointed discourse on the photographic image,"¹¹⁰ which "is inscriptive rather than transcriptive."¹¹¹ Orality is abandoned; the picture book is a text after all, cast in a structure of "cultural themes represented in repeated emblems."¹¹² Though claimed for the collective as a transparent image of America (a meta-album?), Trachtenberg wants us to read American Photographs as Evans's essay on the photographic arts of selection and combination. In Trachtenberg's essay, written language is the framework; spoken language is a metaphor.

But in the mounting and presentation of photographic albums, the relation between vision and voice may be considerably more direct. There are reminders in the albums of the influence of amateur theatricals in which representations are neither transcriptions nor inscriptions, but encryptions in a collectively accessible visual code. In the Lançlois/Gélinas Album (MP 145/84), for example, there are several photographs of two young women, in costume, one in a lavish Victorian gown, the other as an Indian maiden, complete with braids and

feathered headdress. On page 60, their separate portraits in costume are incongruously combined with photographs of a burning hotel, one of the key sites in the album. Some thirty photographs later, the personifications, at least, are partially solved as the tableau is reenacted for posterity: the Indian kneels before the White Woman; Canada pays homage to Britannia.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, costume parties, entertainments and parlour games trained the amateur in associative and participatory viewing.¹¹³ Players acted out phrases that were hidden from their audience; solutions to the riddle were shouted out. The D. M. Murphy Album (MP 163/77) offers a compiler's variation. Of the five photographs on page 12, four are devoted to athletics, mainly running: a sprinter ("Hans Homer"), captured in the starting position; runners on the streets of Montréal; recruits in physical training at militia camp; and the likely compiler, "D. M. Murphy," in his track suit. The first photograph on the page is the puzzler: a bolt of lightning in the dark sky, "Park Ave July 1900." The same scene, identically captioned, has already appeared in the album. But on this page, the photograph functions as a spark to idiomatic language: *Fast as Lightning is our Murphy*. Speaking the picture makes the allusion shine.

The photographic game of latent narrative never loses its appeal. It is interesting to find in Max Kozloff's analysis of Cindy Sherman's and Eileen Cowin's self-directed tableaux reference to the vestigial magic of stories projected through the arrangements of bodies and flashing eyes:

Dare I go further and say that such a graphic device, or rather insight, tells as much as it shows, that the activity of telling and of showing are fused in this aspect of the scenario? I cannot "see" anything like it as I read a text, but the carnality of it in the photographs is brought to me by virtue of another sort of text, the mental concept that underlies the degraded charade of the image.¹¹⁴

It is not polite to shout in an art gallery, but Kozloff's visceral reaction to these contemporary tableaux nevertheless seeks some outlet in an image of word play, the degraded (orally unconsummated) charade.

An album offers a succession of distinct and physically separated impressions, the "and this...and this?...and this..." of dialogical looking. The sequence of objects is supposed to be fixed; thus, even the method and density of visual presentation factors into the contents. The Becket Actress Album (MP 189/78) and the Ogilvie Album (MP 032/81) both feature famous actresses. They dominate the Becket collection, their stardom enhanced by laudatory motifs. Some of these devices isolate and distance the idols, but when the contour drawings are even crudely suggestive of overlapping three-dimensional objects, the illusion of separateness seems to encourage a desire to touch. The Ogilvie album, on the other hand, maintains a polite and orderly sequence, with actresses in their proper place. But then again, the very security of their berths licenses a viewer's capriciousness. Looking back to front, browsing and skipping is encouraged by the fragmentary, yet continuous, nature of the album. The spectator feels free to pursue the themes or stories as they unfold.

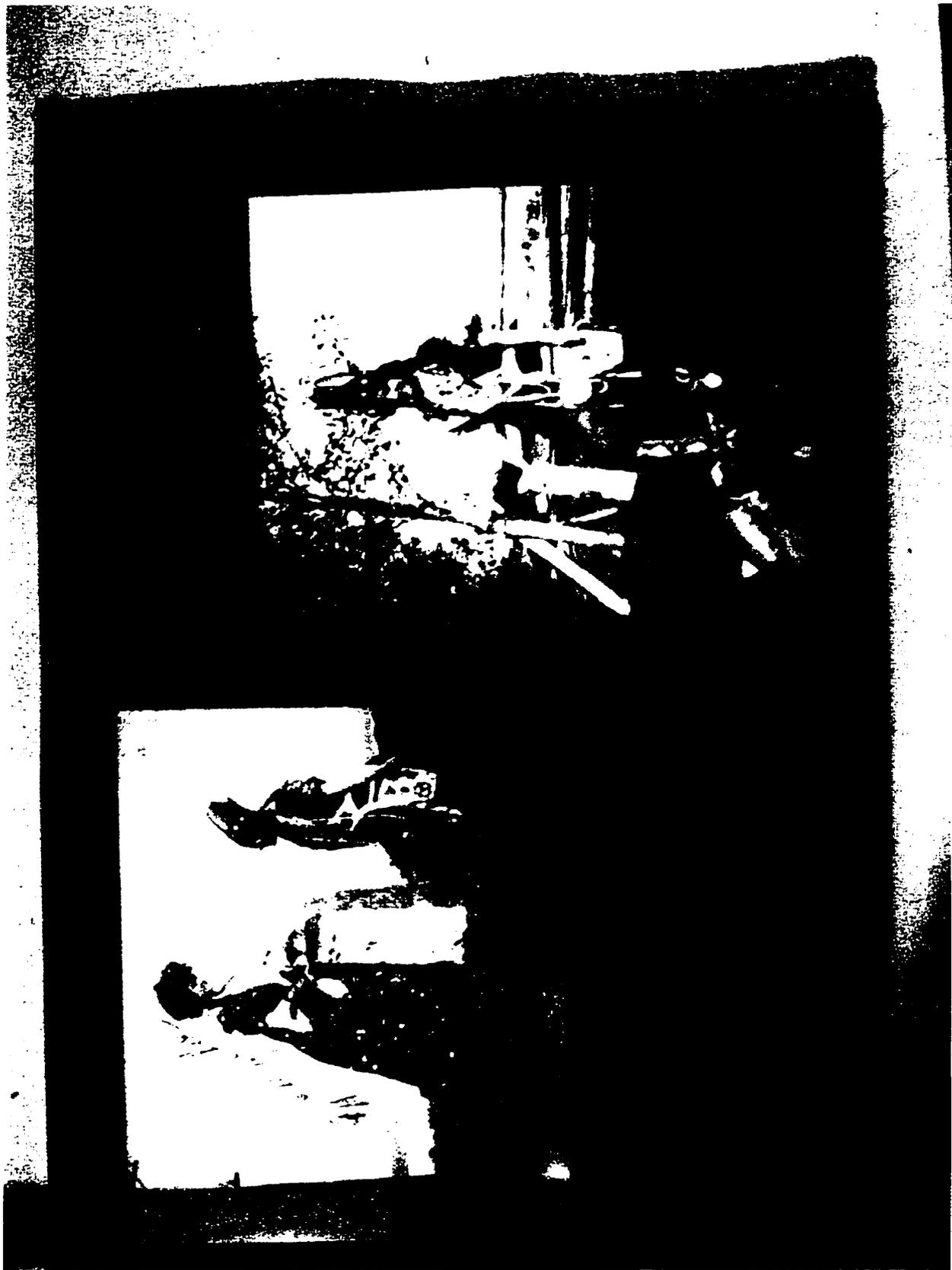
Additive patterns of compilation derive from, and reinforce, the separateness of each element, a photographic separateness of temporality and space, of another person's dip into the real. What has been cut through consciousness and dimension as radically as Dubois describes

Illustrations

MP 145/84. Lançlois/Gélinas Album, part 1, p. 21. (no. 94)

Unattributed, *Euzebie* (two young women in costumes). Gelatin silver prints, 9.3 x 11.6 cm and 11.1 x 9.5 cm.

MP 163/77. D. M. Murphy Album, p. 13. Unattributed. *Park Ave July 1900*, runners in the street, *D. M. Murphy*, *The R.S.M. P.T. at Camp*, *Recruits* and *Hans Homer*. Five gelatin silver prints, 5 cm. in diameter to 6.7 x 9.3 cm.





does not flow together by the mere fact of adjacency.¹¹⁵ The *impression* of a linear, or horizontal, narrative can be achieved, as the Wagner essay on poverty shows very well (MP 032/80). That episode is delivered bit-by-bit: the car arrives and is surrounded by the needy; the houses are inspected from a distance, then approached; the miserable inhabitants are documented, some grinning as people before a camera are wont to do; single figure studies are made of the most grotesque cases; the houses are penetrated by the visitors and a sampling of the interiors is recorded; the departure is signalled by a backward glance at the shore. From the compiler's perspective, the story is unified and closed; its multiple cuts into the lives and memories of the participants leave it rather more jagged and unpredictable in its long-term effects.

But even when the compiler works within the envelope of domesticity, as does Mrs Benson (N 007/86), her narrative structure contains the seeds of its own destruction. Any photograph can be at cause, for any photograph is a potential *kernel story*, a discrete, catalytic reference to an longer story that is teased out and expanded in conversation. Building on Roman Jakobson's theory of speech performance, Kristin M. Langellier and Eric E. Peterson explain the kernel story's context and structure:

The kernel story, to focus on metonymic relations, is both part of the conversation in which it occurs and the conversation is part of the story. As a result, the story develops slowly and gradually shifts in a curvilinear or spiraling direction. In this context of spiraling from story to conversation to story to conversation, a kernel develops in the connections made by participants substituting similar experiences for aspects of the story in their conversation. A kernel story, to focus on metaphoric relations, is shared as everyone's story and functions to promote group solidarity. Once a story becomes part of the group's repertoire, it can be referred to or told by any

participant.¹¹⁶

For an album to pass, as many writers feel it doing, from individual to communal possession, for the album ever to partake in the logical order of social memory, this transformative assimilation of discrete metonymic and metaphoric objects must continuously be rehearsed. Oral tradition shows how this is done in presentation.

Following Eric A. Havelock, Ong describes orality's transmission and retention of knowledge in terms of empathy and participation. In fitting idiomatic style, he talks about "getting with it,"¹¹⁷ a surrender to, or absorption into, the pooled experience of the community. Objectivity, such as it is, becomes a function of typology. The hero's reaction is "encased in the communal reaction."¹¹⁸ The choice of words here is less fortunate since the communal encasement, as Ong explains it, is not *shielding* but *yielding* as an embryonic medium of growth and change. Ong repeats an observation made by editors of The Mwindo Epic: the performer of the epic identifies so strongly with its hero that he occasionally slips into the first person when recounting the hero's exploits. Fully absorbed by the performer, the voice of the hero is used to address those who are transcribing the performance (he calls them scribes!): "In the sensibility of the narrator and his audience the hero of the oral performance assimilates into the oral world even the transcribers who are de-oralizing it into text."¹¹⁹

This story leads directly to Ong's next point which is largely based on Goody and Watt.¹²⁰ Oral society, Ong suggests, "lives very much in a present which keeps itself in equilibrium or homeostasis by sloughing off memories which no longer have present relevance."¹²¹ This is not a case of Nixonian erasure or the disappearance of records, for there is nothing to wipe or shred. But what Ong calls *triumphalism* is operant nonetheless in the way that current conditions or exigencies reach back through time to adjust genealogies or even sacred myth. Examples of homeostasis include the sloughing off of archaic words and expressions, a process not unknown in literary societies where it is nevertheless

possible to preserve disused vocabulary in the lexical museum. More arresting occurrences are those in which traditional recitations of family history appeared to have been revised to support modern claims. Questioned by the literate recorders, the oral performers seemed oblivious to the change - what had always been true remained true, according to the rule of situation; the genealogies, however altered, were the same because their real regulating function was the same.¹²² The affect of what J. A. Barnes called "*structural amnesia*," as recorded among the Gonja by Goody and Watt, has been the recasting of constitutional myth: when there were seven states, the mythic founder had seven sons; when the country was redivided into five states, two sons simply disappeared from communal memory, preserving the group's connection with the past by eliminating and forgetting what had become irrelevant to the present.¹²³ "The present," concludes Ong, "imposed its own economy of past remembrances."¹²⁴

The same process was at work during Western culture's long transition from orality to literacy. Tracing the effects of alphabetization, Ivan Illich and Barry Sanders have examined its impact on the definition of truth:

In the realm of orality one cannot dip twice into the same wave, and therefore the lie is a stranger. My word always travels alongside yours; I stand for my word, and I swear by it.¹²⁵

The lie, or fictional narrative depends on a conception of thought as "the silent tracing of words on the parchment of memory,"¹²⁶ in other words, on the perception of memory as a text. In the Middle Ages, truth became an inscription on the soul and moral judgement a reading of the accused person's conscience.¹²⁷ The emergent metaphor of divine authorship made the liar into a usurper of God's authority. Illich and Sanders find that in a world "*contingent* on God's authorship...a [thirteenth-century] cleric who writes down stories has to state that he is not the story's actual source (*fons ejus*), but only its channel

(*canalis*)."¹²⁸ The same disclaimer unknowingly will be parroted some seven centuries later by the *photographer as witness*.

Ong captures the conclusions of Randall M. Packard, Claude Lévi-Strauss, T. O. Beidelman, Edmund Leach and others in his statement that "oral traditions reflect a society's present cultural values rather than idle curiosity about the past."¹²⁹ Considering this point in light of the previous one, it is easy to see how the performer's identification and audience's participation (or vice versa) combine to keep an essentially traditional vehicle of self- and communal expression in a productive state of responsive and inclusive flux. Interpretation, advises Ong, must take account of ongoing adjustments, a discursive process that begins before a sound is made:

I need conjectural feedback even to formulate my utterance. Speaking of a given matter to a child, I am likely to say something quite different from what I say in speaking about the same matter to an adult. Your actual response to what I say may or may not fit my earlier conjecture. In either event, it enables me further to clarify my thought. Your actual response makes it possible for me to find out for myself and to make clear in my counter-response what my fuller meaning was or can be. Oral discourse thus commonly interprets itself as it proceeds. It negotiates meaning out of meaning.¹³⁰

For the photographic album to fit within this progressive framework, its vitality must somehow be renewable; typological predictions and the promise of performative ritual must be attainable within the changing conditions of the present. The photographic album must shift from the absolute solidity of material culture to a state of in-between, fully realizable only in performance.

The path for such an object has already been beaten down. Drawing on the theories of Victor Turner and Henry Sayre, Dwight Conquergood has

persuasively shown that textile artworks, *story cloths*, made by the Hmong refugees from Laos fit within the notion of performance as "culture-inventing, self-performing, and transforming."¹³¹ Embroidered cloths as a medium have a long history of performative function in Hmong celebrations and liminal rituals marking birth and death. The refugee experience has introduced a new transformative crisis in need of mediation. The story cloths which are treated as artworks in the West are narrations of wartime experience:

The embroidered escape narratives are a strategy for rescuing "the said from the saying" of the oral tale. They fix but do not freeze meaning. Instead they prompt spoken narratives, like that of Yee Her, that give voice and personal nuance to the *pa ndau* patterns. They stimulate memory and provide a context for people to perform their own personal history.¹³²

The story cloths are continuous narratives that combine traditional motifs with a literally invasive military presence - helicopters, planes and bursts of gunfire. As instruments of orality, they are, of course, repetitive, copious, situational, tragically homeostatic and infused with vestigial magic power.

In light of this example, I would return to André Bazin's seminal comparison of photography with the Egyptian cult of the dead. The analogy between photography and death is a pillar of photographic theory; Bazin's essay has often been cited to illuminate the dichotomous relationship between perpetuation and finality (the photograph which "embalms time"¹³³). Those flies in amber that he mentions are plainly, transparently dead, but his recourse to Egyptian mythology undermines that certainty, filling it with more provisional implications. The ancient performative ritual that Bazin translates to photography is not about finality at all, rather it is predicated on the belief that corporeal existence is continuing in an unknown world. Bazin recognizes this hope in the persuasiveness of the photograph and its almost

irrational immediacy on reception:

In spite of any objections our critical spirit may offer, we are forced to accept as real the existence of the object reproduced, actually re-presented, set before us, that is to say, in time and space. A photograph enjoys a certain advantage in virtue of this transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction. [Note to the text:] One should really examine the psychology of relics and souvenirs which likewise enjoy the advantages of a transfer of reality stemming from the "mummy-complex." Let us merely note in passing that the Holy Shroud of Turin combines the features alike of relic and photograph."¹³⁴

Bazin, as already noted, draws close to the family album in elucidating his theory. Dubois, on the other hand, keeps his distance. His reading of Bazin, and others, sustains a brief descent into the "trivial mode"¹³⁵ of the family album, long enough to advance his semiological framework. Complementing Stewart's explication of longing, Dubois fixes the album in the shadowy channel between absence and presence. Naive attachment to the qualities and value of the contents is dismissed. Dubois places all importance on the indexical nature of the album's photographs: "the fact that they consist of actual physical traces of particular individuals who once were there and who have a special relationship with those who are looking at the photographs."¹³⁶ But like Stewart, Dubois seems incapable of imagining something that might fill that chasm other than a mixture of sentimentality and inchoate desire. Strange, because he is holding the answer in his hand, an equivocal answer, to be sure.

In Camera Lucida, Barthes maintains to the end that he cannot penetrate the reflective surface of the photograph, and yet he does.¹³⁷ He scripts and choreographs the Winter Garden portrait of his mother and uncle (the one spoken line is given to the photographer).¹³⁸ He projects on the typological portrait of a little girl, the face that he

knows of motherly kindness.¹³⁹ As spectator, he tries to do what Marey and Muybridge have done as operators, to break the image down into temporal bits and scrutinize it.¹⁴⁰ Later, he plays the game of concomitance (who is alive? who is dead?) recognizing as he leafs through his collection of mental images that all the pictures, in a metaphysical sense, are about him:

The date belongs to the photograph: not because it denotes a style (this does not concern me), but because it makes me lift my head, allows me to compute life, death, the inexorable extinction of the generations: it is possible that Ernest, a schoolboy photographed in 1931 by Kertész, is still alive today (but where? how? What a novel!). I am the reference of every photograph, and this is what generates my astonishment in addressing myself to the fundamental question: why is it that I am alive *here and now*?¹⁴¹

Barthes's technical deconstruction is a failure; he sees nothing more in the photograph but the grain of the material. But he *hears* himself, crying out in the voice of Golaud, because the picture will not speak.¹⁴² Barthes speaks. He fills the void with his intimate literary performance. Barthes's outpouring is always surprising, and here illustrative of a fundamental point: the Winter Garden photograph is complete in itself; there is nothing lacking in it, but Barthes's intense reaction, a phase of his maternal mourning; and there is nothing lacking in his book, despite the absence of the Winter Garden photograph. Camera Lucida (Barthes's *ekphrasis*) simply inverts the fate of the dispersed album which too survives in the co-presence of absence - in the absence of the voice.

The oral condition of "getting with it" seems to resonate in Henry Sayre's proposal that contemporary criticism be seen "as a kind of performance in its own right."¹⁴³ Carol Mavor's Pleasures Taken. Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs¹⁴⁴ takes up this suggestion in an interpretation of three nineteenth-century

corpora. Mavor has been struck by the inherent contradiction that a still photograph can also be "performative."¹⁴⁵ Guided by Barthes's correlation of photography, theatre and death, sanctioned by his spectatorial state of *punctum* (delight and/or pain), Mavor erects her own framework of oscillation, a theatre in which she seeks the female protagonists of Lewis Carroll, Julia Margaret Cameron and Arthur Munby, and in a very real sense, appropriates them.

We perform a dialogue with these special photographs (and it usually has nothing to do with the original intentions behind the taking of the picture). What is no longer there performs upon us and we perform upon it. It bereaves us and we bereave it.¹⁴⁶

Mavor's project is interesting on many counts, but most particularly in the way it defines and assigns the roles of photographic performance. Even in Hannah Cullwick, whose willing participation and deep responses to being photographed are recorded in a diary, Mavor finds an "imperfectly conscious performer."¹⁴⁷ Nor are the motives of Cullwick's Svengali, Arthur Munby, completely determined. In the end, she states that neither photographer nor sitters "can be said to be playing the leading role of director; rather it is a drama performed by a cast of subject-objects."¹⁴⁸ Central to Mavor's reading is her inclusion of herself in that cast. Her book is a series of imagined encounters between the figures in the photographs and herself as a curious, sometimes aroused, spectator. The contract to perform is transactional, depending to an appreciable degree on Mavor's sense of the subjects' agency in activating her desire. She intensifies her critical performance by imaginings of mutual ardour, metonymic tokens, and the maidenly blush.

The theatre of Pleasures Taken is both provocative and perilous for it stretches the notion of performance almost beyond meaning, and certainly to the edge of its application here. Performance or self-presentation through photography derives, even when it deviates, from social and

cultural convention. The photographic image is its basic and interesting starting point, but the notion of performance, cultivated in a medium of conformity and impulse, extends much further than the pictured subject, incorporating all aspects of presentation to audiences, real and imagined, as well as their participatory reception. Photographic performance is hardly a complex term, but its meaning shifts through a variety of applications, and should be weighed on a scale of consciousness and effect. A performative image or utterance is a different matter; the promissory aspect of performative expression demands some small perch on intentionality. A performative metaphor used in preaching, for example, is designed to excite an audience to action or performance.¹⁴⁹ As in the saying, so in the doing: the audience becomes involved in an "immediate verbal and physical response to the call."¹⁵⁰ An erotic image may be performative by nature, but it does not follow that the person performing in the photograph is in any way complicit in the promise, especially if that person is a child. Mavor's performance as a critic is actuated by her vivid sense of the subjects in re-presentation; its importance lies in its application of feminist and psychoanalytic theory to a controversial site of intertwining subjectivities.

The concept of performance imbedded in this application of the psychodynamics of orality to the album necessitates a considerable measure of empathetic engagement, as examples here and in the next chapter will show. I hope, however, that the heuristic performance remains contextual and conversational. There are so many factors to take into account, as Turner's anthropological checklist sets out:

Postmodern theory would see in the very flaws, hesitations, personal factors, incomplete, elliptical, context-dependent, situational components of performance, clues to the very nature of human process itself, and would also perceive genuine novelty, creativeness, as able to emerge from the freedom of the performance situation, from what Durkheim (in his best moment) called social "effervescence," exemplified

for him in the generation of new symbols and meanings by public actions, the "performances," of the French Revolution. What was once considered "contaminated," "promiscuous," "impure" is becoming the focus of postmodern analytical attention.¹⁵¹

Using the voice as an instrument of interpretation, reinstates the oral pattern that first brought the visual hoard to order. We do not need to know the names of the soldiers and ladies gathered to the Birch Album (MP 2160), but we must know, and acknowledge in the looking, that Birch knew them and could *rhyme them off*. The album describes the man and his stature in the interdependent hierarchies of military and civilian society. For Captain Birch, passage through the album meant the utterance of name, rank and regiment, information hidden from the viewer, but saved on the mount for the time when eyes or memory failed. Then, whom would he forget ("Oh, how could I forget...") from this close community? The "Nuckel headed monster?" Would Lieutenant Clower's epithet outlive the memory of his stubborn, oafish ways? Highly unlikely. We are haunted by our Clowers; they set our standards and patterns of expression; they are the final arbiters of our performances, as Edward T. Hall relates:

Harry Stack Sullivan, a very great contributor to psychiatric thinking in this country, once described his own attempts at writing by saying that the person who appeared before him as he wrote and who appraised his sentences as they were coming out was a cross between an imbecile and a bitterly paranoid critic!¹⁵²

Even in compilation, Birch's album would have begun its dialogic progress, with each carte-de-visite changing from a simple token to an questioning reminder of sworn friendship, staunch character, physical endurance, or prettiness in bloom. The visual aggregate by which Birch defined Birch, was programmed to fracture into a composite of past visions and revisions, current conditions and speculation about the

future, all present and always truthful in the telling.

The recording of Gretta Chambers's presentation of the Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album (MP 042/90) is remarkable in many ways. Like the album itself, it holds together a family of powerful individuals. Mrs Chambers's grandfather was a talented and dedicated photographer; the photographs that brought us together were descriptive of an amusing, storybook age. Many of the observations and details that came out in our meeting have already informed this study. What I want to convey here is the quality of the meeting itself. It was brief and focused, yet somehow loosely conversational, questioning and confidential on both sides, digressive and informative. The transcript is full of incomplete thoughts and hesitations; we seemed constantly at cross-purposes, yet we were both listening, and the Beaubien album, up to that moment in its history, received a full account. It was as Langellier and Peterson have evaluated cooperative story-telling: "What seems at first a tangle of interruptions and overlaps is upon closer observation a web of strategies to tell this story together."¹⁵³ Mrs Chambers and I sought common ground by sharing insights and personal anecdotes. We compared notes on our mothers. Reviewing the course of our discussion, it is clear that we have accommodated ourselves and each other to a familiar presentation pattern.

While the making of the album was exclusively her grandfather's, its telling had been passed down as a collective responsibility. Looking at the photographs, Mrs Chambers identified people, places and things that she had never known anything about, or had possibly forgotten, but she associated those gaps in her memory with members of the family who might be able to fill them. Those associations led to stories about them, stories that went some distance and time from the situations we were ostensibly examining. As Mrs Chambers pursued these leads, she framed some of her stories as confidences, indicating that there were things that she had known, that her siblings had not, and vice versa. This partitioning of knowledge had not created divisions in her family whose members seemed to know where the secrets were kept. On the contrary,

the fact that the weight of family folklore had been shared among the children seemed to draw them closer. Many shoulders were carrying the stone. The art of memory, in this case, was remembering who might remember and the album, as one of many albums, held some of the keys.

The stories that Mrs Chambers told me must have been authorized family favourites - I was, after all, a perfect stranger. I also sensed - and this is pure intuition - that the same stories would have come up in the presentation of another album for they often seemed generic, relating only tangentially to the pictures at hand. Beaubien family lore had created its share of heavy or legendary characters, and Mrs Chambers distinguished herself in the telling. But it was the simplest thing that was truly moving and deeply informative about the album as her grandfather had conceived it. Her utterance of the names as she turned the pages and recognized the figures was to me unforgettable. This was not because of the emotion in her voice. Mrs Chambers was touched by what she saw, often by its aesthetic appeal, but throughout our meeting, she remained very composed. No, it was simply the frequency with which certain names came up. Presenting the photographs in this album - hers from her grandfather's legacy - Mrs Chambers uttered her names for her mother, her grandmother and other great figures in her universe, again and again. Her voice stroked the memories of her Beaubien family. There is no other way to describe it.

By contrast, we can begin to understand the uneasiness that grows when a photograph in a family album is passed over in silence. Deborah Kurschner Clarke provides a particularly wrenching illustration from her own family history :

A small black-and-white photo tucked away in one of our family photograph albums reveals my father on this day 50 years ago. As a child endlessly poring through old family pictures, I was always slightly puzzled by this picture of a gaunt boy, a week shy of 15, sitting on the ground in a compound with two other haggard boys dressed in what looked

like baggy striped pajamas. Behind them are two wooden barracks draped with large pieces of material showing the star of David. I did not think to ask how my father came to be in such circumstances, though even as a young child I found the picture incongruous among my father's many photographs of healthy family members and friends doing regular things like playing at the seaside, sightseeing or simply posing and smiling for the camera. I also did not ask why most of the people pictured in my father's album were dead.¹⁵⁴

The photograph snapped on liberation at Buchenwald, the botched job of plastic surgery that replaced the numbers on her father's arm, these were the mysteries that haunted the margins of Clarke's small-town-Ontario family life. As the third and youngest child, she had no doubt absorbed the taboos that prohibited her questions, that stopped them even from surfacing in her. The story that spins out from her memory of the photograph was not actually given to her because of it. She and her siblings were told about their father's experiences in the camps because of a television documentary that the family watched together - Ong's secondary orality at work.

Clarke's childhood memory of not understanding the photograph is as meaningful to her as the history that she has learned from her father and other witnesses, from television and from books. Memories of the unspeakable are powerful indeed. When Clarke was a child, the reality referenced by the photograph was not some atrocity (not yet), but a strange, dumbing silence - a barrier between her and her father. Silence informed her understanding of the album as no explanation could have done.

The psychodynamics of orality are reflected in the content and structure of the private photographic album, scripting the serpentine dialogue of its interpretation. In the evanescent flow of visual information, there is comfort in seeing what others are seeing, and there is also

forgiveness for the breathless interpreter. Illich and Sanders explain:

The question "What did he say?" contains the request "Tell me what he is trying to tell me." We do not expect our companion to have understood word for word; we only want to understand what he has understood. This understanding of explanations, coupled with the ability to explain what one has understood, is basic to oral discourse.¹⁵⁵

These are the guidelines that I will follow in the next and final chapter as I interpret a single album from the collection.

Notes:

1. Ruth Finnegan, Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts. A Guide to Research Practices (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) pp. 25-52.
2. Finnegan, p. 51.
3. Bakhtin, "Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the Study of the Novel," in The Dialogic Imagination, p. 3.
4. This is a conscious allusion to André Bazin's sticky simile - his image of photographic fragments being like "flies in amber" - which reappears in Peter Wollen, "Fire and Ice," in Photographies, 4 (1984), which source is credited by Christian Metz ("Photography and Fetish," p. 84) and Carol Mavor (Pleasures Taken, p. 4), among others. See Bazin, p. 14.
5. Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative," in The Study of Folklore, Alan Dundes, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965) pp. 129-141. The article appeared originally as "Epische Gesetze der Volksdichtung," in Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum, Vol. 51 (1909), 1-12.
6. However startling to the modern reader, Olrik's taxonomy has worn well over nearly a century. And it is engaging, from a visual standpoint, to see him entering his own framework, as a sort of tableau: "When a folklorist comes upon a three, he thinks, as does the Swiss who catches sight of his Alps again, 'Now I am home!'" See Olrik, p. 133.
7. John Miles Foley, Oral-Formulaic Theory. A Folklore Casebook (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990) p. xiii.
8. Jack Goody, The Interface Between the Written and the Oral (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp. 78-86.
9. Goody, p. 88.
10. Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word (London and New York: Methuen, 1982).
11. Walter J. Ong, The Presence of the Word. Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967).
12. Walter J. Ong, Interfaces of the Word. Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977).
13. Ong, Interfaces of the Word, pp. 92-120; also in Foley, Oral-Formulaic Theory. A Folklore Casebook, pp. 109-135, from New Literary History, 8 (1977), pp. 411-429.

14. R. F. Lumpp, "A biographical portrait of Walter Jackson Ong" and "Selected bibliography of Ong's writings," Oral Tradition, 2, 1987, pp. 13-18 and pp. 19-30.
15. Bruce E. Gronbeck, Thomas J. Farrell and Paul A. Soukup, eds. Media, Consciousness, and Culture. Explorations of Walter Ong's Thought (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1991).
16. Walter J. Ong, Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981).
17. Martin Jay, Downcast Eyes. The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 2, n. 4. The rest of Jay's comments on Ong appear on pp. 22-23, n. 6; p. 41, n. 68; pp. 66-68.
18. The passage, from "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (Book II, chapter 11), first published in 1690, is transcribed as follows:

Dark room. - I pretend not to teach, but to inquire: and therefore cannot but confess here again, that external and internal sensations are the only passages that I can find of knowledge to the understanding. These alone, so far as I can discover, are the windows by which light is let into this dark room. For methinks the understanding is not much unlike a closet wholly shut from light, with only some little openings left to let in external visible resemblances or things without: would the pictures coming into such a dark room but stay there, and lie so orderly as to be found upon occasion, it would very much resemble the understanding of a man in reference to all objects of sight, and the ideas of them.

See Ong, The Presence of the Word, p. 67.

