IMAGES OF EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA:
LANDSCAPE PHOTOGRAPHY, 1858-1888

by

JOAN MARSHA SCHWARTZ
B.A. (Hons.), University of Toronto, 1973

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of Geography

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
April, 1977
© Joan Marsha Schwartz, 1977
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Geography

The University of British Columbia
2075 Westbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date May 2, 1977
ABSTRACT

With their cumbersome equipment and refractory technology, professional photographers recorded pioneering development in British Columbia almost from the beginning of white settlement. This study examines landscape photographs taken during the thirty year period between the beginning of the Fraser River gold rush and the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It comments on the nature and meaning of the photographs and suggests their relevance to an understanding of land and life in early British Columbia.

Photography in early British Columbia was almost exclusively the work of professionals whose success rested upon their sensitivity to the market. For this reason, their work is to some extent a mirror of early British Columbians' sense of themselves in a new place. Nineteenth century landscape photographers focused on the wagon road and later the railroad, on gold mining and on settlement. The early forest industry attracted far less attention than the gold rush and though fishing and farming had begun, they were seldom photographed. Picnics, regattas and other leisure activities were recorded, particularly in Victoria and New Westminster and more frequently in the 1880's. Spectacular physical landscapes dominate the photographic record of wilderness; microscale nature studies are singularly absent.

The attention to extreme symbols of progress in the photographic record of early British Columbia is understandable. The recency and rapidity of development had made material advance a common and concrete
reality, and British Columbians wanted a record of their achievement. Some colonials brought with them conservative ideas of home and society based upon British traditions and Victorian taste. Photographs of elegant surroundings and genteel pastimes confirmed that they had created a civilized society and an ordered landscape in an isolated corner of Empire. In the wider context, the photographic record of early British Columbia shares elements with other areas of frontier development and British colonization. However, it exhibits a distinctiveness which is attributable as much to the mix of landscape images in the British Columbia setting as to the images themselves.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF PLATES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPH IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 PHOTOGRAPHERS OF EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PHOTOGRAPHIC TECHNOLOGY IN EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD, 1858-1888</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSPORTATION</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESOURCE INDUSTRIES</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENT</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIETY</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATURE</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 PERCEPTION AND PLACE: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 CONCLUSION: THE WIDER CONTEXT</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Stephen A. Spencer, photographer in Victoria from 1858 to 1887</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>View of Yates Street and Victoria Harbour, showing a sign for Fardon's Photographic Gallery, 1871</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Gentile's Photographic Gallery, Fort Street looking east, Victoria, circa 1864</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>L.A. Blanc, Photographic Gallery, Barkerville, circa 1870</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Dally's Photographic Gallery, Fort Street looking east, Victoria, circa 1869</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Richard Maynard's Boot and Shoe Store and Hannah Maynard's Photographic Gallery</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Richard and Hannah Maynard, Carte-dé-visite</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Cariboo Road between Yale and Spuzzum, 1867-1868</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>China Bar Bluff, 22 miles above Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Freight traffic on the Cariboo Road, 19 miles above Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Mule team at Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Great Bluff, 88 miles above Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Freight wagons, Boston Bar, 1867-1868, Stereograph</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Clinton Hotel, 1867-1868</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Alexandra Lodge, 14 miles above Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Wagon construction at Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>C.P.R. construction between Yale and Boston Bar, 1881</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>Rock Tunnel, Canadian Pacific Railway</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>&quot;Chinatown&quot;, Keefers Station, circa 1881</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>Double Loop, C.P.R., Selkirk Mountains</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>Cisco cantilever bridge</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>Mount Stephen Hotel, Field, circa 1888</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>Glacier Hotel, Glacier, circa 1888</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>Grouse Creek panorama, 1867-1868</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>Ne'er Do Well Claim, Grouse Creek, 1867-1868</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>Six-Toed Pete Claim, 1867-1868</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>Ne'er Do Well Claim, dump-box, 1867-1868</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>Neversweat Tunnel Company, 1867-1868</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>Sheepshead Claim, 1867-1868</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>Heronville - Canadian Company, Grouse Creek</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>Mucho Oro Gold Mining Company, Stouts Gulch, 1867-1868</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>Alturas Gold Mining Company, Stouts Gulch, 1867-1868</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>Oxen hauling logs, New Westminster, circa 1885</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>Fraser's Logging Camp</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>Moody, Dietz and Nelson's saw-mills, Moodyville, circa 1870</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>Indian salmon weir at Quamichan Village, Cowichan River, 1866</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>Fraser River at Boston Bar</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>Farm, Cowichan</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>Tranquille Mill, Kamloops Lake, 1871</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>Camerontown, 1867-1868</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>Barkerville before the fire of September 16, 1868</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>Illecillewaet, Canadian Pacific Railway</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>Lytton, 1867-1868</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>Victoria panorama, circa 1868</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>Esquimalt Harbour</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>Mainstreet, Barkerville before the fire of September 16, 1868</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>Rogers Pass Village, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>Government Street looking north from Fort Street, Victoria</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>Indian totem and Chief's house, Comox, 1866</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>Indian village: Alert Bay, Masset</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>Port Simpson, 1884</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>Chinese Quarters, Victoria, 1886</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>Chinese Street, Victoria, 1886</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>Fairfield, home of Joseph W. Trutch, circa 1865</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>Victoria Eleven cricket team, 1864</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>Lacrosse match, Beacon Hill Park, Victoria</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>Picnic party at the Gorge, Victoria, 1884</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>Picnic party at Goldstream, Victoria, circa 1885</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>The Gorge, Victoria</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>The Government Buildings, Victoria, 1858-1860</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>Government House, New Westminster</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>Fraser River, 4 miles above Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>Thompson River, 84 miles above Yale, 1867-1868</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>Illecillewaet Canyon, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>Goldstream, Victoria</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>Homathko River, 30 ½ miles from Waddington, 1875</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the writing of this thesis, I have incurred many debts. They are herein acknowledged, though by no means discharged.

To Cole Harris and Graeme Wynn, thank you for giving so generously of your time and knowledge. You were patient when I was tardy; you showed understanding when job opportunities took me away from university and away from Vancouver; and you offered encouragement when I needed it most. Your friendship is cherished and the hospitality extended to me by Muriel Harris and Barbara Wynn is warmly recalled.

Of the many archivists and librarians who assisted in my research, I am particularly grateful to Barbara McLennan of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia for her sustained interest in my work. To my employers who, over the last two years, kindly granted me leave to pursue my writing, I express my sincere appreciation. I also thank Elizabeth MacKinnon whose typing helped me through that academic "no man's land" between thesis writing and final submission.

Family, friends and fellow graduate students are ever a source of strength and encouragement. Mine coerced and cajoled, typed and proof-read, washed and cooked, chauffeured and billeted. Having tried their patience and their generosity, I thank them for their support in seeing this through. And to my uncle Aaron, thank you for caring so very much. I give this thesis to you with love; it seems little in return for your selflessness.

ix
"A good photograph evokes place and period with unequalled ease and we must be grateful that the Victorian period falls within the era of the camera."

Alan Thomas

"A photograph is a document, and the historian's first business is to ask of it, as he would of any other record, who made it, to whom it was addressed, and what it was meant to convey."

G.H. Martin and David Francis
"The Camera's Eye."
INTRODUCTION:

THE HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPH IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Landscape images of early British Columbia come to us in many forms: surveyor's notes, traveller's accounts, letters, diaries, novels, poetry, sketches, paintings, maps, and photographs. However incomplete a record, such written and visual sources do provide a sense of what the province was like and how it was perceived. These images of land and place are of interest to the historical geographer, for they reveal in subtle, but pervasive ways, the attitudes and values which late nineteenth century British Columbians brought to and expressed in their new environment. If many written sources present a highly personal perception of man and land, the photographic record is unique in that, individually, each photograph presents an objective description of a segment of past reality and, collectively, photographs reveal a good deal about the general landscape interests of early British Columbians.

A photograph can be treated as an objective record and examined for its factual content. How big was Lytton in 1868? What occurred at Yale during the rush to the Cariboo? How did women dress for a picnic in the 1880's? Photographs provide at least partial answers to such questions. At the same time, it is possible to go beyond the concrete level of detail to uncover covert attitudes or aspirations. Sometimes these underlying statements are little more than subtle
nuances; at other times, they are obvious pronouncements. A photograph showing embellished facades along the main street of a frontier town reveals local merchants' attempts to present an image of prosperity and permanence, an image which, though often different from reality, was an integral part of pioneer entrepreneurs' aspirations. A view therefore not only describes a landscape, but it also suggests something about those who created it.

A photograph can also be examined in terms of the filters or constraints that worked to shape it. Accordingly, photographs of pioneer British Columbia can be viewed as the product of photographic technology, local subjects, artistic license, Victorian thought and market taste. Most important was the commercial relationship between photographer and public. The portrait studio proprietor and the itinerant dealer in views each depended on public patronage. The practice of photography incurred cost, effort and, often, inconvenience. The successful photographer had to be acutely aware of the interests of the buying public, and for this reason the photograph is less a reflection of the photographer's creativity than a mirror of market taste.

Whereas the factual content of historical photographs may be clear enough, the social and environmental attitudes they reveal usually are less obvious. A photograph of a stand of cedars and firs may have been taken to illustrate the size of West Coast trees. It may also convey a romantic view of the forest primaeval; an economic survey of so many board-feet; a pioneer statement about
obstacles to settlement. Often it is no simple matter to sort out the photographer's intention, but familiarity with his background, his characteristic work, and his market will help to clarify the matter. For this reason these subjects are treated in some detail in this thesis.

Historical photographs are a particularly appropriate source for the study of British Columbia in the thirty years before the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The first professional photographic gallery was established in Victoria in 1858 and, by 1888, no fewer than twenty-five professional photographers had operated studios in the province. This was the era of the professional photographer and, for most of it, of collodion technology; popular amateur photography came with the invention of the Kodak in 1888. These were also mid-Victorian years and, in British Columbia, they were years when the excitement of the gold rushes quickly peaked and as rapidly faded. Other resource industries were attempted; none was particularly successful until the problem of transportation was solved. Expansion came in the 1890's with Kootenay mining and, after the turn of the century, with the vast growth of lumbering. These were other economies, adumbrated but not developed in the years from 1858 to 1888. In terms of the photographic record, then, these years have a considerable unity imparted by photographic technology, economic development and Victorian taste. They were also years of vigorous, if often ephemeral settlement which the new medium of photography was well equipped to record. Pioneering in British Columbia proceeded under the camera's eye.
The photographs under investigation were taken in British Columbia before the last decade of the nineteenth century. They are held in the historical photograph collections of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, the Public Archives of Canada, the Vancouver Public Library and the Archives of Ontario. Within the practical and conceptual constraints of prevailing technology and attitudes, these nineteenth century photographs reveal British Columbia's evolving human landscapes, and in so doing, they reflect something of the people who created them. They demonstrate what photographers considered worth recording and what patrons wanted to buy. This selectivity of subject matter as well as their record of detail impart to historical photographs much of their interest. By emphasizing particular aspects of place, they suggest British Columbians' perception of what they were doing and their vision of the place they were creating. The photograph is one entrée to some understanding of the human landscapes of early British Columbia and of the aspirations and tastes of its people.
CHAPTER 2

PHOTOGRAPHERS OF EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA

Photography in British Columbia dates from the beginning of the Fraser River gold rush. There was virtually no lag between the influx of miners and the coming of professional photographers. The reasons are clear enough. During the California gold rush, photographers, or "daguerreotypists" as they were then known, had found their own Eldorado. The novelty of the new art, the excitement of the time and place, and the widespread circulation of money produced an eager market for views and likenesses. A photograph was not only a pleasant reminder for loved ones at home, but also a concrete statement of personal challenge and financial success. Though smaller than the mining boom that rocked California in 1849, the British Columbia gold rushes shared many similarities with that event and the photographer was one facet of this parallel experience.

Pioneer photographers followed the market from East to West, then north along the coast. In some cases, San Francisco photographers moved with the miners to Oregon and to British Columbia. In other cases, news of successful photographic establishments or of new market opportunities prompted photographers to move West, or inspired local craftsmen to change professions. Early photography attracted untrained people from a variety of backgrounds - schoolmasters, shoemakers, silversmiths, dentists, druggists and untold others, many women among them. To some it was a science; to others, an amusement
or an art. Yet "despite its artistic and scientific claims, those who lived by it generally occupied tradesman's status". In early British Columbia, photography was indeed a trade - new, interesting and lucrative. Many galleries were established in Victoria; some photographers also pursued an itinerant business, taking advantage of local markets and subject matter in surrounding districts.

While photography in pioneer British Columbia was largely the prerogative of professionals, it was often a part-time or ephemeral interest. Some photographers were involved in the profession for a short time only, later returning to old trades or embarking on new ones; others pursued photography as a part-time avocation; still others made it a life-long career. Of the more prominent photographers active in British Columbia during the 1860's and 1870's, one was a jeweller and another was a shoemaker by trade; both continued to practise their respective crafts along with their photography. Victoria's first professional photographer left his business after twenty years to assume the proprietorship of a salmon cannery in Alert Bay. One of the most notable photographers of early British Columbia spent only nine years in photography before leaving province and profession for a new career in dental surgery in England.

* * * * *

Professional photography began in British Columbia in 1858. Stephen A. Spencer (Plate 2.1) appears to have initiated photography

---

Plate 2.1:  Stephen A. Spencer, photographer in Victoria from 1858 to 1887.
Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC) 7225
in Victoria shortly after the gold rush began. Until January 1862, he operated from various premises in downtown Victoria, but apparently left the city later that year. Spencer's name does not appear in the Victoria directories for 1863 or 1868. Then in November 1874, The Colonist announced his return to Victoria from San Francisco. In 1883, Spencer entered a partnership with Oregon C. Hastings, another Victoria photographer who had been in business at least since

---

2. Spencer's name appears on a list of "58'ers" compiled for British Columbia's Golden Jubilee in 1908.

3. In July 1859, a newspaper advertisement lists Spencer on Yates Street (The Victoria Gazette, July 23, 1859). From there, he moved to a studio at Trounce and Government Streets in August 1860 (The Victoria Weekly Gazette, August 4, 1860). Eighteen months later, he opened a "new photographic and ambrotypic gallery" at the corner of Broad and Yates Streets, but announced that this studio would remain open "for a short period" only (The Colonist, January 15, 1862).


6. The Colonist, November 7, 1874.

7. In The British Columbia Directory for the years 1882-83, published by R.T. Williams, Spencer was listed at his Fort Street gallery. However, a photograph credited to Spencer and Hastings appeared in The Resources of British Columbia in December 1883.
By 1887, Hastings had taken over the business which he later sold to J. Savannah in January 1889. In the meantime, Spencer had developed a part-time interest in a cannery in Alert Bay, and between 1887 and 1899 is listed as "manager", "owner" or "proprietor" of the salmon packing business, as well as Postmaster of Alert Bay. He died in August 1911.

Spencer's contemporary in the Victoria photographic trade was George R. Fardon. Born in England in 1806, he emigrated to New York and then early in 1849, went to San Francisco where he engaged in the daguerreotype business. Fardon was among the first in San Francisco to adopt wet-plate photography, and in 1856-57, he published an album of San Francisco views. Fardon is listed in the San Francisco directory

8. Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-8, Victoria: T.N. Hibben and Company, 1877. In 1879, Hastings accompanied the expedition of H.M.S. Rocket on a tour of the coast, visiting Indian villages as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands and returning along the west side of Vancouver Island.