19. Ruth El Saffar, "The Body's Place: Language, Identity, Consciousness," in Media, Consciousness and Culture, Bruce E. Gronbeck, ed., p. 182.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
21. Ong, The Presence of the Word, pp. 92-100.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
24. See Michael Fried, Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 51.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

26. Ong, The Presence of the Word, p. 128.
27. Cited by Bruce Bawer from Flannery O'Connor, Collected Works, in "Under the aspect of eternity: the fiction of Flannery O'Connor," in The New Criterion, Vol. 7, No. 5, January 1989, p. 36.
28. Henry S. Sussman, High Resolution. Critical Theory and the Problem of Literacy (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) p. 210.
29. Henry S. Sussman, p. 219-220.
30. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 175.
31. Henry S. Sussman, p. 217.
32. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 32.
33. Ibid., p. 34.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 36.
36. Ibid., pp. 36-57. In "African Talking Drums and Oral Noetics," Ong had outlined seven salient features of oral culture: "(1) stereotyped or formulaic expression, (2) standardization of themes, (3) epithetic identification for 'disambiguation' of classes or of individuals, (4) generation of 'heavy' or ceremonial characters, (5) formulary, ceremonial appropriation of history, (6) cultivation of praise and vituperation, (7) copiousness." See Interface of the Word, pp. 102-117. Explanations of Ong's terminology will draw from these two texts without further annotation; Ong's sources should be sought in his original text; quotations and references to Ong's previous works will be footnoted as required.
37. Tom McArthur, "Rhetoric," in The Oxford Companion to the English Language, Tom McArthur, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) pp. 863-867.
38. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 42.
39. Walter J. Ong, "From Epithet to Logic: Miltonic Epic and the Closure of Existence," in Interfaces of the Word, p. 191.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., p. 197.
42. Starl, "Die Bildwelt der Knipser," p. 64.
43. Coe and Gates, pp. 47-135.

44. Starl, p. 64.
45. Bourdieu, Un art moyen, p. 347.
46. Graham King, Say Cheese! Looking at Snapshots in a New Way (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1984), pp. 19-39.
47. Chalfen, Snapshot Versions of Life, pp. 75-99; quotation, p. 99.
48. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
49. Ibid., p. 79.
50. Ibid., p. 99.
51. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 1989) pp. 20-38; quotation, p. 29.
52. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, p. 27.
53. Ibid.
54. Richard Brilliant develops this point in his introduction to Portraiture, citing Hans-Georg Gadamer's Truth and Method, trans. G. Barden & J. Cumming (London, 1975); see Brilliant, pp. 7-21.
55. Julia Hirsch traces nineteenth-century studio practices to Renaissance notions of decorum: "the formal photograph must avoid being a visual confessional, and must shield subject, viewer, and photographer alike from passionate engagement." See Family Photographs, p. 98.
56. See Erving Goffman, The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).
57. Brilliant's point relates to the differences between celebrities and private citizens. See Brilliant, pp. 10-11. He cites Philip Fisher who pinpoints the years between 1890 and 1910 as manifesting a shift in American definitions of fame. See "Appearing and Disappearing in Public: Social Space in Late-Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture," in Reconstructing American Literacy History, Sacvan Bercovitch, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1986) pp. 155-88.
58. Grier, Culture & Comfort, p. 257.
59. An Outsider, "My First Carte De Visite," in The American Journal of Photography, Vol. V, No. 15, February 1, 1863, p. 340.
60. Hensch and Hensch, p. 11-35.

61. Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1947) p. 123.
62. Herbert Sussman, Victorian Masculinities. Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 26.
63. Herbert Sussman, p. 44.
64. Victor Turner, The Anthropology of Performance (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986) p. 24.
65. Ibid., pp. 74-75.
66. Herbert Sussman, p. 9.
67. See Erik Cohen, Yeshayahu Nir and Uri Almagor, "Stranger-Local Interaction in Photography," in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 19, 1992, pp. 213-233.
68. See Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in October, Vol. 28, Spring 1984, pp. 125-133.
69. Margaret Homans, "Victoria's Sovereign Obedience," in Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination Christ, Carol T. and John O. Jordan, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 169-197; quotation p. 173
70. Joshua Meyrowitz integrates Erving Goffman's findings on the relationship between audiences and human behaviour with Marshall McLuhan's theories on the impact of electronic media. See Joshua Meyrowitz, No Sense of Place. The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
71. Grizelda Pollock, "Territories of desire: reconsiderations of an African childhood. Dedicated to a woman whose name was not really 'Julia'," in Travellers' Tales. Narratives of home and displacement, Robertson, George, Melinda Mash, Lisa Tickner, Jon Bird, Barry Curtis and Tim Putman, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 63-89; quotation, p. 72.
72. Jan Lewis, "Mother's Love: The Construction of an Emotion in Nineteenth-Century America," in Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness. Some Interdisciplinary Connections, Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns, eds. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1989) pp. 209-229.
73. Ibid., p. 215.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., pp. 216-217.

76. Ibid., p. 218.
77. Ibid., p. 223.
78. Paul J. Korshin, Typologies in England 1650-1820 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
79. Ibid., p. 36.
80. Ibid., p. 370.
81. Ibid., p. 373.
82. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences [trans. Les Mots et les choses] (New York: vintage books, 1994), p. 35.
83. Ibid., p. 379.
84. Ibid., p. 131.
85. See Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden. Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (London; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
86. Korshin, p. 361.
87. For the Canadian applications of Victorian Progress, see W. L. Morton, "Victorian Canada" and Lawrence S. Fallis, Jr., "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada: A Study in the History of Ideas," in The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age/Le Bouclier d'Achille. Regards sur le Canada de l'ère victorienne, (Toronto; Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968) pp. 311-334; pp. 169-183.
88. Henry J. Morgan and Lawrence J. Burpee, Canadian Life in Town and Country (London: George Newnes Limited, 1905) p. 116.
89. Ibid., p. 115.
90. Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada 1880-1980," in Thirteen Essays on Photography (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1988) pp. 20-21.
91. See Brian S. Osborne, "Interpreting a nations' identity: artists as creators of national consciousness," in Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective. Essays on the meanings of some places in the past Alan R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp. 230-254.
92. Kotkin, p. 5.

93. Ong, Interfaces of the Word, p. 191.
94. Barbara Myerhoff, "Life History Among the Elderly: Performance, Visibility, and Remembering," cited by Victor Turner in From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), p. 75.
95. Korshin, p. 380.
96. Dubois, pp. 64-65.
97. My analysis of the photographic act, much indebted to Eliade, anticipated Dubois's pairing of production and reception in spatio-temporal bundles. As I wrote, "The viewing (first viewing/ endless viewing) and the taking (first taking/ endless taking) are infinitely repeated, encircling the image, detaching it from circumstance (yet hallowing its circumstance), removing it to sacred time." See Martha Langford, Paradise (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1980) p. 14.
98. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 44.
99. Ong, Interfaces of the Word, pp. 111-122.
100. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 37.
101. Ibid.
102. Punctuation as structure belongs to written language, according to Ong; the congruence of language with the body - with the need to breath - was the grammatical guide as late as 1640. See "African Talking Drums," pp. 116-117.
103. Photographers who have used this device include Jim Goldberg, Fred Lonidier, Wendy Snyder MacNeil and Robert Minden, among others. For a discussion of these and related practices in an American context, see Jonathan Green, "Biographical Narrative," in American Photography: A Critical History 1945 to the Present (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984) pp. 210-213.
104. Stanley Milgram and Roslyn Banish, "City Families: Britons and Americans Talk About Their Own Images, Frozen Forever on Film," in Psychology Today, January 1977, pp. 56-65.
105. Christopher Musello, "Family Photography," in Images of Information. Still Photography in the Social Sciences, Jon Wagner, ed. (Beverly Hills; London: Sage Publications, 1979) pp. 110-112.
106. Ralph M. Hattersley, "Family Photographs as a Sacrament," in Popular Photography, Vol. 68, No. 6, June 1971, pp. 106-109.
107. Hattersley, p. 108.

108. Duane Michals, interviewed by Marvin Heiferman and Carole Kismaric, in Talking Pictures. People Speak About the Pictures that Speak to Them (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994) pp. 106-108.
109. Alan Trachtenberg, "Walker Evans' America. A Documentary Invention," in Observations. Essays on Documentary Photography, David Featherstone, ed. (Carmel: The Friends of Photography [Untitled 35], 1984) p. 59.
110. Ibid., p. 65.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p. 60.
113. Braden, pp. 148-151.
114. Max Kozloff, "Through the Narrative Portal," in The Privileged Eye (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987) p. 138.
115. See Dubois, "Le coup de la coupe," in L'Acte photographique, pp. 151-202.
116. Kristin M. Langellier and Eric E. Peterson, "Spinstorying: An Analysis of Women Storytelling," Performance, Culture and Identity, Elizabeth C. Fine and Jean Haskell Speer, eds. (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992) p. 163. Langellier and Peterson, who relate the kernel story to women, table the dissenting view of Polly Stewart Deemer who believes that the kernel story is gender neutral and can derive from any communal experience. Langellier and Peterson go on to show that the conversational context must be suitable, meaning cooperative, not competitive, among other things. See pp. 164-179.
117. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 46.
118. Ibid.
119. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 46.
120. See Goody and Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," pp. 30-34.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid. p. 48.
123. Goody and Watt, p. 33.
124. Ibid.
125. Ivan Illich and Barry Sanders, A B C. The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), pp. 85.

126. Ibid., p. 84.
127. Ibid., p. 85.
128. Ibid., p. 86.
129. Ibid.
130. Walter J. Ong, "Text as Interpretation: Mark and After," in Oral Tradition in Literature. Interpretation in Context, John Miles Foley, ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986) p. 148.
131. Dwight Conquergood, "Fabricating Culture: The Textile Art of Hmong Refugee Women," in Performance, Culture and Identity, Elizabeth C. Fine and Jean Haskell Speer, eds. (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992) pp. 206-248; quotation, p. 211; see also note 16, p. 245.
132. Ibid., p. 233.
133. Bazin, p. 14.
134. Ibid.
135. Dubois, p. 77. See note 123.
136. The treatment here is transcribed in full: "Sur un mode plus trivial, toute la pratique de l'album de famille va dans le même sens : par-delà les poses figées, les stéréotypes, les clichés, les codes surannés, par-delà les rituels de l'ordonnancement chronologique et l'inévitable scansion des événements familiaux (naissance, baptême, communion, mariage, vacances, etc.), l'album de famille ne cesse pas d'être un objet de vénération, soigné, cultivé, entretenu comme une momie, rangé dans un coffret (avec les premières dents de bébé ou la mèche de cheveux de grand-mère!); on ne l'ouvre qu'avec émotion, dans une sorte de cérémonial vaguement religieux, comme s'il s'agissait de convoquer les esprits. Assurément ce qui confère une telle valeur à ces albums, ce ne sont ni les contenus représentés en eux-mêmes, ni les qualités plastiques ou esthétiques de la composition, ni le degré de ressemblance ou de réalisme des clichés, mais c'est leur dimension pragmatique, leur statut d'index, leur poids irréductible de référence, le fait qu'il s'agit de véritables traces physiques de personnes singulières qui ont été là et qui ont des rapports particuliers avec ceux qui regardent les photos." See Dubois, p. 77.
137. Barthes, Camera Lucida, p. 106.
138. Ibid., p. 67.
139. Ibid., p. 69.
140. Ibid., p. 100.

141. Ibid., p. 84.
142. Ibid., p. 100.
143. Sayer, p. xiv.
144. Carol Mavor, Pleasures Taken. Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995).
145. Ibid., p. 4.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., p. 111.
148. Ibid., p. 119.
149. Elizabeth C. Fine, "Performative Metaphors as Ritual Communication," in Performance, Culture and Identity, Elizabeth C. Fine and Jean Haskell Speer, eds. (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992), p. 23.
150. Ibid.
151. Turner, The Anthropology of Performance, p. 77.
152. Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1959) pp. 160-161.
153. Fine and Speer, p. 167.
154. Deborah Kurschner Clarke, "Family photos: the living and the dead," in The Globe and Mail, April 11, 1995, p. A22.
155. Illich and Sanders, pp. 53-54.

Chapter Four: Untitled Album (MP 035/92)

In 1992, a brown leather expandable snapshot album containing approximately 250 photographs and ephemera was donated to the McCord Museum and assigned the accession number MP 035/92. The donor was Mrs Susan Alain who had purchased the album from a collectibles shop in Montréal. The owner of The Little Shop, Mrs Silverstone, remembered buying the album at Les Glaneuses, a second-hand store in the east end of the city. At each stage in this process, the album was deemed interesting and worth preserving, but little more was known about it, save what could be gleaned from the captions. A short description, written at the time of acquisition, contains the information that the album consisted of snapshots taken mostly in the vicinity of Ste-Adèle, Québec, during the thirties and forties. This is an accurate reflection of the available data which emphasizes Ste-Adèle and nearby locations in the Laurentians, as well as the dates inscribed on the borders or surfaces of the prints. Illustrating such leisure activities as touring, boating and ice cream making, the album complements the museum's concentration on Canadian social history while illustrating the enthusiasms and possessions of a typical Québec family.

That this album could end up an artifact in a public collection of Canadian social history must be accepted as beyond the imaginations of its makers. Nothing in their lives - nothing visible in the album and no signposts in the culture - offered them that prospect. They made the album for themselves, ignoring the most basic requirements of posterity. However they referred to it, however explicit it seemed to them, the album remained untitled, unsigned and untraceable. Its sparrow-brown cover had been stamped in the factory, "Photographs," linguistic camouflage for this pure product of French Canada in Québec. The dedication on the inside front cover is neither French, nor English, but a red paper heart pierced by an arrow, a visual symbol for *Amor vincit omnia* (Love conquers all). The same motif is repeated in heart-shaped photo corners that designate the first period of compilation, a process somehow interrupted and only partially erased. Vague progenitorial claims rest on the bits of red paper still stuck to the album's black sheets. But allowing that the album did change hands, its ultimate form took direction

from the secreted valentine as an artless and courageous expression of love.

This chapter analyses the contents and organization of the album in three connected ways. The album is introduced in its compiled order, showing how it delivers itself up through linear presentation. Though necessarily selective, this is also a privileged and close reading; information hidden from the viewer on the backs of the pictures is included, as are deductions made from spending time with the photographs and mentally sorting them out. This intrinsic and faithful presentation is constantly interrupted and eventually superseded by one that reorders the album chronologically. A limited biography of the makers results; this information is situated in an external context of social, political, and even astronomical events, though not exhaustively, but simply to weigh the makers' involvement in the outside world. Finally, the representational and emotional factors of the album are considered; the reasons for its making will be postulated. Each of these approaches has been informed by the psychodynamics of orality as a patterning condition for the shaping and understanding of a photographic album. By way of conclusion, those features are reviewed and the utility of the framework evaluated.

Siftings of museum collections often culminate in the discovery, or enlightened appreciation, of an overlooked masterpiece. I make no such claims for this album. In the twentieth century, wherever ordinary men and women had access to photographic technology, albums like this one were compiled. This study's contribution to knowledge is a reconciliation of orality and photography, and as the ultimate illustration of that argument, an unexceptional album seems an appropriate choice. This one offers the basic recipe of intertwining family life and photographic ritual in a sticky binding of particulars and personal response. We should remember, however, that in any album, the ordinary and the expected are less commonly pictured than implied, as a scale on which to balance the triumphs and tragedies of human experience. Hindsight on the calamitous century now ending wants to turn prosaic pictures into poetry, and this is a very natural response. What we need to understand is that previous generations, whose pictures these are, used them in similar ways.

To convey this album's *mêlée* of information and impression, we begin with its opening passage. After the heart, tucked between the inside cover and the first page, is a single unmounted snapshot of a woman, dressed in the flowing trousers and striped jersey of the forties, posing on a ladder at the back of a freight car. She waves gaily at the photographer. Though unfixed, this photograph seems to belong at the front of the album, for its pendant is mounted with black photo corners on the first page. Another woman, wearing her own version of feminized trousers, hangs from the other side of the train, smiling at the photographer whose elongated shadow streams across the bottom third of the frame. This photograph is in the middle of page 1. On the left, inscribed "1936," the very first picture in the album shows a little girl standing beside her rocker in a paved front garden that features an outdoor staircase and a wrought-iron fence, both typical of Montréal. On the right, a toddler, a woman and a man on a balcony: standing in the background, the man engages with the photographer over the head of the woman who squats beside the child, trying to ready him or her for the camera. This photograph is affixed with red-heart corners used upside down, so that the points, instead of the curves, stick out from the corner of the print. And yet, this image seems of the same vintage as the first, since it is printed with a matching curlicue border.

Scanning left to right across pages 2 and 3, there is first a vertical image of a woman. She stands, smiling broadly, with arms folded, leaning toward the camera. Her printed dress has a distinctive leafy collar that suits her implantation in the landscape where she is partially screened by a bush and dwarfed by a tree. The back of the print is inscribed, "4 septembre 1933 Baie Georgia." Next, five flappers in short skirts and cloche hats pose in front of a fountain with blast furnaces in the background, a view identified as "St-Jean." The heart corners are more cleverly applied, with curves at the top and points at the bottom. The third picture is of a young woman, probably in her late teens, posing on an outdoor staircase which, checking back, is not the same one we saw on the previous page. The print has an odd format, a deep bottom border which is nowhere repeated in the album. It was likely given to the compiler. This photograph is also affixed with hearts.¹

On page 4, a wedding picture from the twenties or early thirties catches a couple and their guests descending the stairs of a public building, likely the church. Beside it is an image of eight men and women lined up to be photographed in dark overcoats and hats. A light covering of snow suggests early winter or spring and an unspecified occasion, since the women's footwear is a mixture of boots and shoes. The figures and costumes do not match the picture on the left and the format is also different, a plain narrow border instead of a printed one. Across the bottom of the page, two excursion or holiday snapshots complete the spread. On the left, "Cap de la Madeleine" is inscribed across a white rock. Sharing the frame are two women and two boys whose "Sunday best" belongs to the twenties. They seem to be at an organized picnic or pilgrimage; a cross pokes up behind one head and the participants are wearing ribbons. On the right, "Baie Georgia 1933," jumps forward in time, but points back to an image on the opposite page. Our lady of the printed collar, her radiance somewhat diminished, is now surrounded by two women and a boy. The women stand, the boy crouches; all four hold glasses from their picnic hamper which is a cardboard box. Glancing back at "Cap de la Madeleine," it becomes clear that the female figures shown in three-quarter profile in both images are one and the same person; likewise the boy who has now sprouted into an adolescent.

Pages 4 and 5: the inscriptions suggest a span of eight years, from 1933 to 1941, but this is deceptive for the pictures go as far back as the teens, and wander through Montréal, St-Donat, Ste-Adèle and other locations unknown. Several figures are beginning to recur, but fluctuations in age and situation make them hard to identify. Just in time, our lady of the printed collar springs to the eye, in the familiar setting of a picnic. Now we meet the man who took the previous shot for the Cap-de-la-Madeleine woman has taken up the camera. The occasion here is ice cream; they have been making it on the spot

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 3. Unattributed. Untitled, n.d. (7.8 x 12.2 cm); untitled, n.d. (6.9 x 11 cm); *Cap-de-la-Madeleine*, n.d. (7 x 11.5 cm); *Baie Georgia 1933* (7.7 x 12.3 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.



(a different spot, for we are now in St-Donat) and their pose is triumphant. The makers have been promoted to tasters, standing in a line with their bowls and spoons with a split-rail fence as a backdrop.

There are eight pictures in this double-page spread and almost as many ways of grouping them. Three small deteriorating snapshots (held by hearts) can be dated by comparison with pictures on page 7 to the mid-twenties. Two of these most certainly record the same wedding, while a third of the same vintage is rather less formal in costume and setting. Two larger photographs of a group of adolescents and teenagers mark another rite of passage, possibly their graduation. Eight girls and boys form a receding line, hands on each other's shoulders, with a ninth figure, the proverbial kid brother, bringing up the rear. They are standing in a field behind a row of houses; the background is screened by a high clapboard fence. The companion picture has been taken down a long banquet table set outdoors. A grinning face now growing familiar is among these celebrants. The same girl pops up in a third group, seven spirited young women dressed up for an outing, posing on the deck of a ferry or ship.

One picture, the first in this spread, remains to be described. It is a horizontal snapshot of a woman with short dark hair, wearing a severe, forties-style costume: striped jacket, necktie and straight skirt with brogues. She is standing in a field, legs firmly planted, head turned to her left; the effect in this montage is one of guardianship over the pictures. This photograph was taken on September 1, 1941, toward the end of the period covered by the album. It marks a trip that this woman and the grinning girl, by then around forty, took to Ste-Adèle.

One could go on describing spread after spread, but perhaps the compilatory pattern has been established. Pages 1 through 8 of the album use multiple presentation, strategic organization, ritualized performance and formal emulation to build internal references and recapitulations (order of a kind) in a jumble of photographic memories. This is a very turbulent stream of impressions that begins to calm on page 9.

Here we have three photographs. Two are clearly inscribed "St Ours." They are portraits taken on a summer day of two young women. The third image, in the middle of the page, seems a bit of a digression, different in form and content (a small snapshot of a little fair-haired girl posing straight as a poker in front of a house). The first St-Ours picture captures the woman with short dark hair (our lady of the printed collar; the woman in the tailored suit) as a girl in her late teens. She is standing behind a flowering bush on a village street. Behind her is a one-and-a-half storey clapboard house, with a high pitched roof and a post-and-beam porch wrapping around the front and side - a village house of the Montérégie. The other St-Ours picture shows the same girl perched on the arm of a rocking chair in which our grinning girl, all grown up, is sitting with a magazine. Closeness and a strong family resemblance suggest that they might be sisters; the rest of the album corroborates that impression.

In the St-Ours pictures, the sisters are both rather glamorous, in fashionably loose, low-waisted dresses, sheer stockings and Cuban heels. Certainly they would have been noticed in the sleepy agricultural community of St-Ours where, as a recent observer put it, most people at that time stayed in the parish, rarely venturing further afield than St-Jean.² By the beginning of the century, the world was already rolling past St-Ours. The village had put its trust in the Richelieu River and missed out on the railroad.³ These pictures are not dated, but another, taken on the same day by the river and mounted on page 23, is dated on the back "1929." A fourth picture showing the older girl on the riverbank (uncaptioned, undated, page 12) completes the St-Ours group. The two riverbank pictures mark a defining moment in the creation of the album, the first in a cycle of paired portraits that the sisters will make.

Mentally, we are beginning to race back and forth, or rather to be lobbed by the album's tantalizing hints. Linkages between pictures, whether by place,

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 9. Unattributed. *St Ours*, 1929 (12.5 x 8 cm); untitled, n.d. (8.7 x 6.5 cm); *St Ours*, 1929 (13.9 x 8.9 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.



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date, costume, pose, composition, physical resemblance or placement on the page, demand to be checked. Once through this album, from front to back, a maddening game of concentration begins. The young woman on page 1, hanging from the train, did you see her on page 74? Now there is an odd trio of pictures. The young woman stands on the railroad tracks, the steel rails gleaming to a point beyond the horizon. Bottom right, an elderly woman lying in bed looks at a magazine with a young female companion. The patient is a key figure in this album and the only person whose name is inscribed. Rachel first appears on page 14, photographed in 1929. Her name is given much later, on page 48 in a picture from the thirties in which she is shown sitting beside a porch in a rocker. She is very strong in these photographs. When we find her on page 74, she is old and her physical strength appears to be diminished, but she is still very magnetic as she receives a young visitor in her bedroom. Top right is a funny little party of sailors, their dingy pulled up in the reeds. Middy blouses and balloons suggest a regatta held sometime long ago - long before now and long before the other two pictures on the page. The boating scene is echoed on the opposite page by a picture of our two sisters in a rowboat, "Août 1938." And so it goes, combining and layering pictures by degrees of pastness and immediacy, with silliness, sentiment and bravado leavening the mix. Lives are leaping across these pages, back and forth through time and space, with almost unbearable agility. It is time to exert some control by reining them in to a more orderly account.

Despite the album's obvious hostility to chronology, its display of human affairs places it in the general category of life history. The album, like any memoir or diary, is subjective and selective; my biographical reconstruction is correspondingly limited and necessarily speculative. Investigation of this album has failed to uncover the names of the creators, their addresses, their parishes, whether they worked, when and where they were born, or when and where they died. Nevertheless, in and around these lacunae, there is a great deal of visual evidence that contributes a biographical context. But to see how life history has translated to compilation, we need figuratively to rip the album apart.

The beginning now shifts to a photograph on page 7. It is a school picture of

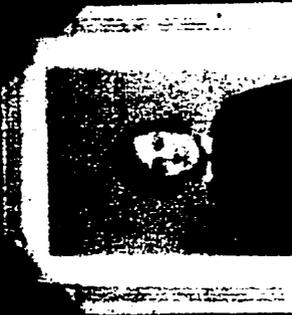
the older girl, stamped "Art Studio 48 St. Catherine Street, E Montréal.". According to Lovell's Montréal Directory, that stamp would have been in use for only one academic year, 1915-16. Sometime over the next year, the studio (listed in Lovell's at 46 St. Catherine Street E.) was sold or changed its name to Français Photo Studio - Morency Frères. The girl appears to be in late adolescence, or early teens, so we can reckon her year of birth to be around 1900. By 1916, she might well have been finishing her formal schooling. Finding her amongst her chums, boys and girls posing for snapshots in an open field behind an urban row, we can assume that the girl was not a boarder in a Montréal convent, but that she lived in the city and, from the studio location, quite possibly in the east end.

Her younger sister is not part of this lively group, nor does she appear on the ferryboat, or in related pictures from the twenties. She does not feature in any of her older sister's boat trips or excursions. One assumes that she was just too young, that the gap between them had not yet closed. Building on that assumption, one is drawn to look more carefully at a picture on page 21.

Another school picture features a girl of seven or eight. She is very like the younger sister with her high forehead, dark eyes, side-parted hair, somewhat prominent nose and straight mouth. The lower edge of the print is tucked under a snapshot of the older sister who sits meditatively on a rocky shore. This layering of photographs is unique in the album. Held there by black corners, the arrangement cannot be explained as a vestige of earlier compilations; it must be intentional. A symbolic expression of caring is one possible meaning, the younger sister figures as being in the thoughts of the elder. At the same time, the puckish younger self appears as a guardian angel, looking out for her older sister. The page in its totality encourages a double reading. On the right is the pendant to the portrait of the older sister; the younger sister, photographed on the same rocky shore. Her costume

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 21. Unattributed. 14 Août 1932 (12.5 x 7.9 cm); untitled (school picture), n.d. (? x 4.9 cm); untitled, 1932? (12.5 x 8 cm); untitled, 1932? (12.5 x 8 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.



is sombre with white accents at collar and cuff. The little schoolgirl is similarly uniformed. The positioning of the two photographs is clever for the younger woman's oblique expression, her eyes turned up to her right, forms a warm complicity with her younger self on the page. These shoreline pictures were taken in the summer of 1932, like the first image on page 21, "14 Août 1932." That photograph depicts the older sister standing in a cemetery, looking down at a grave. She is wrapped up in her thoughts and her physical surroundings. The framing of the photograph wraps her in markers and plantings. One cross rises above the flowering bush in the foreground. It is emblazoned with a monogrammed heart.

In pursuing the earliest photographs in the album, we have leapt from the teens to the thirties, skipping an important group of small snapshots from 1926. Some of these have been mentioned already, being part of a wedding suite of single and small group portraits. Their format (an image size of 7.8 cm x 5.4 cm; the generous deckle-edged border, visible only on page 10, has been unevenly trimmed) and poor condition (some faded, some yellowing) set them apart. As well, most are photographed against a similar backdrop, the smooth stone façade of an urban dwelling. These, we can assume, were family photographs, or at least, the negatives remained accessible to the compiler since other photographs from the same group were reprinted in later years. There are two that depict small dark-haired children under the age of ten (four children in one photograph; two in the other) on pages 10 and 25; they are printed with the decorative borders that characterize the snapshots of the late twenties and thirties (12.5 cm x 8 cm). And there is a third, a portrait of a middle-aged woman and two of these children that has been further enlarged to the format of the bigger St-Ours portraits (13.5 cm x 9 cm). This portrait is the only enlargement in the album that does not depict one of the sisters. It is presented on page 12, paired with the St-Ours shoreline picture of the older sister.

The resemblance between the woman with young children and the older sister is unmistakable. A generation separates them in age. The portrait of the older woman has been accorded special treatment and a place of honour in the album. All this adds up to the conclusion that the woman is the mother of the

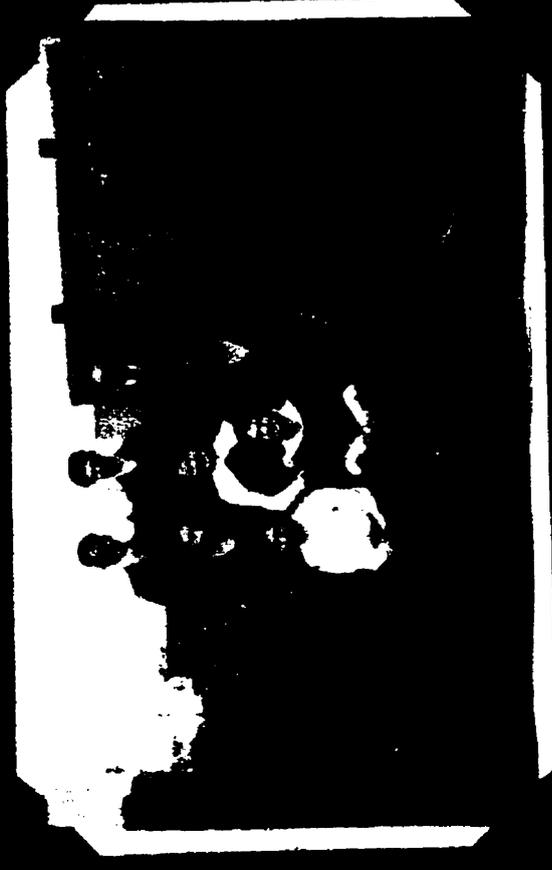
sisters. And yet, they are never photographed together but only placed together in the album. That combination occurs here and on page 9 where the older girl's school picture is accompanied by two pictures from 1926, one of children and one of a couple, the mother and her spouse. I do not say 'father' because this man makes only a fleeting appearance in the album. Conversely, the four young children reappear as a group around 1929. Their numbers have been swelled by a child of about two and they are sitting in a row outside the house that we associate with Rachel.