9. The British Columbia Directory published in 1887 by Mallandaine and Williams listed Hastings as the sole proprietor of the photographic studio on Fort Street and Spencer as the manager of a salmon cannery in Alert Bay.


11. The British Columbia Directory for the years 1882-83 and The British Columbia Directory for 1884-85, both published in Victoria by R.T. Williams, listed Spencer as both a photographer in Victoria and a salmon canner in Alert Bay.
of 1858, but arrived in Victoria late that same year. The following May, he bought a lot in the sale of government reserve land, but was not listed in the Victoria directory in 1860; however, in April 1862 Fardon was listed among persons assessed under the Trade Licences Act "for the half year commencing January 1, 1862." Fardon advertised in *The Colonist* in 1861 and 1862, and was listed as a photographer at 68 Government Street by the 1863 Victoria directory. In 1864, he moved to premises on Langley Street at the rear of the Bank Exchange (Plate 2.2) and hired and trained Noah Shakespeare as his assistant. The following year, Fardon went to England and left Shakespeare in charge of his gallery. He returned to his photographic business in Victoria in 1866 and remained at his Langley Street gallery until his retirement in the early 1870's. Fardon produced a collection of Vancouver Island views that attracted attention at the London International Exhibition in 1862; his work included a panorama of Victoria that

17. *The Colonist*, July 26, 1866, p. 3.
18. Fardon's name appears in the *British Columbia Directory* for 1871, but not in the one for 1874.
Plate 2.2: View of Yates Street and Victoria Harbour, showing a sign for Fardon's Photographic Gallery, 1871. Benjamin F. Baltzly, photographer
PABC 25312
appeared as an engraving in The Illustrated London News the following year.20 Fardon died at the age of 80 in August 1886.21

Charles Gentile, another Victoria photographer of the mid-1860's (Plate 2.3), ventured widely into British Columbia in search of subjects and produced some of the earliest views of the central Island and the Cariboo. Early in the summer of 1864, Gentile visited the Alberni area by boat and, upon his return to Victoria, advertised "a large collection of photographs of the mills, settlement, ships, dam, lakes, logging camps and other objects of interest in that vicinity, including some very fine views of Copper Mountain."23 In August of the same year, he photographed the gold excitement in the Leech River area of Sooke, and discovered gold himself while washing his plates near Mount Hankin.24 Gentile photographed the waterfalls of the Cascade Range in March 1865, in late September, he "arrived in Cariboo for the purpose of taking views of the mines."25 Three weeks later, he left "for the

22. Matthew Macfie (Vancouver Island and British Columbia, London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865, p. 90) indicates that there were four photographers in Victoria in 1865, but does not name them. Probably the four were Charles Gentile, Noah Shakespeare, Hannah Maynard and George Robinson. Spencer had left Victoria in 1862 and Fardon was in England that year. While Frederick Dally had arrived by 1865, he did not open his gallery until the following year.
23. The Colonist, June 28, 1864, p. 3.
24. Gentile's Leech River views were advertised in The Colonist, August 15, 1864, and September 2, 1864.
25. The Cariboo Sentinel, September 30, 1865, p. 3.
Plate 2.3: Gentile's Photographic Gallery, Fort Street looking east, Victoria, circa 1864. PABC 23067
lower country...prepared to take either views or likenesses on the way." During Gentile's stay, The Cariboo Sentinel reported that Governor Seymour had ordered a series of his British Columbia views for the Cariboo Literary Institute; seven months later, the editors lamented that the government had not yet made the presentation.

Upon his return to Victoria, Gentile attempted, unsuccessfully, to sell his gallery and business. In May 1866, he opened a new gallery on Government Street. During that summer, he toured the districts of Cowichan, Nanaimo and Comox, and produced some of the first stereographic views of this area. Then in August 1866, Gentile announced his impending departure for Europe to publish a series of views. Noah Shakespeare was to carry on the business of the Government Street gallery in his absence, but Gentile never returned to Victoria. Shakespeare, who had come to Victoria in 1863 at the age of 24, was still listed as the operator of Gentile's Photographic

26. Ibid., October 14, 1865, p. 3.
27. Ibid., October 7, 1865, p. 3.
28. Ibid., May 10, 1866, p. 3.
29. The Colonist, May 18, 1866, p. 3.
30. Ibid., August 15, 1866.
31. Little is known of Gentile after he left British Columbia. He died in 1893 and was buried in Chicago.
A decade later, he left photography to enter real estate and politics. In the 1880's, Shakespeare held various prominent public offices, including those of Mayor of Victoria and Member of Parliament for Victoria.  

The first resident photographer in the Interior was L.A. Blanc, a jeweler, previously of Victoria. In July 1867, a new advertisement in *The Cariboo Sentinel* announced that Blanc had opened a gallery at Richfield and was prepared to take portraits and views. He had intended to remain for a short time only, but prolonged his stay until the end of October. The following spring, he opened his photographic gallery in Barkerville (Plate 2.4) and advertised "all kinds of photographic and jewelry work, executed in the highest style of the art." Blanc continued in business until the Barkerville fire of September 16, 1868. He reportedly suffered losses amounting to one thousand dollars, and did not re-open his gallery until late December. Over the next

---

34. Blanc's shop was located at 96 Government Street. British Columbian and Victoria Directory, Howard and Barnet, 1863.
38. Ibid., December 26, 1868.
Plate 2.4: L.A. Blanc, Photographic Gallery, Barkerville, circa 1870.
L.A. Blanc, photographer
Public Archives of Canada (PAC) C61944

Plate 2.5: Dally's Photographic Gallery, Fort Street looking east,
Victoria, circa 1869
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C17807
three years, Blanc advertised photographs of the houses, buildings, and town of Barkerville, views of Cariboo scenery and mining claims, souvenirs of Victoria and Dominion Day celebrations and likenesses of miners and townsfolk.

In August 1871, Blanc advised those wintering in the Cariboo and "wishing to have their likenesses or views of their houses or claims taken" to call upon him on or before September 15th. He returned to Barkerville the following year and again, in August, advertised a final opportunity to obtain "photographic views of Cariboo." The Cariboo Sentinel reported that Blanc was "compelled to visit Europe on business matters." His gallery and views were put up for sale and the remaining stock was disposed of at auction. His subsequent whereabouts and activities are unknown. His name does not appear as either photographer or jeweler in later directories, and it seems unlikely that he returned to British Columbia.

The most versatile and prolific of British Columbia photographers in the 1860's was Frederick Dally. Born in Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England in 1840, he resolved to visit British Columbia hearing much of its resources, and arrived in Victoria

39. Ibid., August 5, 1871, p. 2.
40. Ibid., August 31, 1872, p. 3.
41. Ibid., August 10, 1872, p. 3.
42. Ibid., August 31, 1872, p. 3.
on September 18, 1862 after a voyage of 149 days aboard the China Clipper "Cyclone." There is no evidence of Dally's activities until March 1864, when he leased the ground floor of a brick store on the north-east corner of Fort and Government Streets for fifty dollars a month. In May 1865, Dally photographed the great assemblage of Indians at the Victoria Day celebrations in New Westminster. In June 1866, he advertised his new gallery, informing the public that he had received "by latest steamer [probably from San Francisco] everything necessary to the successful carrying on of the art" and guaranteeing "to those who may patronize him pictures giving the utmost satisfaction." Two months later, Dally accompanied the party of Governor A.E. Kennedy aboard H.M.S. Scout on a tour of Vancouver Island and Nootka Island "for the purpose of visiting the Indian tribes." He returned to Victoria with

44. Dally's log kept aboard the "Cyclone" from May 5, 1862 to September 18, 1862 is held in the Provincial Archives of B.C., Dally papers, PABC E/B/D16m.


46. Dally papers, PABC E/B/D16m.

47. The Colonist, June 26, 1866.

48. "Memoranda of a trip round Vancouver Island and Nootka Island on board H.M.S. Scout" August 9, 1866 - August 19, 1866. Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D16m. Two articles in The Daily Colonist (Victoria) dated October 27, 1963, and November 15, 1970, incorrectly give the date of this expedition as August, 1869.
observations and views of Alberni mills, Ahousat, Friendly Cove, Quatsino, Comox and Nanaimo. The following year, Dally travelled to the mining areas of Williams Creek. He arrived in Barkerville on August 8th and was open for business four days later. As planned, Dally remained for one month only and on September 11, 1867 he left, by stage, for a brief stay in Quesnelmouth before returning to Victoria "by easy stages so as to enable him to take views of the most remarkable places on the route."

The following summer, Dally returned to the Cariboo. He took a little over a month to travel from Victoria to Barkerville and his journey cost five hundred dollars. Upon his arrival, Dally set up shop in the Hotel de France for seven weeks while his own studio was built. On September 6, 1868 The Cariboo Sentinel announced that he had opened "a first-class studio, at the back of Adamson & Hurd's

49. The Cariboo Sentinel, August 8, 1867, p. 3.
50. Ibid., August 12, 1867, p. 2.
51. Ibid., September 12, 1867, p. 3.
52. In 1868, Dally was listed in Victoria at his Fort Street address in the First Victoria Directory and British Columbia Guide, Victoria: E. Mallandaine, 1868.
53. Dally left notes on Yale, the Alexandria Suspension bridge, the Great Chasm above Clinton and other topics, a brief narrative entitled "A Journey to Williams Creek, Cariboo" and a collection of views as a record of his trip. Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D16m.
54. Dally noted that board and lodging cost $25.00/week. "A Journey to Williams Creek, Cariboo", Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D16m.
store" and was "prepared to do all kinds of photographic work on the shortest notice and of the very best quality." Dally had been at his new gallery for only two weeks when, on September 16, 1868, it was razed by the Barkerville fire. Dally wrote "An Account of the burning of the town of Barkerville in Cariboo, British Columbia" and, although he suffered $1,100 in losses in the conflagration, he managed to save enough equipment to photograph the aftermath of the historic event. Dally left the Cariboo that fall and by December, was again in Victoria, producing views for sale in his Fort Street Gallery (Plate 2.5). Early in the fall of 1870, Dally disposed of his business to Green Brothers and advertised his entire stock of British Columbia views and Indian cartes for sale at half-price during the month of September. On October 13th, he sailed for San Francisco; from there, he crossed the continent by Union Pacific Railway to Philadelphia.

55. The Cariboo Sentinel, September 6, 1868, p. 2.
56. Dally papers, PABC E/B/D16m.
58. The Colonist, December 10, 1868.
59. At the same time, Dally requested that all outstanding debts be paid on or before the 20th of the month. The Colonist, September 6, 1870.
where he began studies at the College of Dentistry. Dally graduated in February 1872 and returned to England to enter practice as a dental surgeon.

Despite his new career, Dally maintained his photographic and anthropological interest in British Columbia. He inquired about a commission as a regular lecturer on North West America with the Church Missionary Society, London; his inquiry was politely dismissed, although photographs of the north Pacific Coast were solicited for engravings for the society's publication. Dally met some resistance in his attempts to publish his British Columbia photographs and observations. In 1880, the Director of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland refused Dally's request for assistance in publishing his work, but suggested he contribute sections to the Institute's periodical from time to time. Dally was also cautioned against publishing a book through a commercial publishing house in London because of a glut on the market and the recent failure of the

60. Letter, Dally to his sister Emma, November 1, 1870. Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D16c.


63. Letter, John E. Price to Dally, March 17, 1880. Dally papers, PABC, E/C/D16.
work of British Columbia travellers, Mayne and Whymper. 64 Nevertheless, he did present an "Exhibition of Ethnological Specimens from British Columbia" to the Anthropological Institute 65 and submitted to the Graphic a collection of annotated photographs; he suggested to the editor that the pictures would be appreciated by the journal's readers "as they are unique and illustrate all the principal villages of that country." 66 In January 1883, Dally presented to Queen Victoria an album of British Columbia views described as "beautiful and interesting" in a thankyou note sent to him on Her Majesty's behalf. 67

When Dally came to British Columbia in 1862, he brought with him letters of introduction attesting to his "unblemished character" and "liberal, religious and moral education." 68 Returning to England, his references described him as "a gentleman... accustomed to good society" 69 and "much respected in Victoria for his probity and honorable disposition." 70 As both a professional photographer and an


66. Dally also offered a map, further information on Indian manners and customs and additional views of Indian villages. Letter, Dally to Editor, Graphic, Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D16m.

67. Letter, Earl of Kenmare to Dally, January 11, 1883. Dally papers, PABC, E/C/D16.


amateur anthropologist, Dally demonstrated a particular astuteness of observation. Together, his photographs and his written notes clearly document various aspects of British Columbia in the 1860's - urban and rural life, from Victoria to Barkerville, the Cariboo Road and its wayside inns, goldfields, streetscapes, historic events, prominent people and scenic views.

A large part of Dally's business was devoted to views - of scenery, of places and of events "taken in British Columbia, Puget Sound and on Vancouver Island." He also pursued a trade in likenesses for which a ready market existed in residents of Victoria and miners and homesteaders of the Cariboo. Dally was especially interested in the native peoples; although he seldom advertised them, Dally produced a considerable imagery of Indians and their villages and left written observations to complement his photographs.

He was able to photograph the tribes of Vancouver Island as a member of Governor Kennedy's party, the natives of the Fraser on his journeys to and from the Cariboo and the assemblage of chiefs at the New Westminster Victoria Day celebrations.

---

71. The Cariboo Sentinel, September 6, 1868, p. 2.

72. Correspondence concerning the acquisition by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia of Dally's personal collection of photographs and papers in 1914. Dally papers, PABC, E/D/D16.

73. Dally noted that the chief of the Nincumshins was helpful as a "public relations" man among the Indians, telling them that the photographer was "a great chief and could work wonders with a small piece of glass, face work especially" and that he wanted "pictures to show the great white chief living a long distance off to show him that the Indians had good hearts towards the white man." cited in Susan Roper "Views of the Cariboo Road and Barkerville Mining Fields", Vancouver Public Library Slide Kit #10, p. 46.
own impressions with quotations from the writings of J.K. Lord and Milton and Cheadle on such subjects as fishing, Indians and scenery.  

Many of his Indian views were used as the basis for engravings in the Canadian Illustrated News in the 1870's. The fact that his photographs and albums found their way into collections throughout British Columbia and across Canada reflects not only a widespread interest in the Pacific north-west, but also the credit due to Dally himself as a photographer.

G.R. and R.E. Green agreed to purchase Dally's negatives, 8" by 10" camera, frames and showcase for $1,131.00 in September 1870 and promised to pay within eighteen months.  

In 1871, they advertised "a beautiful and well assorted collection of British Columbian views and Indian photographs" and advised that "before ordering Rembrants, the public should call and examine the pictures taken at the Fort Street Gallery by Messrs Green."  

However, they renegged on their payments and, in August 1872, The Colonist announced that their camera, equipment and negatives were for sale at auction.  

---


75. Transaction between G.R. Green and R.E. Green and Frederick Dally, September 27, 1870. Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D16.9.

76. The Colonist, February 15, 1871.

77. Ibid., August 4, 1871.

78. Ibid., August 15, 1872.
plates were then acquired by Richard and Hannah Maynard; subsequently they were printed for sale with the Maynard's name and business address on the cardboard mount. As a result, there are a large number of views, particularly of the Cariboo Road, which are attributed to the Maynards, but which were actually photographed by Dally.