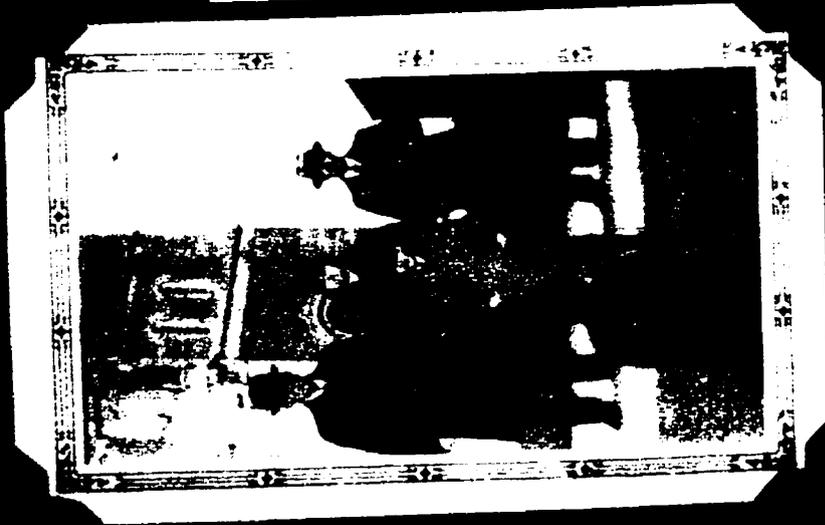
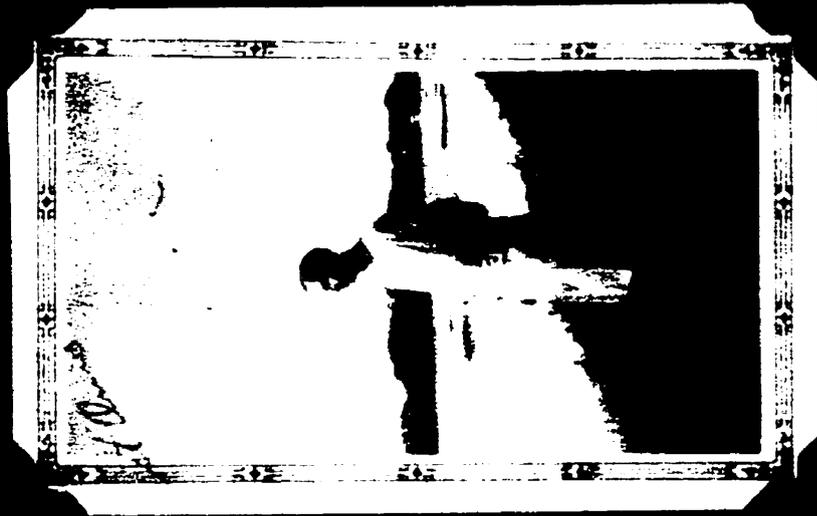
Children can be hard to identify from small, faded snapshots; parents frequently say this, even about their own. To confuse things even further, there is another small snapshot in the 1926 series of a couple with small children; we never see those people again, either. The children may be siblings, half-brothers and half-sisters, cousins, or very young aunts and uncles. We cannot know. Still, with regard to their place in the album, a few conclusions can be drawn. First, the sisters are not among these subjects, and yet one or both of them had access to the prints and negatives, as well as the desire to include the series in the album and to feature three of its images. The 1926 pictures were important to them and later pictures of the same children were also meaningful. They were not photographed on any special occasion. Dressed in everyday clothes, the children are at home in those pictures and their home is a place of significance for the sisters (page 6). Comparing the bannister and mouldings, we realize that the picture of the girl on the outdoor stairway (page 2) was made in the same location. It is the home that we associate with Rachel for her 1929 portrait was made in doorway of that house (page 23). The same doorway frames a portrait of another woman from 1924 (page 14). Almost certainly, it is the mother. The

Illustrations

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 6. Unattributed. Untitled, c. 1916? (7.8 x 12.7 cm); untitled, n.d. (6.9 x 11.5 cm); untitled, 1926? (8.2 x 6.5 cm); untitled, n.d. (7.9 x 12.5 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 23. Unattributed. Untitled, n.d. (12.5 x 8 cm); 1929 (8 x 12.5 cm); *St Ours* 1929 (12.3 x 8 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.





picture of Rachel is its pendant. Most telling, however, in this album of recurring figures, is the disappearance of the mother after 1926. I think that she died, possibly in childbirth. The sisters, I suspect, were from an earlier marriage. Their mother had been widowed and she remarried. The absence of the sisters in pictures of their mother from the twenties suggests that they lived apart, not uncommon for the issue of a first marriage. Their mother's death left the sisters without parents, but with a large, extended family in which Rachel figured prominently. She, I think, took charge of the younger children. The two sisters formed a tight unit of protection and affection which they commemorated with photographs.

Without undermining this premise, for I think it is correct, I want to pause and evaluate its importance. None of this lineage is recorded in the album, nor is the sisters' family history its central theme. Their background signifies principally as a conditioning context. We do not see death; we see mourning. We do not see separation; we see togetherness. We do not see absence; we see presence. What can be shown, or borne, is what the sisters want to show; we should not automatically tether their pictures to metaphor by insisting on the hidden facts. The images are veiled representations of the past and transparent presentations of the moment. We observe the subjects in different situations. We see clear and consistent expressions of feeling. Whatever we might have heard from the sisters by way of explanation, whatever we might conjecture, the photographs present what Ong might call the psychodynamics of their life together.

Their picture-making fell immediately into cycles and patterns. There are no photographs traceable to 1930 and 1931. Pocket money was a bit scarce for most people after October, 1929. In this case, personal tragedy may also have intervened. In the thirties, they took most of their pictures on Sunday. The photograph in the cemetery on page 21 was taken on Sunday, August 14, 1932. The following Sunday, they photographed more spontaneously in the countryside around Rigaud and Beaconsfield, reaching as far west as Highway 17 in Ontario.⁴ Most dates given in the album are Sundays, with a few interesting exceptions.

One photograph, clearly dated August 31, 1932 is a portrait of the older sister who poses with a cement lion in an entrance. August 31, 1932, was a Wednesday, though not just any Wednesday, but the day of a full solar eclipse. The newspapers were full of excited preparations for watching and recording. The daily newspaper, La Presse, had been building excitement with detailed instructions, photographically illustrated, on how safely to take part. As it turned out, the skies were overcast and there was nothing to see except huge crowds of people, "L'attente anxieuse dans les rues," as La Presse concluded its coverage. Judging from the August 31 portrait, our sisters were completely oblivious to the event, or to any other earthly concerns, such as temperature and humidity, reported by La Presse as the continuation of a heat wave, "Chaleur collante qui embuait toutes choses." The older sister is wearing her dark Sunday coat with a fur collar. Can this be possible? Perhaps not. The compiler may have been confused over dates. Two likely companion pictures are also dated: it is impossible to tell from one if the date is August 21 or 31; the other is assigned to September. Our compiler is not infallible on dates or places, as we shall see. Such an important day as August 31, 1932, may simply have stuck in her mind, though losing its connection to the stars, being eclipsed by matters more personal.

Regardless of the precise date, we know that, in the late summer of 1932, the sisters were photographing each other and having themselves photographed together. Most of the pictures are sombre; a number are set in cemeteries and on shorelines. We recall the montage on page 21 that combines those settings. Adding evidence of confusion to our data, we may consider that the women were emerging from a period of mourning and that the first pictures that they took were memorials. They then turned to the reconstruction and reanimation of their lives. The cornerstone has been laid in a portrait of 1932 in which the sisters, darkly and formally dressed, pose sitting in the grass. They are both very well; the older sister smiles affectionately at the younger whose typically oblique look is modified with a grin (page 46).

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 46. Unattributed. Untitled, 1936? (16.5 x 10.7 cm); untitled, 1932? (17.8 x 12.6 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.



After 1932, the sisters seem less cloistered in their mutual support and affection. On pages 3 and 5, we saw photographs of picnics at Baie Georgia and St-Donat. There were many such picnics at that time, cementing relations with a particular couple and their boy. This is a delightful period in the album and very intriguing photographically because of the communal nature of the record. A spirited desire to get everyone into the picture resulted in cinematic sequences that are broken up and sprinkled throughout the album - one form of cohesion paradoxically sacrificed to another.

There was a lot of hard driving in 1933, though probably not as much as the album's inscriptions would lead us to believe. According to the compiler, on Sunday, August 27, the quintet called in at St-Donat, Ste-Agathe, St-Maurice and St-Esprit. One picture is inscribed "St-Donat 27 Août 1933" on the back and St-Esprit on the front. In the same year, the party was also sighted at Terrebonne and Ste-Julienne though their clothing would indicate that there is a bit of confusion sewn into those captions as well. The sisters' female companion (first seen at Cap-de-la-Madeleine), is a useful guide in these matters since she varies her costume (even her apron!) quite a bit. The least helpful is the younger sister who was plainly devoted to her printed dress with the leafy collar. It is a very photogenic dress and from the great number of pictures in which she wears it, she recognized its qualities on sight.

The photographs in the touring and picnicking genre are very charming and accessible; indeed, they are open to the spectator in a way that the rest of the album is not. This impression depends largely on a participatory photographic process and tends to mislead in its welcoming effect. Performing for the camera, these actors were performing for one of their own; the insular company of two had expanded to an intimate society of five. Within the context of this document, they display very little interest in the outside world, at least at this stage of their association. Although they travel, they tend to seek similar situations to make their pictures: waterways, fields, flowering bushes, fence lines and rustic groves are their specialties. Even decorative settings are kept to a framing formula; well have these snapshooters learned the Kodak lesson to get in close. When they break the

rules, and reduce themselves to ants before a monument, the image is worth considering. One is caught by their group portrait at the base of the statue of Baldwin and Lafontaine in Ottawa, and by the record of their visit to the tomb of the Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680) at Caughnawaga. The patriotism and religion that peak in these pictures saturate this album as worthy sentiments, deeply internalized and automatically expressed through meditative portraits and pastoral views. There are many examples, such as the Rigaud group portrait of August 21, 1932, taken by the boy, it captures the four adults holding sheaves of wheat (page 30). Other signs of attachment are more episodic and obscure.

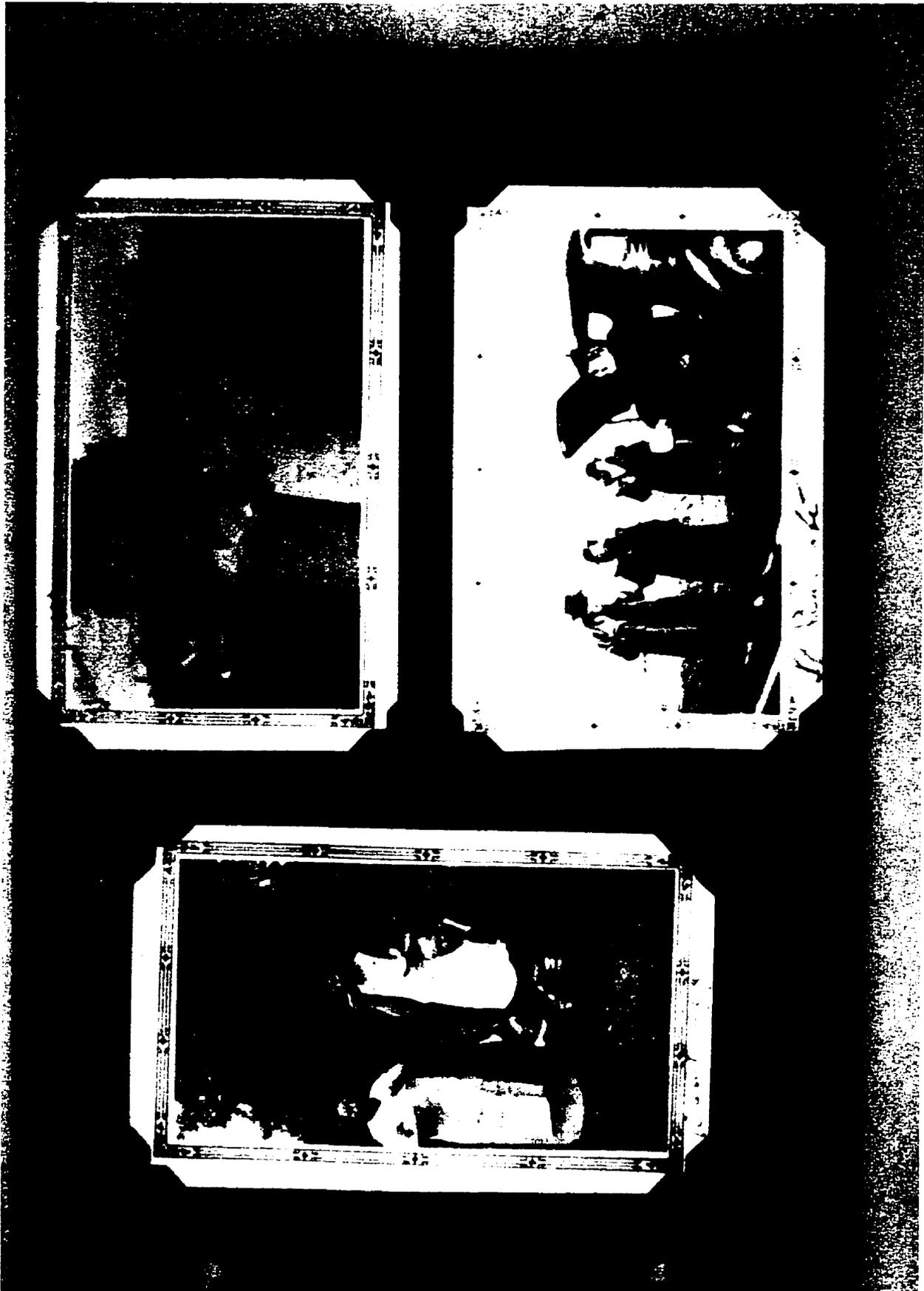
On April 27, 1934, Roméo Labelle, son of J. E. Labelle and Eva Clément, died in Montréal at the age of 27 years and 4 months. This information and a photograph of the deceased are printed on his *In Memoriam* card mounted on page 45. A search through La Presse turned up an item on April 28 notifying mourners of the funeral to be held on April 30 at Notre-Dame du [Très-]Saint-Sacrement Church, followed by burial at the Côtes-des-Neiges cemetery. The procession was to begin near the church at the home of J. A. Labelle, 4382 rue St-Hubert.

A slim lead to the identity of the compiler, this address matches none of the houses pictured in the album. Lovell's Montréal Directory indicates that the father had not lived very long at that address; he moved or died shortly thereafter, leaving one Paul Labelle, machinist, at the St-Hubert flat. Tracing Roméo to his apartment proved equally fruitless. One Roméo Labelle, clerk, lived at 1569 de Bullion in 1928 and was no longer there by the following year. So the deceased, who is pictured in military uniform, may have worked as a clerk.

Roméo Labelle must have meant something to the sisters for there is no other

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 31. Unattributed. 13 août 1933 (12.1 x 7.8 cm); *St Donat* 1933 (7.6 x 12.2 cm); *St Barnabé*, after 1937 (7.6 x 12 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.



In *Memoriam* card in the album. But if he features in any pictures before 1934, I have failed to identify him. The sudden appearance of the card is an unresolvable puzzle. One element in a crowded page, it sits in the middle of the top row. On the left is a group picture of sixteen girls. The older sister may be among them (fourth from the left in the back row), but this is a tentative identification. Right of the memorial card is a wallet-sized picture of a butcher in his meat cooler. The same man appeared in a group photograph from the twenties on page 23. The bottom register is three views of lake and countryside taken in August 1940, probably at Lac Noir. We can measure the impact of this death from only two factors: the presence of the card and the fact that no other elements in the album can be ascribed to 1934 or 1935. It may be coincidental, but a certain style of touring, picnics and pilgrimages was suspended for two summers. Perhaps the Labelle connection ran through their companions, the couple and their boy, for they are slow to return to the album. In July 1936, we find the sisters on their own, or in the company of other women, staying at the Pension Ducharme near Ste-Adèle.

How might the sisters have recounted the next few years? Differently, for their audience would have changed. After 1936, more people had a share in their memories, an extended family and a circle of friends. If my broad reconstruction of their family history is correct, a new crop of siblings was beginning to mature. Two photographs from 1936 feature a girl in her mid- to late-teens who may be the eldest girl; she looked to be about six in 1926. The girl looks a great deal like the younger sister, but with a broader mouth, an almost flirtatious smile. She is also slimmer and taller, perhaps slightly self-conscious about her height as she suffers a bit from bad posture. She appears once in a photograph at Ste-Adèle, posing by a split-rail fence with the older sister (page 15), and again with both sisters and a fourth woman, praying at a religious shrine (page 64). Gradually, the photographs fill with new, but somehow familiar faces. The sisters take part in events such as first communions and family reunions, and they photograph the devoted group around Rachel.

Their hobbies and experiences also expanded, though just a bit, and with some caprice on both their parts as they tried certain things once. No other

pastime exerted the fascination of photography, though boating came close. Beginning in 1938, they puttered around in rowboats and that continued well into the forties. Other activities were tested and abandoned. In 1940, there was a hike up the Pain-de-Sucre Mountain at Lac Noir. In most of the pictures, the sisters look hot, tired and fed up. Interestingly enough, this is one passage in the album that is concentrated and sequenced into a narrative. Pictures of the party on the trail and clowning at the look-out are amplified by postcards and snapshots of the natural environment. It is a full documentary report as though the sisters wanted to preserve the memory, vaunt their endurance and put the whole miserable thing behind them. The rest of the 1940 Lac Noir holiday follows the normal pattern of distribution across the album (the pictures are easily identified as the products of wartime shortages - there are lots of them, but they are small). Cottages and fishing trophies are displayed; the sisters pose for each other in their long summer dresses. Someone has begun to experiment with hand-colouring. There are completed prints (page 63), as well as notes on the colours of a cottage (page 60, on the back of a print: "Haut jaune pâle/Bas grillage brun pâle").

Life winds on through real and metaphysical journeys. In 1939, we are once again in the company of the couple and their boy, but something significant has changed the dynamic of the group. For they are all five standing before the camera (page 41). Who is taking this picture? Possibly the boy's young wife, for he has grown up. He is smoking and wearing a wedding band. The group's last car trip had taken place in 1938, a fitting climax to the genre, complete with leap-frog by the road and a tail-gate picnic. But the unit that was them has been invaded. We probably meet the girl on the 1940 hike - her mother-in-law's arm linked through hers for the photograph. Perhaps the Lac

Illustrations

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 64. Unattributed. July, 1936? Gelatin silver print (12.9 x 17.2 cm).

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 53. Unattributed. Le Pain de Sucre, Lac Noir, 1940? Four gelatin silver prints (each 8.2 x 12.4 cm).

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 41, detail. Unattributed. Lac Noir, Août 1939. Gelatin silver print (7.4 x 11.7 cm).







John

2007

Noir cottages of 1939 and 1940 are connected to this turn-of-events, for the sisters eventually return to Ste-Adèle and the last summer scenes are set there.

A sharp contrast develops in the last years of pictures between the bustle of family and the solitary soul. These women are not old in the forties, but their place on the swing of the pendulum is between the aged and the young. Their sense of stability in this movement comes as always from each other. Their habits and haunts hold true. They were still living in Montréal in the forties; they patronised Photo L'Ecuyer which was in business between 1941 and 1946 on Mount Royal East (between St-Hubert and St-André). Ste-Adèle remained a favourite spot. They spent the day there taking pictures on Labour Day Monday, September 1, 1941. The date is arresting: the war in Europe has been raging for two years, but there is little sign of it in this album.⁵ The sisters visited the Ste-Adèle Lodge. They photographed each other demonstrating all of its features, including the swimming pool. The older sister, fully dressed, poses on the ladder (hand-coloured print, inserted). An enlarged photograph of the younger sister standing on the steps of The Red Room constitutes the last photograph in the album (page 78), but their affection for Ste-Adèle was not fading. In 1945, they went back on the train, a sentimental journey divided between reflective walks and happy reunions. They photographed each other boarding the train; the album contains two pictures of the older sister (pages 68 and 69) and one of the younger (page 57). This doubling of portraits, now in its fourteenth year, doubles again with the inclusion of the two train yard portraits of the younger women that open the album. Those portraits, we realize, were taken on the same trip because others in the series bring the older and younger women together. Joyful feelings of adventure and community bring life to the album, but always arranged to illuminate facets of the sisters, their shared experiences and mutual affection, the quality of their life together.

But the album is hardly recognizable as a collective or singular life history, despite its autobiographical content. Structurally and emotionally, my chronological reconstruction bears no resemblance to the album as compiled. Each entry in this chronology has forced me back to the album to reconsider

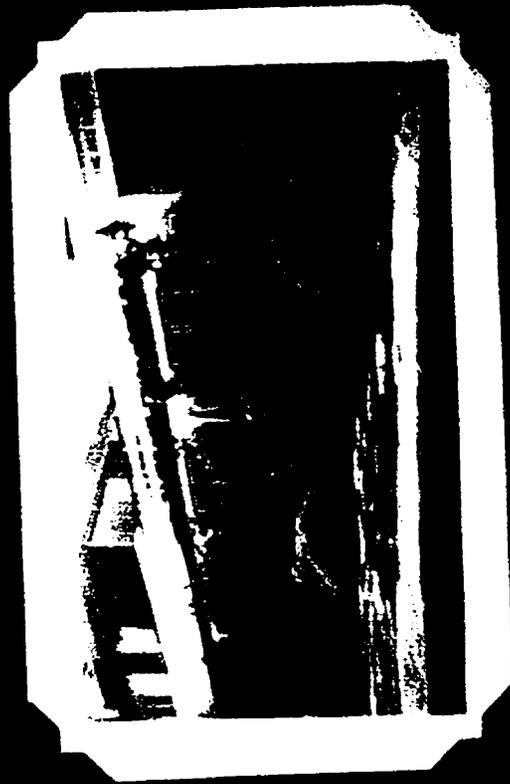
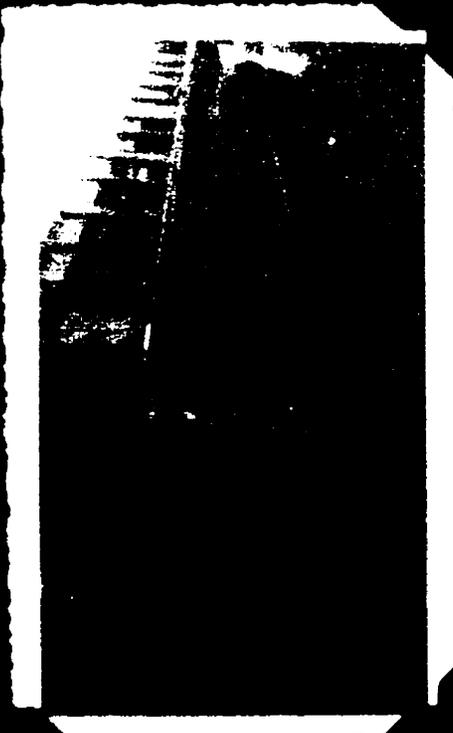
its arrangements. Each episode has been a nagging reminder that the album's presentation of these lives defies literary convention. And yet, these are very conventional lives.

Orality offers a way into the album by illuminating its mysterious structure. Recognizing the possibility of an alternate narrative form instills confidence in the compiler and controls the urge to explain digressions, redundancies and other irregularities away. Some of these characteristics have already been noted, but there is more to be gained from an application of the framework. The full range of Ong's psychodynamics is manifest in the inclusions, organization and presentation of this album.

A traditional or conservative approach to accumulating the photographs in this album presents the sisters' changing circumstances within a cycle of recurrent forms. Each phase of their lives ties another knot of togetherness, the album's specific message, but the manner of marking or acting out events fits into a repertoire of types or patterned behaviour. The index is predictable - family, ceremonies, trips, townscapes, cottage country and Québec farmland - and the manner of self-presentation within this repertoire is formulaic as well. The album is replete with emblems of the theatre - doorways, staircases, verandas and gates are its entrances and exits. These backdrops have been chosen by the photographers, but the subjects can be no less conscious of the game when posing is so demanding. People are forever climbing up on things: trains, rocks, platforms, stairs, trees, carriages, windowsills, bandstands, diving towers, look-outs and podiums. The Book of Nature is not neglected. Its bounty is mimed in a variety of ways, by reclining in tall grass (pages 22 and 24) or blissfully inhaling the perfume of a tree (page 56). Each pose is a little performance, sometimes mimicking the act of public speaking. The man is especially rousing with histrionic gestures borrowed from vaudeville or the newsreels (pages 25 and 49).

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 57. Unattributed. *St Maurice* 27 Août 1933 (7.7 x 11.7 cm); 1945? (7.1 x 11.5 cm); 1945 *St Adèle* (7 x 11.5 cm); *Ste-Adèle Lodge*, September 1, 1941? (7.6 x 12.2 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.



The improvised stages of this album are outdoor versions, or vestiges, of the parlour's portière. Changing the vantage point, they also serve to uplift and ritualize the act of looking. The younger sister presents herself in this manner, sometimes engaging with her recorder (page 72), sometimes fixing on the horizon as a virtue of visibility (pages 4, 34 and 41).

Archetypes and a typological framework cast the older sister as a surrogate mother. This is a deliberate effect of pages 12 and 13 where the four chosen pictures have been printed in the same format and presented as a group. The first pair defines two different female characters as mother and daughter. The middle-aged madonna sits staring serenely into the camera, with a toddler on her lap and a little girl standing, draping her arm over the back of the chair. In the second print, the older sister is redefined as a daughter by the childlike fashion of the twenties⁶ and the modest pose of a convent girl. The placement of these prints on the page and the tilt of the younger woman's head seems to direct her gaze at the mother. At the same time, the daughter's oblique look of resignation as she stands on life's shore communicates a sense of loss.

On the opposite page, two photographs of the older sister reiterate the themes of page 12. The first picture records the older sister in dark winter clothes with a child in a white snowsuit. This image is from a suite of six photographs made on the same occasion (pages 10, 13, 17 and 18). The child appears alone in two of these prints, at the rink and in front of a stone entrance that closely resembles the facade of the 1926 family photographs - it only a reminder for it is not the same. The child's parents are invisible throughout. Each of the sisters is individually portrayed, maintaining the pattern of mirroring poses. Finally, the older sister appears twice with the child. The picture on page 13 is the more formal of the two (neither could be called 'candid'). The older sister gazes steadily at the camera, one hand touching the shoulder of her charge. Unusual in this album of paired portraits, there are no corresponding pictures of the younger sister. The pattern, as we will see, has been broken for a cause.

The fourth portrait on pages 12 and 13 appears to have been taken on a summer

day in the late twenties. The older sister, wearing a dark outfit, pauses on a city street. Compositional and expressive elements tie this portrait to the rinkside portrait with child: the pole is echoed in the tree; the brilliance of the snow matches the sunshine on the street; the woman's expression is identical in both pictures.

Over a decade separates these two portraits of the older sister; the picture on the right carries the viewer into the past. If the mother died in the late twenties, the portrait on the right would be concurrent with the older sister's assumption of the maternal role. Mother and child, 1926; daughter, 1929; older sister and child, c. 1939; sister-cum-mother, c. 1930. Time shifts continuously through this typological montage. Past, present and future are co-represented as the mantle of motherhood is transferred to the older sister.

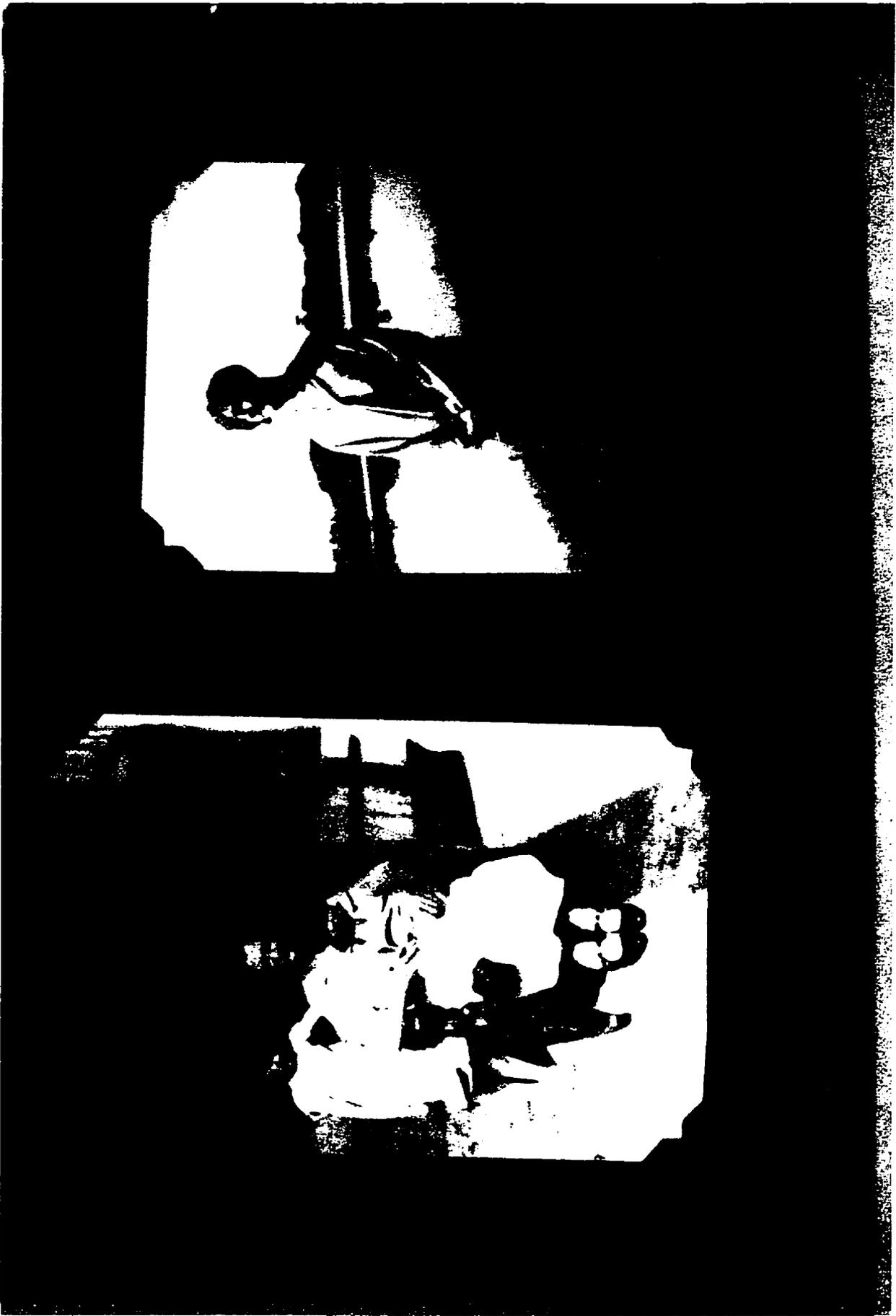
Orality insists on repetition. In this case, another set of photographs elaborates the maternal motif. From the rinkside series, one might assume that the younger sister did not like to be photographed with children, but that theory is disproved by an earlier pair of portraits, each sister posing in a park with the same baby (pages 22 and 24). The older sister reclines on the ground, fully absorbed with an angelic child, who is partially screened by the tall grass. The younger sister sits on a log, bracing the restless child and smiling at the photographer. Each picture can be schematized as follows: the younger sister as photographer looks at her older sister who looks at a child; the older sister as photographer looks at the younger sister who looks back at her. The baby, however appealing, is little more than a living doll, a metonymic expression of the link between the sisters.

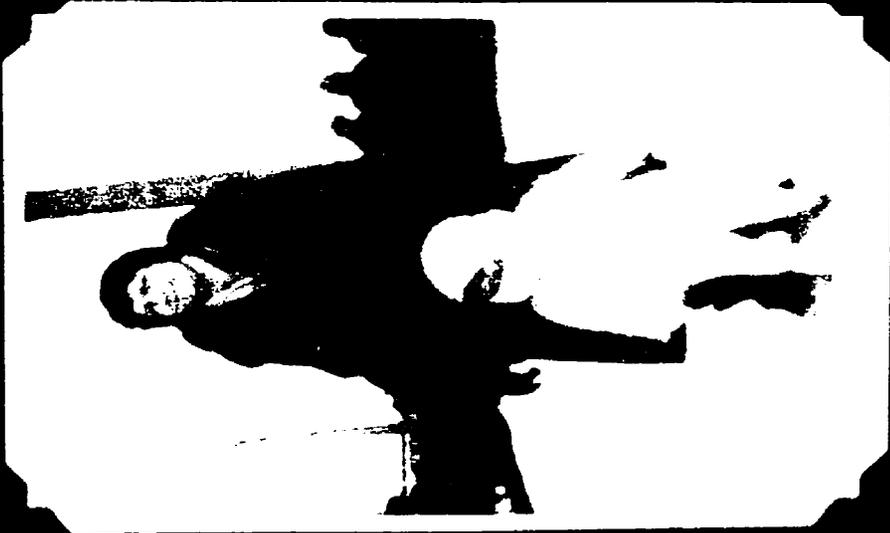
Copious representation creates a number of 'heavy' or heroic characters using

Illustrations

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 12. Unattributed. 1926? (13.4 x 9 cm); St-Ours, 1929? (14 x 8.2 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 13. Unattributed. Untitled, n.d. (13.8 x 8.5 cm); untitled, n.d. (13.9 x 8.7 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.





stock combinations of figures, attributes, poses and situations. The older sister appears most often; she can be recognized in 115 photographs, half the prints in the album. The photographic act functions as a praise formula - an expression of worthiness. By sheer numbers, she is established in constancy. Her gaze is forthright and friendly; she is composed and self-confident; she is companionable and fun-loving; she is thoughtful and pious. The younger sister appears in approximately 88 photographs. Often posing in the same situations as her sister, she presents a different set of characteristics. Her expression is sometimes veiled, her head averted from the camera. When she addresses the camera, she does so with energy. Her body oscillates between restraint and exaggerated heroism. In short, the older sister seems a more passive, cooperative photographic model, conscious of feminine traits such as warmth and serenity. The younger sister experiments a bit more with her identity. She strikes poses, rather than holding them.