In 1852, shortly after their marriage, the Maynards emigrated from England to Bowmanville, Canada West, where Richard opened a boot and shoe business. Seven years later, he came to British Columbia, "attracted thither by the gold excitement." After moderate success in placer-mining on Hudson's Bar in the Fraser and prospecting in the Stikine, Richard decided to settle on the West Coast and returned to Bowmanville to get his family. In the meantime, Hannah had learned photography. In 1861, the Maynards sold their interests in the East and, with their four children, sailed from New York to British Columbia by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

Once settled in Victoria, Richard Maynard started a boot and shoe business and his wife opened a portrait studio on Johnson Street (Plate 2.6). Busy times and a central location contributed to the success of Mrs. Maynard's photographic business. Upon her retirement, she noted that miners caught up in the gold excitement and sailors of the British Pacific fleet based in Esquimalt were always passing through Victoria and were ever eager to have their likenesses taken.  

Plate 2.6: Richard Maynard's Boot and Shoe Store and Hannah Maynard's Photographic Gallery, northeast corner of Douglas and Johnson streets, Victoria, circa 1877. PABC 1820
During the 1860's, Richard learned photography from his wife and developed a trade in landscape views. He also served as official photographer on various government commissions. In 1873, and possibly again in 1874, Richard Maynard accompanied the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on his tour of the West Coast tribes aboard H.M.S. Boxer. The 1873 voyage visited New Westminster for the May 24th Indian ceremonies and then proceeded to Nanaimo, Comox, Knight Inlet, Fort Rupert, Queen Charlotte Sound, Fitzhugh Sound, Safety Cove, Bella Coola, Fort McLaughlin and Alert Bay. Late in the 1870's, Maynard produced a series of photographs from his travels up the Cariboo Road, and in 1881, he photographed the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through British Columbia.

In 1884, Richard joined an exploration party to the Queen Charlotte Islands, recording Haida villages and the Nass River fishery; four years later, he again went north to the Queen Charlottes, this time accompanied by his wife. Richard travelled up the coast once more in the early 1890's when he was appointed official photographer to the international commission investigating conflicting claims to sealing rights in the North Pacific. His photographs of the seal rookeries of the Pribyloff Islands were sent to Paris and used in the arbitration of the controversy. 81

A special edition of The Colonist in April 1896 noted Richard Maynard's sustained involvement in Victoria's business community over

81. Maynard reportedly had a large collection of black diamonds which he found on the Pribyloff Islands in 1892. The Colonist, November 1, 1898, p. 8.
twenty-five years. During the 1870's and 1880's, Richard pursued his boot business alongside his photography. In 1896, this enterprise, then managed by his son Albert, "embraced a full line of boots, shoes, leather and shoe findings, photographic apparatus and supplies"; the trade, both wholesale and retail, extended throughout the province. The Maynard's photographic gallery, in the same building as the shoe business on Pandora Street, was the oldest one in Victoria. The newspaper also noted that all kinds of photographs were taken, but that specialty was made "of the beautiful scenery which abounds in this neighbourhood." Toward the end of the century, the Pandora Street studio began to serve yet another clientele when the Maynards were commissioned to photograph prisoners for the Victoria police department. Richard Maynard retired in 1906; he died the following year. His wife remained in business until 1912; Hannah Maynard died in Victoria in 1918 at the age of 84.

The Maynards (Plate 2.7) perhaps more than any other photographer in early British Columbia achieved wide recognition. To late nineteenth century Victoria, the name of Richard and Hannah Maynard was synonymous with the art and trade of photography. The reasons for this include their early beginning, their sustained endeavours in one place and their diverse interests. Hannah took individual likenesses

82. Ibid., April 5, 1896, p. 8.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

Plate 2.7: Richard and Hannah Maynard.
Carte-de-visite.
PABC 56736
and family portraits; Richard photographed official functions, meetings and ceremonies for various levels of government. Both travelled throughout the province to record its scenic beauty. They produced single prints and album collections; some Maynard photographs were used in newspapers, magazines and books. Perhaps one of the best reasons for their success was the quality of their work. British Columbia historian R.E. Gosnell gave his assurance that "all the photography bearing the Maynard imprint represents the best in that art."  

Photographs of British Columbia were also taken in the 1870's and 1880's in conjunction with Canadian government surveys. In 1871, Alfred Selwyn, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, led a survey through the province; his party included Benjamin Baltzly and John Hammond of William Notman's photographic firm. Their work, comprising thirty-six 8 by 10 single and eighty-four stereoscopic views "of Victoria and bold and grand scenery, from Yale to Kamloop[s], and along North Thompson River to Moose Lake" was used to illustrate Selwyn's journal and report; the views were also published as part of William Notman's collection of Canadian scenes. After completion 

86. Gosnell, op. cit., p. 400.
87. Baltzly and Hammond were paid and equipped by the Notman photographic firm, but their travel expenses were paid by the Government of Canada. The Cariboo Sentinel, August 5, 1871.
88. The Colonist, November 30, 1871, p. 3.
89. Greenhill, op. cit., p. 56.
of the survey, Baltzly remained in Victoria for one week to receive orders from the public prior to his departure for San Francisco.

In the summer of 1875, Charles Horetzsky, formerly a clerk and amateur photographer with the Hudson's Bay Company, produced a series of photographs along the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway northern terminus route, including annotated views of the Homathko River and Bute Inlet. Other photographic records of British Columbia were left by G.M. Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada in the 1870's and 1880's, by the North American Boundary Commission, 1872-1875, and by E. Deville of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886. In 1884, the Notman firm was commissioned to photograph the final phases of Canadian Pacific construction in the west. A private railway coach was converted into a darkroom and hauled to the western end of track to enable Notman's sons to record the completion of the Kicking Horse Pass section of track.

90. Greenhill, op. cit., p. 52.

91. Notations include geographical location, magnetic bearing, survey stations and topographical features of note.

92. Two albums of Horetzsky's views are housed in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. His Pacific Railway Survey contains some fifty views along the east and west branches of the Homathko River taken between June and September, 1875. A second collection of seventy-five photographs also includes more than twenty of his earlier photographs of the Peace River post of the Hudson's Bay Company, Saskatchewan Indians and Ontario scenery.

93. Views on C.P. Railway is an album of eighty-one photographs taken by Deville in 1886 and held by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

There are a great many photographs which bear no identification and it is beyond the purpose of this research to ascertain their authorship. Some may have been taken by the photographers already discussed; many may be ascribed to other nineteenth century photographers who concentrated on portraiture or who did not identify their work. In restricting its attention to the pioneer period of development that ended with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, this study effectively excludes the work of early Vancouver photographers. By no means all professional photographers in early British Columbia have been discussed. Rather this review emphasizes the more prominent photographers of the wet-plate era. Particular attention is paid to those who operated studios in Victoria and in Barkerville and who advertised extensively in *The Colonist* and *The Cariboo Sentinel*. Although there were other pioneer photographers, none began as early and operated as long as Spencer and Fardon. Gentile, Blanc and Dally merit attention as those most responsible for the photographic record of British Columbia's emerging human landscapes. No study of nineteenth century photographers could overlook Richard and Hannah Maynard whose work over half a century was unsurpassed for its sheer volume, varied format and diverse subjects. Together, the work of these photographers comprises the bulk of the photographic record to which this research is addressed.
CHAPTER 3

PHOTOGRAPHIC TECHNOLOGY IN EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA

Nineteenth century photographs cannot be fully appreciated apart from the processes that created them. Early photographic technology imposed both practical and aesthetic constraints on pioneer photographers and their work. Some knowledge of the development, equipment, procedures, variations and limitations of the early processes is essential to an investigation of historical photographs. Advertisements in British Columbia newspapers and illustrations in periodicals published elsewhere clearly indicate that connections existed between professional photographers in British Columbia and photographers, galleries, manufacturers and publishers in London, San Francisco, New York, Montreal and elsewhere. Such connections meant exposure to new equipment, new techniques and new ideas. Therefore, although British Columbia was an isolated corner of nineteenth century North America, its photography did not develop in isolation. Accordingly, an overview of photography in early British Columbia may be gained from two sources: histories of photography present the general developments; photographers' advertisements and editors' comments in such newspapers as The Colonist and The Cariboo Sentinel reveal specific details. Together they provide a technological context for examining the photographic record.

Experimentation in the fields of optics and chemistry during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries culminated in the
development of the earliest practicable photographic processes. In 1839, in France, Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1789-1851) announced a method for fixing a light image to a silver-plated sheet of copper. The result was a small, brilliant, infinitely-detailed "daguerreotype"; one exposure yielded a single, non-reproducible image with the uniqueness of an original work of art. The daguerreotype was the most important photographic process for about fifteen years, reaching its heyday in North America in the early 1850's. Necessarily long exposures restricted its first use to still-lifes, landscapes and architectural scenes, but with early improvements it soon became most popular as a portrait medium.

In 1841, in England, William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) patented a two-step process which permanently recorded an image on paper. The calotype, or Talbotype method involved the use of sensitized writing paper to make a negative image which could then serve as a filter through which another sheet of sensitized paper was exposed. This second step reversed the tonal values and produced a positive image. Significantly, the negative was unique, but from it, any number of prints could be produced. It was this negative-positive process that became the basis of modern photography. However, because of patent restrictions on Talbot's process, Daguerre's method was used more extensively and the calotype never attained the popularity of the daguerreotype. By 1858, when photography was introduced into British Columbia, the daguerreotype and calotype processes were virtually obsolete. Although
pioneer Stephen Spencer advertised himself as a "Daguerreian Artist"\(^1\) in 1859, it is doubtful that either of these early processes was used much in British Columbia.

The first photographic technology used in the colony was probably the collodion or "wet-plate" process. Developed in 1851\(^2\) by Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857) it fixed a light sensitive emulsion to glass. A clean sheet of glass was coated evenly (a technique requiring some skill) with collodion - gun-cotton dissolved in ether and alcohol - and then iodized. The plate was made light sensitive in a solution of silver nitrate and, while still wet, was exposed in a camera. It was then promptly removed, developed in pyrogallic acid or ferrous sulphate and fixed in hypo or potassium cyanide solution. The result was a collodion glass negative. This method was as fast as Daguerre's, it produced a more permanent image, it was much less expensive and it gave more clarity, greater detail and better tonal gradation. Like Talbot's two-step technique, it allowed multiple prints from a single negative. In addition, the absence of patent restrictions made it universally available. Wet-plate photography quickly attained undisputed prominence over the daguerreotype and calotype processes.

The collodion glass negative was prepared for sale or printed in a number of ways. Mounted against black paper, cardboard, velvet,

---

1. The Victoria Gazette, July 23, 1859. A year later, Spencer advertised himself as an "ambrotypist and photographist" in The Victoria Weekly Gazette, August 4, 1860.

2. Three years previously, a process for depositing silver salts on glass using an albumen base had been published, but its slow speed limited its popularity.
patent leather, oil-cloth or metal, the tonal values of the cream-grey image were reversed. The resulting positive, or ambrotype as it was known in America, was matted and bound in a special case. Popular in eastern Canada around 1860 and seldom made there after 1865, ambrotypes were still advertised in British Columbia throughout the 1860's and as late as 1870. A modification, variously known as a tintype, ferrotype or melainotype, was a collodion positive made directly on thin, glossy black iron plates. Sturdy enough to send through the mail, these plates were popular even into the twentieth century. Far more extensively used were contact printing processes that produced paper positives from wet-plate negatives using various print-out papers.

Until about 1854, paper treated with common salt and silver nitrate solution was placed under the negative and left in sunlight. The image that appeared needed only to be fixed. Albumen paper, developed in 1850 by Louis Blanquart-Evard was the most widely used print-out paper until about 1890. Paper was coated with an emulsion of egg-white, potassium iodide and sensitized silver salts. After exposure to full sunlight through a negative, the print was washed, toned, washed, fixed, 


5. Greenhill, loc. cit.
washed and dried. Prepared in advance, albumen paper was mass-produced and sold commercially. The problem of fading prompted efforts to find a more permanent pigment. Carbon was tried in the late 1860's; platinum paper attained popularity from the late 1870's until World War I made its cost prohibitive.

The wet-plate camera brought to British Columbia was essentially a light-tight box with a simple lens at one end. Some were manufactured commercially; others were homemade. They were large, heavy and cumbersome. The average view camera that produced 8 by 10 inch plates weighed about thirty pounds. Larger cameras sometimes weighed up to three times that much. A tripod was essential. At the back of the camera was a piece of ground glass upon which the image was focused; a black cloth was used as a hood to eliminate extraneous light and make focusing easier. To take a photograph, the ground glass was replaced with a light sensitive plate; early emulsions were not fast enough to require a shutter.

By modern standards, exposure times were long. To take a photograph, the lens was simply uncapped and recapped, the interval determined by trial and error. Subjects photographed outdoors on a bright clear day required exposure times of ten to fifteen seconds; under the most favourable conditions and if freshly made collodion were used, as little as five seconds might be necessary. Because cartes and stereo-views used smaller negatives, they could be made by short exposures using lenses of short focal length and wide aperture. Toward the end of the wet-plate era, variations in the formula for sensitizing plates resulted in slightly shorter exposure times.
All pictures were taken in natural light, making studio portraiture possible only through the use of glass skylights. Indoor exposures were necessarily longer; times ranged from fifteen seconds to more than one minute during the 1870's. Head and back rests were employed to keep the subject rigid. Long sittings made it especially difficult to photograph children; successful portraits required good light conditions, the widest lens aperture possible, liberal amounts of candy and a patient photographer. Stephen Spencer made it known that he was willing to undergo such an ordeal, advertising "particular attention paid to obtaining pictures of children."  

The refractory nature of the process imposed practical limitations on collodion photography. The primary constraint lay in the fact that the sensitivity of the emulsion lasted only as long as the plate remained wet. If the coating dried, the silver nitrate crystallized and the developer could not act on the hardened collodion. The need to prepare and develop wet-plate negatives immediately before and after exposure entailed considerable inconvenience during work outside the studio. Excursions required a portable darkroom, a chest of chemicals, boxes of glass plates and large quantities of fresh water,  

7.  Portable darkrooms ranged from tents to carts to railway coaches. A typical portable dark-tent was approximately 4 1/2 feet square and six feet high, constructed of closely-woven, double-thickness, dark blue denim, lined with a black oilcloth shield.
in addition to cumbersome cameras, lenses and tripods. All this photographic paraphernalia had to be carried everywhere, unpacked and repacked at each location. Itinerant photographers had to contend with problems of heat, cold, wind, dust, rain and insects, to say nothing of the noxious fumes of the photographic chemicals. On occasion, Dally had to contend with hostile Indians and menacing eagles; his notes describe several encounters with rattlesnakes:

At this point [Little Bluff on the Thompson River], I had to take two views as a rattler happened to be under the stone that I rested my plate against to dry it in the sun, and licked the water off, marking the plate from the top to the bottom with its forked tongue.

The practical constraints of wet-plate photography had aesthetic ramifications which are important to an interpretation of the photographic record. The necessity of preparing a glass plate immediately before exposure imposed a deliberateness on the practice of photography.


9. A notation accompanying a view of the Great Chasm reads: "When taking this view (all alone) two eagles came to attack me, but I managed to drive them off", PABC 79708, Frederick Dally, Photographic Views of British Columbia 1867-1870, Vol. 2, p. 23.

10. PABC 10242, Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 44.
Under such conditions, "photography was a conceptual art; the content of the picture was determined minutes before the exposure was made." Subsequently the need to develop the plate immediately after exposure precluded the possibility of taking several photographs in rapid succession or of capturing a sequence of events. Too much time and effort were interposed between the seeing and the recording of a composition to make collodion photography a candid, haphazard procedure. Contact printing also encouraged efficient composition. The size of prints was circumscribed by collodion technology. Enlargements were virtually unknown. Positives were contact printed and the dimensions of the negative determined those of the print. A desire for large photographs necessitated the use of larger, heavier, more cumbersome cameras. With all the work involved in a single collodion negative, each plate was precisely and economically composed to require as little cropping as possible.