Each woman's framing of the other expresses her attitude and formulates a type. In comparable situations, the older sister is placed higher in the frame than the younger; the older sister shoots down; the younger shoots up (page 17; pages 12 and 23; 16 and 65). A very slight difference in height or vantage point amplifies the psychological conditions of their relationship. There are religious connotations as well in the link between heaven and earth formed by their paired portraits.

The three main secondary characters in the album are the sisters' touring companions - the man, the woman and the boy. Each is depicted more than 20 times with little variation. The man presents himself as a steady character, a bit of a clown and a lover of simple, predictable pleasures. His wife is a plump, good-natured and affectionate woman who enjoys her creature comforts, even in the woods. The boy is their sunny offspring, warm and dutiful to his parents and his aunts. All three are keen photographers, the boy especially, affording the sisters many opportunities to pose together in an adult family group. What is unusual and immediately attractive about this series is its camaraderie. Relationships, as pictured, are on a very equal footing, so equal that on cursory examination, determining the connections between the four adults and the child is quite impossible. This would seem to contradict

orality's requirement for explicit formulations; motherhood at least should leap to the eye. Instead, what is remarkable is the dearth of conventional family units - mother, father and children. The sisters rarely took such pictures; the ambiguous example on page 1 is unusual in every respect, including its clumsy composition. The only family portrait of their three companions treats the mother as a child by placing her on a swing between her husband and the boy (page 25). But even that maternal icon has its counterpart in the sisters' repertoire. Predictably, the older sister swings while the younger sister pushes her from behind (page 36). Tradition is not abandoned; it gives birth to more useful formulas. This extended family created its own photographic rituals that substituted for the pictorial conventions of family life. Surrogate mothers and daughters are copiously described and praised within the formulas of this album. Their characteristics are displayed within conventional situations or situations made conventional through ample reiteration.

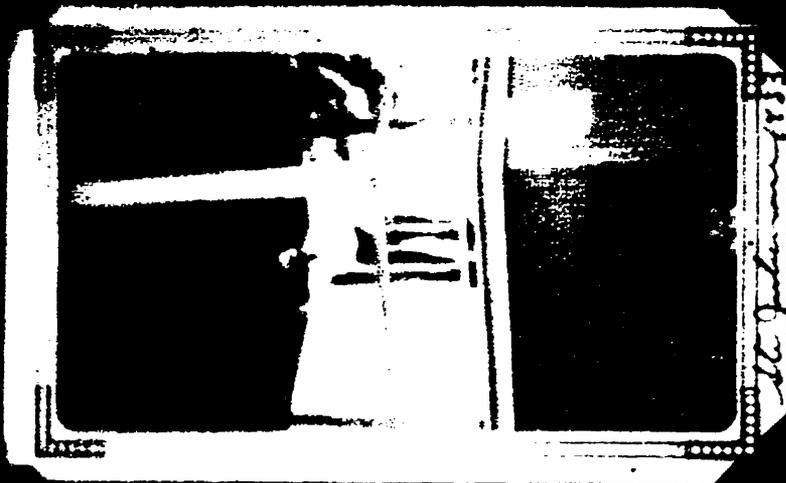
The organization of the album forms a chain of repetition that is visible in several forms: temporal/situational (the distribution of pictures made on the same occasion across the album); emblematic (the treatment of certain kinds of pictures as motifs); formal (design of the page or montage); and actual (multiple presentation of a single image). Interrupting the chain are items that precipitate questions or digressions - kernel stories - like the printed card marking the death of Roméo Labelle.

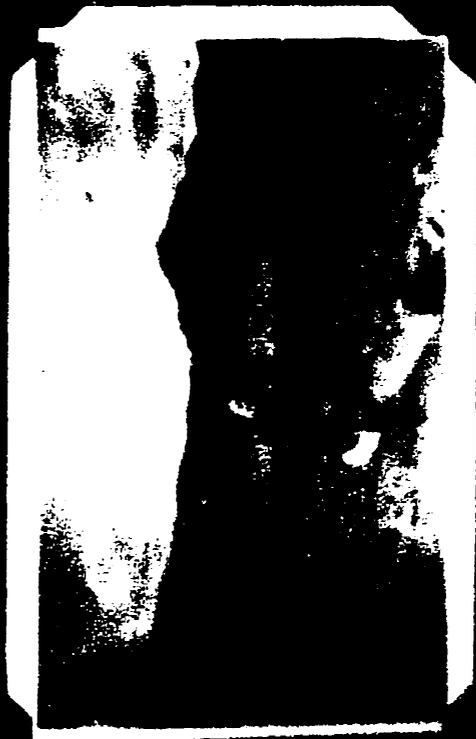
Fragmentation is most obvious in the treatment of the picnic sequences from 1933. Pictures from that series appear on pages 3, 26, 31 (two images taken on different occasions), 32, 36, and 37. Another serial group portrait, this

Illustrations

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 25. Unattributed. *St Maurice* 1933 (12 x 7.7 cm); 1926? (12.4 x 7.8 cm); *Ste Julienne* 1933 (12.2 x 7.6 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 72. Unattributed. *Ste-Adèle*, 1941? (7.6 x 12.2 cm); 1944 (7.1 x 11.5 cm); 1944 (7 x 11.7 cm); *Ste-Adèle*, 1945? (6.9 x 11.1 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.





one shot on the beach at Lac Noir, is also broken up across pages 28, 44 and 49. There are many more examples; the rule in this album is dispersal. It is interesting to compare this approach with Hilliard Snyder's concise and jumpy cinematic sequence (MP 016/92). Both methods are intended to animate and amuse, but the narrative programme of our sisters is best served by a generic image, somewhat disconnected from place and time. The moment is thus abstracted and extended into never-ending pleasure; such a basic desire seems subconsciously to have affected the dating of the picnic series, some of which is manifestly incorrect.

The picnic and lakeside series are not the only examples of happiness stretched over time. The rowing pictures of the late thirties and early forties take up where the picnics leave off, combined on page 37, then continuing on pages 38, 39, 43, 62, 65, 70, 71, 72 and 75. The sociability of the picnic years is gone. Most of these pictures are photographs of the sisters alone or together in rowboats. Pages 70 and 71 offer perfect examples of the mirroring portrait; the women here are wearing matching halter tops and occupying the same position in the boat. From the bow, they photograph each other sitting in the stern. In other words, conscious of themselves as twinned, they have taken some trouble, scrambling around in the boat to make matching portraits. These are dated July 1943; they are quite likely to have been taken on Lac Rond at Ste-Adèle. Once again, dates seem to blur on the following page where suspiciously similar photographs are identified on the back as "1944." The compiler's memory floats these images in a continuum.

In the layout of the album, symbolic clusters seem to form around certain kinds of images. In the first third of the album, pictures of little children, alone or in pairs, crop up a similar manner, unattached to parents and often in the centre of the page (page 9, 10, 17 and 25). As described earlier, the St-Ours pictures are separated on the page by a small snapshot of little girl, probably taken in Montréal (page 9). The child in the white snowsuit, sitting in his stroller in front of the stone entrance, separates the rinkside portraits of the sisters (page 17). On page 25, the family group from St-Maurice (mother on the swing) and a picture of the father (declaiming from the Ste-Julienne bandstand) are divided by a picture of a girl and boy (a

(reprint from the 1926 series).

We have already looked at the layered treatment of the younger sister's school picture on page 21. The use of the gaze to make associations between photographs can be seen elsewhere in the album; one effect is to heighten the integrity of the page. The tilt of a head, the curve of a back or the angle of a body may function as a visual repoussoir, or express correspondences. This is an album of corporeal expression and allusion. On page 11, a picture of a twenty-year-old boy lying on the grass, smoking and grinning up at the photographer would be unidentifiable without the adjacent picture, the Terrebonne portrait of the boy and his smoking father. Fusing their faces - stripping years from the father, ageing the young boy - makes up the features of the reclining youth. Incidents plucked out of space and time are unified by intrinsic and extrinsic associations; they unify the page. An extension of this formula unifies the album overall.

There are two cases in the album of actual repetition - the same image used more than once, just as the Wright Album (MP 2360) doubly presented pictures of the Peterborough gravesite, among others. In the sisters' case, one of their rowboat portraits, taken at Ste-Adèle in August 1938, is presented as an enlargement on page 65 and in its original snapshot form on page 75. The older sister rows the boat and the younger sits in the stern as passenger. Neither waves or smiles. They are both looking straight at the photographer, the younger with something like directorial intensity.

The dual portrait comes off very well. Within a landscape format, the lake fills half the frame, rising to a level horizon, the opposite shore dotted with cottages. Compositionally, the scene is reassuringly contained; another rower pulls in from the left edge of the picture; the right edge is defined by a line of boats bobbing at their moorings. The women and their boat are thus

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 11. Unattributed. Terrebonne 24 Août 1933 (12.2 x 7.6 cm); untitled, n.d. (7 x 11.6 cm); Ste Julienne, 1933? (12.2 x 7.6 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.



surrounded by water and immersed in a humane landscape. The other members of their party are unaccounted for although logically we know that someone is pressing the shutter. But the contentment and self-sufficiency of this pair seems almost to be willing the picture into being.

On page 65, the enlargement of the 1938 rowboat portrait is accompanied by a single portrait of the younger sister taken sometime between 1941 and 1945 on a deck or a look-out. Arms folded, leaning back on the railing, the younger sister projects a kind of rueful satisfaction, grounded in the realities of middle age. The boating picture shares page 75 with a snapshot of three young women - two previously seen hanging off the train - riding a horse and buggy, a photograph taken in 1945 at Ste-Adèle. Facing these images is the odd trio of page 74: the young woman on the tracks; Rachel being read to in bed; the party with balloons in the dingy (the older sister in the twenties). In the cluster formed by pages 74 and 75, the repetition of the rowboat portrait eases the exchange of happy memory and fearful anticipation.

In the second case of repetition, the snapshot first appears on page 57 in a cluster of images mainly connected to Ste-Adèle. The 1938 holiday is represented, as are the shorter visits of 1941 and 1945. The anomaly in this display is a photograph of the four adult day-trippers at St- Maurice, "27 Août 1933." It is one of the boy's long views, here blotted by the sign of the amateur, the shadow of a thumb. Ste-Adèle, 1941, holds the bottom right of each page; the two photographs are also similar in scale. On the left, the older sister pauses on a lawn to enjoy the fragrance of a tree. On the right, the younger sister dressed as we first saw here on page 4, betrays a look as severe as the cut of her clothes. Now she is standing on the steps leading to The Red Room of the Ste-Adèle Lodge. Bracketing the forward-looking figure on page 4, this woman looks back, a message reinforced by the second appearance of the same image. An enlargement of the Red Room portrait is the last item in the album. Isolated and mounted with an asymmetrical flourish, the portrait is endowed with the authority of a signature. In oral terminology, it is the last word.

Chronologically, as we have seen, the album is chaotic. Nevertheless, the

photographs cover a certain period which ends around 1945. Placing the 1941 portrait at the end of the album is a form of homeostasis, substituting a symbol of steadfast devotion for the actual last events. All the relatives and friends who figured in the family reunions of the forties are relegated to the album's interior. On pages 76 and 77, four photographs say goodbye. The world is getting smaller. The photographer moves inside to the dining room, the living room and the bedroom. Rachel is old and frail; she will soon disappear. The older sister pauses sadly before the Ste-Adèle church (page 76).

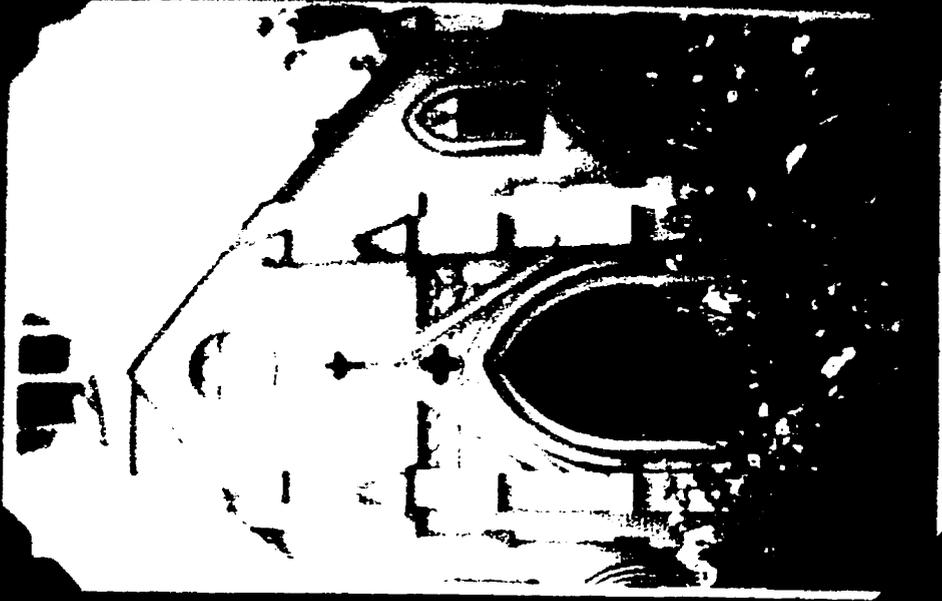
Throughout the album, photographs have been organized by association into echoing patterns. Specific sessions and photographic habits created series of images that are fragmented, multiplying their internal and external references. Each 'and' in this procession of discrete visual narratives lends another angle to the characters' lives. Each page also forms an aggregate that may be mirrored on the opposite page or reiterated elsewhere in the album. One effect of this presentation is to dismantle the workings of time. The group's self-portrait playing leap-frog is a perfect metaphor for this process (page 40). The past is always relative; on each page, the criss-crossing of dates confronts the distant past with the recent past. Nothing ever ends (except the hike). Even as a stranger, one is constantly in a state of abstract remembrance. Memories are imminent. Stories are latent. Visual reminders form cycles of prediction and actualization, memories brought sharply into the present by the telling of the album, the imaginal dialogue of spectatorial reenactment.

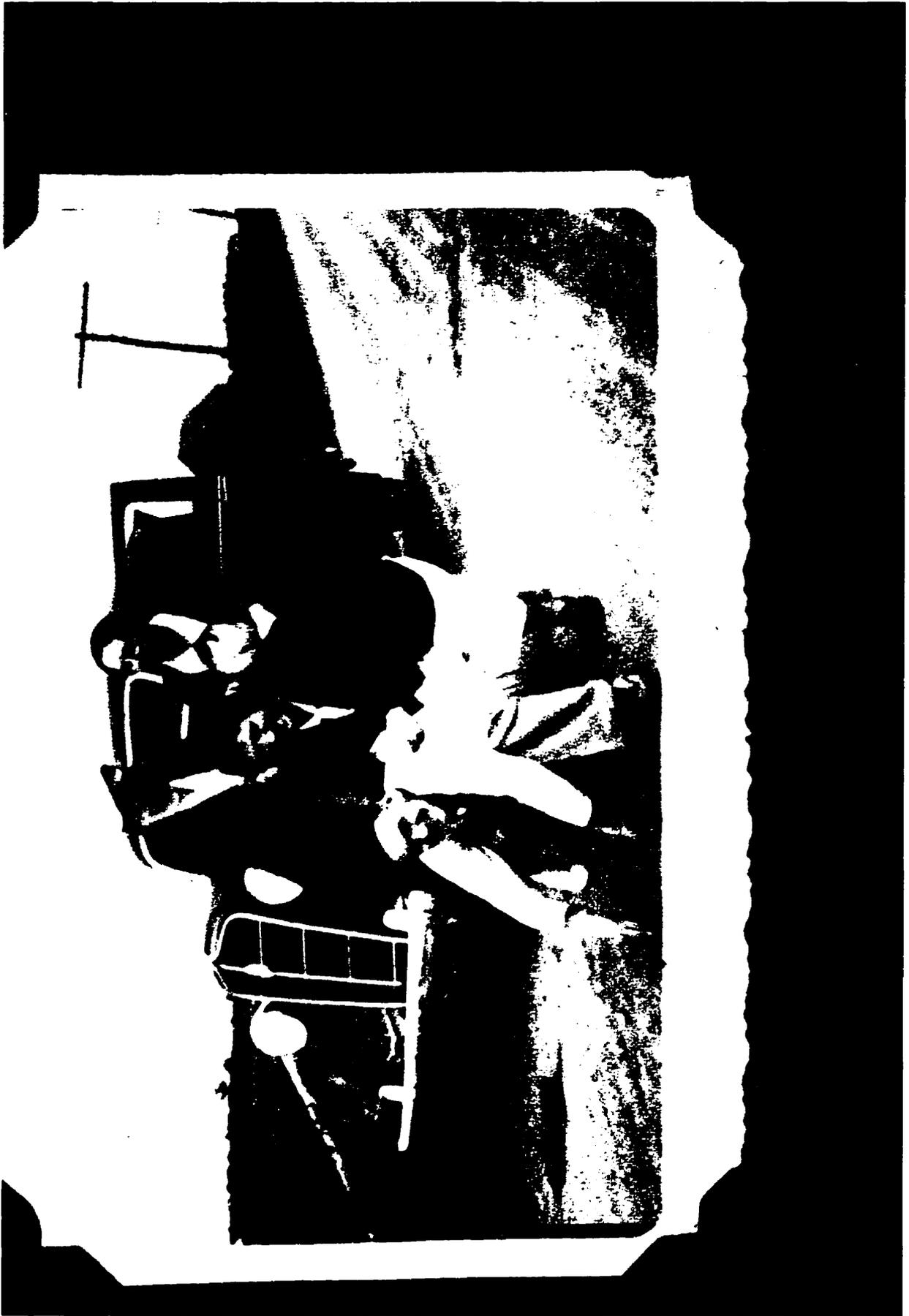
Illustrations

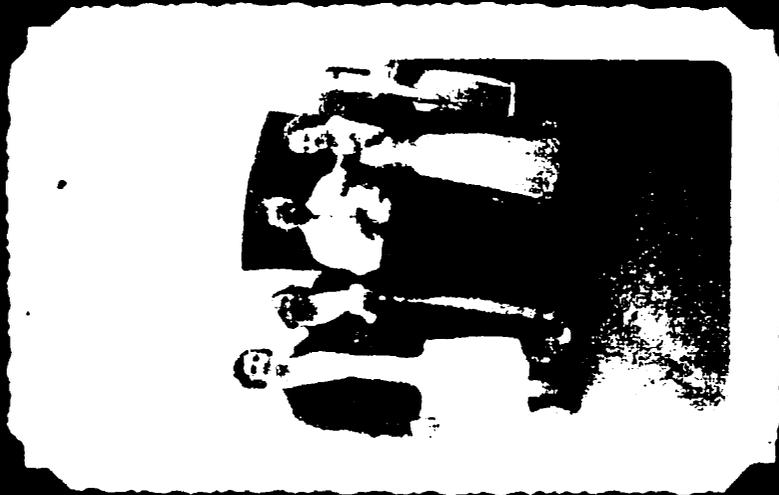
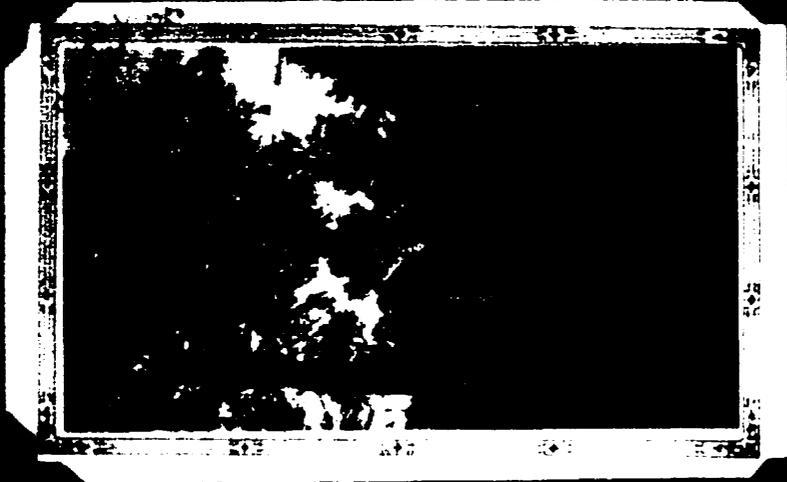
MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 76. Unattributed. Untitled, n.d. (9.2 x 12.5 cm); Ste-Adèle, September 1, 1941? (14.5 x 9.3 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 40. detail. Unattributed. After 1937? (7.5 x 11.2 cm). Gelatin silver print.

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 27. Unattributed. 1933? (12.2 x 7.6 cm); after 1937? (12 x 7.8 cm); *St Maurice* 27 Août 1933 (12 x 7.8 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.







The unaccompanied album requires of its viewer both interrogation and performance. Each of us must play the dual role of teller and listener. To understand the album, we need to hear it. To hear it, we must risk a little madness, a little ridicule, and speak it in our own tongue.

On page 27, there are three photographs: a couple embracing by the side of a country road; three women and a man standing at the back of a car with one woman pouring from a thermos; a woman standing inside a gate, her elbow resting on a post as she gazes into the distance. That photograph is inscribed: "St-Maurice, 27 août 1933."

That's my brother and his wife. That's Jean-Paul and Marie-Jeanne. We were going to St-Maurice. We wanted to stop for a picnic. We saw a farmhouse. There was nobody there so we just stopped. We took a lot of pictures because the farm was so nice and old-fashioned. [...] No, we didn't know the people so we just stayed close to the road. There was a lovely swing attached to a tree. We took turns taking pictures on the swing. You see, here is my sister, Pauline, leaning on the fence. There is another picture of Pauline and me together, somewhere in the album, with her sitting on the swing. That picture in the middle, that comes much later. Jean-Paul bought that car years later. His son, André, took that picture. That was our last trip all together. We must have been going to visit André's wife's family at Lac Noir. I don't know. There were many picnics before Roméo died, but not so many at that time, so that must have been it. We look like we're in a hurry to get somewhere and Marie-Jeanne is wearing a good dress and white shoes. So there you have Pauline, and Marie-Jeanne, and Jean-Paul, and that's me. I'm pretending to pour coffee from the thermos. So it looks more like a picnic.

Page 28. Three photographs: a couple playfully embracing or pretending to dance by the shore (he is smiling at the camera, clenching a cigarette in his mouth; she is finding her footing and looking down at the ground); four tiny figures standing on the steps of a church; three women and a man, dressed for church, standing in a line to be photographed by a man whose shadow creeps into the bottom of the frame. Captions read: "Lac Noir," "St-Donat 1933;" and "St-Barnabé."

Well, okay, now you see Jean-Paul and Marie-Jeanne at Lac Noir. We had been going to Ste-Adèle, but they switched to Lac Noir around that time because André got married and we were invited by his wife's family. That was August, 1939. Her family always rented a fishing cottage by the lake. You see their little boat. [...] Well that's true. You can see it better in other pictures. The four of us - Pauline, Jean-Paul, Marie-Jeanne and me - we took a lot of pictures there one Sunday. With the lake behind, it made a nice picture of Pauline, Marie-Jeanne and me. That picture in the middle, that's the parish church at St-Donat. We were coming from mass. You see, that's much earlier, 1933. André took that picture. He took lots of pictures of the four of us together. It's not a very good picture of us. He wanted to show the whole church. Here we are at St-Barnabé. Now you can really see us. You couldn't see us in the other picture. That's Pauline, Jean-Paul, Marie-Jeanne and me. [...] Well, that's a good question. It must be André, though I don't remember if he came with us that time. There's another picture somewhere, maybe he's in it.

Page 29. Two women playing ball across a country road. Two women posing on a riverbank. One woman sitting in the woods at the base of a tree. One print is captioned: "Beaconsfield. Vrai partie. 1933."

This was a very nice day in the country. You see, Pauline and I are playing ball together. We're pretending to play catch. That must be André's ball. We are out in the country, somewhere. Well it says, "Beaconsfield," so that must be it. We went to Rigaud on that trip and all the way to Ontario. There's a picture somewhere of Pauline and me with a sign that says, "Ontario." We didn't get very far, but that was a long drive in those days. Another time, we went to Ottawa. This is Terrebonne. That was later, I guess maybe the following year. Did you see the picture I took of André and Jean-Paul? [...] That was the same spot, very pretty with the tree hanging over the water and the boat. André looks so much like his father now. That picture that he sent us where he's lying in the grass. I still can't believe he's married. Well here we were in Terrebonne. There was a lovely park there with flowers and a cannon. André especially liked the cannon. I took their

picture and then André took this one of Pauline and me in the same place. It's not as good. He took it before we were ready and he wanted to get the whole thing in, the tree, the boat, the building. He was just a young kid. Here I am by myself. I don't remember where this was taken. [...] Well, it must have been sometime in the early thirties. That seems about right. [...] Oh, yes. I wore that dress a lot. I liked it. It was very loose and cool and I liked to wear it for our Sunday drives.

This is not a *family album* in the abstract sense of a chronological account or genealogy, but an album about family. Its compiler is a sister who tells and retells her devotional tale, who gives praise in a multiple tableau of family lore. Perhaps unmarried aunts and uncles - those without the blessings and burdens of children - are the compilers whose histories of family life end up in public collections. The sisters buried their relatives, but when the owner of this album died, no one was there to claim it as an heirloom. Finding such an album in a museum, we must consider the possibility that our vision of family life comes, not from the source or the centre, but from the margins of observation and construction. "Think memorable thoughts," says Ong, and so we shall remember the sisters, the elder in her constancy and the younger in her evergreen patterned dress.

Illustration

MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 36. Unattributed. Pension Ducharme 1936 (7.6 x 12 cm); untitled, n.d. (7.6 x 12.3 cm); *Caughnawaga* or *St-Maurice*, 1933? (13.4 x 8.2 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.



Notes:

1. The hearts and corners question can be summarized. They alternate over the first fifth of the album, ending in the middle of page 16 where hearts affixed for a missing photograph hold only one corner of its smaller replacement. Their anomalous application on page 2 hints that the St-Jean portrait was put in by a different hand.
2. Conversation over a copy of the album with a group of residents and clerks in the municipal offices of St-Ours, November 18, 1996.
3. Abbé A. Couillard Després, Histoire de la Famille et de la Seigneurie de Saint-Ours. IIIème Partie, La Famille et la Paroisse de Saint-Ours 1785-1916 (Montréal: Imprimerie des Sourds-Muets, 1917) pp. 12-13.
4. It was intriguing to read a notice in La Presse (Saturday, August 13, 1932) for a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de Lourdes de Rigaud to be held on Saturday, August 20, 1932. Our group seems to have gone on its own and on Sunday, according to the inscription, but perhaps they were inspired by the organized event.
5. The sole indication of the war effort is a series of haying photographs made in August, 1940 (pages 41, 45 and 49). Curiously enough, there was full-page advertisement for Kodak published in the August 31 picture supplement of La Presse that featured children on a hay wagon and the ambiguous caption: "Les amis d'aujourd'hui se disperseront et se perdront de vue. Mais en appuyant simplement sur un bouton, vous pouvez les conserver tels qu'ils sont."
6. Alison Lurie, The Language of Clothes (New York: Random House, 1981) pp. 73-77.

Conclusion

Orality lingers in the depths of photographic consciousness, silently petitioning for critical recovery. Yet so vital is the link that the merest suggestion is sufficient reminder; allusions to photography and orality can be caught like butterflies in a net. Consider, for example, this beautiful Joycean specimen captured by Alfred Appel:

"How could you remember everybody" wonders Mr. Bloom, as he walks through the cemetery at Paddy Dignam's funeral in the "Hades" chapter of *Ulysses*, past gravestones festooned with "rusty wreaths hung on knobs, garlands of bronzefoil." The gramophone, that's how: "Remind you of the voice like the photograph reminds you of the face. Otherwise you couldn't remember the face after fifteen years," thinks Bloom as he heads for the glittering cemetery gates at the end of the chapter.¹

"Yes," we say to Joyce, thanking Appel for summoning him, because this photographic study wants to follow Bloom beyond the limits of closure and morbidity. The photographic album is an instrument of memory. Granted, but let us render onto memory what is proper to memory, its life sustaining function in the present.

We can begin this process by enlarging our understanding of popular photographic experience. The recognition of a vestigial oral framework shaping the contents, structure and meaning of the photographic album is an original contribution to knowledge and a valuable tool for future research. On the basis of this study, different aspects of an album will be attended to. It will be impossible, for example, to ignore the epithetic nature of echoing portrayals, or to neglect the predictive confluences of typologies, both features nested in aggregate representation. Sounding out the arrangements of pictures makes use of the knowledge that the album was compiled by an individual for presentation in discursive spirit - a conversation with the self and

others now held by the album in suspense. The interpretation of the younger sister's album (MP 035/92) which combines conventional methods of contextual visual analysis with a checklist from oral tradition is offered as a model. For public collections to apply it, certain priorities will have to be adjusted; habits of attention and recording practices will have to be changed. Albums cannot be tampered with and they cannot be unpacked in a hurry. A visual life history that might span thirty years is worthy of careful and multivocal interpretation.

But as important as it is to remember everybody, the recognition of an affinity between oral tradition and photographic compilation has other implications. Ong's psychodynamics of orality give shape to memory by explaining its transmission within the conditions and exigencies of oral consciousness. Photography, too, is concerned with memory - some would say it inscribes it - but the accommodation of photography within a mnemonic system that leaves no tangible inscription has something else to say about the nature of photography, its relationship to memory and language.

We must recall the fundamental point that the features of orality which have enabled us to make the correlation with photography have been derived from transcriptions of recitation. They are the likenesses of telling and listening - transitory and provisional to their incorporeal core. Photography draws from the same well of evanescence because (like other art forms) it is concerned with transitory human experience and because (unlike other art forms) it can. The cluster of expressions that accrue to an impression of devotion in the older sister flickered across her face under specific conditions and were gone. The camera caught them and turned them into an observable feature of material culture. But they are no less ephemeral for all their permanence on the sheet. Cataloguing their recurrence should not obscure the fact that photographic images are tokens of irrecoverable experience. But there is no loss, no cause for keening, when the process of remembering reactivates the image and leaves its own experiential trace.

Through Ong, we have examined a number of features that distinguish orality from literacy. According to Goody and Watt, the central difference resides not in the way that societies remember, but in the way that they forget. The homeostatic organization of culture in a non-literate society provides for the assimilation of the past into an active present. The process is dynamic in the sense that irrelevant memories and the language that preserved them are shed. Goody and Watt do point out the existence of certain "mnemonic devices...which offer some resistance to the interpretive process. Formalized patterns of speech, recital under ritual conditions, the use of drums and other musical instruments, the employment of professional remembrancers - all such factors may shield at least part of the content of memory from the transmuting influence of the immediate pressures of the present."² We should now add the photographic album to that list. The album is also a mnemonic device and a perfect example of homeostasis in its adaptation of oral structure to a literary guise.

The pleasures of provisional meaning and performative engagement are hardly unknown in literary theory. A single essay by Wolfgang Iser contains striking parallels to the features and conditions discussed in this essay as oral and compilatory.³ Terms like "concatenation"⁴ and "gaps of indeterminacy"⁵ are transferable without comment to the additive structure and dialectical reception of a photographic albums. Iser refers also to the reader's tendency to group things and fill in the gaps in an effort at harmony, an illusory exercise that belongs to the reader alone.⁶ The underlying message is simple: works of the imagination require the workings of the imagination to be received. To the appreciable degree that we imagine history, the same observation applies.

But Iser's field is modern literature and when he turns finally to the examples of Beckett and Joyce, his own reader is flooded with memories and a pressing desire to bring them to order. How shall we remember everybody? The album exhibits the solution. It is remarkable, I feel, to be able to see so clearly the dynamic process of memory being

husbanded through transmission, remarkable especially in an instrument so often assigned to moribund convention.

Within the constraints of the medium and depending on the abilities of the photographer, a photographic album can illustrate the episodes and qualities of a life history. It thus becomes the visual equivalent of a genealogy, a memoir, a journal or a diary - the composite record of things deemed worthy of remembrance. The elements of this instrument are photographs, the democratic traces of the real. A photographer may point, as John Szarkowski has observed,⁷ but his photograph points in too many directions at once. What tiny detail will assert itself later, and on whose watch? As invitations to reenactment, photographs cover themselves, again and again, in fresh recollection.

The album applies the strategies of orality to bring this propagation to order. The album treats both remembrances and remembering. Its function as an aide-mémoire is not literally or even figuratively to present everything that is to be remembered, but also to prepare and activate the mnemonic condition. "In an oral culture," says Ong, "Experience is intellectualized mnemonically."⁸ The oral framework of the album greases the wheels of retrieval, reinstating and expanding the repertoire of remembrance as the images are seen and heard in a rolling present.

Notes:

1. Alfred Appel, Jr., Signs of Life (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1983) p. 152.
2. Goody and Watt, pp. 30-31.
3. Wolfgang Iser, "Indeterminacy and the Reader's Response," in Aspects of Narrative, J. Hillis Miller, ed. (New York and London: Columbia Univeristy Press, 1971) pp. 1-45.
4. Ibid., p. 22.
5. Ibid., p. 9.
6. Ibid., p. 40.
7. John Szarkowski, "Atget and the Art of Photography," in The Work of Atget. Volume I. Old France, John Szarkowski and Maria Morris Hambourg (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981) p. 11.
8. Ong, Orality and Literacy, p. 36.

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Appendix I: Study Group Catalogue

All albums are from the Notman Photographic Archives of the McCord Museum of Canadian History. Listing follows accession numbers, by year, within each series. Three series are coded: **MP**, **M** and **N**.

The **MP** series (Museum Photograph) is the current numbering system. Acquisitions made between 1973 and 1994 include the accession year as the last two digits of the accession number. Objects acquired prior to 1973 have been assigned numbers in the **MP** series without an accession year.

The **M** series (McCord Museum Accession Record) has been replaced by the **MP** series. **M** numbers are shown in brackets after the **MP** number to facilitate retrieval of registration data from the McCord accession books.

An **N** series (Notman) number means that the album contains mostly photographs from the Notman Studio. Entries in the **N** series may be cross-indexed with the **MP** series - **MP** for the album and **N** for some or all of its contents. In this case, the **N** number follows the **MP** number in brackets.

End date for this catalogue is December 31, 1992.

Measurements of **albums closed**: height x width x depth

Measurements of **prints**: height x width

Catalogue entries contain no comments on the **condition** of the album, save where marks (tears, abrasions or residual adhesives) seem part of the creation or life of the object, or where a technical observation (yellowing or fading) helps to describe the album and influences its reception.

Locations in storage can be expected to change. Drawer or shelf numbers were verified in January, 1997.

MP 010

89M

Constructed title: Green Album

Compiler unknown, early 20th century.

Photographers include Alexander Henderson (active 1850s-1890s), Barnes/Montréal (Wilfred Molson Barnes, active 1900s-1940s?), Notman Studio and others unknown.

Expandable album (31.5 x 42.7 x 5.5 cm) containing 147 gelatin silver and albumen prints (53 attributed to Alexander Henderson), 22 printed maps, 5 photographic copies of drawings and historical documents and 1 botanical specimen. Green cloth cover and gold-stamped black leather spine and corners, with silver metal bolts (ledger-style). A label fixed to the inside back cover indicates that the binding was repaired by J. N. Hague in 1972. 170 pages, mostly grey (6 yellow wove sheets interspersed throughout). Photographic prints range in type and scale from carte-de-visite through snapshot to 20 x 25 cm. They are dry-mounted, singly or in groups on both sides of the sheets. Pages 81-82 (one sheet, recto/verso), including Alexander Henderson's Tanneries Village, St. Henri (c. 1859) and two other Henderson photographs, were removed from the album by the Notman Photographic Archives for an exhibition. There are no plans to reconstitute the album.

The album is composed of views of Montréal and southern Québec, probably selected for their historical interest. The maps, as well as the copies of drawings and documents, suggest a concentration on colonial and military history in Québec (Seven Years War and the War of 1812). The topographical maps feature the Chambly River, Missisquoi Bay on Lake Champlain, Vaudreuil and the Lake of the Two Mountains and the region of Iberville, including Mount Johnson (toponym in official use between 1815 and 1958 when it was changed to Mont-St-Grégoire), which was the property and burial place of Sir John Johnson, soldier and prominent Loyalist. While picturesque views of streets, houses, churches, military buildings, monuments and ruins stylistically dominate this album, its compilation appears thematic, grouping copies of artifacts or

art works with photographic views by different photographers, according to subject-matter. An irregular approach to lay out, leaving gaps in the sequence, might indicate a progressive compilation by an amateur photographer or historical enthusiast.

The album was purchased from a dealer, John Russell, on March 11, 1966.

Illustration

following page:

68 **MP 010.** Green Album, p. 41. Unattributed.
Two views of unidentified site with trees and rubble.
Gelatin silver prints, each approx. 10.5 x 12.5 cm;
photographic copy of *Plan of Mount Johnson. Showing
the land purchased by Sir John Johnson...William Sax,
Land Surveyor, 1805.* Gelatin silver print, 14.2 x
17.8 cm.

MP 139 (formerly M13578)

79E

Constructed title: McCord Red Album

Compiler: Alexander Henderson and/or David Ross McCord, between 1871 and 1878, with possible later additions

Photographer: Alexander Henderson

Red leather bound photographic album (45 x 36 x 4.5 cm) containing architectural and landscape views. The 59 albumen prints, ranging between 11.5 x 19.3 cm and 16.5 x 22 cm., have been mounted, one per page, with 51 photographs centred in tinted fields (either 18 x 25.3 cm or 22 x 25.3 cm) on the right-hand page. The rest (8 prints) have been mounted on the verso side of the page. Cover and inside edges are gilt-stamped; end papers are brilliant white, moiré-patterned.

Three unattributed captions in pencil link McCord houses to owners by name and year of birth. More than half the prints include a number or the Henderson name as inscribed on the negative. Numbers range from the 2000 series through the 4000 series. A numbered list of subjects, compiled by a McCord cataloguer, corresponds to numbers lightly inscribed in pencil on each page.

The album begins with 9 architectural photographs of McCord family property, including 7 views of the house and gardens of Temple Grove, built in 1837 by John Samuel McCord on Côte-des Neiges Road in Montréal. These photographs were commissioned by his son, David Ross McCord, who is pictured on the columned porch and elsewhere on the property. The commission included a view of David Ross McCord's house on the Champ de Mars (later the headquarters of the Geological Survey of Canada) which photograph was not included in the album. Views of Temple Grove are followed by 12 blank pages (there are traces of glue and abrasions on some of these sheets). The album continues with 34 Canadian landscape and architectural views, followed by 7 blank pages, 15 views and 5 blank pages. The first unfilled pages (12) were designed for smaller prints, the second and third sections of blank pages (7 and 5) for larger

prints.

The McCord album can be compared with the Molson album (MP 1452) which was apparently a wholly commissioned piece. Spaces left in the McCord album and the mounting of 8 small prints on the unprepared, recto sides of the sheets, suggest a more active involvement on the part of the owner, the intention or the act of adding to the album in stages. The survey of the McCord houses is an autobiographical introduction to a private photographic collection in which Henderson's treatments of nature, especially rivers, lakes, waterfalls, woodland, ice fields and snow, have been organized for visual interest and individual contemplation.

The album was part of the David Ross McCord Collection, transferred to the museum in 1930. The wet plate negatives of the McCord houses are part of the Henderson Collection held by the Notman Photographic Archives.

Illustration

following page:

66 **MP 139.** McCord Red Album, p. 8. Alexander Henderson.
Temple Grove Croquet Court (D. R. McCord), 1872.
Albumen print, 11.5 x 19.3 cm.

MP 582

88E

Constructed title: Natural History Picnic Album

Unknown compiler, c. 1910

Unknown photographers

Black cloth-covered Gilson Adjustable album (18 x 29.5 x 5.5 cm) containing snapshots and studio portraits mainly taken in Montréal from 1900 to 1910. 131 gelatin silver prints (from 6 x 7 cm to 11.5 x 9 cm) and 1 cyanotype (9.8 x 12 cm) are mounted on both sides of 30 grey card leaves. A loose print (18 x 24 cm) is mounted on black card. Images are creatively varied in format from borderless prints to round or parallelogram shapes.

Inscriptions are in English. Written in ink as captions or general headings, they record occasions, places and dates. These include "Picnic Rosemere Que. Sept. 28 1901," "Natural History Picnic Piedmont," "Sept. 1901 355 Olivier," "1000 Islands 1900," "On Mount Royal April 28, 1901," "2297 St. Catherine Nov. 1900," "98 University Aug. 24 1900," "Thos. May Fire Jan 1901," "Military Camp Three Rivers Q./June 25 - July 6 1901," "Longueil Regatta Aug. 4 1900," and "Duke of York's Visit Sept. 1901." One name is given: "A. W. Sterling Toronto July 1907." In addition, a proof print of a graduating class picture ("Gradués en Pharmacie 1903"), taken by Laprès & Lavergne Photographies of Montréal, provides a roster of 24 legible names under the medallion portraits, one of which may represent the compiler. None of these, however, match the names connected to the three Montréal addresses as verified in the Montréal directory: J. Boyd Dunlop, Thomas Brethour, F. W. McKenna, F. C. Fox and Walter G. Penny. In a different hand, the loose picture is inscribed: "Montreal Amateur Orchestra 1908."

The album records the relationship of the compiler and principal photographer to a number of social groups: male friends, female friends, club members, school chums and family. Activities and historic events are recorded from the perspective of an active participant.

Photographs are organized thematically, with little attention to chronology within the short timeframe that is the album's main focus (1900 - 1907). A core group of young men is recorded enjoying some of the manly pleasures (smoking, drinking and playing cards) in settings such as clubs and private rooms. Portraits of young women document their costumes, pets and walks, as well as the stately houses and gardens that form the domestic sphere. Sprinkled throughout the album are group portraits occasioned by such educational, social or sporting events as natural history picnics, amateur theatrics, baseball and the Longueil regatta which document the codes of fashion and behaviour in force at the turn of the century. The photographs indicate an interest in the built environment, from temporary installations such as military camps and festive decorations, to the more permanent features of well appointed summer homes. Signs of deletions indicate some passages of reconsideration on the part of the compiler who ended the compilation with a concentration on an intimate family group photographed on the grounds of an unidentified country estate. Pages 52 to 60 are blank.

The album was acquired prior to 1973.

Illustrations

following pages:

- 150 **MP 582. Natural History Picnic Album, p. 11.**
Unattributed. *On Mount Royal, April 28, 1901.* Two
gelatin silver prints, 9 x 10 cm / 9 x 10.8 cm.
- 104 **MP 582. Natural History Picnic Album, p. 13.**
Unattributed. *2297 St Catherine / Nov. 1900.* Four
gelatin silver prints, 9 x 11.3 cm / 10.5 x 7.6 (two
oval) / 8.6 x 10.9 cm.

MP 586

88D

Constructed title: Anonymous Amateur Album

Compiler unknown, c. 1920

Photographer unknown

Black leather expandable album containing multiple portraits of family and friends, self-portraits, landscapes, urban views and reportage. 169 gelatin silver prints, image size ranging from 3.6 x 6 cm to 7.9 x 13.4 cm, have been glued to 102 black pages. One sheet has been cut in half. Photographs are mounted on the recto side of the sheet through page 73; recto and verso sides are used for the remainder of the album.

There are no inscriptions. Photographs have been numbered and some place names have been added, probably by a museum cataloguer. An ink stamp bleeding through a small print on page 14 appears to read: "USP at Nov. 28, 98."

The photographer is likely to have resided in Montréal. The album demonstrates a lively interest in photography. The first photograph in the album captures the sun breaking through clouds; there are two cloud studies on page 43. Experiments seem to concentrate on problems of exposure - timing and motion - rather than composition. Portraits and self-portraits are taken and presented in clusters, offering a variety of poses and vantage points on the same subject and situation. Some images made under the same or similar circumstances are separated in the album, creating an impression of diversity. Self-portraits appear to have been done either with a timer or an assistant. Self-consciousness and seriousness are conveyed by one interior self-portrait, exposed in a mirror (page 35). Other experiments are more playful in terms of spontaneity (hanging from a tree, p. 53), role-playing (the urbane, casual pose, p. 57) or incongruity (affectations of glamour in a country setting, p. 95). Multiple portraits of friends and family chronicle personal relationships, with one young woman featuring prominently. All portraits are informal and affectionate.

The album combines views of the city (Montréal, Ottawa and Winnipeg can be identified), with portraits taken in city parks or on excursions by car to the country. Urban subjects seem to reflect personal history: Commercial and Technical High School, Dorval Jockey Club, and movie marquees - the Province advertising the Keystone Kops and Charlie Chaplin vehicle, Cruel Cruel Love. A record has been made of Star of David and message painted on a rock: "Welcome M. S. S." (Mount Sinai Sanatorium?). Other subjects seem to have been chosen for general interest or photographic qualities: the destruction by fire of a Montréal urban row (pp. 61-65). An engaging genre photograph features a newsboy on the street (p. 71). A recurrent motif is the train: views of a Grand Trunk Pacific rail yard, train stations (Redditt, Vaudreuil, St-Anne), the landscape and sides of moving trains, and portraits of conductors. The record of a journey to Winnipeg by train is complete with several images of city streets.

The album which was accompanied by a box of negatives was an anonymous donation received by the McCord Museum prior to 1973.

Illustration

following page:

72 **MP 586.** Anonymous Amateur Album, p. 35. Unattributed. Untitled (self-portrait); Untitled (Group portrait - double-exposure). Two gelatin silver prints, 7.9 x 13.4 cm / 7.6 x 13.1 cm.

MP 598 (M 20107)

91E

Constructed title: Captain G. E. Mack Album II

Compiler: Captain G. E. Mack, 1905-1927

Photographers: Captain G. E. Mack, and others unknown

Black cardboard expandable album (26 x 34.3 x 3.2 cm) containing snapshots of Hudson Bay Company interests and Inuit communities in the Canadian north. 227 gelatin silver prints (8 x 10 cm) have been glued to black sheets, typically 4 per page.

The rare caption has been inscribed in white pencil and by someone other than the compiler: "? , Capt. Mack, Capt. Smellie, Mr. Sewell." accompanies a photograph of four men on page 39. A label affixed to the inside front cover conforms to the Accession Record entry and appears to be based on information provided by the donor (see below).

Parallel to the donor's statement, a museum indexer has created five subject-headings for the album:

1. Bear, Polar: pp. 35, 54, 59
2. Eskimo: costume pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 47, 50; igloo p. 48
3. Hudson Bay: posts pp. 20, 22, 26, 29, 31, 37, 42, 43, 45, 51, 54, 55, 56; Fort Churchill, Man. p. 33; Nascopie p. 32; Officials pp. 24, 25, 39, 40, 41, 47, 52
4. Laplanders' costumes: pp. 34, 57
5. Reindeer from Norway: p. 23

The subject-matter as indexed can be compared to the index accompanying the larger Captain Mack album (MP 597 - M 20106 - uncatalogued). The larger album accommodates more photographs of the Norwegian reindeer being taken off the ship, as well as trapping and hunting photographs.

The smaller album may have been an attempt to place greater emphasis on people. The documentation of "mixed breeds" is part of an overview that includes close, sometimes candid, studies of the Inuit (p. 18) with

pictures of the governing officials and their families from the south
(p. 38).

Album of photographs presented in February, 1947, by Mrs R. Mack, wife of Captain G. E. Mack, former Commander of the Hudson Bay Co. Steamship Nascopie. The McCord Museum Accession Record reads: "These photographs, taken between 1905 and 1927, show Eskimo and mixed breed types, costumes, tents, igloos, hunting scenes, R.C.M.P. and H.B.C. officials."

Illustration

follows page:

62 **MP 598.** Captain G. E. Mack Album II, p. 3. Captain G. E. Mack? Untitled (northern family and buildings), c. 1920. Four gelatin silver prints, each 8 x 10 cm.

MP 1452

79E

Inscribed title: Photographs/Canadian Scenery

Compilation commissioned of Alexander Henderson by May, Hattie and Ethel Frothingham as a gift for their uncle, John H. R. Molson (1826-97), and presented to him on January 1, 1879

Photographs are mainly by Alexander Henderson (active 1850s-1890s) with five photographs from the Notman Studio (Notman & Sandham)

Red leather bound photographic album (43.5 x 34 x 5.8 cm) containing mainly landscape and architectural views. Title is gold-stamped on the spine. Cover is embossed in a black and gold pattern and decorated with a gold-coloured monogram, 'J H R M'. Pages are buff-coloured and gilt-edged; end papers are white, moiré-patterned. The 189 albumen prints, ranging in size between 11.5 x 19 cm and 26 x 34 cm have been mounted singly, in pairs or three to a page. There are 96 pages in all.

The mark of the studio is stamped in ink: "Alex. Henderson, Landscape Photographer, Montreal." Titles of prints have been scratched into the emulsion or opaqued on the plate. Henderson series numbers (1974 to 5799) and years (1869 to 1878) also appear on a small number of prints, indicating a range of at least a decade. The dedication is on a separate card which reads: "To Our Dear Uncle John / With very much love & best wishes for this, & all coming years, from his loving nieces May, Hattie & Ethel / Jan. 1st/79."

The album opens with a view of Montréal taken from Mont Royal. The city is described in its seasonal contrasts through architectural landmarks, noteworthy interiors and typical street scenes. Other sites of historical and strategic importance, notably Québec and Ottawa, are given similar treatment. The selection extends from Truro, Nova Scotia, to Niagara Falls. Henderson's views of the colonized landscape denote prosperity and expansion, traditional occupations, feats of engineering, natural resources and wonders. The photographs are organized geographically, by town, waterway and region, and complementally,

according to theme, season or the photographer's interest. Salient features of the photographs are expressed in titles such as "Indians Making Bark Canoes," "Driving Logs Upper Ottawa," "Wave study" and "Sunrise 4:30 AM." A noteworthy cluster of images presents the steps of portaging.

The album is particularly interesting because of its combination of "natural" and "artificial" photographic effects. Tobogganing, for example, is depicted as a mixture of actual and studio conditions (pp. 39-41) combined in the printing. A crudely enhanced view of the Chaudière Falls (p. 76) can be compared to Henderson's successful treatments of such technically challenging elements as ice formations and snow.

The album was donated to the McCord in 1968 by Miss E. Dorothy Benson, daughter of Etheldred Frothingham Benson who, with her sisters, May and Hattie, was the nominal commissioner of the album.

Illustrations

following pages:

- 66 **MP 1452.** Photographs/Canadian Scenery, pp. 92-93.
Alexander Henderson, *Under Table Rock* (20.3 x 15.5 cm)
and *Under Table Rock* (15.3 x 21 cm); *American Fall 7th*
Ice Bridge (24 x 31 cm). Three albumen prints, sizes
as indicated.

MP 1768

940

Constructed title: Small Molson Album

Compiler: John Thomas Molson (1837-1910), c. 1860-1875

Photographers include Notman Studio (Notman & Sandham) and Mitchell, Montréal

Black leather bound album (12 x 9 x 3 cm) for cartes-de-visite, one per page. Embossing forms horizontal stripe pattern; spine missing; leather clasp with brass closure; gilt-edged sheets with arched, gilt-bordered recessed pockets.

Much of the album is empty. In the album as accessioned, there were apparently 17 cartes-de-visite and 1 one miniature hand-coloured portrait (2.6 x 2 cm). Three cartes coloured by John A. Fraser were removed for an exhibition on painted photographs. There are no plans to reconstitute the album.

The album is a personal collection of family portraits, dating from the time of J. T. Molson's first marriage to Lillias Savage (1839-66) and continuing into his second marriage to Jennie B. Butler (1850-1926). Though not strictly chronological, the sequence has an autobiographical aspect. A portrait of J. T. Molson from 1864 relates to portraits of the first Mrs J. T. Molson and their daughter, Lillias Savage Molson. The remains of the collection include portraits of the second Mrs Molson, children and other family members. Even incomplete, the album preserves a nineteenth-century response to the death of a spouse whose memory is perpetuated in a continuum of survivors, remarriage and a second line of progeny.

The album was donated to the museum prior to 1973.

Illustration

following page:

MP 1768. Small Molson Album, detail. William Notman and John A. Fraser, *Mrs J. T. Molson*, 1866. Hand-coloured carte-de-visite, 8.5 x 5.5 cm.

MP 1993 (formerly M18968)

88I

Constructed title: Cannon Album

Compiler unknown

Photographers from various European studios, including Venuti, Rome; Frateli Alinari, Firenze; H. Plaut, Paris; Kaltenbacher, Amiens; J. Andrieu, Paris; Hodcend, Gênes; Davanne, Menton; Somner & Behles, Naples and Rome.

Brown leather bound album (35 x 23 x 7 cm) containing cartes-de-visite and other photographs of French and Italian cities, monuments and works of art. Cover is distinctively decorated with a large brass plaque in high relief (26.5 x 19.8 x 2 cm) in a military design (cannon). Inside front cover stamped "AUG. KLEIN. WIEN." End sheet is white moiré silk. Cream sheets with gilt-outlined recessed pockets are designed to hold 4 cartes-de-visite per side. There are 198 cartes-de-visite or souvenir photographs in the album.

There are no inscriptions visible in the album. Inscriptions in English, French and Italian appear on the backs of the cartes-de-visite. The compiler's notes are in English. These include references with page numbers to Murray's guidebook for commentary on paintings and frescoes in the Vatican.

The album begins with an introductory selection from the tour: photographs representing Amiens, Paris and Rome. The overview develops through Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Nimes, Toulon, then on into Italy, concentrating on the masterpieces of Florence and Rome. Monuments and works of art are interspersed with views of cities and harbours; one page is a montage of historical and contemporary references - two heroic sketches of Napoleon reading at Elba and ascending from his tomb - combined with views of the seaports of Genoa and Naples. On page 32, three cartes-de-visite of classical statuary are combined with a religious souvenir, "Tableau Synoptique des Papes Depuis Saint Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX." This miniature gallery suggests an end-date for the

album since the pontificate of Pius IX ended in 1878.

The McCord Museum Accessions Register records the object as follows:
"Album. Brass Bound (12" x 9" x 3"). Leather cover bears 10 1/2" x 8" brass plaque, with brass canon (sic) mounted on crossed shovel and paddle, surrounded by loops of brass rope, 4 brass canon (sic) balls in each corner. Clasp. Contents, pictures from Italy, probably mementoes of a Grand Tour. One lock found." The album was part of the Morgan collection, a substantial donation of decorative art, furniture and craft received in 1945.

Illustration

following page:

68 **MP 1993.** Cannon Album, p. 32. Unsigned,
*Tableau synoptique des Papes Depuis Saint
Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX* and Sommer & Behles,
Naples & Rome, three photographs of marble sculptures
from the Vatican collection. Albumen prints, each
approximately 9 x 5.5 cm.

MP 2146

88H

Constructed title: Arthur Lindsay Album

Compiler: Arthur Lindsay or Minnie Lindsay, c. 1869

Photographers: McCord Museum cataloguer has listed various studios, including Stiff Brothers, Ottawa; Presby; J. E. Mayall, London (5); McLean & Haes, London (3); Langerer, Vienna; Gunther, Berlin; J. L. Jones, Québec (4); Smeatons, Québec (3); Vallee & Labelle, Québec; Webb, Québec; Livernois & Bienvenu, Québec (3); Elisson & Co., Québec (5); Archambault & McCockindale, Québec (6); Doane, Montréal; Notman, Montréal (8); Windiat, Toronto; Maitland, St. Catherines (3); Park and Co., Brantford; E. & H. T. Anthony, New York; Randall, Detroit (2); Powelson & Co., Detroit (2); Johnson & Lufkin, Erie (2); George Grenville, Thorold, Ontario (3); Jarvis & Arless, Ottawa (2); Stiff & Gregory, Ottawa; E. Spencer, Ottawa (2); Topley, Ottawa (5); Notman & Fraser, Toronto (2); R. R. Thompson, Goderich, Ontario (2); J. L. Jones, Québec; Gregory, Montréal; Livernois, Québec (2); Wm Elliot, Galt; A. C. McIntyre, Brockville; J. Beattie, Clifton, England; J. Egan, London, Ontario.

Black leather bound album (23 x 18.3 x 5.8 cm) containing a private collection of 102 cartes-de-visite. There are 4 unmounted prints and tintypes. Deeply embossed cover with gilt decoration and mother-of-pearl beads mounted on each corner with brass fittings (one bead missing). Two brass fittings with clasps missing. Spine stamped in gilt: 'Album'. Each page has four recessed pockets outlined in gilt. White moiré end papers.

On the reverse side of the front end papers, the owners' names are inscribed and surrounded by a colourful border: "Minnie Lindsay," printed in pencil, is overwritten in ink, "Arthur Lindsay." Two index pages are blank. The few inscriptions and dates on the backs of the cartes-de-visite have been noted by the McCord cataloguer. Identifications, inscribed in pencil, indicate only limited knowledge of the contents, and were likely added by someone close to the compiler.

The album begins with carte-de visite copies of painted portraits. These are followed by photographic portraits of European royalty made by studios in London, Vienna and Berlin. Portraits of acquaintances, friends and family follow. The increasing number of identifications suggests a progression from celebrities to intimate friends and family. Studio stamps indicate groupings by locations or kinship; the organization of the collection was considered on a page by page basis. The album ends with a portrait of Minnie Lindsay - Mrs Arthur Lindsay (née Marion Kiefer), 1866.

The album appears to have been donated by a relative of the compiler.

Illustration

following page:

58 **MP 2146.** Arthur Lindsay Album, p. 26. Top row: J. Beattie, Clifton, England; J. Egan, London, Ontario. Bottom row: J. E. Mayall, London, England; Maitland, St. Catherines, Ontario, *Mrs Arthur Lindsay, St Catherines*. Four cartes-de-visite.

MP 2147

89H

Stamped title: Album

Constructed title: Baker? Album

Compiler: Unknown, n.d.

Photographers from various Canadian, American and European studios, including Notman; Notman & Sandham; C. N. Bettini Livorno; Stiff Bros, Ottawa; Baker & Record, Saratoga Springs; Styles, St. Albans, Vermont; Field, Montréal; Climo, St. John, New Brunswick; Mr and Mrs Sam Glen Payne, Aylesbury; J. G. Parks, Montréal.

Brown leather bound album (16.5 x 14 x 3.5 cm) containing 29 cartes-de-visite or albumen prints of that size, one per page. Gilt-stamping of floral motif on cover and 'Album' on spine; printed end papers; brass clasps. The 'D. Appleton & Co. NY' copyright stamp appears on each gilt-edged sheet. An 'Index' page with space for 48 entries has been left blank.

Except for the studio's inscription of a number, there are just two notations on the back of prints: 'Bishop Fulford' and 'Longfellow's children'. Other names can be gathered from notes on the pages, probably made by a relative of album's owner in an effort at identification. One such addition has been made to a sheet that is now empty, suggesting that the attempt pre-dated the donation of the album to the McCord. The names are Malcolm Baker, Abraham Lincoln, Aunt Charlotte's (Mrs Joseph Baker) mother, Mrs Rykert, Bishop Fulford, Aunt Eliza Dunning, G. papa's mother), Abbie Baker, Emma's sister, Erskines/Jennie (Mrs John W. Cunliffe), Herbert, Alice [this picture has been removed], Mary Baker (Emma's sister) Stephens (husband), Rev. Cecil Stephens mother, Daughter of Eliza Dunning, Dr. Rykert & wife, father of Archie. A handwritten note which accompanies the album provides additional clues: "Geo. Clap/Aunt Eliza Hamilton/ Dr. Will Baker Gibson/Brother of Mrs Cotton/ died at 87/practised at Untington, N.Y./Ed Krup/mother, sister of yr. father brother/Aunt Eliza D. very witty."

The album is a private collection of portraits and images gathered for sentimental and symbolic reasons. The compiler may have been a member of the Baker family, possibly resident in Montréal with connections in New Brunswick, New York and Vermont.

The name of the donor has been lost.

Illustration

following page:

96 **MP 2147.** Baker? Album, pp. 20-21. Notman & Sandman, Montréal (22979-II), *Aunt Eliza Dunning*, 1876; Field, Montréal, *G. papa's mother*, n.d. Two cartes-de-visite.

MP 2151

91I

Constructed title: MacDonnell European Travel Album

Compiler: Unknown, c. 1904

Photographers: Unknown amateur(s)

Grey clothbound snapshot album (26 x 20.5 x 2.5 cm), designed for 48 snapshots (9 x 14.8 cm) inserted 2 per page. Cover is gilt-stamped, 'KODAK,' with a single band of Greek geometric pattern along the bottom edge. 12 loose prints are enclosed with the album.

Inscription on inside front cover: "For Grandma. With love from Katherine & Jack. Paris. Sept. 11/04." Each photograph is accompanied by an inscribed title; 25 captions (roughly the first half of the album) include month and year (August or September, 1904). The dedication and the captions are in different hands. Inscribed locations include Ormskirk, England; Carlisle, England; Ecclefechan, Scotland; Linlithgow, Scotland (2); Lake Windermere, England; Bowness, Lake Windermere, England; Filton, England; Edinburgh, Scotland (5); Berwick, England; London, England (22); Windsor, England (7); Southampton, England. Two figures are identified: "Edith and Mrs Philips."

The album is a photographic record of a family's tour of Britain by automobile. The first quarter of the album describes the journey through Scotland and the Lake District. This section of the album is principally concerned with the phenomenon of touring by car. The open car, often crammed with passengers, is the centrepiece of many snapshots and an object of curiosity for the natives. Modern travel is illustrated throughout in images of a sheep-congested road, a challenging 30-degree grade, resort and railroad hotels, wharfs, railroad and canal bridges; in philosophical comments on the regime of oiling up, buying petrol and repairing punctures. As the party reaches London and Windsor, the romance of travel recedes. Photographs of castles, churches, monuments, parks and pageantry are combined with urban streetscapes of quaint shops and typical occupations. The 12

prints that accompany the album describe the continuation of the trip, the landing at Le Havre, sightseeing in Paris and Versailles.

The album was donated by Mrs Grant MacDonnell, via Miss Emily LeBaron.

Illustrations

following pages:

- 84 **MP 2151. MacDonnell European Travel Album, pp. 4-5.**
Unattributed. *Tender "Ireland" taking passengers from the Campania for Queenstown, Aug. 1904 and Nothing but a drink on Lake Windermere, Aug. 1904; "Old England Hotel" on Lake Windermere, Bowness, England, Aug. 1904 and Felton, England, Aug. 1904, "14 Punctures in one tire in one day."* Four gelatin silver prints, 9 x 14.8 cm.