The collodion negative/albumen positive format was the basis of two photographic vogues of the 1860's; both were commonly offered by early photographers in British Columbia. Cartes-de-visite were miniature portraits that were mounted on 2½ by 4 inch cards and


12. The view camera used by American photographer F. Jay Haynes to produce 20 by 24 inch plates weighed 92½ pounds, exclusive of either plate or holder. To photograph the Grand Canyon, he had it and all his other equipment hauled to the bottom of the canyon and back up again. Freeman Tilden, Following the Frontier with F. Jay Haynes. New York: Knopf, 1964, p. 405.
distributed to family and friends or placed into albums for parlour display. Some photographers used a multi-lens camera with movable plate-holder that could produce as many as a dozen frames on a full 6 1/2 by 8 1/2 inch plate. A single negative, when printed, then yielded a number of portraits that were cut and pasted onto individual cards. Shakespeare advertised "the far-famed and justly popular cartes-de-visite" and Blanc offered cartes, "both plain and enamelled." Particularly popular as inexpensive portraits, cartes were invariably included in advertisements which listed the formats that photographers offered.

15. The other fad of the 1860's was the stereographic view. Based on principles of binocular vision, two slightly offset prints were


15. In Europe, in particular, the interest in cartes was not limited to likenesses of one's family and friends. The craze to collect miniature portraits of royalty and celebrities began in France in 1859 with Disderi's cartes of Napoleon III and in England in 1860 with Mayall's photographs of Victoria and Albert. These and other prints were mass-produced for wide distribution and sold cheaply for inclusion into albums.

16. Earlier daguerreotype and calotype stereographs were simply too expensive to gain widespread popularity. The reflecting stereoscope that was required was also very costly to produce; however, in 1849, the lenticular stereoscope, a less expensive viewing device, was developed. The advent of collodion photography in 1851 expedited the cheap mass-production of paper format, card-mounted stereographs.
viewed through a device known as a stereoscope to produce a single image with the realistic sensation of three-dimensional space.  

The impact of stereography on the public imagination "was second only to the excitement generated by the discovery of the daguerreotype."  

Stereocards provided not only an educational experience, but also an entertaining diversion. In Europe, photographers were sent far and wide by stereocard companies to produce views of exotic lands, historic events and natural wonders. In British Columbia, Barkerville photographer L.A. Blanc repeatedly advertised "views of groups, mining claims, houses, etc., single and stereoscopic. Stereography was a relatively inexpensive past-time and the stereoscope and box of stereocards quickly became a ubiquitous feature of the Victorian drawing room. Yet by the 1870's, the public enthusiasm for cartes and stereocards had waned and new, larger format prints had been introduced.

17. The same scene was photographed from slightly different angles, roughly corresponding to the perspective of the human eye. A camera fitted with two lenses eventually replaced the use of two cameras side by side or of a single camera moved slightly between exposures; the resultant double image on a single negative facilitated the production of stereocards.


From the beginning of the wet-plate era, attempts were made to preserve the sensitivity of the collodion emulsion. Many techniques were developed in the mid-1850's, and, as early as 1858, dry plates were manufactured commercially in England. The first practical gelatine dry plate appeared in 1873; however, these early emulsions were far too slow and did not become popular because of the greater exposure times that were required. Not until the 1880's did improvements sufficiently increase the speed of dry plates to permit exposures of less than one second. As the sensitivity of photographic plates could be retained for several months, they were mass-produced and marketed ready for use. Furthermore dry plates did not require developing immediately after exposure. They made photography easier and more convenient by freeing the photographer from the cumbersome paraphernalia, refractory procedures and time delays of the collodion process. Photography became a spontaneous action. The photographer could make consecutive exposures in rapid succession through a sequence of events or from various angles. Fast emulsions led to the use of smaller, less conspicuous cameras complete with shutter, multiple plate magazine and transport mechanism. They permitted photographers to capture unposed scenes of human activity and stop the action of inanimate objects. The relative simplicity of the dry plate process made photography more accessible to the amateur and turned a trade into a hobby. Camera equipment and handbook guides, outfits for taking photographs and kits for printing them helped to carry photography toward its ultimate role as the universal picture-making process.
The final step in the democratization of photography came in 1888 with George Eastman's invention of the Kodak. More than any other development, this small hand-held, fixed-focus camera ushered in the age of modern photography. It popularized the art and made the means available to everyone. The use of plates was largely eliminated; instead, paper coated with gelatino-bromide emulsion was rolled on a spool. A camera was purchased, loaded with 100 exposures, processing pre-paid. After use, the unopened Kodak was returned to the factory, the film was developed and printed and the pictures were returned to the customer along with the camera and a fresh roll of film. In 1889, transparent roll film was introduced so that it was no longer necessary to send the camera to the factory for processing. Finally, in the 1890's, the forerunner of the modern photomechanical reproduction process allowed photographic image and printed text to be reproduced on the same page clearly and inexpensively and a revolution in communications ensued. At the same time, photographic values were beginning to change. Fine art motives and a conscious concern for aesthetics opened up the range of the photographer's field and led to picture-making as a form of self-expression. The print came to be seen not only as a faithful record, but also as a subjective interpretation. The naivety of the wet-plate era, the public infatuation with the factuality of visual reporting began to disappear. Modern photography - in its conception, its aesthetics and its techniques - had arrived.

Photographs became popular as a means to clarify details, tell the story and impart a sense of the actual in field reports, books
and newspapers. The publishing industry formed a growing part of the market for landscape views of early British Columbia. Local, eastern Canadian and British periodicals used the collodion process to transfer an image directly onto an engraver's woodblock to be reproduced as an engraving. Where this was done, special note of the source was often made to support the accuracy of the illustration. The world's first pictorial newspaper, The Illustrated London News, made considerable use of photographs as original copy for wood engravings, and British Columbia was one of the far-flung colonies of the Empire with which it acquainted its readership. Illustrations include panoramas of Victoria, Yale, Port Douglas, scenes along the transcontinental railroad's proposed northern terminus route and views of the bridges and canyons of the recently completed Canadian Pacific Railway. A number of picture weeklies appeared in the United States in the 1850's; one of them, Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization published in New York, ran an illustrated cover feature on New Westminster, capital of British Columbia and terminal station of Collins Overland Telegraph. The pictorial press began in Canada in the 1860's. Many Dally photographs appeared as engravings in the Canadian Illustrated News in the 1870's and, in the mid-1880's, views by Maynard and by Spencer and Hastings were reproduced in The Resources of British Columbia. Nineteenth century books sometimes

included original prints and oftentimes used lithographic reproductions. Photographic illustrations appeared in the flood of guidebooks and travel accounts on British Columbia and Vancouver Island that were published in London in the late 1850's and early 1860's. Such books and periodicals heightened the public's interest in and the photographer's market for views of British Columbia. Through them, Victoria, New Westminster, Yale, Barkerville and a host of other localities became familiar in Montreal, New York, San Francisco and London.

21. The Handbook of British Columbia and Emigrant's Guide to the Gold Fields, published in London by W. Oliver in 1862, included illustrations of Columbia Street and the harbour in New Westminster from photographs by Claudet. Travels in British Columbia with the narrative of a Yacht Voyage round Vancouver's Island, published the same year by Hurst and Blackett of London, noted that its frontispiece engraving of "Victoria from James' Bay, Looking up Government Street" was taken from a photograph.
CHAPTER 4

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD, 1858-1888

Photographers produced a large and varied record of British Columbia landscapes during the thirty years after the Fraser River gold rush of 1858. Many hundreds of their photographs survive. Upon first examination, they portray a bewildering array of subjects. Almost all, however, can be classified within one of five broad headings: transportation, resource industries, settlement, society and nature. Within each of these groupings, it is apparent that some subjects were photographed with monotonous regularity, that others were photographed rarely and that still others were not photographed at all. On occasion, virtually the same landscape view was taken many times - Yale, for example, from the river bank to the south. More often, subjects differed in detail, but were similar generically: mile-houses, mining claims, railway bridges, new towns and precipitous canyons. What follows is a representative selection. By focusing on characteristic types and their relative frequency, it is possible to describe quite succinctly the overwhelming majority of landscape photographs of early British Columbia.
TRANSPORTATION

Transportation is one of the most common topics in the photographic record. Historical photographs show the wagons and ox-teams, roadbeds and bridges, clearings and tunnels, tracks and trains as well as the sailing ships, paddlewheelers and piers that were elements of the transportation landscapes of the late nineteenth century. The Cariboo Wagon Road and the Canadian Pacific Railway were by far the most photographed subjects. Each created its own settlement geography, each opened up new wilderness scenery and each overcame the formidable obstacles of mountainous terrain. While there is a set of photographs distinctive to each era, there is also a common emphasis on service towns, river canyons and engineering feats.

Photographs of the transportation landscape of the Cariboo Road consist largely of views taken by Frederick Dally during his journeys between Victoria and Barkerville in 1867 and 1868. Three subjects dominate his work: the road, its traffic and its milehouses. Photographs of the road show surrounding terrain and details of construction. Dally captured the dramatic landscape where the road negotiated the canyons and bluffs of the Fraser and Thompson and to a lesser extent the gentler aspects of the route through the Alkali Valley and the Lac La Hache district. Timber cribbing and rock cuts imparted particular interest to portions of the route. China Bar, Nicaragua, Little and Great Bluffs were a few of the more frequently photographed locations. Views between Yale and Spuzzum abound. Many images show the roadbed clinging precariously to a sheer cliff (Plate 4.1). In others, more
Plate 4.1: Cariboo Road between Yale and Spuzzum, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10224
scenic than spectacular, the road traverses less precipitous hill-sides (Plate 4.2).

Photographs taken in town and en route (Plate 4.3) illustrate the wagons and carts hauled up and down the Cariboo Road by mules or oxen or horses. The Barnard's Express office, a prominent feature of settlements along the wagon road, was frequently photographed with a variety of vehicles and work animals parked in front (Plate 4.4). One well-known view which appeared as an engraving in the Canadian Illustrated News shows a mule-team emerging from a rock cut at Great Bluff on the Thompson River (Plate 4.5). A Dally stereograph, later re-issued by Maynard, records a train of covered wagons passing through Boston Bar (Plate 4.6). Together, such photographs provide abundant evidence of the transportation facilities of the wagon road era.

Hostelries sprang up in response to traffic to and from the gold fields. Many Cariboo Road views illustrate the bustle of activity that centred upon these inns and liveries. Dally produced a rich imagery of stage-stops; his albums include photographs of 100-, 108-, 127-, and 164- Mile Houses, Bonaparte House, Cache Creek House, the Clinton Hotel (Plate 4.7), Boothroyd's Forest House, Salter's Half Way House and Hamilton's Wayside House. Teamsters found overnight accommodation in these one- and two-storey inns of log or frame construction. Stables, storage sheds and an assortment of out-buildings usually shared the forest clearing. Cedar rail or picket fences enclosed fields within which there was a garden plot and a scatter of stumps. Parked along

Plate 4.2: China Bar Bluff, 22 miles above Yale, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10226
Plate 4.3: Freight traffic on the Cariboo Road, 19 miles above Yale, 1867-1868. Dally's cart and dark tent, visible in the lower right of this view, appear in several of his Cariboo Road photographs.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10222a
Plate 4.4: Mule team at Yale, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C19422
Plate 4.5: Great Bluff, 88 miles above Yale, 1867-1868. This view appeared as an engraving in the Canadian Illustrated News, February 24, 1872. Frederick Dally, photographer PABC 763
Plate 4.6: Freight wagons, Boston Bar, 1867-1868.
This Dally stereograph was later re-issued under the Maynard imprint.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10233
Plate 4.7: Clinton Hotel, 1867-1868.  
Frederick Dally, photographer  
PABC 758
the road, often disappearing into the distance, were covered freight wagons hitched in series and drawn by long teams of mules, oxen or less frequently horses yoked in tandem. Dally's view of Alexandra Lodge (Plate 4.8) fourteen miles above Yale shows a mix of landscape elements typical of photographs of the milehouses along the Cariboo Road.

Photographs taken at Yale illustrate many facets of the transportation landscape of the Cariboo Road era. It was here that steamboats met freight wagons. Photographers recorded sternwheelers at the dock and wagon trains parked in front of the local hotel or express office. One of Dally's views shows freight wagons under construction and wagon wheels being assembled (Plate 4.9). In the middle distance stand the cartwrights, wheelwrights and smithies whose handiwork is on display. The scene nestles at the base of the Fraser Valley. Behind the far sheds and to the right of the hillside sits Lady Franklin Rock. Low cloud obscures the mountaintops. This photograph of wagons and wagon-building shows neither mule nor ox-team, neither hotel nor express office, yet epitomizes the role of Yale as the beginning of the Cariboo Road.

The wagon road era soon gave way to the railway age. The change is reflected in the photographic record. In the early 1880's, photographers recorded the details and progress of railway construction. Later in the decade, Deville and Maynard each prepared a collection of C.P.R. views. Their work and that of others, including the Notman firm of Montreal, portrays the mountain peaks and passes, canyons and
Plate 4.8: Alexandra Lodge, 14 miles above Yale, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10221
Plate 4.9: Wagon construction at Yale, 1867-1869. Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 9774
bridges, trestles and tunnels, villages and hotels along the route of the Canadian Pacific west of the Rockies. A number of views taken from the rail line illustrate the trackside scenery and villages which are examined as part of the landscapes of nature and settlement respectively. However, most of these photographs document the imprint of the railway age on the wilderness of British Columbia.

Photographs abundantly illustrate track-laying, tunnelling and bridge-building. One type of view shows only the construction site, often surrounded by rock debris and railroad ties. Photographs taken in 1881 illustrating mainline construction between Yale and Boston Bar include the road-bed, tunnels and trestles (Plate 4.10). Another genre of railroad view shows the navvies who pushed the Canadian Pacific through the mountains posed beside a hand car or in front of a tunnel. Richard Maynard recorded a construction gang on a wooden trestle leading into a tunnel (Plate 4.11). In the foreground to the right of the tracks is a handcar; to the left, a telegraph pole. The route parallels a forested river valley visible in the background. In this and similar views, the navvies, often unrecognizable individually, contribute human interest and scale to the railroad landscape. Photographs also provide a glimpse of Chinese labourers among the work gangs at a construction site or in the domestic service of a district foreman. A view at Keefers Station (Plate 4.12) shows the log cabins of the Chinese navvies amid the rocks, stumps and piles of railroad ties between the tracks in the foreground and the mountains in the distance.
Plate 4.10: C.P.R. construction between Yale and Boston Bar, 1881.
PAC C7658
Plate 4.11: Rock Tunnel, Canadian Pacific Railway, circa 1885.
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 81630
Plate 4.12: "Chinatown", Keefers Station, circa 1881.
PAC C11338
Wooden trestles and iron bridges traversing the valleys and gorges that intersected the line were particularly popular subjects. The large trestle leading into the "Double Loop" of the Illecillewaet Valley (Plate 4.13) became a photographic cliché. Similarly, the Stony Creek, Salmon, Thompson and Columbia River bridges were much photographed. The Cisco cantilever bridge and the Spuzzum suspension bridge were often illustrated in album collections. Richard Maynard's photograph of the cantilever bridge over the Fraser (Plate 4.14) shows the tracks crossing the gorge on an iron superstructure supported by a cut stone foundation. At the far end of the bridge, the rails disappear abruptly into a black tunnel in the hillside. Here the tracks, gorge, bridge and tunnel that were popular elements of late nineteenth century railway photographs in British Columbia are combined in one view.