MP 2152

88E

Inscribed title: Bloemfontein to London
Via East Coast, Egypt and the Continent
M.C.B and C.J.A / Feby to May 1910

Compiler: M.C.B.?, c. 1910

Photographers: M.C.B., C.J.A. and other unknown amateurs

Brown suede bound snapshot album (19.7 x 25.4 x 1.9 cm). Cover stamped 'Photographs' in gilt on lower right corner. Prints glued onto gilt-edged black pages. 176 gelatin silver prints (5.5 x 7.8 cm) printed with white borders and typically mounted four to a page.

Inscriptions are in English, naming subjects and locations in the vicinity of Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony, and Cape Town, Cape Colony. Inscribed points along the route include: Johannesburg, Transvaal; Beira and Mozambique; Dar es Salaam, German East Africa; Zanzibar; Tanga, Mombasa and Kilindini Harbour, British East Africa; Nairobi and Kijabe, British East Africa; Port Florence, Lake Victoria Nyanza; Entebbe, Kampala and Jinja, Uganda; Ripon Falls, Uganda; Aden, South Arabia; Suez, Egypt, Port Said, Egypt; Cairo and sites along the Nile, including Sakkara, Memphis, Luxor and Karnak; Aswân, Egypt; Alexandria, Egypt; Capri, Sorrento, Pompeii, Rome, Florence and Venice, Italy; Charlottenburg and Potsdam, Germany; London, England.

The album was occasioned by the return to England of a woman and a man (M.C.B. and C.J.A.) from Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony. They left South Africa in February, 1910, reaching England in May of the same year. As part of the United Kingdom, the Orange River Colony enjoyed self-government from 1907 to 1910 when it became the Orange Free State Province of the Union of South Africa. In Bloemfontein, C.J.A. occupied the post of District Engineer over the same three-year period.

Photographs of Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg (1909-1910) document people and places of personal significance to the man and woman departing. M.C.B. is photographed with Mrs Honnold on the steps of the

Honnold house, in Parktown, Johannesburg. A number of photographs record the house of the District Engineer, 4 Glen Road, Bloemfontein, ORC. In East Africa and Egypt, the photographic intent corresponds to the man's professional interests and to the pattern of British colonial progress. The clear and detailed snapshots are annotated with technical information, such as the gauge of railway track. The Suez Canal is well documented. In Italy, photographs record the highlights of a Grand Tour. The album closes with the funeral of Edward VII.

The album was donated by Miss E. Armstrong prior to 1973.

Illustration

follows page:

86 **MP 2152. Bloemfontein to London...**, p. 10.
Unattributed. *C.J.A. / M.C.M. / The mode of locomotion in Mombasa; Government Offices, Mombasa; Principal Street and Gov. Offices / Mombasa and M.C.B. on Ghari, Mombasa 1910.* Four gelatin silver prints, each 5.5 x 7.8 cm.

MP 2155

88J

Constructed title: Lafleur Album

Compiled by a member of the Theodore Lafleur (1821-1907) family, c. 1880-1900

Photographers include Notman Studio, Montréal; Gurney & son, New York; Sarony & Co., New York (Sarony & Campbell); J. Inglis, Montréal; H. Henderson, Kingston; F. A. Bowman, New Haven; A. Hautecoeur, Paris; Summerhays & Walford, Montréal; J. Hampden Field, Montréal; Notman & Fraser, Toronto; Gay's Gallery of Art, Fall River, Mass.; Neil, New York; A. G. Walford, Montréal; Parkinson, New York; P. H. Rose, Providence, RI; George Pendency, Nottingham; Roy, Peterborough, Ontario.

Brown leather album (25 x 20 x 6 cm) for cabinet cards, inserted one per page. There are 37 cabinet cards inserted and 2 loose with the album; 3 pages are blank. Brass crest on cover; brass corners; brass clasp, partially missing; gilt-edged sheets; white moiré patterned end papers.

A portrait from the Bowman studio, New Haven, is dated 'May 1884' on the front and 'Ian R. Taylor 1812-1889) in the back. Four views of Paris are dedicated to Henri, Alice, Paul and Eugène by their aunts, in the following manner: "A notre cher Henri de la part de ses tantes Mathilde et Elise." A portrait of a man (p. 20) is dedicated on the back: "Montréal le 24 juin 1887. A Monsieur le pasteur T. Lafleur. Son ami de vieille date D. Coussirat" (Summerhays & Walford, Montréal). A group portrait of schoolgirls belonging to Alice B. Lafleur (15) lists all the sitters and their ages.

Handwritten notes by the donor (S.R.L.) identify some of the portraits (Paul Theodore Lafleur, Reverend Morin) and speculate on the identities (Sir William Ferwick Williams?) and locations (Grande-Ligne?) of others. The album seems to have belonged to the family of Reverend Theodore Lafleur (1821-1907), a Baptist missionary active in Longueuil and Montréal, and closely associated with the Grande-Ligne Mission, founded in 1835 by Swiss and French evangelists. Reverend Lafleur was from

Napierville, but studied from 1841 to 1850 in Geneva where he probably met his French wife. In 1837 and 1838, persecutions in the wake of the Rebellion forced early converts to seek refuge in the United States, creating links maintained by Lafleur's and other missionaries' collecting tours and reflected in the sources of pictures in the album. Pictured are members of the Lafleur circle including Daniel Coussirat (1868-1895), professor of theology at McGill. The Notman Studio index provides other names: Professor Darcy, 1874 (99528), Charles Childs and a lady, c. 1880 (N&S 54858 BII), and Rev. J. L. Morin, 1894 (103801). A copied sketch, tentatively identified by the donor as Mme Feller (1800-1868) of the Grande-Ligne Mission can be compared with another copied portrait, securely identified as Mme Feller in the Notman files. The album is a private family history within the Baptist evangelical movement of Québec as chronicled by Theodore Lafleur in The Semi-Centennial Historical Sketch of the Grande-Ligne Mission, 1885.

The initials of the donor, a grandchild of Theodore Lafleur, are S.R.L.

Illustration

following page:

102 **MP 2155.** Lafleur Album, pp. 2-3. Notman Studio, Montréal, *Copy of portrait of Mme Feller (31900)*, 1868. Unattributed, untitled (Portrait of a man). Two cabinet cards.

MP 2160

89G

Constructed title: Birch Album

Compiler: Richard J. W. Birch, after 1862

Photographers include the Notman Studio, Montréal; J. L. Jones, Québec; A. Heath, Leamington; Smeatons, Québec; G. Martin, Montréal; E. J. Palmer, Toronto; A. C. McIntyre, Brockville; Lock & Whitfield, London; Hugh McCorkindale, Québec; Symonds, Ryde & Ventnor, England; Jabez Hughes, Isle of Wight; Cole, Newport I.W.; The London School of Photography, London; Symonds & Wheeler, West Cowes; Nadar, Paris; Witz & Cie, Rouen.

Dark green leather bound album (15.5 x 22.5 x 3.5 cm) designed for 2 cartes-de-visite per page. There are 46 photographs and one cartoon of a riding scene entitled, "Rotten Row." The album has an embossed cover in diamond and leaf pattern; white moiré patterned end papers; recessed pockets bordered in gilt. Each page is stamped: "Patent H. S. Breveté S.G.d.G."

The album is inscribed: 'Richard J. W. Birch, Oct. 13th 1862/A present from himself.' Every carte-de-visite but one has an inscription written in ink on its bottom border. This information is not visible when the carte-de-visite is in place. The portrait of Lieut Monroe has been cut down and mounted on the back of an invitation card: "Lady Cope requests the honour of Mr Birch's Company on Friday Evening the 8 February at 9:30 o'clock."

The album is a collection of portraits of Richard J. W. Birch's friends and acquaintances during his military service. The military theme would be difficult to recognize without captions; many subjects have been photographed in civilian clothes or in a studio-supplied costume. The majority of the subjects, including the compiler, are associated with the 30th Regiment. In naming the subjects, the compiler restricts himself to name, rank and regiment, with one colourful exception,

Lieutenant Clower, the "Nuckle [sic] headed monster." A significant time period is also implied by the note on the back 25 a) which marks the portrait as "pre-1861." Tying the album to the McCord collection is a Notman portrait of Ensign R. A. McCord (Robert Arthur McCord 1864-1882), brother of David Ross McCord, who also served with the 30th Regiment. The portrait of the regimental mascot who poses in costume on a plinth is a whimsical element, uncredited to any studio. The portrait of Richard Birch (26 a) was made at the Symonds studio in Ryde, England, as were those of three fellow officers, members of 50th Regiment whose portraits are clustered with his near the end of the album.

The album was donated by the Château de Ramezay, on March 9, 1972.

Illustration

follows page:

74 **MP 2160.** Birch Album, detail, p. 10. Notman Studio, Montréal, *Lieut Clower 30th Regt / Nuckle (sic) headed monster*, 1864 (13160). Carte-de-visite.

MP 2162 (M6946)

89H

Inscribed title: The Royal Album

Compiler: J.E. Mayall, c. 1860, and purchaser, c. 1862

Photographers: J.E. Mayall, London; J. Gurney & Son, New York; Ghémar Frères, Photographes du Roi, Bruxelles (published by A. Marion & Co., London); Rudolph Striegler, Konl Hof Photograph, Kjöbenhavn (published by Fred Jones, London); Photographic Portraits of Imperial and Eminent Personnages of the Age (unidentified studio stamp)

Brown leather bound album (15.3 x 13 x 3.5 cm) containing 18 cartes-de-visite (1 hand-coloured). Cover embossed with title gilt-stamped and crest; 2 gold metal clasps; 20 pages with recessed pockets bordered in gilt (pages stamped: F.R.G. Brevete S.G.D.G.)

The title page is an insert in the first pocket: "The Royal Album / Portraits of the Royal Family / Photographed from Life by J. E. Mayall / London:" The insert has been cut off at this point. The contents page is a printed list of 14 portraits, all members of the British Royal family:

1. The Queen and Prince Consort
2. The Queen and Princess Beatrice
3. The Queen
4. The Prince Consort
5. The Prince of Wales and Princess Alice
6. The Princess of Wales
7. Princess Alice
8. Prince Alfred
9. Princess Helena and Princess Louisa
10. Princess Helena
11. Princess Louisa
12. Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold
13. Prince Arthur
14. Princess Beatrice

Pages 15, 16, 17 and 18 represent the purchaser's additions to the album. They extend the royal theme of the album through collected portraits of royal celebrities from England, Belgium and Denmark. The Striegler studio portrait is dated in pencil, 1862. The carte-de-visite on page 18 is identified as the Duchess of Kent. An oak leaf has been inserted in the album (page 15, "Princess Royal") as a keepsake.

The album was donated by Francis McLennan in December, 1928, and recorded in McCord accession books as follows: "Royal Album Containing eighteen photographs of members of the Royal family, photographed by J.E. Mayall, London."

Illustration

following page:

142 **MP 2162.** The Royal Album, p. 2. J. E. Mayall, *The Queen and Princess Beatrice*, c. 1860. Carte-de-visite.

MP 2359 (formerly M 19322) (N 057)

89H

Constructed title: J. T. Molson Family Album

Compiled by a member of the John Thomas Molson family (possibly Jennie B. Butler Molson) c. 1875

Photographers: William Notman, Montréal; Stiff, Ottawa; George Charles Arless, Montréal; James Inglis, Montréal; Scott & Dynes, Montréal; Martin, Montréal; Fratelli D'Alessandri, Rome & Naples; Notman Studio, Ottawa (W. J. Topley, prop.); Hoag & Quicks, Ohio; C.B. Hodge, Waterloo

Dark brown leather bound album (15.5 x 12.5 x 5.2 cm) containing 24 cartes-de-visite portraits, inserted one per page. The cover is gilt-stamped; the spine is decorated with black bands and the gilt-stamped title, 'Album'; the clasp is silver.

Names of the sitters, inscribed in pencil, are not concurrent with the photographs, though such captions as "Aunt Martha," identifying Mrs William Spragge, the sister of J. T. Molson, indicate a close connection between captioner and subjects.

The album is a private collection of cartes-de-visite, centred on the family of John Thomas Molson and Jennie B. Butler Molson. Their older children, Herbert, Naomi and Kenneth, have been identified. They, like most sitters, are pictured once while their father, John Thomas Molson, appears eight times, once in the company of his brother, W. Markland Molson, and seven times alone, having been photographed in Montréal and on his travels to Scotland and Italy. His young daughter Naomi, costumed for the outdoors, poses with a friend (Gwen Barber, the future Mrs Wilson) in an unidentified English studio. The collection, as it survives, is less a family album than an extended portrait of John Thomas Molson. The foreign cartes-de-visite, while similar to those from the Montréal studios, would have functioned differently as photographic souvenirs, precursors to the touristic snapshot.

The album came to the museum from the Mabel Molson Collection in June, 1947.

Illustration
follows page:

102 **MP 2359.** J. T. Molson Family Album, pp. 16-17.
Fratelli D'Alessandri, Rome, *J. T. Molson*, n.d.;
Notman Studio, Montréal, Toronto or Halifax, *J. T.*
Molson, c. 1892. Two cartes-de-visite.

MP 2360

91I

Inscribed title: VIEWS (front cover); E. M. W. (back cover)

Compiled by Miss E. M. Wright, c. 1910.

Photographers include Goetzman, Dawson; Larss & Ducloss, Dawson; J. Doody, Whitehorse; Robertson; E. J. Hamacher, Whitehorse; Hegg & Co.; Roy, Peterboro. Ont.; W. M. Ogilvie; Case & Draper, and others unknown.

Brown suede covered snapshot album (24.5 x 31 x 5.5 cm) with stitched folios of warm grey paper and silk lining. The album contains 112 photographs, ranging in size between 8 x 8 cm and 16 x 24 cm.

Inscriptions, combinations including descriptive or narrative caption, studio name, negative number and date, are part of the purchased photographs. One photograph of a group gathered around a building is inscribed in pen: "Recreation...Presbyterean Church White Horse." Snapshots are inscribed with descriptive captions such as "White Horse 1900" and "Boats at White Horse, Y.T.". Identification and dating of the album are supported by a postcard, tucked in the album, addressed to "Miss E. M. Wright, Levis, Quebec, c/o Rev. P. P. [or D. D.] Wright B. A.," and depicting the dedication of a church on "Coronation Day," probably the coronation of George V in 1910.

The album is a collection of purchased views and snapshots depicting daily life and community gatherings in Dawson City, Whitehorse, Tagish Post and other locations in the Yukon. Purchased views range in date from 1898 to 1904. The first photograph in the album is a view of Dawson City. Three numbers added to the photograph in ink probably mark points of personal interest. The second photograph (repeated on p. 43) is a portrait by Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, captioned: "Rev. Mr Wright on Evangelical Tour in the Klondyke [sic] on a bycycle [sic] at 40 below zero." Civic and religious celebrations include George Washington's birthday (1900), a pageant in aid of widows and orphans of the "War with the Transvaal" (1900), the funeral of Frank H. Reid and Presbyterian church services at Tagish Post (1898) and Whitehorse

(1900). The contrast between wilderness and civilization is a recurrent theme. The photographs are infused with the spirit of a new frontier typified by "The First Baby Born in Dawson," a donkey photographed in front of a studio backdrop and "The house that was froze in and the people that was froze out," showing a family sitting on the roof of their snowbound house. Snapshots include general views of the area and some interiors, especially meeting halls and churches. There are also group and single portraits, including several different versions of man writing at a table (p. 39, p. 50). A photograph of a flower-covered grave, which appears twice in the album, is from Peterborough, Ontario. The album closes with a series of snapshots taken in southern Canadian farmland, possibly Peterborough, Ontario, or Lévis, Québec, where Miss E. M. Wright and Reverend Wright are known to have lived. These include intimate family group portraits. The album appears to be the photographic memoir of a woman who spent time in the north because of her close connection to a Presbyterian minister.

The name of the donor has been lost.

Illustrations

follow pages:

- 146 **MP 2360.** VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 27. Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, *Tableau representing Great Britain and Her Colonies at a Concert Given in Aid of Widows and Orphans Created by the War with the Transvaal, Palace Grand, Feb. 15th, 1900* (flashlight photo 2568). Gelatin silver print, borders trimmed 15.2 x 20.5 cm.
- 82 **MP 2360.** VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 60. Larss & Ducloss Photos, Dawson, *Rev. Mr Wright on Evangelical Tour in the Klondyke (sic) on a bicycle (sic) at 40 below zero, c. 1900* (2570). Gelatin silver print, with borders 16.5 x 21.5 cm.

MP 2360. VIEWS / E. M. W., p. 67. E. M. Wright?

Untitled (Reverend Wright working at a table), n. d.

Gelatin silver print, borders trimmed, 11.7 x 16.8 cm.

88F

Constructed title: Wardleworth Estate Album

Compiler unknown, c. 1879

Photographers: William Notman, Montréal (36); James Inglis, Montréal (22); Atwood, Burlington, Vermont (3); G.W. Baldwin, Keeseville, New York (4); Montfort & Hill, Burlington, Iowa (2); M.J. Bixby, Burlington, Vermont (7); Van der Weyde Light, London, England; Richard Allen & Sons, Nottingham; W.G. Martin, Montréal; E.R. Turner, Montréal; Smith, Port Hope; C. Miller, Burlington, Vermont (2); Carey & Parker, Burlington, Vermont; H.S. Tousey, Keeseville, N.Y.; Powelson & Co., Detroit; Estabrook & Co., Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dupee & Co., Portland, Maine; W.B. Burke, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; G.W. Bradford, Brooklyn, N.Y.; E.R. Turner, Montréal (2); B.F. Baltzly, Montréal (2); J.G. Parks, Montréal (2); Upson & Simson, Buffalo, New York; Johnson & Vineland, New Jersey; Vandyke & Brown, Liverpool; Hill & Saunders, Oxford; C.B. Murray, Brockville; L.E. Desmarais, Montréal; Summerhayes and Walford, Montréal; Notman Studio, W.J. Topley, Ottawa; Walter Fisher, Filey (6); F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia; St. Petersburg studio; and others.

Green leather bound album (30 x 22.5 x 7.5 cm) containing a private collection of 7 cabinet cards, 113 cartes-de-visite and 1 tintype. The contents are portraits, exception for 4 fine art reproductions. Cover features deeply embossed design; end papers are bright white moiré; 20 double-sided cream coloured sheets with gilt edges and recessed pockets, oval or rectangular, outlined in gilt; brass clasp. The album is not full.

A number of the photographs are inscribed on the back by the sitter. Inscriptions are in English. A carte-de-visite is dedicated to D. W. Ross, Esq. by Major McAyres and dated February 1872. A portrait of the Louis W. Koester family (p. 26) is signed: "To Mr D. W. Ross, Montreal, for kind remembrance, the 14th April, 1873..." The photograph was made at Reynouls studio, Béziers, France. D. W. Ross's own portrait appears on page 15. Other photographic tokens are signed and dated, without

specific dedications. Inscribed dates range from 1869 to 1877. Reference to the McCord index widens the range of dates from 1864 to 1880. The Ross family name is referenced 6 times; Allen, 4 times; Allan, 4 times.

The compiler may have been D. W. Ross, or a member of his family. The album came from the Wardleworth Estate via Mrs S. Earle, formerly of the McCord Costume Department.

Illustration

follows page:

96 **MP 006/74.** Wardleworth Estate Album, pp. 22-23. Page 22, top left: Unattributed, *Morgan McAyres* (carte-de-visite dedicated to D. W. Ross, Esq., Feb. 1872). Unidentified portraits from Dupee & Co., Portland, Maine; James Inglis, Montréal; and W. B. Burke, Milwaukee, Wis. Page 23, unidentified portraits from Bradford studio, Brooklyn; James Inglis, Montréal; Baldwin, Keeseville, New York; and James Inglis, Montréal. Eight cartes-de-visite.

88I

Constructed title: Annie Craven Album

Compiler: Annie Cravens, 1900-1963

Photographers: Stanley Studio, Stanley, England; Telegraph & Argus, Bradford, England; John Bull Studios, Liverpool; James c. field, Birmingham; Fred Arthur, Liverpool; The Art Photo Co., Morecambe, W. E.; Marcus Adams (postcard reproduction); others unknown.

Black painted and japanned photographic album (27.5 x 22 x 7 cm) containing photographs of an English nanny, her family and her charges. The cover features a painted fishing scene; the heads of the figures are moulded in low relief. The spine is missing. The album pages have recessed pockets designed to hold cabinet cards or smaller prints. Sheets are covered with a pale gold woven rice paper, painted with floral and landscape motifs. 15 black and white photographs, including photographic postcards; 1 colour photograph (18/9/63) and one poem. The album is not full; contents fit awkwardly in the rigid slots. Two unmounted gelatin silver prints, 21.5 x 16.7 cm and 16.2 x 11 cm.

Inscriptions are in English. Biographical in nature, they have been added by someone other than the compiler. Certain figures in the album have or can be identified from inscriptions or accompanying notes: Annie Craven, born 1880, Wakefield, Yorkshire; Melville Bell, as a baby; Baby Tommy Beauclair who died in 1963 at age 46; the Royal Baby Prince Charles; Miss Craven's cousin, Florrie, her Aunt Lizzy and her Uncle Will. A photographic missive from England is inscribed: "My dear Annie, I send you this card to greet you with the compliments of the Season from Aunt Lizzy & Uncle Will." Photographic postcards from England are inscribed: "Love from Sylvia and Billy, May 1931" and "To Auntie Annie, With Best Love 1930." A poem by Hazel Marion Shaughnessy is included as an image in the album:

Nocturne

The World is quiet; mankind is now at rest,
The rising moon enchants the evening breeze,

The darkling thrush has hurried to her nest;
I stand alone beneath the leafless trees.
I watch the sun set in the golden west,
A ball of fire beyond the Hebrides,
And now weird thoughts my weary mind infest,
For night brings with it strange anxieties.
I wonder if the lonely trees can hear
The hooting owl. I wonder what I fear...
But as I ponder 'neath the fading moon,
In the far east appears a silver light,
It is the dawn that comes, alas! too soon,
I have not solved the mysteries of the night.

Miss Annie Cravens was nanny to Melville and Andrea Bell. Her photographic collection consists mostly of photographs of herself, her charges and her English relatives - the latter as late as the 1960s when she received pictures of a glamorous young woman in evening clothes from Birmingham and Bradford. There are no portraits specifically identified as her parents or siblings. The album constitutes a fragmentary personal history of a woman's life in domestic service.

The album was part of a larger donation of family albums by Mrs J. Patrick Henderson.

Illustrations

following page:

- 110 **MP 039/76.** Annie Craven Album, p. 9. Stanley Studio, Stanley, England. Portrait of Annie Craven, c. 1890. Cabinet card, 13.1 x 9 cm.
- 110 **MP 039/76.** Annie Craven Album, p. 2. Unattributed, Portrait of Annie Craven, Melville and Andrea Bell?, n.d. Gelatin silver print mounted on card, 14 x 9.6 cm.

MP 163/77

88E

Constructed title: D. M. Murphy Album

Compiler: D. M. Murphy, c. 1920?

Photographer(s): D. M. Murphy and others unknown

Burgundy cloth-covered album (20.7 x 26.5 x 2.5) containing 89 snapshots and 1 postcard depicting a young man's family, friends, hobbies and sporting activities. The cover is embossed top left of centre, 'Photographs'. Brown sheets (18 pages) have 5 recessed pockets - square, circular, oval or rectangular - with apertures outlined in white (openings from 3.8 x 4.5 cm to 6.8 x 9.3 cm). The design of the album reframes the snapshots and creates patterns of association. There are two unmounted pictures with the album, 9 x 6.2 cm and 4.7 x 7 cm.

Most titles are lightly inscribed in the white border. They are all in English, ranging in tone from the matter-of-fact ("In the Laurentians") through the descriptive ("Snowshoe weather") to the declarative ("Lost"). The compiler refers to himself as D. M. Murphy, D. M. M. or Sgt-Major D. M. Murphy. His brother is called W. F. Murphy, W. F. M. or Frank. Male friends are identified by initials or first initials and last names. Miss Ludington is so named in her two featured appearances. Recurrent toponyms include Upper Woodstock, New Brunswick (1901), British Columbia ("B.C."), Ottawa, Ontario (1901), Rosemere, Québec, "St Rose," and "16 Island Lake Camp." Locations in Montréal are identified by street names. Captions are relatively abundant and almost invariably succinct. Dates and captions on the two loose pictures approximate the span of the album: "D. M. Murphy Upper Woodstock New Brunswick 1901" shows the compiler chopping wood; "1917 Overseas 1914 - 1919 / DMM near the plane / An Avro, Two seater" hints at his wartime activity and seems to indicate that he survived.

The narrative spins out from a first page that introduces family and home. The array of snapshots seems to emulate a display on the whatnot which is the centrepiece of one of the pictures. There are no captions

given to pictures in this initial group. Each page that follows is not strictly thematic, but the photographs complement each other in a variety of ways. Page 4, for example, is all about boating, while other pages combine photographs of different outdoor activities, including military training in camp. The compiler appears to have enjoyed a number of sports such as track and field, canoeing, bicycling, riding and soccer. Photography was a well practised hobby. The photographs, which are made under varied, sometimes challenging conditions, are as concise and energetic as the compiler. They are taken from interesting vantage points and combined to heighten contrasts in scale and complexity. The compiler is also attuned to the documentary aspects of his project. He records incidents of contemporary history, such as the 1901 visit to Canada of the Duke and Duchess of York which is captioned retrospectively: "The future H.M. Geo V in Ottawa 1901" (p. 10). In terms of social history, the album illustrates modern innovations, such as fire trucks and ambulances, but its primary interest lies in the overview of a young man's interests and activities between 1900 and 1910.

The album ends with the transition from military camp to the European theatre of World War I. The terse phrase, "Not water tight now," captions a postcard of two damaged ships which is further explained on the back: "On the French Coast, Dec. 24th 1915 / DMM WO."

The album was purchased from a Montréal dealer, Dr William Baker, on June 16, 1977.

Illustration

following page:

156 **MP 163/77. D. M. Murphy Album, p. 12. Unattributed.**
Park Ave July 1900, runners in the street, D. M. Murphy, The R.S.M. P.T. at Camp, Recruits and Hans Homer. Five gelatin silver prints, 5 cm in diameter to 6.7 x 9.3 cm.

MP 183/77

88D

Constructed title: Langelier "Nos Amis"

Compiled by a young man of the Langelier family? c. 1905

Photographers unknown

Black cloth-covered Gilson Adjustable album (18 x 29 x 5.5 cm) containing snapshots, mainly portraits and picturesque views. 120 gelatin silver prints (various shapes and sizes up to 11 x 17 cm), many either stained or faded, are glued to 27 full and 1 half grey card sheets. On the title page are 15 miniature portraits (14 people and 1 dog) made up as Canadian postage stamps (2.5 x 2 cm). One loose print completes the contents. The album is bound with a reddish gold cord and gilt-stamped 'Photographs'. A folder with additional material, noted in the museum's documentation, is no longer with the album. This material may have provided the information noted by a museum cataloguer that the album depicted the Langelier family and their life somewhere near Mattawa, Ontario.

Inscriptions are all in English, with the exception of the inside title: "Nos Amis." Captions or headings are inscribed in white ink which has faded to illegibility in several instances. Titles include: "Storm," "The First of the Season," "Old French Mission - Ontario," "Fort Temiscamengue - Quebec," "Pleasant Memories," "Lake Temagami," "Devils Mountain," "An Afternoon at the Fort," "Five O'Clock," "Philistines of the Wilderness," "Our Camp," "Tomorrow to Fresh Woods and Pastures New," "Near to Natives Heart," "5th Avenue - New York," "After the Ball," "Spotted Deer," "The Boulevard Mattawa Ont.," "Main Street Mattawa Ont.," "Eventides," and "Shadows." The photographs include a sign for Biscotasing and messages of welcome on archways temporarily erected for the visit of "Our future king and queen," probably for the Duke of York in 1901.

The album is organized to express the variety of the compiler's experiences and to erect contrasting visions of civilization and

wilderness. Photographs of hunting, hiking, canoeing, and camping, as well as views of shorelines, woods and pastures, express the compiler's affection for the outdoor life. These are balanced by interior views of Victorian houses, candid and posed images of amateur theatrics, portraits of family and friends in evening clothes and views of the city. The ironic intent of the layout is confirmed by double-page spreads which present on facing pages portraits of elegantly dressed women in parlours and moosehead trophies (pp. 16 and 17). The sometimes fanciful titles can also be humorous, as in "Five O'Clock," and "Philistines of the Wilderness," both referring to a campy group portrait of five women and one man enjoying high tea in the great outdoors (p. 8). A number of snapshots document the relationship between Native and White inhabitants, for example, "Our Camp," which depicts two Indian men standing near a canoe by the shore (p. 9). Small settlements and indications of natural resource exploitation record the changing of the landscape which is otherwise depicted in its pristine state. Many of the landscape photographs include the shorelines of rivers or lakes; some appear to have been photographed from the water. The romantic attitude of the compiler is expressed in numerous landscapes containing such motifs as figures gazing over water or leafy archways formed by fallen trees.

Comparison with a second album in the Langelier donation (MP 185/77) suggests that this album was compiled by a man in his twenties (identified on page 1, MP 185/77), probably for his own enjoyment. The pictures are often duplicated in the two albums; their presentation varies through the use of shaped masks (circles, ovals, hearts, or maple leaves). Comparison of two images - MP 183/77, p. 26, and MP 185/77, p. 11 - suggests that the photographer-compiler made his own prints: the two shoreline views are revealed to be mirror-images of each other so, for one or the other, the photographer has reversed the negative and changed the shape of the mask.

The album was purchased from Mme France Langelier.

Illustration
follows page:

112 **MP 183/77.** Langelier "Nos Amis", p. 8. Unattributed.
Our Afternoon at the Fort / Five O'Clock / Philistines
of the Wilderness, c. 1900. Two gelatin silver
prints, 9.3 x 11.5 cm / 11.5 x 9.3 cm.

MP 185/77

88D

Constructed title: Langelier Album

Compiled by a young man of the Langelier family? c. 1905

Photographers unknown

Black cloth-covered Gilson Adjustable album (28.2 x 21.2 x 5 cm) containing snapshots, mainly portraits and picturesque views. 128 gelatin silver prints (various shapes and sizes, from 5.5 x 4 cm to 9.5 x 12 cm), many either stained or faded, are glued to 34 full and 1 half grey card sheets. The album is bound with a red cord and gilt-stamped 'Photographs'.

Inscriptions are all in English. Captions or headings are inscribed in white ink which has faded to illegibility in several instances. Titles include: "Baby Moose - Six months old," "Me," "Lest We Forget," "Home," "Be it ever so humble," "Ships that pass in the night," "Hitherto unpublished" (followed by initials of subject, illegible), "Once in the golden days," "Ships that pass in the night and speak to each other in the passing," "Tomorrow to fresh woods and pastures new," "Natures gateway," "Dream ships dream ships coming up out of the sea," "Split rock Temiskaming," "Eventide," "How to be happy tho' single," "The first of the season," "Biscotasing," "Idleness," "A tramp abroad," "The tempest's kiss," "The man behind the gun," "Solitude," "The land of yesterday," "They near to Nature's heart," "Autumn," "Spring," "Twas April," "Maggie," and "Waggles now defunct barbarously murdered by Miss Nepton (?) and her associates." The photographs include a sign for Biscotasing and messages of welcome on archways temporarily erected for the visit of "Our future king and queen," probably for the Duke of York in 1901.

The album contains many of the same photographs and combinations as MP 183/77. More titles have been inscribed, including the identification of the compiler on the first page, "Me," a young mustached male in his twenties. The album maintains the balance of city and country settings.

Titles are more copious and less obviously ironic, except by comparison with combinations in the other album. For example, the campy tea party in the outdoor setting, bracketed in the other album with "Five O'Clock" and "Philistines of the Wilderness," is in this album captioned "Ships that pass in the night and speak to each other." The humour is more covert. Other captions are more declarative, commenting on the joys of being single on a page of hunting pictures, or simply straightforward, a portrait of a native woman captioned "Maggie."

One picture that appears in this album and not in the other depicts the gravesite of Thomas C. Hanneman, who drowned in his sixteenth year on July 10, 1898 (p. 39). This data, the accusatory note about the demise of Waggles in 1903 and the documentation of the decorations for the visit of the Duke of York in 1901 help to date this album and MP 183/77.

Creative use of masks and careful arrangements of photographs by subject or theme suggest that the compiler was a dedicated amateur photographer who may have made this second album as a gift to his family. This album contains more domestic interiors and more direct references to home and family than its companion piece.

The album was purchased from Mme France Langelier.

Illustrations

follow pages:

- 112 **MP 185/77.** Langelier Album, pp. 4-5. Unattributed.
"Lest We Forget." Two gelatin silver prints, 9.5 x 11.5 cm (leaf shape) / 9.2 x 11.5 cm. *Home / Be it ever so humble.* Two gelatin silver prints, each 9.2 x 11.8 cm.
- 112 **MP 185/77.** Langelier Album, pp. 54-55. Unattributed.
Page 54: Untitled (native families by canoes);
Untitled (dog before monogrammed curtain - oval

print). Gelatin silver prints, each approx. 9.2 x 11.5 cm. Page 55: *Maggie* (10 x 8 cm); *Untitled (child)* (5.5 x 3.8 cm) and *"Waggles" now defunct barbarously murdered 1903 by Miss Nepton (?) and her associates* (scalloped print - 9.3 x 11.5 cm).

MP 189/78

88K

Constructed title: Becket Actress Album

Compiler: Hugh Wylie Becket, from 1872

Photographer(s): Notman Studio and other studios, unknown

Blue leather bound album (33.7 x 27.3 x 5.7 cm) contains 120 celebrity and team portraits. Gilt stamped lettering on cover, "Album," and gilt tooled decoration on spine and edges; Italian end papers. Sheets are a cream coloured card with faded reddish edges; cream interleaving sheets. Mounted albumen prints (three hand-coloured) have been cropped to suit the generous layout. Prints vary in size between 7.5 x 5 cm and 16.5 x 20.6 cm. Photographs are widely spaced; pages are decorated in ink with framing devices, such as lines, laurel leaves and flowers.

The name of the compiler and start date are inscribed in ink on the fly leaf: "Hugh Wylie Becket / Montreal / September 1872." The names of most celebrities are recorded in ink. Roles or characters are sometimes identified. Names are outlined or inscribed in motifs, such as banners or leaves. Dates are attached to two names: Croisette, 1876; Judic, 1876. The portrait of Queen Victoria is dated 1873. Copied portraits identified as historical figures, such as Marie Antoinette, Mary Queen of Scots and Catherine de Medici, are clustered on one page. One male actor is included, his full-length portrait cut out and inserted in an ink drawing as the figure in a painting displayed on an easel. The name, Faure, is inscribed below. Apart from royals and thespians, three sport clubs are included: the Montreal Gymnastic Club, 1872 (including Robt. A. Becket); the Montreal Baseball Club, 1872 (Notman Studio 80040 I); the Toronto Lacrosse Club, 1872.

The album was purchased with two other items in a lot from Dr. W. P. Baker, The Photographic Antiquarian, Montréal, in 1978.

Illustration

following page:

MP 189/78. Becket Actress Album, p. 9. Hugh Wylie Becket, *Camille Dubois, Langford, Helen Barry and Clara Vesey, 1872-1880*. Ink drawing with collaged photographs, 32 x 24.7 cm.

MP 032/80

88E

Constructed title: Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933

Compiler: Mrs Charles W. Wagner, c. 1933.

Photographer: Mrs Charles W. Wagner and others unknown

Brown, imitation leather adjustable album (18.5 x 28.5 x 4 cm) recording domestic life on the Gaspé peninsula, 1928-1933. Cover is gilt stamped: 'Photographs'. 276 gelatin silver prints (ranging in size, from 2 x 3.5 cm to 14.6 x 9 cm) are glued or mounted with black photo corners to black sheets.

Captions are generally limited to section titles ("Syracuse Expedition" or "Madeleine River"), a few names and dates written on the borders of the snapshots. The album principally describes Mrs Wagner's young children, their pets, their home, adult friends and outdoor activities in the Gaspé. The family was in residence year-round; Mr Wagner may have been involved in the lumbering industry as there are references to reforestation. Fishing, picnicking, excursions to the beach or the sugar shack are occasions to take pictures. The region is explored by car and well documented, including vernacular architecture, traditional occupations and the rugged landscape.

Beginning on page 75, and continuing for some 10 pages, the subject-matter changes dramatically to an essay on poverty in the Gaspé. The photographs appear to have been taken on one day during a charity mission involving a several of women. The poor are located in a fishing community where symptoms of want are unmistakable: women's bodies distended from malnutrition and children crippled from rickets. The visitors only appear in few images, on arrival and heading up to the door. The essay is focussed on the unfortunate who are thoroughly documented, some posing and smiling for the camera, others caught unaware. Their section in the album ends as abruptly as it begins. The compilation continues and ends in the vein of a family album with pictures of children and friends to be remembered.

The album was part of a group of four albums donated to the museum by Mrs Charles W. Wagner, Lachine, Québec.

Illustrations

follow page:

- 114 **MP 032/80.** Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933, p. 47.
Mrs. Charles W. Wagner, Untitled views of the Gaspé,
c. 1930. Two gelatin silver prints, each 9 x 14.6 cm.
- 114 **MP 032/80.** Wagner Gaspé Album 1928-1933, p. 81. Mrs
Charles W. Wagner, Untitled views of poverty in the
Gaspé, c. 1930. Two gelatin silver prints, each 14.6
x 9 cm.

MP 033/80

88E

Constructed title: Wagner Wartime Album 1912-1917

Compiler: Mrs Charles W. Wagner

Photographer(s): Wagner, Beaudry Photo Québec (1) and others unknown

Black imitation morocco album (18.5 x 26 x 4 cm) contains snapshots taken in Canada at the time of World War I. 391 gelatin silver prints, ranging in size, are glued to black sheets. Some page layouts are quite playful with cartoonish cutouts of pets, people's heads and a uniformed man. Small, formulaic snapshots of ships at harbour are suitably mounted in orderly rows.

Brief inscriptions in white pencil appear mainly in the first half of the album. They likewise vary between wisecracks and plain description, the former verging on transcribed exclamations: "Some 'Nun' eh what." Names (and nicknames) of friends are recorded and memorable outings are marked down: "Good Friday 1916" capturing portraits of three smiling young women, the compiler included, having scaled a tremendous flight of stairs. Toponyms include Beupré (1912), Kamouraska (1916, 1917) and Valcartier (1917), Québec, as well as Winnipeg, Manitoba (1916) and Halifax, Nova Scotia (1917).

The album is organized by episode and location. Views of country life - marking the tennis court, girls washing each other's hair, posing in bathing suits - offer continuity while uniformed nurses, women knitting, and men with bandaged eyes or missing limbs are reminders of the period's constant upheavals. The album includes photographs of Halifax harbour, September, 1917, and undated views of damaged ships and shoreline, likely the aftermath of the December explosion. The album ends with two photographs of a what appears to be a battlefield burial ground. Inserted in the album is a portrait of a soldier, signed and dated 1915.

Mrs Wagner was an adept and close observer with the camera but the

outstanding feature of this album is its democracy of vision. Incidents great and small, personal and historic, are given equal place within the context of wartime Canada. Though the album is her memoir, Mrs Wagner appears only occasionally. Her album is imbued with a collective social sensibility, reflecting what people were seeing, doing and saying to each other during the period.

The album was part of a group of albums donated to the museum by Mrs. Charles W. Wagner of Lachine, Québec.

Illustration

follows page:

76 **MP 033/80.** Wagner Wartime Album 1912-1917, p. 62.
Mrs Charles W. Wagner. Untitled (serial portrait of sailor and child; lifeboat?), c. 1917. Three gelatin silver prints, each 11.7 x 7.4 cm. One gelatin silver print, 4.4 x 6.6 cm.

88I

Constructed title: Ogilvie Album

Compiler: W. W. Ogilvie, from 1868

Photographers: McCord Museum cataloguer has listed various studios, including W. & D. Downey; Mayall, London; Disderi & Co. Ltd; J. Russell & Sons, Chichester; Levitsky, Paris; H. J. Whitlock, Birmingham; Paul Stabler, Sunderland; Hill & Saunders, Eton & Oxford; Maison Martinet, Grand Hotel; Numa Blanc, Paris; Abdullah Frères, Constantinople; L. Cremire, Paris; Oscar Kramer, Vienna; Rabending & Monckhoven, Vienna; G. Malovich, Trieste; Fratelli Alinari, Firenze; H. Le Lieure, Turin; Alphonse Bernoud, Naples; Reurdein, Paris; Jabez Hughes, Isle of Wight; Carjat & Co., Paris; Royer & Aufferre, Cairo; Elliott & Fry, London; Magnus Jackson, Marshall Place, Perth (?); William Notman, Montréal; Mason & Co., London; The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Co.; John Watkins, London; Gardner, Washington, D.C.; W. H. Mason, Brighton; Antoine Beato, Egypt; G. W. Wilson, Aberdeen; J. Beckett, Glasgow; Ross & Pringle, Edinburgh.

Stuart tartan bound album (30.5 x 23.5 x 5 cm) containing a collection of cartes-de-visite. Spine stamped, 'Album'. Cover features medallion portrait of Bonnie Prince Charlie; the word 'Stuart' is printed at the top in tiny gold lettering. One of two gold metal clasps is missing. Album comprises 50 pages, each with 4 oval or arched, bordered recessed pockets for cartes-de-visite. The album contained 200 items on donation, including 14 hand-coloured cartes-de-visite; one Notman carte-de-visite of Dolly Isaacson was removed from page 41 and is currently stored in the Notman portrait box.

The compiler's name is inscribed in the album: "W. W. Ogilvie 1868." Most of the cartes-de-visite are captioned in ink on the page below the window. All are portraits or ethnographic studies. A tentative identification of the compiler has been made: on page 16, one of two costumed Caucasian men.

The sequence begins with the Royal House of Britain (3 pages), followed by the current rulers and leaders of Prussia, Egypt, Austria, Italy, Russia, Abyssinia and Greece. An anomaly is Mary Queen of Scots who represented by a copied portrait. Beginning on page 11, identifications become increasingly generic, as in "Hungarian Prince" or Bedouin Sheik." Figures are distinguished by nationality, race, occupation or gender, as in "Egyptian water carrier," "The Sultan's Dwarf Clown," Russian Monk, Jerusalem," and "Greek Brigand." On pages 28 and 29, British aristocrats and officials are identified. Five pages of European ladies or actresses follow. From pages 35 to 38, British royals, aristocrats and politicians are mixed with "Syrian friends." Prominent Canadians, photographed by Notman, first appear on page 41. A series of jockeys, photographed and hand-coloured in Brighton, is clustered on page 44. The album concludes in a mixture of celebrities and types, including Roman peasants, Newhaven fishwomen, and "A Scotch Washing," two young women, with skirts raised to their knees, standing together in a washtub.

The album was donated by Mrs Margaret Brown of Montréal.

Illustrations

following page:

- 60 **MP 032/81.** Ogilvie Album, p. 15.
Unattributed. *Alma Dancing Girl, Syrian Girl* and
Egyptian Women. Four cartes-de-visite.
- 60 **MP 032/81.** Ogilvie Album, p. 48. J. Beckett,
Glasgow, *A Scotch Washing*; unattributed, *Kate*
Kearney's Granddaughter; *Abdullah Frères*,
Constantinople, *Constantinople Sedan Chair*, and
unattributed, *Venetian Scissor Grinder*. Four cartes-
de-visite.

MP 198/81

88D

Compiler unknown, c. 1931

Photographers include Notman Studio and others, unknown.

Black, cloth covered, expandable photographic album and scrapbook (32.5 x 28 x 3 cm) compiled in memory of 'Johnny' Webster, a Canadian aviator who died in 1931 of injuries sustained in a flying accident. The album includes 42 gelatin silver prints, ranging from snapshots (7.5 x 12 cm) to professional studio prints (21.8 x 16.5 cm), and approximately 92 newspaper clippings.

There is very little hand-written text. The album includes newspaper accounts of Webster's participation in the King's Cup and details of his fatal accident. A few dates relating to the newspaper clippings have been supplied where missing. Clippings identify 'Johnny' Webster as a prominent member of the Montreal Light Aeroplane Club and the first Canadian aviator to participate in the King's Cup race in Britain.

Webster died in Canada, shortly after the race, from injuries sustained in a flying accident that occurred at St-Hubert while he and two other aviators were executing a manoeuvre known as the Prince of Wales dive. Webster's plane apparently stalled and plunged some 76 meters to the ground. The accident occurred on the eve of a banquet planned to celebrate his success in Britain. He was thirty years old.

The album begins with photographs of Webster as a child. Many of these were shot in studio. They are uncaptioned and there are no dates. The organization of the material is chronological, from childhood to death. Numerous close-ups of the young man hint at a visual abnormality, an observation confirmed by comments in newspaper reports of his death. He is accompanied in two photographs by a person who may have been his brother. His wife, identified in the newspapers as the former Ailsie Coughlin, hardly appears in the album. There are no engagement or wedding pictures. Mrs Webster is pictured in the clippings only twice,

both times in connection with the flying club and in articles that also feature her husband. At the time of the accident, she was in Britain.

The focus is on Webster from child to adult. There are two small snapshots of his burial place at Shediac, New Brunswick. His parents do not appear, nor does his young wife. Mrs Webster's exclusion as friend, fiancée or bride is quite striking and would seem to eliminate her as a possible compiler. The album was probably assembled by Webster's mother or another family member with access to his baby pictures and given to Webster's young widow.

The album was donated to the McCord by Ailsie Coughlin Webster's second husband, Colonel Harper, after her death. The McCord Museum also received her flying costumes and log books.

Illustration

follows page:

70 **MP 198/81.** John C. Webster Memorial Album, p. 9.
Unattributed. Untitled (John C. Webster as a cadet),
c. 1912. Gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 11.5 cm.

MP 107/82

88K

Constructed title: Emily Ross Album

Compiler: Emily Ross, c. 1869

Photographer(s): William Notman, Montréal; Alexander Henderson, Montréal; other photographers, unknown

Black leather bound album (29 x 24.2 x 2.8) containing photographic collages and sketches. 46 cream coloured pages (27.2 x 22 cm). Photographs have been trimmed and glued into the album; vignettes have been drawn around the photographs. Subjects are portraits, houses, outdoor life and works of art in copied engravings. Two unmounted sketches (one dated "16 Nov 1837" and an unmounted greeting card) were included in the album.

The album is inscribed on the front end paper: "Emily Ross from her affectionate Brother George. 1 January 1869." One decorated page is signed, "Lizzie." The album's inside title page illuminates the initials of Emily and George, as well as the date.

The album is a sketchbook for vignettes and photographic collages. The decoration was sketched in pencil and painted with watercolour and ink; photographs were adjusted to the design. In some cases, the idea for a vignette may have remained just that since at least two framing devices are empty.

Motifs are varied, from simple frames in geometric patterns to leafy, floral arbours with birds. More inventive conceits - medallions adorned with portraits, a extended fan with five photographic vanes - are topped by the simple device of a carte-de-visite tumbling out of an envelope. The "postmark" on the envelope connects Kingston and Montréal.

There are 45 photographs in the album, portraiture, architecture studies or copies of art work. A Notman Archives cataloguer has claimed most of these for Notman. Images include copies of art work: "The Black

Brunswicker" (Notman 28174) depicts a scene of love or seduction which has been given suitable framing. Alexander Henderson's view of Lake La Blanche (c. 1866) has also been incorporated into the album.

The album was begun as a private sketchbook, but at least one other person added her contribution. A drawing of the Holy Family surrounded by lilies and angels is signed "Lizzie."

The album was donated by Dr. William P. Baker, a dealer in Montréal.

Illustration

follows:

64 **MP 107/82.** Emily Ross Album, pp. 32-33. Emily Ross, Untitled collage (the letter), c. 1869; Untitled collage (portrait of a man), c. 1869. Two collages of albumen prints, watercolour, ink and pencil, each 27.2 x 22 cm.

Constructed title: Fred W. Berchem Album 1921-1927

Compiler: Fred W. Berchem, c. 1927

Photographer: Fred W. Berchem

Black linen covered expandable album (28 x 39.5 x 2.5 cm) containing snapshots of the Canadian north. 150 gelatin silver prints (each approximately 7.5 x 12.7 cm) are glued to black soft card sheets, typically four per page. A label is glued below each print. There are three larger prints at the end of the album (15.7 x 25.8 cm; 15.2 x 20.3 cm; 12.5 x 17.8 cm).

Captions are inscribed in ink on the label. They are short, precise and expressed in appropriate terminology ("Hauling and panning seals") or common phrases ("Over the top"). Dates divide the album into three periods: July - October, 1926; March - May, 1927; 1921 - 1927. The first two chapters are concerned with specific activities, notably sealing. The third section is a general overview selected from Berchem's pictures of the north with a particular focus on the sinking of the Bayeskimo in 1925.

Fred W. Berchem's career can be partially reconstructed from annotated photographs acquired with his albums and by correlating the information he compiled. In 1917, he was a 15-year-old apprentice on the S. S. Baytigon sailing the Indian Ocean. At Southampton in 1919, he was photographed for a postcard which he dedicated to his parents, but neither addressed nor mailed. The same year, he inscribed a snapshot "Stowing the stores, Fort Chimo, September 1919." In 1921, he was Third Officer on the Bayverdun, then Third Officer on the Baychimo. By 1922, he was Second Officer on the H.B.C. Steamer Bayeskimo which sailed on its maiden voyage from Ardrossan, Scotland. The Bayeskimo sank in Ungava Bay in July, 1925. The crew was rescued by the Nascopie. Berchem later appears to have served on the Nascopie under Captain G. E.

Mack.

The first section of the album - July to October, 1926 - covers 16 pages. Photographs are long views of ports, ice flows, iceberg, glaciers, distant shores and other ships, taken while underway or at anchor. The section includes portraits of 'Eskimo' inhabitants on the ship: "Eskimos living in Nascopie's forehold Season 1926" is a group of women, children and elderly people. Images in this group are dominated by water.

The second section - March to May, 1927 - records the Nascopie's sealing expedition. There are pictures of men swarming over the ice, alarmed seals and a ritual flag-raising on the site of the first kill. Some captions are tinged with irony. "'Onward Christian soldiers'?" is the title given to a view of hunters spreading out from the ship. The companion picture is a sympathetic portrait of Jack Cook who crouches down beside a whitecoat. Captain Mack is seen among the men, towing a seal back to the ship. All of these photographs are taken from the vantage point of the ship, looking down onto the ice. The season ends at Torbay Bay, Newfoundland, where men are seen landing the carcasses. These scenes are shot across the dock.

The third section includes a record of the Bayeskimo's sinking in July 1925. There are photographs of the pack ice that crushed the ship and group portraits of the crew, huddled together on the ice awaiting rescue, then gathered in front of the Moravian Mission, waiting for the relief ship, Harmony.

The album was bought at auction.

Illustration

follows page:

82

MP 127/84. Fred W. Berchem Album 1921-1927, p. 23.

Fred W. Berchem. *Returning aboard; Returning aboard;*

Scrambling 'home'; Hauling and panning seals, 1927.

Four gelatin silver prints, each 7.5 x 12.7 cm.

MP 128/84

91 E

Constructed title: Fred W. Berchem Album 1922-24

Compiler: Fred W. Berchem, c. 1924

Photographer: Fred W. Berchem

Black leather expandable album (23 x 20.3 x 2.5 cm) containing snapshots of the Canadian north. The cover is gilt stamped, 'Photographs'; the album is held together with purple cord. 39 gelatin silver prints (7.5 x 12.7 cm) are inserted in recessed pockets, two per page. Gilt edged sheets alternate between tan and grey with openings outlined in a darker toned bands.

The album is signed in purple ink on the inside title page. Captions are neatly printed on the outlining border. They include subject, place and date: "Entrance to Hudson Straits. July 1922" and "Eskimo pilot. Lake Harbour. July 1922" are typical examples. Inscribed toponyms include: Port Burwell, Hudson Straits, Baffin Bay, Cumberland Gulf, Port Harrison, Wakebem Bay, Fort Chimo, Baffin Land.

Fred W. Berchem's career can be partially reconstructed from annotated photographs that were acquired with his albums and by correlating the information he compiled. In 1917, he was a 15-year-old apprentice on the S. S. Baytigeon sailing the Indian Ocean. At Southhampton in 1919, he was photographed for a postcard which he dedicated to his parents, but neither addressed nor mailed. The same year, he inscribed a snapshot "Stowing the stores, Fort Chimo, September 1919." In 1921, he was Third Officer on the Bayverdun, then Third Officer on the Baychimo. By 1922, he was Second Officer on the H.B.C. Steamer Bayeskimo which sailed on its maiden voyage from Ardrossan, Scotland. The Bayeskimo sank in Ungava Bay in July, 1925. The crew was rescued by the Nascopie. Berchem later appears to have served on the Nascopie under Captain G. E. Mack.

The photographs in this album represent Berchem's service on the

Bayeskimo. They are not organized chronologically, but by category or short expository essay. Berchem's usual vantage point is from the ship. As the ship makes its rounds, he records the landing of supplies or the loading of cargo, sometimes from the shore. His photographs of a polar bear hunt in Baffin Bay, August 1924, are taken from the ship above. Pictures mark the fit-out of the Bayeskimo at Androssan as well as the arrival in Canada of imported Lapp Reindeer (1922). He documents his encounters with Inuit inhabitants. A snapshot of three Inuit men listening through headphones to radio, July 1922, illustrates the absorption of southern technology and culture.

The album was bought at auction.

Illustration

follows page:

82 **MP 128/84.** Fred W. Berchem Album 1922-1924, pp. 16-17. Fred W. Berchem. *Aboard 'Bayeskimo' Aug. 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' Aug. 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' July 1922; Aboard 'Bayeskimo' July 1922, 1922.* Four gelatin silver prints, each 7.5 x 12.7 cm.

MP 145/84

88D

Constructed title: Langlois/Gélinas Album

Compiler(s) unknown, two distinct periods of activity: circa 1900 to 1925; circa 1940 to 1960s

Photographer(s) unknown

Black morocco adjustable album (17.7 x 28 x 3.5 cm) containing approximately 263 mostly amateur photographs from two periods of compilation. The cover is gilt stamped 'Photographs'. The first half of the album is comprised of black and white, gelatin silver prints from the early 1900s to 1925. These are carefully trimmed and glued to the black pages. The second half begins from the back, upside down. A mixture of black and white and colour snapshots of different sizes are crudely stapled in, often overlapping. The second period spans approximately thirty years, from the forties through the sixties. 'In Memoriam' card (1952) and a newspaper obituary (n.d.) appear in this section.

Captions are inscribed in ballpoint pen, in French and English, sometimes combining both languages. Grammar and spelling, including names, are inconsistent. In the first half, there are recurrent references to the Chamard family, especially "Oncle Bill Chamard" who appears to have operated a hotel, a lively gathering point whose destruction by fire is also recorded over a number of views. Inscribed captions include: "Au travail de la Croix rouge," "Murray Bay," "La Malbay," "Couvent de Bay St Paul," and "Chapel Sir Charles Fitzpatrick." There are no captions in the second section, but the obituary of Nelson Gélinas of Shawinigan provides some background information on the central characters. Gélinas, born in Detroit, came to Grand'Mère at the age of 15. He resided in Shawinigan for most of his life, working 35 years at Shawinigan Chemicals. His marriage to Ida Langlois resulted in 7 children. The other piece of biographical information, treating the death of Thomas Lampron of St-Boniface de Shawinigan, cannot be anchored to the first half of the album since neither he, nor his wife, Clairina

Lacerte, is identified. The line from Ida (and Euzebie?) Langlois, through the Gélinas family, seems the likeliest provenance for the album. The album was clearly continued by someone other than its original compiler, though possibly on the basis of her photographic hoard.

The first section of the album documents the graceful pleasures of the hotel, as well as its major characters, Oncle Bill, Gessy, Ida, Euzebie and a parrot named George Washington. It is interesting to note that one of the young men pictured is reading Edith Wharton's The House of Mirth. The subjects are generally aware of the camera; most portraits are posed, with a few lively exceptions capturing performers in the hotel or on the grounds. Ida and Euzebie are photographed in readiness for a costume party or pageant, creating a tableau vivant. Recurring names include Ida and Euzebie (sometimes spelled differently).

Photographs in the second half of the album update the slow gentility of a period firmly relegated to the past. The rolling lawns and open fields around the Chamard hotel are replaced by suburban backyards and campgrounds. The population of the album explodes with the coming of two or more generations - a bevy of soldiers, sunbathers and toddlers jostling for space on the crowded pages. The mixture of colour and black and white, the insertion of the photographs upside-down and sideways, ironically increases the fascination and emotional charge of the material. Themes that emerge from the chaos are very compelling: the stability of conversation groups set in lawnchairs or dinettes; the connection of one aging man to his automobile; the messy pleasures of family life.

The album was bought at a garage sale in Montréal and donated to the museum by Mrs Judy Yelon.

Illustrations

follow pages:

156

MP 145/84. Lançlois/Gélinas Album, part 1, p. 21.
(no. 94) Unattributed, *Euzebie* (two young women in costumes). Gelatin silver prints, 9.3 x 11.6 cm and 11.1 x 9.5 cm

92

MP 145/84. Lançlois/Gélinas Album, part 2, p. 18
(counting from the back of the album). Unattributed.
Six snapshots. Gelatin silver prints, 5.5 x 5.5 cm to 9 x 12 cm.

MP 079/86

88D

Constructed title: Cynthia Jones Album (1917-1923)

Compiler: Cynthia Jones (née Holt)

Photographer: Cynthia Jones and others unknown

Black leather expandable album (17 x 27 x 4.5 cm) containing 226 snapshots, postcards, purchased photographs, coupons and letters. Images are glued to black sheets. Photographs range in size from 6 x 4 cm to 8.3 x 14 cm.

Inscriptions are in white pencil. Key people, places and dates are identified, organizing the photographs and other elements into descriptive chapters. From 1917-1919, the album is situated in England and France where Miss Holt worked in YMCA rehabilitation centres and hospitals. The album begins with the heading: "On Board S. S. Adriatic American Troopship - September 1917 - New York - Halifax - Liverpool." Two figures on the page are identified: "Lady Drummond" and "Isabel Adami." The titles and captions are thus used to establish the broad context and to preserve the collective experience.

Postcards and cartoons serve the same broad function, establishing the milestones of a collective memory which the photographer personalizes and animates with her own snapshots. A purchased view of "Broad Oak Lodge, Sturry, Kent - Officers Rest Home - October 1917" is followed in the album by snapshots of the building, a canine mascot, and a group of nurses and soldiers standing on the front steps, "Watching the Huns Coming Over." The condition of the officers and Miss Holt's duties as a nurse are mainly described through postcards of the wards and cartoons of electrical treatments. She moves to another convalescent home in Eastbourne, then to Etaples with the British Y.M.C.A. She fishes while on leave in Scotland and also rests at a place called Hollins Hall. Dangers are encapsulated in a series of postcards showing the aftermath of hospital bombings in May 1918 at Etaples, France. Keepsakes include an invitation to a farewell supper at Etaples, June 9, 1919, and the

official programme of the National Peace Celebrations on July 19, 1919, in London. Her trip home on the S.S. Minnedosa is documented, bringing her wartime experience to a close.

The next segment of the album is an extended holiday in Europe, touring in France, Italy and Britain in the spring and summer of 1922. Miss Holt returns to Hollins Hall where she had been on leave in 1917. She photographs the tomb of the Unknown soldier in Paris. Skiing at St. Marguerite and elsewhere in 1922-1923 constitutes the last section of the album, culminating on New Year's eve at North Hatley, 1922-23.

The album was purchased from a dealer, Bruno Bargelletti.

Illustration

following page:

76 **MP 079/86.** Cynthia Jones Album (1917 - 1923), p. 8.
Cynthia Holt Jones, *Watching the Huns Come Over*, 1917.
Gelatin silver prints: 8.1 x 5.5 cm; 6 x 8.2 cm; 5.7
x 8.2 cm; 8 x 5.5 cm.

MP 028/89

88F

Inscribed title: Souvenirs of a few pleasant summer days 1898

Compiler: Mina M. Hare?

Photographer: Mina M. Hare?

Burgundy leather bound album (27.2 x 20.8 x 4.5 cm) containing snapshots taken in 1898 during a summer holiday in Québec. The cover is gilt stamped, 'Photographs'. The inside title page is printed: "The Art Album for 96 photographs, 4 x 5." The design is copyrighted 1896 by Williams, Brown & Earle of Philadelphia. Each page has two recessed pockets for horizontal views. 96 snapshots (9 x 11.5 cm), some inserted on their sides, are captioned in script on the cream border.

The album is inscribed:

"Souvenirs of a few pleasant summer days 1898."
"And backward rush sweet memories
like fragments of a dream"

Each photograph is identified by location and date. Subject-matter, such as historical importance, or the photographer's vantage point, sometimes amplify the caption.

The album is organized chronologically from July 26 to August 3, 1898. The first 9 pages are dedicated to sightseeing in Montréal. The scene then shifts to Prescott, Ontario, and the beginning of a cruise down the St. Lawrence River, past Iroquois, Long Sault, Cornwall, through Lake St. Francis (Lac St-François), past Coteau Rapids, Cedar Rapids, Cascade Rapids and Lachine Rapids. This excursion is covered in 11 pages. There are no photographs documenting the journey from Lachine Rapids to St-Jean, on the Isle d'Orléans. There, on July 29, the river trip continues down the St. Lawrence, past Baie-St-Paul, Les Eboulements, Pointe-au-Pic and Rivière-du-Loup and up the Saguenay River to Chicoutimi. Retracing the route, photographs record Capes Trinity and Eternity, as well as Tadoussac where there is a brief look at the town.

Also at Tadoussac, there is a picture of the steamer, "Carolina." The river cruise resumes, marked by views of Rivière-du-Loup and Frasers River. Québec is explored, including points of interest in the old city, the Plains of Abraham and Montmorency Falls. The last 2 photographs, taken on August 3 in Westmount, Québec, feature Westmount Park and "Home and hostess."

The album was donated by Allison Rolland of Chambly, Québec, from the J. R. Beattie estate.

Illustration

following page:

84 **MP 028/89.** Souvenirs of a few pleasant days 1898, pp. 16-17. Mina Hare. *Light-house in Lake St Francis, July 28; Coteau on the St Lawrence, July 28; Coteau Bridge, July 28; Coteau Rapids, July 28.* Gelatin silver prints, 9 x 11.5 cm.

MP 040/90

73C

Constructed title: Chambers Red Cross Album

Compiler: Mrs W. D. Chambers, c. 1945

Photographers: Canadian Military photographers and unknown amateurs

Multicoloured 'wickerwork' snapshot album (27.7 x 24 x 2.5 cm), with concealed plastic binding, containing 47 gelatin silver photographs (between 5 x 5 cm and 19 x 19 cm). Gold label on inside back cover: 'Amfile/Amberg File and Index Co./F810BP Willow weave' Prints mounted on unnumbered pages of black paper with black photo corners.

Snapshots are unidentified. Military photographs are stamped, numbered and labeled on the back (labels have been partially removed). Stamped information: "Canadian Military Photograph from Public Relations Branch, Canadian Military Headquarters, 2, Cockspur Street S.W.I./Original Photograph Passed Censor for Release."