Two mountain hotels, built in 1886 to attract sight-seers and stimulate passenger traffic, became an integral part of the C.P.R. landscape and its visual record. Photographs reveal the characteristic chalet-style buildings amid the mountain scenery at Field and Glacier. They show their spacious lawns, decorative fountains, wide verandahs and picket fences. In some views, the railroad is prominent; in others, it is scarcely noticeable. Some photographers emphasized the hotel and its architecture; others portrayed its wilderness setting; still others recorded the navvies and hotel staff, tourists, and company officials. Richard Maynard photographed both hotels. His rendering of Mount Stephen House at Field centres upon
Plate 4.13: Double Loop, C.P.R., Selkirk Mountains, circa 1885.
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 70937
Plate 4.14: Cisco cantilever bridge, circa 1885. 
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 81628
the hotel beneath the towering mountain after which it was named (Plate 4.15). Unlike wider panoramas, it shows neither the forested valley and mountain spurs of the Kicking Horse Valley nor the mainline of the C.P.R. Maynard's photograph of Glacier House shows the hotel within view of the Illecillewaet ice-field (Plate 4.16). A promenade extends from the depot in the foreground to the fountains in front of the main building. Beside it stands an engine hauling four coaches. This view of Glacier House flanked by mountains and train captures the essence of the C.P.R.'s mountain hotel landscape.

RESOURCE INDUSTRIES

The resource industries of early British Columbia were photographed, but only the gold rush attracted anything like the attention generated by the Cariboo wagon road and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Gentile, Dally and Blanc photographed the settings, claims and miners of the Cariboo and lesser rushes. Their work produced an imagery common to Grouse, Williams, Lightning, Lowhee, Mosquito and other creeks. Views of mining towns, though largely a record of settlement, illustrate the surrounding scatter of flumes, waterwheels, shaftheads, tunnels, stumps and log cabins associated with the search for gold. Grouped by subject into characteristic types, these photographs present landscapes without figures, mining operations and miners at work. Collectively they present a thorough overview of gold rush British Columbia of the 1860's.

The landscape panorama was a general statement in which mining operations were peripheral to the overall impression of place. Dally
Plate 4.15: Mount Stephen Hotel, Field, circa 1888.
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 81631
Plate 4.16: Glacier Hotel, Glacier, circa 1888. Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 81629
produced both an album print and a carte-de-visite of the mountain and forest surroundings of Grouse Creek (Plate 4.17). This composition, unlike most Cariboo views shows little evidence of mining. Trees have been felled to build the log cabins in the foreground. The large flume in the middle distance is the most obvious sign of the gold rush in the landscape. Yet, none of these elements figure prominently. This treatment of Grouse Creek is a record of natural setting. As such, it shares qualities with scenic panoramas of the landscapes of transportation and settlement.

Other general views treat the landscapes of mining more specifically. Photographs show claim sites ravaged by diggings. A view by Dally shows the havoc on Grouse Creek (Plate 4.18). In the foreground the dwarfed miners of the Ne'er Do Well claim load a small car with gravels for sorting. In the distance the flume is supported high above the creek and there are several log cabins on the stump-strewn hillside. A creek panorama of the Six-Toed Pete Claim (Plate 4.19) shows where trees have been cleared and underlying gravels removed. Rock debris spills down the truncated hillsides to the creek bed where men pose with picks and shovels among the flumes, planks, barrels, ladders and sluice-boxes of their claim. Such photographs present a particularly telling view of the landscape transformation wrought by the search for gold.

The majority of views taken at the creeks show men at the scene of their labour. Independent miners, business partners and mining companies commissioned photographs of themselves and their claims;
Plate 4.17: Grouse Creek panorama, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C34944
Plate 4.18: Ne'er Do Well Claim, Grouse Creek, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10162
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C26181
group likenesses are more prevalent than individual portraits in the photographic record of the gold rush. In a close-up view of the Ne'er Do Well claim (Plate 4.20), four of the five miners who appear somewhat insignificantly in Dally's general panorama are posed around the dump-box into which the contents of the ore car have been tipped for washing and sorting. Views of tunnel companies (Plate 4.21) were taken at the mouth of the tunnel where an ore car on wooden rails or a wheelbarrow on a plank track was parked. Where shafts had been sunk, Dally recorded the windlass and bucket, plank platform and timber cribbing of the entrance (Plate 4.22). A group photograph of the Heronville-Canadian Company (Plate 4.23) shows neither shaft nor tunnel, but only twenty-four miners posed in three tiers against the rock debris spilling down the hillside of Grouse Creek. In all such views, miners are shown holding picks and shovels and pitchforks and sporting the same mix of beards, clothing, hats and boots.

Photographs of waterwheels were among the most popular of gold rush views. Perhaps Dally's photograph of the Mucho Oro Gold Mining Company of Stout's Gulch is the most famous example (Plate 4.24); however, similar photographs are quite numerous. A lesser-known view of the Alturas wheel (Plate 4.25) is typical of these photographs that claim owners paid to have taken and which Victoria residents purchased for household collections. Eleven men, two women, two children and a baby are posed in front of the minehead built of rough planks and shakes. Five of the miners are holding a pick, a broad-axe, a pan, a pitchfork and a cross-cut saw respectively; a sixth
Plate 4.20: Ne'er Do Well Claim, dump-box, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 765
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 761
Plate 4.22: Sheepshead Claim, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer. PAC C19423
Plate 4.23: Heronville-Canadian Company, Grouse Creek, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 13665
Plate 4.24: Mucho Oro Gold Mining Company, Stouts Gulch, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer PAC C210

Plate 4.25: Alturas Gold Mining Company, Stouts Gulch, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer PAC C8078
stands beside a grindstone. Appearing from beyond the border of the photograph, the flume meets the wheel at its full height. Rock debris litters the foreground; stumps and fallen trees cover the hillside behind. The photograph is representative of a genre of gold rush photographs, the essential elements of which include minehead, wheel and flume, miners, assorted tools and a ladder or two. The miner made the waterwheel a ubiquitous element of the Cariboo landscape; the photographer made it a cliché in the photographic record.

In the photographic record of pioneer British Columbia, photographs of gold mining are far more numerous than those of all other resource industries combined. Photographers left a modest picture of the beginnings of the province's forest industry. They recorded the hand-loggers and ox-teams, millyards and lumber ships of the early, small-scale, isolated logging and milling operations. Photographs taken amid the firs and cedars of British Columbia are part of an imagery common to pioneer logging in the forests of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

Photographers recorded loggers standing beside a tree about to be felled, lying in the notch chopped into the trunk or sitting on a huge log recently cut. The classic composition includes two or three men, their axes, a cross-cut saw and a tree. The trunk occupies the centre of the scene. On one or both sides of the tree stands a faller, perched on a springboard several feet above the ground. About two feet above the springboard is a wedge-shaped undercut where another faller reclines on one elbow. The scene is self-contained; no foreground or background detail illustrates setting or related activities.
Some of the best photographs of this logger-and-tree genre were taken by American photographer Darius Kinsey, in the State of Washington. Such views, few in early British Columbia, became more popular with the growth of the forest industry after the turn of the century.

Relatively numerous during this early period were photographs of oxen pulling logs on skid roads (Plate 4.26). A team of eight to fourteen oxen is shown yoked in tandem and hauling logs. A narrow path through the forest is formed by the skid road. On either side, the forest has been thinned and a number of stumps rise above a tangle of branches, bark, wood chips and small logs. In some views, the loggers figure prominently in the foreground, sitting or standing beside the first yoke of oxen; in others, they are barely visible among the chaos of the forest scene.

All the elements of logger-and-tree and oxen and skid road views are combined in a photograph entitled "Fraser's Logging Camp" (Plate 4.27). From the lower left, a skid road runs diagonally into the centre of the scene and disappears into the wall of trees in the distance. On it stands a log approximately four feet in diameter, stripped of its bark and hitched to the last yoke of a team of oxen. Loggers are posed on stumps, on springboards and amid the bark debris on the forest floor. Standing on a stump in the upper right of the composition is an overseer in suit, vest and watch-chain. The busy scene presents an overview of the logging operation through a collage, however unnatural, of its activities.
Plate 4.26: Oxen hauling logs, New Westminster, circa 1885. Vancouver Public Library (VPL) transparency 52-6 (from print VPL 3598/3707)
Plate 4.27: Fraser's Logging Camp.
PABC 33941
Photographs of early saw-milling are few and are limited to outdoor views; many show little more than the exterior of a wooden building at the water's edge. Panoramas of mill sites were usually taken from the millyard or dockside. Some record the mill surrounded by stocks of sawn lumber, horses, wagons and workers; others emphasize the loads of lumber and the ships that sailed to distant markets. Photographs of the Hastings mill in Vancouver show sawn lumber stacked in the yard and three-masters docked at the wharf. A general view of Moodyville taken about 1870 (Plate 4.28) illustrates "the shipping of saw logs at Moody, Dietz and Nelson's saw-mills, and the [forest] surroundings at Burrard Inlet. The end of the mill is only dimly seen through the masts and riggings of the ships" on the far shore. The foreground is occupied by a boom of logs "of a very huge size, much larger than any obtained on the eastern slope of the continent." On a smaller scale, a view of John Muir's mill at Sooke shows a similar mix of logs, ships, mill and forest.

Fishing and farming are sparsely represented in the photographic record. Limited in scope before the turn of the century, these resource industries were isolated along the coast and throughout the Interior where they were less likely to be visited by itinerant photographers. Photographs of the white commercial fishery are few. Views of fishermen, their boats and their catch are virtually non-existent. Tidewater canneries dominate the meagre

2. Canadian Illustrated News, June 1, 1872.
Plate 4.28: Moody, Dietz and Nelson's saw-mills, Moodyville, circa 1870. This view was reproduced as an engraving in the Canadian Illustrated News, June 1, 1872. VPL transparency 46-22 (original photograph is held in the collection of the Vancouver City Archives)
photographic record of the early fishing industry, yet such views, like those of mills, reveal little more than the shell of a wooden building at the water's edge. Slightly more numerous are views of the Indian fishery. Dally left a record of the canoes, weirs, traps (Plate 4.29), racks and caches of the Indian fisheries of the Cowichan district and Fraser canyon.

Though agriculture had begun, only occasional views show farmland near Victoria or Nanaimo, in the lower Fraser Valley or along the Cariboo Road. A photograph of the Fraser River at Boston Bar (Plate 4.30) shows a cleared terrace above the settlement barely discernible except for the roof-tops and flag poles between the rail fence and the river. A few early views show men and horses, stumps, logs and brush at the site of a prospective farm; there, irregular fence lines separating ploughed field from felled debris and virgin forest mark the progress of land clearing. Other photographs of farmsteads, like views of the house in town or the store on mainstreet, record a place of residence and a place of work, but they reveal few obvious signs of agricultural enterprise.

An excellent though unique farm view was taken by Dally at Cowichan (Plate 4.31). A neat fence of post and plank construction encloses a barn yard in which several cows are kept. Beside it is a clearing where hay is stooked and hired hands are posed with rakes. Conspicuous in the centre foreground stands the owner, well-attired and holding the reins of his saddled horse. A picket fence running across the entire view separates the activity of the foreground from
Plate 4.29: Indian salmon weir at Quamichan village, Cowichan River, 1866.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C65097
Plate 4.30: Fraser River at Boston Bar. The clearing is located on the terrace above the settlement shown in Plate 4.6. ABC 10240
Plate 4.31: Farm, Cowichan, circa 1866.
Frederick Dally, photographer
ABC 68306
the small log cabin and large wooden barn in the middle distance. Several fruit trees are growing in the rear of the clearing and, in the background a row of conifers rises above the barn. The busy scene suggests it was carefully composed to illustrate the full extent and diversity of the agricultural enterprise.

Benjamin Baltzly produced one of the few photographs of British Columbia's early flour mills. This water-powered mill at Tranquille (Plate 4.32) was one of several supplying the Cariboo market. On the near shore of Kamloops Lake, Mr. and Mrs. James Fortune pose with two men at the entrance of their two-storey mill of board and batten construction. The scrub vegetation of the dry Thompson Valley can be seen in the immediate foreground and on the hills on the far shore of the lake. Not unlike the gold rush views showing minehead, flume, wheel, ladder and miners, the photograph presents building and owner, but no activity.

SETTLEMENT

Photographs of British Columbia's emerging settlement landscape reflect nineteenth century historical developments and, in particular, the influence of transportation and resources. Thirty years of views of Victoria, Esquimalt, New Westminster and Yale attest to the continuing political, military and economic importance of these places. Blanc, Dally and Gentile photographed the shanty towns that sprang up in response to discoveries of gold. They also recorded the service centres and transshipment points of the wagon road from Yale to Barkerville. Two decades later, Maynard, Deville and others recorded
Plate 4.32: Tranquille Mill, Kamloops Lake, 1871.
Benjamin Baltzly, photographer
PAC C23226
the villages and whistle-stops of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Rockies to the Coast. Early interest in views of Soda Creek, Quesnel and the mining towns of the Cariboo was later transferred to photographs of Donald, Kamloops and the railroad villages of the Canadian Pacific. Barkerville gave way to Vancouver as boomtown of the west and the change is reflected in the photographic record.

Town panoramas and mainstreet views comprise the bulk of settlement photographs. Large parts of photographic albums were devoted to the residential and commercial aspects of British Columbia's early settlement landscape. Photographs characteristic of a place varied with the size and nature of nineteenth century British Columbia towns. Communities whose geographical extent could be recorded on a single glass plate were often photographed in their entirety. Panoramas capture the outward appearance and spatial configuration of frontier towns. They show buildings and fences, developed property and stump-strewn fields, the proximity of water or forest or mountain and the transportation connections of water, road or rail. Dally's view of Camerontown (Plate 4.33) is typical of an imagery shared by Barkerville (Plate 4.34), Richfield, Kelleyville, Van Winkle and other gold mining towns. It shows a tightly-grouped collection of wooden buildings flanked by hillsides dotted with stumps. Shops, offices and residences shared the creek floor with all the trappings of mining technology. Twenty years later, the towns of the Canadian Pacific Railway presented a settlement landscape which was not dissimilar. Maynard's panorama of Illecillewaet (Plate 4.35) shows a single row of falsefronted
Plate 4.33: Camerontown, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 1231
Plate 4.34: Barkerville before the fire of September 16, 1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 769
Plate 4.35: Illecillewaet, Canadian Pacific Railway, circa 1885.
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 70938
buildings in a valley clearing. Like the flumes and wheels, windlasses and tunnels of the earlier period, tracks and sidings, water-towers and boxcars are obvious symbols of the nature of settlement.

Where a nearby hill or river bend afforded an unobstructed view, different photographers stood in approximately the same spot at different times to produce similar town views. Lytton, located at "the Forks" where the Fraser meets the Thompson 57 miles above Yale, was photographed in the 1860's by Gentile and Dally and subsequently by Maynard and others. All views were taken looking upstream from a hillside on the eastern flank of the Fraser. In the foreground is the village, built on a flat bench between the river and the valley side. A wide meander in the middle distance emerges from successive hillsides that recede into the upstream portion of the valley.

Buildings lined the road which roughly paralleled the river. In Frederick Dally's photograph taken in the late 1860's, (Plate 4.36) the settlement was largely composed of log structures. Few were more than one storey; several had false fronts and an awning supported by pillars. Later views show a proliferation of more substantial buildings, including a church, and the tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Similarly, Yale was frequently photographed from a curve in the river just downstream from the town. Panoramas show a relatively large community situated at the bottom of the steep Fraser canyon.

Rows of wooden buildings, some with false fronts, many two storeys high and several with verandahs, spread from the river bank to the base of the mountain. On one edge of town perched the Anglican Church;
Plate 4.36: Lytton, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C29174
on the other edge was the steamer dock (Plate 4.37). In 1865, this view of Yale was painted in watercolours by Frederick Whymper,\(^3\) photographed by Francis Claudet and reproduced as an engraving in _The Illustrated London News_.\(^4\) Thus, at Lytton, Yale and elsewhere, a vantage point led to a clichéd image of place.

Where a community was too dispersed or where local topography did not offer a suitable vantage point, photographers were unable to record a townscape on a single glass plate. Where this situation occurred, the multi-plate panorama, and more often the representative view, comprise the photographic record of settlement. In the late 1860's, Victoria was already too large to illustrate its geographical extent, natural setting and architectural development with one exposure. From a height of land to the south of the town, Dally used several plates to produce a panorama extending from the government buildings and the James Bay bridge on the extreme right across the length of Wharf Street to the upper harbour area on the extreme left (Plate 4.38). The Indian reserve in the foreground occupies almost two-thirds of the composition. A continuation of the harbour crosses the length of the scene. Beyond the water lies the town and across the horizon is a wall of trees broken occasionally by a church spire. This multi-plate panorama can be seen framed and displayed outside Dally's photographic gallery in a view of Fort Street looking east (Plate 2.5).

4. _The Illustrated London News_, May 12, 1865.
Plate 4.37: Yale, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 1905
Plate 4.38:
Victoria panorama, circa 1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C23418, C23419, C23420, C23421
Photographs of the landscape of settlement were often representative views. They showed distinctive landmarks or prominent buildings associated with the towns in which they were located. A view of Government House was a statement about Victoria. The Bastion readily identified photographs of Nanaimo and its harbour. Photographs of settlements whose existence was tied to some specialized function emphasized subjects symbolic of the town's importance. Views of Esquimalt focused upon aspects of the Pacific base of the Royal Navy. Photographs of the naval arsenal and clubhouse were readily associated with the settlement. Several general panoramas of Esquimalt taken in the 1870's show a collection of buildings flanking a road that leads to a rocky headland. Yet it was views of the British fleet anchored in the harbour (Plate 4.39) which most often represent Esquimalt in the photographic record.

The streetscape view was a particularly popular photographic representation of the landscape of settlement. Whether a wide thoroughfare or a narrow track, the mainstreet epitomized a town's economic existence. Some settlements were no more than one street; others boasted a business district of considerable proportions. A view of a commercial block was, for all intents and purposes, a photograph of town. It showed the width of the street and the height of its buildings. Photographs show shops, hotels, saloons, liverys, public buildings, express offices and freight traffic. Street views of gold rush towns (Plate 4.40) show the wooden facades, shake roofs and advertising placards of shops that faced one another across
Plate 4.39: Esquimalt Harbour

circa 1870
Frederick Dally, photographer
PAC C33452

before 1890
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 81626
Plate 4.40: Mainstreet, Barkerville before the fire of September 16, 1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 5191
raised plank sidewalks and a narrow muddy road. In photographs of railway communities, tracks replaced road as the main artery through town (Plate 4.41). Fort (Plates 2.3, 2.5), Government (Plate 4.42), Yates (Plate 2.2) and other streets in Victoria as well as Columbia Street in New Westminster were wide avenues flanked by wooden sidewalks and commercial establishments. One and two storey buildings of wood or brick, gaslights, shop signs, carts and animals, curious onlookers and local entrepreneurs all came together in the street-scape photographs of the colonial capitals.

Views of single properties, both residential and commercial, are part of the photographic record of the landscape of settlement. They show the houses and shops that collectively became town and street views. Photographs reveal details of size, architecture and construction. They illustrate the garden plots and picket fences of modest homes and the groomed lawns and sweeping driveways of wealthy estates. A view of the Maynards' building in Victoria (Plate 2.6) shows the entrepreneurs and their enterprise. At the side door, flanked by samples of her work stands Hannah Maynard, proprietor of the photographic gallery; at the front door stands Richard Maynard, proprietor of the boot and shoe store. This photograph, like those of Mr. and Mrs. Fortune and their flour mill (Plate 4.32) and of the Trutch family at Fairfield (Plate 4.48) presents an individual contribution to the nineteenth century landscape of settlement.
Plate 4.41: Rogers Pass Village, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886. E. Deville, photographer
PABC 67572
Plate 4.42: Government Street looking north from Fort Street. Shakespeare's Photographic Gallery is just beyond the horse and cart in the centre of the view.
PABC 8720
The photographic record of towns and villages is overwhelmingly a chronicle of white settlement. Yet also represented, albeit sparsely, are the settlements of Indians and Chinese. In 1866, Dally photographed the tribes of Vancouver and Nootka Islands while on tour with Governor Kennedy on HMS Scout (Plate 4.43). In 1873, Maynard accompanied the party of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on HMS Boxer; a newspaper report of this expedition noted:

After speeches on both sides, the whole group of Indians, the superintendent of Indian Affairs and officers of the Boxer were photographed by that able artist R. Maynard.5

The work of Dally, Maynard and others was incorporated into official reports; some was reproduced for sale to public and publishers in Victoria, eastern Canada and London. Though Maynard returned independently to photograph the Haida villages of the Queen Charlotte's in the 1880's, it was Dally who contributed most to the commercial trade in Indian photographs. Though seldom advertised specifically, his Indian views were often included in photographic albums prepared for Victoria patrons. Several of these were used for engravings in the Canadian Illustrated News published in Montreal in the 1870's.

Photographs illustrate the settlement landscapes of the native communities of Vancouver Island, the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Interior and the northern coast of the Mainland. Panoramas demonstrate the recurring pattern of coastal villages: a line of wooden buildings

5. The Colonist, June 18, 1873.
Plate 4.43: Indian totem and Chief's house, Comox, 1866.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 57593
and totem poles along the crest of a sloping shoreline dotted with drying racks and beached canoes (Plate 4.44). A view of Port Simpson taken by Maynard in 1884 (Plate 4.45) reveals the prominent position of the mission church imposed upon the landscape of Indian settlement. Miscellaneous views show the Indian reserve on the edge of Victoria and the Indian shanties bordering Coal Harbour. Common subjects include houses, totem poles, gravesites, celebrations on the Queen's birthday and the various aspects of the Indian fishery.

Less popular than the Indian landscape of settlement was that of the Chinese. Photographs of the Cariboo gold rush occasionally show Chinese miners at the diggings or Chinese names on mainstreet shop signs. Later, the Chinese re-appear among the gangs of navvies that built that Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1886, Deville photographed the Chinese camp at Kamloops and the streets of Victoria's Chinese quarter. One such view shows a phalanx of wooden buildings made of vertical planks, of various heights and widths and in varying degrees of disrepair (Plate 4.46). In the foreground is an almost indiscernable clutter of shacks and fences. Beyond the uneven line of roofs are two large brick warehouses of the Chinese commercial establishment. A street scene showing Victoria's Chinese in traditional garb and shop signs with Chinese lettering (Plate 4.47) presents an even more graphic illustration of the landscape of Chinese settlement.
Plate 4.4: Indian settlement landscape

Alert Bay
PAC C22368

Masset
(note camera and tripod)
PAC C60823
Plate 4.45: Port Simpson, 1884.
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 10725
Plate 4.46: Chinese Quarters, Victoria, 1886.
E. Deville, photographer
PABC 67644
Plate 4.47: Chinese Street, Victoria, 1886.
E. Deville, photographer
PAC PA53604
A small but significant portion of historical photographs present the emerging social order of pioneer British Columbia. Views and likenesses illustrate domestic activities, recreational amusements and athletic events. They also constitute an imagery of social importance, often associated with the colonial elite. This was a photography of lifestyle, a record of nineteenth century British Columbians at rest or at play. It captured the pursuit of leisure pastimes as an alternative to the province's main business of settlement and economic growth. It also captured the re-establishment of old customs and traditions.

Some of these photographs illustrate the success of immigrants in re-creating an Old World order on their own property. Views show landscaped gardens and manicured lawns wherein leisure hours were passed fashionably engaged in croquet as a genteel recreation, or at tea as a social institution. Most portraits of home were individual statements about settlement; some were carefully composed to demonstrate high social standing. Family and servants were posed against a setting that included a large house, curved driveway and horse-drawn carriage. A most eloquent example of this genre of photograph shows Fairfield, (Plate 4.48) the home of Joseph W. Trutch, engineer, road-builder, speculator and later Lieutenant-Governor of the province. The house itself was a large two-storey structure with several chimneys, balconies and bay-windows, perched on a slight rise and surrounded by shrubbery. Several stately old trees create a
Plate 4.48: Fairfield, home of Joseph W. Trutch, Victoria, circa 1865.
PAC C3854
romantic setting without obscuring the view. A woman is posed on the front verandah. Along the side wall ivy is taking a firm hold of the trellises. Standing on the sweeping driveway are two horse-drawn carriages and two men, one on horseback and one beside a second saddled horse. Croquet hoops are set out on the groomed lawn on which there are four bonnetted women, two with parasols, two with small children. Nearby a man with a baby at his feet reclines on one elbow, holding a croquet mallet. Here among the house and its household, the garden, the servants, the carriages and the croquet hoops, lies the old country conception of a parkland estate.

Other photographs record the recreational and competitive athletic activities pursued by pioneer British Columbians. Cricket, rowing and tennis are particularly well-represented. Team and club members posed for group likenesses, sometimes in the studio, more often outdoors. Photographs show some cricketers dressed informally (Plate 4.49), others attired in "whites". Rowers in bathing suits were photographed with their oars; men in flannels and ladies in long dresses posed on tennis courts with their rackets. Photographers also captured the carefully tended grounds and roughly cleared fields where spectators gathered to watch local and intercolonial cricket matches. One such panorama overlooking a lacrosse game in Beacon Hill Park (Plate 4.50) gives a vivid impression of the social milieu of Victoria. Ringing the playing field, standing on the hillside or sitting in horse-drawn carriages is a large crowd of men in waistcoats and women shaded by parasols. Just beyond the
Plate 4.49: Victoria Eleven cricket team, 1864.
PABC 7795
Plate 4.50: Lacrosse match, Beacon Hill Park, Victoria.
PABC 7797
park stand several stately residences, the properties encircled by neat picket fences. More houses in the distance follow the sweep of the shoreline. Here, perhaps more than in any other single photograph, the leisure time activities of both players and spectators combine with the park setting and the architectural orderliness to create an aura of British gentility.

Picnicking was a popular leisure activity and social institution in parts of late nineteenth century British Columbia. Photographs show outings organized by families and friends, by church groups, clubs and businesses. Day trips headed for local recreational spots or set out by carriage, train or steamboat for excursions farther afield. Attire was appropriately fashionable; food was carried in wicker hampers and eaten off china plates (Plate 4.51). Picnics provided the opportunity for informal portraits. Individual and group likenesses show well-dressed picnickers against a backdrop of cedars (Plate 4.52), amid a tangle of underbrush or beside the gnarled roots of an upturned tree. The Hollow Tree in Stanley Park became a cliché of picnic portraiture. Well into the twentieth century, parties posed by the tree, standing or sitting, on bicycles or in carriages. The size of the tree, the great burl at the base and the burnt-out trunk made it an unusual natural phenomenon of the great West Coast forest and contributed to its popularity as a distinctive setting in which to be photographed. Waterfalls were another popular location where those who posed at the lip of the cataract or near its base were dwarfed by the cascade of water.
Plate 4.51: Picnic party at the Gorge, Victoria, 1884.
PABC 6314
Plate 4.52: Picnic party at Goldstream, Victoria, circa 1885. Spencer and Hastings, photographers. PABC 31457
Victoria Day and Dominion Day were occasions for picnics and regattas. A description of the Gorge in 1884 noted that "to this spot Victorians resort on high days and holidays." Coal Harbour and the lakes of the Interior provided an opportunity for casual boating and competitive rowing. Rafts, slides, bath-houses, boat rentals and a promenade turned the beaches of English Bay into a waterfront playground for the masses. Photographs of May 24th festivities at the Gorge typically show crowds engaged in picnic activities, rowing crews practising in midstream and, closer to shore, rowboats flying the Red Ensign and occupied by men in waist-coated suits and bowlers and by well-dressed, bonneted women. One view of the Gorge (Plate 4.53) shows a picnic group congregated around a banner and booth on the far hillside. In the immediate foreground is a collection of rowboats and sailboats. On the edge of the near shore is a photographer preparing his tripod and camera, perhaps for a view of the proceedings across the water, perhaps for a portrait of the woman on the bank behind him.

Early professional photographers also produced what might be termed an imagery of social importance. The photographic record includes views of government offices (Plate 4:54) and Government Houses (Plate 4.55) in both the capitals. Churches, also prominent among public buildings, were often photographed; in 1866, The Colonist

"The continuation of the harbor [sic] extends some miles above the city, winding in graceful turns to a gorge over which is a bridge, and to this spot Victorians resort on high days and holidays."

The Resources of British Columbia
January 1, 1884, p. 13.
Plate 4.54: The Government Buildings, Victoria, 1859-1860. PAC C23401

Plate 4.55: Government House, New Westminster. PAC C4605
suggested that Maynard's "views of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the new church at Esquimalt" were "well-executed" and "worth procuring." Governor and Mrs. Seymour, Admiral and Mrs. Hastings, naval officers, local political figures and visiting dignitaries were all photographed. Blanc advertised views of Barkerville during Victoria Day and of some of the town's principal buildings decorated for Dominion Day. The Queen's birthday occasioned photographs of the Indian chiefs gathered at New Westminster and the Flying Squadron decorated at Esquimalt. The opening of parliament and the arrival of the first train in Vancouver were other events that warranted a photographer's attention. This genre of photograph encompasses people, places and events of social, political and historic significance.

NATURE

Overwhelmingly British Columbia's nineteenth century landscape was wilderness, yet professional photographers paid far less attention to the intricacies and diversity of the natural environment than to the imprint of man upon it. The wilderness appears as the natural setting in photographs of the landscapes of transportation, settlement and resource exploitation. General views of the Cariboo Road and Canadian

7. The Colonist, September 4, 1866.
8. The Cariboo Sentinel, May 29, 1869, p. 3.
9. Ibid., July 16, 1871, p. 3.
Pacific Railway inevitably illustrate the canyons and valleys through which they passed. Mountains provided a backdrop for panoramas of creeks, towns and railroad hotels. Though seldom the subject of photographs, the forest per se asserts its presence as a wall of trees rising behind a straggling Indian village, a tidewater sawmill, a skid road, a mining town or a picnic party. Likenesses of loggers beside a giant fir or of tourists at the Hollow Tree in Stanley Park reveal almost indirectly the enormity of West Coast trees. Captions often emphasized the human element in the photograph. Views of Mount Stephen towering over the Canadian Pacific hotel at Field were labelled "Mount Stephen House" and the scenery of the Illecillewaet Valley came to be synonymous with the "Double Loop" in the Selkirks.