Many photographs have been removed from the album leaving gaps in the original sequence. All photographs appear to have been taken between 1940 and 1945. One snapshot (McCord #13) shows Mrs Chambers in the company of her husband, her nephew, Dicky White, and her son, Richard. Canadian Military photographs depict Mrs W. D. Chambers, commandant of transport service for the Woman's Voluntary Service Corps committee of the Red Cross, and others going about their duties and relaxing. Snapshots of Red Cross volunteer corps members, in uniform and civilian clothes, portray individuals and groups posing while travelling or on duty. Neither North American nor European locations can be easily identified (French and Italian signage is discernible in two photographs). As identified by her daughter-in-law, Gretta Chambers, Mrs Chambers stands before a shop sign, 'Foto Arte' and beside her Red Cross ambulance which bears the slogan 'On The Job' (McCord #41, p. 18).

The following captions are on file at the National Archives of Canada:

Canadian Military Photograph No. 23670 (McCord #25) - Lieut. F. G. Whitcombe, probably August, 1943: "In the Canadian Red Cross Tent. Lieut. C. A. B. O. McGill, an artist from Vancouver, B.C., had the misfortune of losing his right arm in Sicily. Undaunted, he is learning to draw with his left hand, and has visited the Red Cross girls to submit designs of monograms which he is etching on new plastic identity discs for the girls. L. to R.: Lieut. McGill; Marion Kerr, Montréal; Major Jamieson and Lyle Boyd, Montréal.

C.M.P. No. 23730 (# 26) - Lieut. F. G. Whitcombe, probably August, 1943: Stopping at Constantine for the night, Major Jamieson is welcomed by officials of the British Red Cross at Advance Stores. Left to Right: Major Bruce Jamieson, George Green, Leonard Hodson and Jack Crawford. The man seated at the table is selling tickets in the 'Loterie Algerienne.' "

C.M.P. No. 26479 (#32) - Lieut. A. Stirton, probably November, 1943: "Discharged from hospital with a recommendation for 10 days of rest, Capt. Bill Wadds of Toronto is welcomed to 'Sea Villa.' Mrs W. D. Chambers, M.C., Montreal (B.R.S.C.) who runs the home is seen welcoming him while the Italian Major-domo 'Guiseppe' (Joe) takes care of scanty luggage."

C.M.P. No. 26475 (#33) - Lieut. A. Stirton, probably November, 1943: "At the kitchen door on the seafront, Mrs Chambers, M.C., Montreal, with the help of her staff and a lot of sign language buys tomorrow's lunch. Fresh fish - but expensive."

C.M.P. No. 26481 (#39) - Lieut. A. Stirton, probably November, 1943: "And at the convalescent home, there is the pill-taker's ping-pong championship. On the piazza under the shade of palm trees and with the murmur of surf to disconcert, two volunteers fight for elimination. Watching Capt. G. Fitzgerald of County Kerry, Eire, and Lieut. J. Oliver of Buenos Aires, Argentina, are Capt. Bill Wadds, Toronto, Mrs W. D. Chambers, Montreal, and the M.C."

Mrs Chambers (the former Evelyn Gordon Brown) began her voluntary service during the First World War when, as a member of First Aid Yeomanry Ambulance Convoy (F.A.N.Y.), she was awarded a Military Medal. A scrapbook of newspaper clippings and photographs (MP 041/90) and a number of loose photographs (stored with MP 041/90) provide a historical context for the album which is a personal memoir of World War II.

The album was part of a larger donation of albums and photographs by Gretta Chambers of Montréal. Mrs W. D. Chambers was the donor's mother-in-law.

Illustration

follows page:

80 **MP 040/90. Chambers Red Cross Album.**, p. 18.
Unattributed. Untitled (Mrs W. D. Chambers "On The Job" in Italy), c. 1943; 3 views of the convalescent home. Four gelatin silver prints: 14 x 8.5 cm; 10.5 x 6.5 cm; 6.5 x 10.5 cm; 6.5 x 9 cm.

MP 042/90

73C

Constructed title: Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album

Compiler: Charles Philippe Beaubien c. 1903-1908

Photographer(s): Charles Philippe Beaubien, with occasional assistance from a family member; commercial photographers unknown

Soft-covered album (28.5 x 38 x 5 cm) with green fabric binding contains 424 gelatin silver prints, mainly snapshots with some purchased views and postcards (6 items unmounted). Borderless prints, most approximately 11 x 15.5 cm, are glued close together on black pages. A number of panoramic views are composed of paired prints. Two photographs of a child on a hobby-horse have been close-cropped around the figure.

There are no inscriptions relating to the mounted prints. In the first half of the album, prints have been numbered 1 to 205 (numbering predated the removal of several prints from the album.) An unmounted postcard, written in French, is from a child, Poucette, to her mother, Mme Beaubien, thanking her for a rosary blessed by the Holy Father in Rome. The card was mailed in Montréal on April 23, 1911, to Paris where it was forwarded to Brussels. Another unmounted postcard (no postage) depicting a uniformed man wearing a patch over his eye, is inscribed: "To you dear Auntie and with love from your nephew Aimar/Wounded by 'shrapnel' north of Ypres - Belgium April 27 1915./During the great war of 1914-1915." Names (Beaubien; Taylor) and places appear on packages of negatives (MP 043/90) that were part of the same donation.

Information on the album was obtained by interviewing the donor, Gretta Chambers, granddaughter of the compiler. The interview was conducted on June 19, 1995, as Mrs Chambers went through the album and narrated the contents.

The album begins around 1903 with a trip to Europe. Portraits of Charles-Philippe Beaubien and Gretta Powers Beaubien, taken in the

Beaubien house on St. Catherine Road (now Beaubien Park) establish the album's main figures. Views of English landscape, monuments and gardens are succeeded by pictures of the Beaubien family on their estate at Lac Nominique. This pattern of alternation continues throughout the album, incorporating houses in Montréal, the visits of family and friends, a cruise up the St-Lawrence to the Gaspé and a journey to Seattle. The western landscape affords the photographer vast and vivid contrasts of scale, atmosphere and terrain which are beautifully rendered.

The house at Nominique is the site of family reunions which are recorded formally and informally. The album chronicles the family's activities, such as sailing, swimming, walking and talking on the porch. Newborn babies are propped up before the camera and legendary events, such as the command performance of a troupe of dancing bears, are recorded as well. Charles-Philippe Beaubien was an attentive and talented observer. His organization of the album brings his notations to order with charm and energy.

The album was part of a larger donation of albums and photographs by Gretta Chambers of Montréal. Mrs Chambers received the album because pictures of her mother, Simone Beaubien Taylor, feature in it so prominently. Charles-Philippe Beaubien was a dedicated amateur and a steady compiler of albums that are now distributed through the family. Mrs Chambers's donation demonstrates her family's longstanding interest in photography, with a legacy that includes tintypes and four-generation portraits.

Illustrations

follow pages:

- 152 **MP 042/90.** Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album, p. 50.
Charles-Philippe Beaubien. Untitled sailing and family pictures (self-portrait), c. 1905. Gelatin silver prints: top row - 11.6 x 9 cm; bottom - 10.5 x 15.5 cm and 11.5 x 16 cm.

MP 042/90. Charles-Philippe Beaubien Album, p. 64.
Charles-Philippe Beaubien. Untitled (portraits of
family members in the country), c. 1905. Gelatin
silver prints: top - 11.3 x 15.5 cm and 11.5 x 13.2
cm; bottom - 9 x 13.6 cm and 10 x 14.5 cm.

MP 016/92

88D

Constructed title: William Hilliard Snyder Album

Compiler: William Hilliard Snyder, April - October, 1916

Photographer: William Hilliard Snyder and friends

Black morocco bound snapshot album (18.3 x 26.7 x 2 cm) containing snapshots, documentary photographs, postcards and printed material. The small crest symbolizing the 195th City of Regina Overseas Battalion has been pinned through the front cover. End papers and pages are black. The 160 gelatin silver prints and postcards, ranging between 4.8 x 7 cm and 8.5 x 14.3 cm, are held by their corners which are poked through diagonal cuts in the page.

The front end papers are inscribed in white ink: "195th 'City of Regina' O.S.B. C.E.F. / Camp Hughes / Man." (inside cover); "'Hootalingua / Vancouver Heights / Vancouver B.C. / W. H. Snyder 2nd April 1916" (flyleaf). Most photographs are accompanied by very brief inscriptions. Page headings and dates mark the compiler's sojourns in Edmonton, Ottawa, Camp Hughes (Manitoba) and Vancouver. Other identified locations include Regina and points along the transcanadian C. P. R. line. The album also includes the first issue of the 195th Battalion newsletter, Reveille (October, 1916), recounting the battalion's formation, and an illustrated booklet, Camp Hughes, 1916, giving the history, mission, accomplishments and facilities of the infantry training camp.

The album chronicles the experiences of William Hilliard Hughes (c. 1886-1918) through enlistment and training for military service overseas. He is frequently pictured, captioned as "Muh." The donor provided biographical information on his grandfather (Hilliard's father), Major A. E. Snyder, who does not appear to be pictured. He also identified his mother (Hilliard's sister, captioned Sister or Katie), Constance (probably a cousin), Chrissie (Chrissie Rhodes, Vancouver) and Nora (Nora Lewis, a painter whose father was a captain on

a Gold Rush Steamer).

Acompanying documents, now in the museum archives, include two groups of letters (1910-1912 and 1915-1917) written to the compiler's mother, father and sister. In the first group, written from school, references to photography include requests for pictures and this comment: "How do you like the picture of me. Morris the boy from Peterboro' took it. It is not so bad when you think that it was a time-exposure of one minute." Directly pertaining to the album (pages 5-8) is one letter written from the Château Laurier in Ottawa on June 30, 1916, describing a flurry of social activities which Snyder enjoyed during his training at the Canadian School of Musketry, Rockcliffe: "On Wednesday evening I had dinner at the Almans', and left about eight thirty to go over to a sort of garden party which the girls of Ottawa are having to help to soldiers, well I can't start to tell you what I did there, any way a girl called Miss Boy (Marian) & muh! a Mr Graham and a Miss Saunders painted the whole place red." Four subsequent letters to his sister (January 29, 1917 to June 1, 1917) chronicle various episodes in Britain; a single letter "From Somewhere in France" (October 9, 1917) is his first, subdued reaction to the front line: "After a long and somewhat rough journey we have finally arrived at our destination mid the awfulest rain you ever saw in your life. The first night we were in a very nice billet, you could not want for better, but to-night I am just contemplating whether to sleep in the bed provided or on the floor as there seems to be a pitched battle going on there at present." An account of Snyder's death copied from Charley Grafton's The Canadian "Emma Gees" (pages 121, 127-128) was also among his sister's papers: On March 25, 1918, near Amiens, "Both batteries were suffering severe casualties and Lieut. Snyder of 'B' and Lieuts. West and Waldron of the Bordens, who were observing, were all shot through the head and killed instantly."

The contents of the album are divided between informal portraits, landmarks and places of personal significance. References to civilian and military life are initially mixed; training and figures of authority

dominate the last pages of the album. Casual photographic sessions are spontaneous and generous; clownish, sometimes unfocussed, snapshots capture friends at home or on outings. Views of buildings, emplacements and soldiers on parade demonstrate Snyder's photographic competence and his intense desire to describe. The photographs chronicle the movements and novel experiences of the young recruit, as well as his trips home to Vancouver. A number of fellow officers are pictured on the practice range. The Colt machine gun and the Lewis machine gun are both recorded on the training field; the Lewis is described in careful detail. Camp Hughes is depicted over 13 pages of snapshots and purchased prints showing uniformed and mounted personnel, the Empire Theatre, hospital tents and training locations, such as trenches.

The album and accompanying documents were preserved by the compiler's sister, Mrs Katherine Jessie Speirs (Katie Snyder), and donated by her son, Mr Andrew Speirs of North Hatley, Québec. Mrs Speirs also served in England and France, beginning in November, 1916; her experiences as an ambulance driver are related in an article, "With the F.A.N.Y.'S in France," (The Gold Stripe, no date) which came to the museum with the album.

Illustrations

following pages:

- 150 **MP 016/92. William Hilliard Snyder Album, p. 18.**
William Hilliard Snyder and friends. Vancouver.
Constance/Eric. North Arm/Leslie/Kim. Eric/George.
Eric/Muh! Muh/Eric. Dark Creek/Leslie/Allen. Gwen.
Leslie/Amy/Muh/Katie, 1916. Gelatin silver prints,
each 7 x 4.8 cm.
- 76 **MP 016/92. William Hilliard Snyder Album, p. 25.**
William Hilliard Snyder? W. O Reid, 114th Batt. CEF;
LANGARA B.S., 1916. Gelatin silver prints: 14 x 8.8
cm; 10.2 x 7.8 cm.

MP 035/92

88D

Constructed title: Untitled Album

Compiler unknown, c. 1945

Photographers unknown

Brown leather, expandable snapshot album (18.5 x 28 x 3.5 cm) containing 234 gelatin silver prints (3 unmounted; 3 hand-coloured), 5 photographic studio portraits, 6 postcards, 1 'In memoriam' card and 1 clipping. Photographs range in size from 3.8 x 6 cm to 14.3 x 19.2 cm. Prints mounted on unnumbered pages of black paper with red heart-shaped or black square photo corners. Embossed lettering on cover spells "Photographs."

Inscriptions are in French. Inscribed dates (recto/verso) from 1924 to 1945. Inscribed locations (recto/verso), mainly in the province of Québec, include Beaconsfield (1), Cap-de-la-Madeleine (1), Caughnawaga (3), Lac-Noir (5), Rigaud (2), St-Barnabé (2), St-Donat (7), St-Esprit (2), St-Jean (1), St-Maurice (4), St-Ours (3), Ste-Adèle (9), Ste-Agathe (1), Ste-Julienne (3) and Terrebonne (3).

The album has been compiled from a collection of informal portraits gathered over thirty years from a circle of family and friends. Predominant subjects are two women, possibly sisters, whose inscribed portraits range from 1929 in St-Ours to 1945 in Ste-Adèle. The older of the two women is pictured approximately 115 times; the younger approximately 88 times. Three secondary figures (man, woman, young man) each appear more than 20 times. Sequencing of the album is neither chronological, nor geographical. Periods, places and specific events are fragmented and distributed throughout the album, forming patterns of repetition and filling the spectator with chronic *déjà vu*. At the same time, thematic groupings and the reliable recurrence of particular activities - picnics, boating or simply taking pictures - encourage a sense of intimacy and close connection with the album's main figures.

The donor, Mrs Susan Alain of Montréal, purchased the album with the intention of donating it to the McCord. The dealer was Mrs Anne Silverstone, owner of The Little Shop in Montréal. Mrs Silverstone bought the album at Les Glaneuses (Montréal) Inc.

Illustrations

following pages:

- 184 **MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 3. Unattributed.**
Untitled, n.d. (7.8 x 12.2 cm); untitled, n.d. (6.9 x 11 cm); *Cap-de-la-Madeleine*, n.d. (7 x 11.5 cm); *Baie Georgia 1933* (7.7 x 12.3 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 186 **MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 9. Unattributed. *St Ours*, 1929 (12.5 x 8 cm); untitled, n.d. (8.7 x 6.5 cm); *St Ours*, 1929 (13.9 x 8.9 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.**
- 188 **MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 21. Unattributed. 14**
Août 1932 (12.5 x 7.9 cm); untitled (school picture), n.d. (? x 4.9 cm); untitled, 1932? (12.5 x 8 cm); untitled, 1932? (12.5 x 8 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 190 **MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 6. Unattributed.**
Untitled, c. 1916? (7.8 x 12.7 cm); untitled, n.d. (6.9 x 11.5 cm); untitled, 1926? (8.2 x 6.5 cm); untitled, n.d. (7.9 x 12.5 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 190 **MP 035/92. Untitled Album, p. 23. Unattributed.**
Untitled, n.d. (12.5 x 8 cm); 1929 (8 x 12.5 cm); *St Ours 1929* (12.3 x 8 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.

- 192 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 46. Unattributed.
Untitled, 1936? (16.5 x 10.7 cm); untitled, 1932?
(17.8 x 12.6 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.
- 194 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 31. Unattributed. 13
août 1933 (12.1 x 7.8 cm); *St Donat* 1933 (7.6 x 12.2
cm); *St Barnabé*, after 1937 (7.6 x 12 cm). Three
gelatin silver prints.
- 196 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 64. Unattributed.
July, 1936? Gelatin silver print (12.9 x 17.2 cm).
- 196 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 53. Unattributed. *Le*
Pain de Sucre, Lac Noir, 1940? Four gelatin silver
prints (each 8.2 x 12.4 cm).
- 196 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 41, detail.
Unattributed. *Lac Noir, Août 1939*. Gelatin silver
print (7.4 x 11.7 cm).
- 198 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 57. Unattributed. *St*
Maurice 27 Août 1933 (7.7 x 11.7 cm); 1945? (7.1 x
11.5 cm); 1945 *St Adèle* (7 x 11.5 cm); *Ste-Adèle*
Lodge, September 1, 1941? (7.6 x 12.2 cm). Four
gelatin silver prints.
- 200 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 12. Unattributed.
1926? (13.4 x 9 cm); *St-Ours*, 1929? (14 x 8.2 cm).
Two gelatin silver prints.
- 200 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 13. Unattributed.
Untitled, n.d. (13.8 x 8.5 cm); untitled, n.d. (13.9 x
8.7 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.
- 202 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 25. Unattributed. *St*

- Maurice* 1933 (12 x 7.7 cm); 1926? (12.4 x 7.8 cm); *Ste Julienne* 1933 (12.2 x 7.6 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.
- 202 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 72. Unattributed. *Ste-Adèle*, 1941? (7.6 x 12.2 cm); 1944 (7.1 x 11.5 cm); 1944 (7 x 11.7 cm); *Ste-Adèle*, 1945? (6.9 x 11.1 cm). Four gelatin silver prints.
- 204 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 11. Unattributed. *Terrebonne 24 Août 1933* (12.2 x 7.6 cm); untitled, n.d. (7 x 11.6 cm); *Ste Julienne*, 1933? (12.2 x 7.6 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.
- 206 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 76. Unattributed. Untitled, n.d. (9.2 x 12.5 cm); *Ste-Adèle*, September 1, 1941? (14.5 x 9.3 cm). Two gelatin silver prints.
- 206 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 40. detail. Unattributed. After 1937? (7.5 x 11.2 cm). Gelatin silver print.
- 206 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 27. Unattributed. 1933? (12.2 x 7.6 cm); after 1937? (12 x 7.8 cm); *St Maurice 27 Août 1933* (12 x 7.8 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.
- 210 **MP 035/92.** Untitled Album, p. 36. Unattributed. *Pension Ducharme 1936* (7.6 x 12 cm); untitled, n.d. (7.6 x 12.3 cm); *Caughnawaga* or *St-Maurice*, 1933? (13.4 x 8.2 cm). Three gelatin silver prints.

N 060 (formerly M15376)

90G

Constructed title: McCord Family Album

Compiled after 1874, by a member of the McCord family, probably David Ross McCord (1844-1930), using family photographs, some collected in the 1860s by his mother, Anne Ross McCord (1807-1870)

Numerous photographers including Notman Studio; R. W. Thrupp, Birmingham; John Hawke, Plymouth; J.L. Jones, Québec; Alexander Henderson, Montréal; Faris, New York; James Inglis, Montréal; Turner, Montréal; Smorthwaite, London; Cook, Charleston, South Carolina; T. C. Doane, Montréal; Bullock Brothers, Leamington; Richer, Montréal; E. Le Jeune, Naples; Livernois, Québec; C.D. Mosher, Chicago; Jarvis Studio, Ottawa, C. Silvy, London; E. Spencer, Ottawa; Martin, Montréal; Stuart, Inverness; J. Collier, Inverness; J. G. Parks, Montréal; Smeaton, Québec; Valentine Blanchard, London; Gurney & Sons, New York.

Black morocco album (29 x 23 x 6 cm) for cartes-de-visite and cabinet cards. With 105 cartes-de-visite or half-stereos (4/page) and 10 cabinet cards (1/page), the album is not full. Distinctive features included a deeply impressed patterned cover with brass shield and closure. Pages are gilt-edged with gilt outlines around oval or arched recessed pockets.

Inscriptions can be found on the borders or backs of some of the cartes-de-visite. A number are dated (inscribed dates range between 1862 and 1874) or signed by the sitter. A few include personal dedications to the recipient: "With Aunt Lizzie's affect. love & best wishes on yr Birthday ---20th 1867" (Lizzie, Anne Ross McCord's sister, probably to one of the McCord children) appears on a carte-de-visite by Alexander Henderson. Others are dedicated to Anne Ross McCord, as in "Mrs McCord, Temple Grove...(dated 1863 or 1869)." There is one French inscription: "Ernest agé de 5 ans." Other legible names include C.W. Ross, Lewis D. Ross, Charles LeBlanc and Mrs Spooner.

Opening with a cabinet-sized portrait of John Samuel McCord, the first page of 4 cartes-de visite repeats the patriarchal image, along with portraits of Anne Ross McCord, David Ross McCord and a half-stereo of a graveyard. The pages are organized to reflect blood ties and connections by marriage. There are also multiple portraits of individuals, cataloguing different poses, costumes and expressions. Likenesses of relatives, friends and acquaintances have emanated from Canada, the United States, Scotland and England, along with a few copied paintings and engravings, either portraits or views. Famous personalities and royals are not prominent in this collection, with the exception of Notman's copy of the Mayall carte-de-visite of Queen Victoria. Toward the back, a more random presentation and a number of duplicates suggest a secondary function for the family album as an unsystematic repository for accumulating cartes-de-visite.

The album was part of the David Ross McCord collection. It was donated to the McCord museum in 1932. The entry in the McCord accession book reads simply, "Album containing family photographs of the McCord family."

Illustration

following page:

100 N 060. McCord Family Album, pp. 2-3. Page 2: Notman Studio. Copied portrait of Judge McCord (23065), 1866; Mr [David Ross] McCord (28853), 1867-8; Mrs [Anne Ross] McCord (358), 1861. Three cartes-de-visite. Unattributed. View of graveyard. Half-stereo. Page 3: Elisson & Co., Québec, R. A. McCord (signed). Notman Studio, McCord brothers [John D. and David Ross?] (984), 1861; Notman Studio, D. R. McCord (34510), 1868. Six cartes-de-visite; one half-stereo.

Constructed title: Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album

Compilers: Louisa Davenport Frothingham

Photographers: William Notman & Sons, Montréal; J. D. Wallis, Ottawa (John Woodruff); L. W. Cook, Boston; Hahn, Dresden; J. Ludovici, New York and Newport; Baker, Buffalo and New York; Graham Beryl, Montréal; J. W. Black, Boston; E. T. Carjat & Cie, Paris; Allen & Rowell, Boston

Brown leather bound album (17.4 x 21.7 x 7 cm) containing 26 cabinet cards and 31 cartes-de-visite. Cover personalized with an engraved brass crest: "LDF" (Louisa Davenport [Hayward] Frothingham); brass corners (one missing) and brass clasp. Pages have gilt edges and outlines around recessed pockets.

The album is dedicated in ink on the front, white moiré end papers: "Mother from May Frothingham and Hatty Frothingham / April 27th 1876." Notes on separate pieces of paper or on the back of the mounts seem to have been made by Etheldred Frothingham Benson, or perhaps even by her mother. Captions were added retrospectively, probably supplied by Dorothy Benson from information given to her by her mother. The few dates inscribed on the backs of the photographs are from 1871 to 1882. A Carjat carte-de-visite, signed "J. François Millet," is further annotated "Friend of the family" (p. 44). Another interesting connection is only marked by a caption, "Mother's cousin, Louisa Alcott;" the cabinet card has been removed.

The album is dominated by photographs of the Frothingham family, portrayed in studio and at their country home on the Lower St. Lawrence. Servants are included in at least two of the photographs: there is a carte-de-visite of the family nurse, Sarah Campbell (Growler) (p. 11); servants join a group portrait of young women taken on an outdoor stair at Monte Shanti (p. 38). Louisa Davenport Frothingham and George Henry Frothingham are well represented, alone, together and with their children. Their daughters are displayed for their attributes (hair),

vivacity and talents. Bits of family history are cited, including the story of the Piedmont home of John Henry Frothingham, abandoned at the time of the Papineau Rebellion. Generally, however, the album records and praises the extended family through confident and copious self-presentation.

The album was donated by Miss E. Dorothy Benson, daughter of Mrs George Benson (née Etheldred Norton Frothingham), sister of May and Hatty Frothingham. Companion albums include a cartes-de-visite album (N 005/86 - uncatalogued) and the Benson Family Album (N 007/86). The donation was arranged by Mrs Isobel Dobel.

Photographs

follow pages:

- 142 N 006/86. Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album, pp. 10-11. William Notman & Sons. *John Joseph Frothingham; John Joseph Frothingham and May Louisa Frothingham; Louisa Davenport Frothingham with May & Jo.; Family nurse, "Growler," Sarah Campbell and May Frothingham.* Four cartes-de-visite.
- 108 N 006/86. Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album, pp. 38-39. J. D. Wallis, Ottawa (John Woodruff). *Monte Shanti. Sarah & Nancy at Front Door. Grace Robertson, Annie Law, Annie Lawford, Dora Cundell, Harriet and Ethel, c. 1885? Monte Shanti, Rivière du Loup, c. 1885? Two cabinet cards.*

Constructed title: Benson Family Album

Compiler: Mrs George Benson, née Etheldred Norton Frothingham, c. 1914,
one addition or alteration after 1938

Photographers: William Notman & Sons, Montréal; Wallind & Sons,
Harrowgate, and another commercial studio, unknown

Beige leather imitation snakeskin album (23 x 20.5 x 5.5 cm) containing
31 cabinet cards or cabinet-sized studio portraits and 1 clipping.
Heavy brass clasp. Each page holds one photograph in a recessed pocket
framed with white, beige and gold patterned border.

Inscriptions are pencilled below the photograph. They are retrospective
and likely to have been supplied by Dorothy Benson, the compiler's
daughter. For example, Dorothy Benson's birthdate is given whereas the
other children's are not.

The album belonged to Etheldred Norton Frothingham, later Mrs George
Frederick Benson. She is pictured on page 1 and throughout the album,
from childhood - alone and with her siblings - through marriage and
children. Photographs date from the 1870s, Etheldred's childhood, to
the departure of her eldest son, George, for the First World War.

Photographed are sequenced in chronological order, with the exception of
the portrait of George Frederick Benson, which is an extract from Who's
Who in Canada, published sometime after 1938 (p. 7). Otherwise, Mrs
Frothingham's life is generously illustrated. Pages 1 - 5 narrate her
upbringing; pages 6 -7 symbolically mark her marriage (1890); the birth
of each child is marked by a photograph; Dorothy is pictured with Tramp,
the dog; the two boys are portrayed as scouts; Lieutenant George
Frothingham Benson, already in England, sends home a portrait to
complete the album.

Other albums in the collection give proof of the Frothingham family's

dedication to photography. This one includes a Notman composite as well as individual and group portraits that mark the accomplishments of the compiler, the arrival of her children, and their own personalities as they grow. The album affords an appreciation of different professional approaches to family photography and to a woman's self-presentation as a mother.

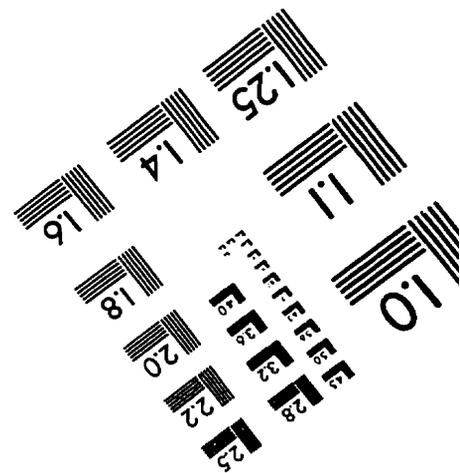
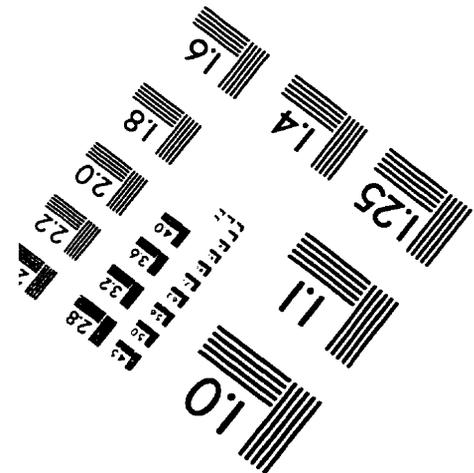
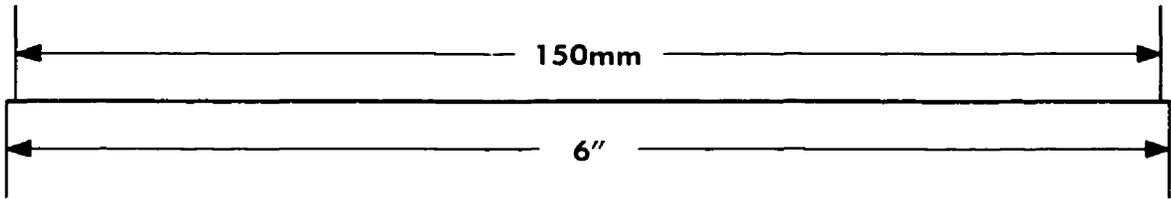
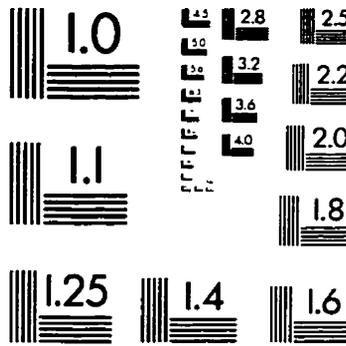
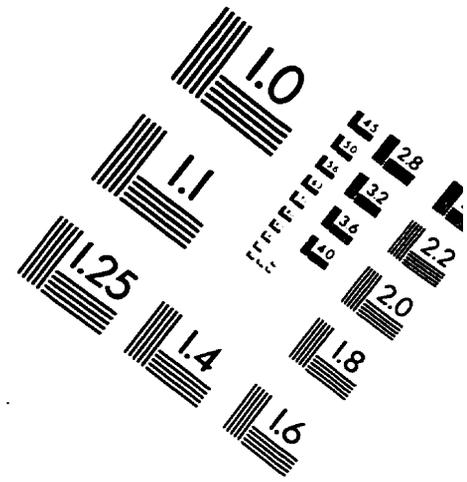
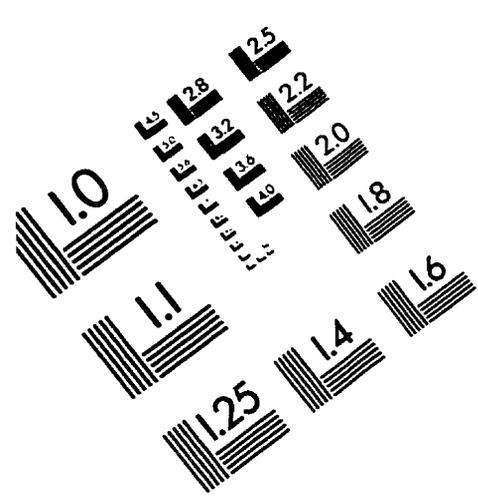
The album was donated by Miss E. Dorothy Benson, daughter of Mrs George Benson (née Etheldred Norton Frothingham), the younger sister of May and Hatty Frothingham. Companion albums include a cartes-de-visite album (N 005/86 - uncatalogued) and the Louisa Davenport Frothingham Album (N 006/86). The donation was arranged by Mrs Isobel Dobel.

Illustration

follows page:

108 N 007/86. Benson Family Album, pp. 22-23. William Notman & Sons. *Mrs George F. Benson, 'Geof', Dorothy and 'Bill' Benson* (back of the mount inscribed: *Geof 9 years, Billy 7 1/4, Dorothy 4 months*), c. 1905; *G. F. Benson Family. Bill 7 1/4 years, Geof 9 years, Dorothy 4 years*, c. 1908-9. Gelatin silver prints, 17.2 x 11 cm and 16.4 x 11 cm.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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