Where the Cariboo Road and the Canadian Pacific Railway made the natural landscapes of the Interior accessible, photographers did capture some of the more spectacular and expansive scenery. Views of Hell's Gate abound. Some taken squarely across the torrent show the detail of the opposing rock face; others looking up or down stream show the precipitous canyon walls. In 1867 and 1868, Dally recorded the canyons of the Fraser, the valley of the Thompson and the waterfalls, lakes and mountains between Yale and Cariboo. His view of the Fraser four miles above Yale (Plate 4.56) illustrates the rushing water and rocky terrain of the canyon. Another panorama eighty miles farther up the road shows the meanders and slopes of the Thompson River valley (Plate 4.57). Twenty years later, Deville and Maynard prepared collections of views along the route of the Canadian Pacific through British Columbia. Their work includes photographs of the rivers, canyons, waterfalls, peaks
Plate 4.56: Fraser River, 4 miles above Yale, 1867-1868.
Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 10946
Plate 4.57: Thompson River, 84 miles above Yale, 1867-1868. Frederick Dally, photographer
PABC 9718
and passes of the Selkirk and Coast ranges. Deville's view of the Illecillewaet Canyon (Plate 4.58) is representative of images of the Wapta, Albert, Beaver, Fraser and other canyons along the route of the railway.

The early photographic record includes the occasional image of the romantic physical landscape. In particular, photographers portrayed the tamed nature of the public park. Views of Beacon Hill, the Gorge and Goldstream in Victoria and later of Stanley Park in Vancouver show roads and trails which part the forest and bring into view clearings or lagoons. A photograph of Goldstream by Richard Maynard (Plate 4.59) shows a brook as it emerges from the distant woods. Light floods in from the upper left. The water creates a narrow waterfall as it spills into a shallow pool in the foreground. There it flows around half-submerged rocks and fallen branches. High above the tiny cascade, a footbridge crosses from bank to bank.

Similarly, views of the Gorge show paths leading down the hillsides to a bridge where the waters narrowed. Away from streams or ponds, photographers sometimes captured the picturesque qualities of open parkland where the forest was thinned to give an impression of spaciousness, where trees faded into the distance and where sunlight filtered to the ground in patches.

Many aspects of the natural landscape are not represented in the photographic record. Seascapes illustrating rugged and pounding surf are singularly absent. Dense vegetation and rugged terrain impeded access to the coast. Early exposure times measured in whole seconds, rather than in fractions thereof, made it impossible to photograph
Plate 4.58: Illecillewaet Canyon, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886.
E. Deville, photographer
PABC 67594
Plate 4.59: Goldstream, Victoria.
Richard Maynard, photographer
PABC 56796
the shore from on board ship or stop the motion of cresting waves.

Mountain panoramas are few. Until the railroad opened up the passes of the Interior, lofty vantage points were inaccessible to the photographer encumbered by the paraphernalia of his trade. Though portable darkrooms were taken by cart and pack horse over wagon roads and crude trails, the marriage of nature photography and alpine hiking still awaited the advent of smaller, roll-film cameras. There are virtually no nature compositions showing carpets of mosses, thickets of salal, stands of Douglas fir or fields of bunchgrass. Apart from any aesthetic considerations, slow emulsions aggravated by low light levels made it difficult to photograph the forest interior or stop the movement of leaves and fronds.

Views of the peaks and passes, canyons and cataracts of the British Columbia wilderness are often the work of photographers commissioned to accompany the surveying expeditions of government and railroad. Although the surveys for the Canadian Pacific's northern terminus route were not developed, Horetszky's series of wilderness views illustrate not only the obstacles, but also the scenery of the Homathko River and Bute Inlet (Plate 4.60). Yet his work is as much a statement of the proposed transportation landscape as of the existing natural one.

* * * * *
Plate 4.60: Homathko River, 30\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles from Waddington, 1875. Charles Horetzsky, photographer
PABC 10663
Almost from the inception of white settlement, photographers recorded British Columbia's natural landscape and its transformation at the hand of man. Clearly some subjects were photographed much more often than others. The Cariboo Road and the Canadian Pacific Railway dominate transportation views. Stretches of road or track combining spectacular scenery and engineering feats received particular attention. The freight traffic and milehouses of the wagon road and the bridges and mountain hotels of the railway were the most common subjects. Photographs of resource industries focus on the gold rush and are largely a product of the 1860's. Most views show miners at their claims; waterwheels, tunnels and windlasses were the more popular settings. Only with the hard-rock boom of the 1890's was there a resurgence in mining photographs. While photographers did capture the pioneer forest industry, a much fuller record of its men, technology and resources was produced toward the turn-of-the-century. Many early photographs are scenes of ox-teams hauling logs over a skid road; less numerous are in-situ portraits of hand-loggers and views of tidewater saw-mills. The photographic record of fishing and farming is meagre; views of fishing fleets and canning operations, extensive orchards and harvest scenes are largely a product of the post-pioneer period of development that followed the coming of the transcontinental railway. Often associated with transportation or resources, settlements throughout British Columbia were recorded, some repeatedly, during the first thirty years of photography in the province. Town panoramas and streetscape views abound. Among historical photographs are a few illustrating the settlement landscapes
of Indians and Chinese. Together, photographs of the landscapes of transportation, resource industries and settlement constitute the great majority of the photographic record.

The photographic record also illustrates the establishment of a new society in nineteenth century British Columbia. Photographs suggestive of the emerging social order show leisure activities, historic events, prominent buildings and important people. In the early years, they were few and they focused upon the activities and settings of the colonial elite. More often in the 1880's, photographers recorded the picnics and regattas associated with citizens' Victoria and Dominion celebrations. Photographs of the natural landscape emphasize the spectacular and expansive topography along the road and rail routes through the Interior. A few capture the romantic aspects of Victoria's public parks. Microscale nature studies are virtually non-existent.
The photographic record suggests that photography in early British Columbia was a simple kind of picture-making, not a refined vision. Pioneer photographers made record images, not aesthetic abstractions. Although abreast of technological innovations, they were not concerned with the acceptance of the photograph as fine art. Their portrayal of subjects was neither allegorical nor artificial. Their work described, but did not interpret. As a medium of visual expression, historical photographs reveal more about the outward appearance of the subject than the inner emotions of the photographer. They show the style of a house, the members of a family, the construction of a bridge, the scenery of a gorge, the mechanism of a waterwheel and the spectators at a regatta. Historical photographs of British Columbia preserve both ordinary and extraordinary subjects and reveal all-encompassing historical developments, like the gold rush and the railway age, in their elemental aspects.

The range of photographic subjects was circumscribed by the inability of early processes to stop motion and by the constraints imposed by bulky equipment on mobility and access. Subjects that could not or would not remain still are absent from the photographic record or exist in photographs as blurred forms. In Richard Maynard's landscape panorama of the Glacier Hotel (Plate 4.16), people walking on the
platform at the time the photograph was taken appear ghost-like. In photographs of water in motion, rapids turn into soft swirls and waterfalls become delicate curtains. Streetscapes were more easily recorded although skittish horses, restless dogs and impatient children appear as indistinct figures. Even in a view without apparent activity (Plate 2.2), the indistinctness of waving flags betrays a necessarily long exposure.

Slow emulsions also imposed a deliberateness on photographs of human activity. Streetscape views often fail to represent the real bustle of traffic and pedestrians; carts were parked and merchants posed for the photographer. Mule teams on the Cariboo Road were stopped to permit Dally to record freight traffic at 19-mile post on the Fraser and at Great Bluff on the Thompson. Gold miners interrupted their work to pose for Dally's camera. That the earliest record of cricket, rowing, tennis and other recreational pursuits consists of group photographs of team and club members is also a reflection of the inability of collodion technology to capture movement.

Apart from such limitations, the photograph was a faithful record of outward appearance, but if the lens was impartial, the photographer was not. The borders of a photographic plate isolate a segment of reality. The choice of subject matter, in itself, introduces an element of selectivity. Furthermore, the photographer's choice of camera angle can change the elements of the composition and, therefore, the import of the scene. Views of Mount Stephen House might include the mainline of the Canadian Pacific Railway or Mount Stephen or both. The relative degrees to which the tracks and wilderness figure suggest whether the
photograph is a statement about the isolation of a mountain retreat, the elegance of a railroad hotel, or the connection to the urban world.

Commissioned photographs clearly indicate a patron's interests; however, it is seldom apparent if, or by whom, a landscape view was commissioned. Furthermore, a photograph produced for a patron in one location was frequently reprinted for sale in another. A great many more landscape views were part of the freelance trade. Photographers, especially those engaged in an itinerant business, exercised a degree of initiative and judgment in recording a variety of subjects; sample copies of their work were displayed and orders for prints were accepted. Purchasers chose what interested them and the photographer had to be sensitive to general market tastes if he hoped to sell his work. As a result, photographs exhibit selectivity in their rendering of nineteenth century reality. In the photographic record, some subjects are much more numerous than others. Such inequities demonstrate that the public was particularly attracted to some photographs and were blatantly indifferent to others. Given the commercial nature of photography, the preponderance of some images and the scarcity of others suggests the popular interests of early British Columbians.

Well-suited to the needs and temperament of early British Columbia, photographers both captured and capitalized on the impatience and excitement of pioneer society. Their work was fast, cheap and accessible.

1. George Fardon advertised "Upwards of Five Hundred Specimens on View", The Colonist, September 21, 1869.
to almost all levels of society. It recorded the evolving human landscape with a clarity of detail that imparted to it universal appeal. Whereas only the colonial elite might have turned to the painter, almost everyone looked to the photographer for portraits and landscape views. To satisfy the tastes of patrons from various social and economic backgrounds, the photographer produced a variety of sizes and formats from the plushly mounted ambrotype to the simple carte-de-visite. Several enticements were used in British Columbia newspaper announcements to interest the buying public. "Handsome", "beautiful", "spendidly executed" and "in the best possible style", were typical of the descriptive language used in advertisements. Prices were never quoted, but always seemed to be "very moderate", if not "greatly reduced". On the one hand, customers were encouraged to "take advantage of the present fine weather" and on the other hand, were reminded that studios were equipped to take portraits during inclement conditions. A sense of urgency was created by such appeals as "gallery open for a short time only" or "reduced prices for a short time only" or "last chance for those wintering in the Cariboo".

Apart from the factors of style, cost, weather and immediacy, access to modern equipment was occasionally offered as an incentive to patronize a photographer. Blanc, during his second summer in the Cariboo, offered for sale photographs "taken with a new and improved camera just received from London." When Stephen Spencer returned to

2. The Cariboo Sentinel, August 9, 1868, p. 3.
his Victoria studio in 1874, he announced that he had brought with him "an experienced retoucher from the first San Francisco galleries" as well as "improved appliances for taking and finishing pictures."³ By the late 1880's, dry plates had drastically reduced exposure times and, in 1887, Spencer and Hastings advertised "instantaneous photographing a specialty."⁴ Such advertising capitalized on the common assumption that up-to-date equipment was a guarantee of quality results.

The intrinsic appeal of a photograph was two-fold; it was an amazing discovery of its age and a faithful representation of reality. The novelty of fixing for all time the image of a person, a place or an event using a mindless mechanical device and a simple chemical process generated widespread interest. The photograph was an ingenious invention, a source of wonder. However, it also had the singular ability to reproduce appearances accurately. Though early portraits and views were sometimes as much a product of sheer luck as of technical skill, even the poorest photograph imparted a sense of the actual. As a document which conveyed precise fact, the photograph complemented the Victorian belief that truth was revealed through careful observation, and drew public praise for its honesty and clarity. Stephen Spencer⁵ and Noah Shakespeare⁶ advertised the opportunity to obtain a "correct

---

3. The Colonist, November 7, 1874.


5. The Victoria Weekly Gazette, August 4, 1860.

likeness", Dally's work was described as "beautiful and truthful"; 7 Blanc's exhibited "truthful delineation"; 8 and Gentile's displayed "truthfulness, beauty and clearness of execution." 9 Such newspaper jargon addressed itself to the public fascination with truth.

People wanted likenesses of themselves and their loved ones. In early Victoria, portraits found a ready market in the local elite and merchant classes, as well as in the gold seekers on their way to or from the Cariboo and the British sailors from the naval base at Esquimalt. Similarly, in the Cariboo, claim owners, miners, and merchants were eager to purchase individual and group likenesses and had the money to do so. Newspaper announcements encouraged the practice of purchasing portraits for loved ones. Stephen Spencer offered to take "likenesses of such as are to leave for Queen Charlotte Island, as well as others who may desire to leave with or send to their friends a remembrance." 10 Blanc suggested that "miners intending to leave for Peace River" take advantage of his greatly reduced prices and "forward to friends a likeness before their departure for the new mines." 11 Upon her retirement, Hannah Maynard recalled that her patrons in Victoria included "all kinds" and that, at one time or another, she

7. The Cariboo Sentinel, September 12, 1867, p. 3.
8. Ibid., July 11, 1867, p. 3.
9. Ibid., May 10, 1866, p. 3.
10. The Victoria Gazette, July 23, 1859.
and her husband Richard had photographed everybody in town. Her claim was partly corroborated by a local Victoria journalist almost fifty years later:

There was one experience of my very young days which must have been shared by thousands of other members of Victoria's growing families. That was the ordeal of getting a family portrait made at Mrs. R. Maynard's photographic studio at 41½ Pandora Street.13

There are essentially two types of portraits in the photographic record of early British Columbia. The studio composition - whether a head-and-shoulders portrait taken against a plain background (Plate 2.1) or a full-length likeness set in a mock Victorian drawing-room - presents a highly insular perspective on its subject. Governed by "a very strict decorum of costume, occasion and pose," formal portraiture imposed a sameness upon studio likenesses. Consequently, the import of such photographs lies more in the fact of their existence than in the appearance of their patrons. On the contrary, the outdoor likeness shows "individuals, relatives, friends, co-workers, business partners or team-mates at home (Plate 4.48), at work (Plate 4.20) or at play (Plate 4.49); it reveals not only appearance, but also physical or social milieu. The "in-situ" portrait captures the interaction between people and place and its statement stems from the relationship of subject to setting. Where the studio portrait represents social standing or

13. Gus Sivertz, "When we were very young: Stiff, Starched, and Watching the Birdie", The Times (Victoria), January 5, 1957, p. 4.
material well-being, the "in-situ" likeness demonstrates it. For the purposes of this research, the former is a subtle indication of British Columbians' sense of themselves in the emerging social order; the latter is an obvious affirmation of their perception of place. Thus, the "in-situ" likeness has been integrated into the general treatment of landscape photography; the studio portrait has not.

Part of the general enthusiasm for landscape views derived from personal associations with place. British Columbians regarded the photograph as a record of landscapes well-known to them. Townsfolk wanted not only photographs of themselves and their property, but also views of their settlement, its main street, prominent buildings, public parks and transportation links. A Barnard's Express teamster would have probably chosen views of stage stops, milehouses, freight traffic and roadside scenery. Similarly, a Williams Creek miner might have selected photographs of the mining towns and celebrated claims of the Cariboo as well as reminders of his journey up the wagon road. In promoting Blanc's views of various places within the Cariboo district, the editors of The Cariboo Sentinel were confident that there were few readers who would not "avail themselves of the opportunity of procuring souvenirs of places familiar to them from the force of association." A place became important through familiarity, through "the force of association". A photograph confirmed and preserved this importance.

15. The Cariboo Sentinel, July 11, 1867, p. 3.
British Columbians wanted a record of familiar places, not just for themselves, but also for their loved ones. The immigrant to this isolated corner of British North America was encouraged by newspaper advertisements to send off photographs of his land or claim, of town or scenic attractions to re-assure loved ones at home, to boast of personal accomplishments or to encourage friends or relatives to immigrate. Views of Cariboo scenery were "always on hand and for sale" at Blanc's gallery and in 1870, an advertisement in The Cariboo Sentinel suggested that "parties writing home would do well to call on Mr. Blanc and select from his varied supply a souvenir for their friends." In the same issue, the newspaper's editors posed the rhetorical question:

What more acceptable souvenir can be sent to one's friends than a carte-de-visite or a view of the scene of labor in which the wanderer from home is engaged.  

A photograph sent to family or friends permitted others to see the setting of one's activities and the place of one's emotional attachment. The Cariboo Sentinel appealed to local community spirit in noting that Blanc's views of Barkerville after the 1871 Dominion Day celebration were "very handsome, and when sent abroad [would] give strangers a favorable impression of our town." Pride as well as

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 3.
19. Ibid., July 16, 1871, p. 3.
familiarity formed the basis of the boosterism evident in the photographic record of nineteenth century British Columbia.

If British Columbians were anxious to purchase views of familiar surroundings, they were also eager to obtain photographs of landscapes with which they had no personal association. This interest was part of the nineteenth century curiosity about place which incorporated individual Victorian concerns with truth, technology and progress and gave them more than local appeal. It encouraged travel, exploration and Imperial expansion, news of which revealed the diversity of the physical environment and the human experience. Travel literature "in the form of published journals and diaries, travel books, and accounts in the illustrated press proliferated in response to the enormous Victorian demand for information and new experience." 21 In evoking

20. It is instructive to note that among chapters on Art, Literature, Science, Religion and Politics, The Illustrated London News Record of the Glorious Reign of Queen Victoria 1837-1901 was a section devoted to "Travel in the Victorian Era". Its author remarked that "no more giant strides have been made in any field of human endeavour during that period than in geographical research" and proclaimed that "after giving all due credit to the explorers of all other nations, Queen Victoria's own subjects have taken the foremost place in this great work." F.C. Selous "Travel in the Victorian Era" in The Illustrated London News Record of the Glorious Reign of Queen Victoria 1837-1901. London, 1901.

the tangible presence of reality, the photograph was embraced as a means of "visiting" far-away places; album prints, stereocards and cartes-de-visite became a surrogate for travel. During the wet-plate era in Europe, photographers were sent far and wide to record legendary places and scenic wonders, colonial activities and Imperial frontiers. Through their faith in the accuracy and objectivity of the photograph, Victorians were able to derive vicarious enjoyment from landscape views. The appeal of images, of unfamiliar places, some famous, others obscure, lay in the excitement of their being exotic or spectacular or simply different.

In early British Columbia, curiosity about place created a market for the work of the professional photographers who travelled up the coast and into the interior, some on official business, others pursuing a freelance trade. Newspaper reports of government proceedings in Victoria, of freight traffic through Yale, of gold strikes on Williams Creek, of Indian Commission business in the Queen Charlottes, of railway construction in the Selkirks and of naval operations at Esquimalt piqued public interest in distant landscapes. They made not only the larger settlements, but also the creeks and shantytowns of the Cariboo, the bluffs and milehouses of the wagon road and the canyons and

22. In 1856, the London Stereoscopic Company advertised 100,000 different views from around the world (Gail Buckland, Reality Recorded: Early Documentary Photography, Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1974, p. 97) and reportedly sold two and a half million stereocards between 1854 and 1858 (Harper and Triggs, op. cit., unpaged).
whistle-stops of the railway familiar place names. This ambient
curiosity about place also extended to views of unknown places that
appealed to the Victorian fascination with different lifestyles,
technological achievements, natural wonders and general progress.
British Columbians in one corner of the colony were curious about
what existed or what happened in another. Perhaps to possess a
Cariboo view or a Victoria streetscape was to experience the distant
landscapes and pioneer excitement of early British Columbia.

Indian views particularly appealed to the Victorian love of the
exotic. The native settlement landscape was foreign to the white man
whether he lived in Victoria or in London; apart from the mission
church or school (Plate 4.45) it was a landscape which in no way
reflected upon the material development of the colony. Photographs
of coastal villages (Plate 4.44), views of salmon weirs (Plate 4.29)
and likenesses of chiefs appealed to the prevailing curiosity about
the world. Nevertheless, the photographic record of the Indian land­
scape was circumscribed by a number of factors. Because access was
difficult and co-operation was not assured, Indian subjects were
largely the work of a few official photographers on government tours
of West Coast tribes. Furthermore, unlike the Cariboo, the northern
coasts of the island and mainland did not present lucrative opportunities
to the itinerant photographer. Though they provided an abundance of
interesting subject matter, the Indians themselves did not constitute
a large market for likenesses and views.
A market for photographs that captured the settled comfort of Victoria and New Westminster existed throughout British Columbia. The colonial capitals commanded public attention as centres of political importance, commercial development and social amenities. Views showing wide thoroughfares and brick buildings, stately residences and public parks bespoke a refined lifestyle in a civilized environment. Yet, if Victoria seemed elegant to the residents of Williams Creek, then the gold fields seemed exotic to the citizens of the capital. The Cariboo was "where the action was", the frontier where fortunes were made. Images of shantytowns and mining operations came to epitomize the gold rush. Album collections prepared by Dally frequently included a town panorama of Richfield, Camerontown (Plate 4.33), Van Winkle, Williams Creek or Kelleyville, in addition to various views of Barkerville (Plates 4.34, 4.40). Photographs of the Mucho Oro wheel (Plate 4.24), the Neversweat tunnel (Plate 4.21), the Sheepshead shaft (Plate 4.22) and the Ne'er Do Well claim (Plate 4.20), though originally intended as personal statements about the miners who commissioned them, commanded wider appeal as visual records of human enterprise, frontier life, mining technology and economic progress.

Curiosity about the Cariboo also encompassed the famed wagon road. Photographs showing local scenery (Plates 4.56, 4.57), freight traffic (Plate 4.3), engineering feats (Plate 4.1), transshipment points (Plates 4.37) and milehouses (Plate 4.8) became in integral part of the popular imagery of gold rush British Columbia. Frederick Dally
offered views of "the most remarkable places," of "places of interest" and of "every important place from Yale to Cariboo." What made a place remarkable or interesting or important was, in some instances a wonder of nature or a precarious stretch of road. Often it was an inn, a service town or a transhipment point.

As a witness to marvels of 19th century science and engineering, the photograph demonstrated and preserved the Victorian fascination with technology. It recorded the ways in which technology permitted man greater freedom from and control over his environment, in which it afforded increased comfort or encouraged greater efficiency or produced higher profits. Photographers captured the rudimentary resource technology of the early logging and mining industries. Views at the gold-fields (Plates 4.18-4.25) showed distant audiences the way in which fortunes were made through the use of waterwheels, flumes, sluices, tunnels and shafts. Similarly, images of springboards and cross-cut saws, skid roads and oxen logging (Plates 4.26, 4.27) illustrated the crude methods by which the Pacific Coast forests were made to yield their wealth.

Like photographs of resource exploitation, images of transportation technology attracted public attention. Obstacles of terrain and distance were overcome by feats of civil engineering. In 1865, the

completion of the Cariboo Road turned the bluffs and canyons of the Fraser river route into a viable avenue of transportation to the Interior. Views by Dally show a stretch of road clinging to the rock face between Yale and Spuzzum (Plate 4.1) and freight traffic passing through a rock cut at Great-Bluff (Plate 4.5). Sternwheelers, photographed docked at Yale (Plate 4.37) and Soda Creek were another aspect of transportation technology during the gold rush era.

In the 1880's, images of the Canadian Pacific Railway appealed to the Victorian imagination as extreme symbols of technological advance. The construction of the line through the mountains of British Columbia was a particularly formidable task that commanded interest at home and abroad. 26 Quite apart from any political or economic significance, the railroad was the epitome of civil engineering and an undertaking of continental proportions. Its mountain tunnels (Plate 4.11), iron bridges (Plate 4.14) and wooden trestles, large (Plate 4.13) and small (Plate 4.10), were wonders of practical science which intrigued photographer and public alike. From surveying to completion, few facets of

26. The Illustrated London News frequently published reports and engravings of Canadian Pacific Railway construction in the West. On July 24, 1886, the front page was devoted to four CPR views; several more appeared in the following issue on July 31, 1886. Ralph Connor, in his novel The Gaspards of Pine Croft notes that "marvellous photographic reproductions of the achievements of the Canadian Pacific Engineers" made a profound impression as "wonderful examples of artistic work" and for "the engineering triumphs they pictured" when brought back to Scotland (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923, p. 9).
the coming of the railway age to late nineteenth century British Columbia escaped the camera's eye.

The photograph "was part of the process by which men could persuade themselves of their mastery of material things." Images of technological advance often also connoted progress in their statements about man's mastery of nature. Dally's views of the Cariboo wagon road and Maynard's photographs of the Canadian Pacific Railway were more than a testimonial to civil engineering. Images of freight traffic along the bluffs of the Fraser (Plate 4.3), at the milehouses above Yale (Plate 4.8) or at the express office on main street (Plate 4.4) portrayed the development of trade and commerce. Tracks, bridges and tunnels suggested links across a continent, new lines of communication, greater ease of access and expanded economic opportunities. Images of the mining and logging industries demonstrated British Columbians' mastery of nature's resources. Waterwheels and skid roads were the means by which they exploited the gold-bearing gravels and giant cedars that formed the basis of the emerging economy. Such photographs of the development of transportation and resources were evidence of progress in nineteenth century British Columbia.

In the late nineteenth century, the photograph was hailed as a "means of passing down a record of what we are, and what we have achieved in this nineteenth century of our progress." The recency and rapidity of development in early British Columbia made progress a


common and concrete reality that was highly visible in material terms. Twenty-five years after the Fraser rush began, The Resources of British Columbia addressed itself to British Columbians' sustained interest in the development of the province. In an article entitled "British Columbia Advancing", it expressed every confidence that its readers would be "glad to learn that British Columbia [was] at least keeping pace with the rest of the world in the march of progress."^29 Through technology, investment and prodigious effort, British Columbians subdued the wilderness, developed the resources and reduced the isolation. A photograph of the transformation of the wilderness was clearly a reflection of their own accomplishments.

The preponderance of record images that depict and extol the rise of settlement, the growth of primary industry and the improvement of transportation attests to a perception of place intimately tied to progress in a new land. This enthusiasm for material development is not surprising. The photographic record, begun as it was with the initial influx of white population, captures the pioneer outlook of early British Columbia. From the perspective of the frontier experience, everything was new and different. The pioneer regarded the transformation of wilderness as "his mission and criterion of progress";^30 it was "the reward for his sacrifice, the definition of

his achievement, and the source of his pride.\textsuperscript{31} Responsible for the creation of this new place, British Columbians provided an eager market for a photographic record of their accomplishments.

The transformation of wilderness generated much excitement, but it was photographs of the ordered settlement landscape emerging from raw physical surroundings which best incorporated the Victorian progress ethic. Photographers recorded the existence of towns where a short time before there had been nothing but rock and forest. Panoramas of the frontier communities of Camerontown (Plate 4.33) and Illecillewaet (Plate 4.35) showing their streetscapes and wilderness settings were a record of material advance. Views showing the juxtaposition of buildings interspersed with stump-strewn clearings and surrounded by forest were unambiguous reminders of the pace at which the landscape was being transformed and civilized. By capturing Lytton in the late 1860's (Plate 4.36), Dally's photograph became a measure of progress realized and a portent of progress to come. Successive views begged comparison and demonstrated obvious growth and development.

Settlements were interesting as subjects because individually they were important as examples of local development and collectively they were links in a chain of communication from Victoria to Cariboo. Each town, village or milehouse commanded attention by virtue of the fact that a community existed, that people were committed to it, that commerce flowed through it and that it was an integral part of a

larger scheme of colonial or provincial affairs. Yale was one such place and settlement views abound. As a transportation centre, its importance was tied to the gold rush, to the Cariboo Road and later to the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was a place from which distances were measured and unfamiliar locations were put into perspective. Album prints and stereoviews were labelled "between Yale and Boston Bar" or "88 miles above Yale." The "mile houses" were known by their distances from Yale. Landscape views of the Fraser River were invariably identified in geographical relation to Yale. The coming of the railway was a temporary boost to the importance of Yale which had waned with the end of the gold rush era. The town became the headquarters for Andrew Onderdonk's construction efforts in the Fraser Canyon section and again Yale became a familiar place name by which trestles, tunnels or stretches of track were identified.

Logging and saw-milling were ancillary to more obvious examples of material development. They provided construction materials for towns, wagons, pit props, flumes, waterwheels, trestles and railway ties. Slow emulsions and geographical isolation limited the photography of the forest industry: early tidewater logging camps and saw-mills were largely inaccessible to the itinerant photographer; low light levels prevented views of the saws, edgers, trimmers and planers of mill interiors. The photographic record of the forest industry, though far from extensive, focuses on man's mastery of nature; the hand logger and skid road are emphasized. In the metaphorical clash between David and Goliath, it has been suggested that such photographs are "stately
death portraits of the great cedars and firs" in which there is:

dignity and respect and a profound sense of tragedy. The loggers themselves, who paid for the pictures, are subsidiary figures, like the donors in an altar-piece; the central figure is that of the victim.32

However, such an interpretation is far too romantic a view of so exploitative an industry. If there is dignity in such portraits, it is that of the logger; any respect is surely a kind of self-respect. These images are boastful, not elegiac. They are not so much a death portrait of the tree as a testimonial to the logger. The central figure is the assailant, not the victim.

The dearth of agricultural subjects in the photographic record reflects that, in popular interest and everyday experience, farming did not elicit the excitement and challenge generated by frontier towns, mining claims and railroad construction. The early influx of white population came in search of money and adventure, not land; farming, as a conservative, sedentary occupation was peripheral to the British Columbian enthusiasm for rapid and obvious examples of material progress.33 Furthermore, capital was a major consideration.


33. A report from The Cariboo Sentinel provides one such example, particularly telling in its title "Mining vs. Agriculture":

"Mining vs. Agriculture - Mr. Francis McKenna, generally known as "Big Larry", pre-empted a section of land for agricultural purposes last week on Lightning Creek, and shortly after the news of the "strike" by Alex, Jack & Co. became known on Monday last Larry's land was all staked off for mining purposes. Larry philosophizes over the matter by saying that he is quite willing to sacrifice his individual interest for that of the public. True philosopher and patriot!"

The Cariboo Sentinel, August 13, 1870, p. 3.
A farm required heavy personal investment and yielded slow financial returns; those who came to British Columbia did so to make money, not to spend it. It was not until the close of the century that the railroad opened up new land and new markets; that immigrants came to British Columbia primarily for agricultural pursuits; that farming, orcharding and ranching began in earnest; and that images of agriculture became more abundant in the photographic record.

Perhaps least suggestive of progress and technology was the fishing industry. Canneries were established by the 1870's, but were not often photographed. Their isolation restricted access. As significant to the professional photographer was their limited appeal. There was none of the challenge of hand loggers felling a giant tree, nor any of the excitement generated by discoveries of gold. Views of building exteriors revealed little; slow emulsions prevented photographs of indoor operations. Furthermore, fish processing was rudimentary; there was no complex machinery and most work was done by hand. In addition, canning was done by Indian or Chinese labourers who, unlike white miners or loggers or navvies, did not commission group likenesses and did not represent white progress in British Columbia. Views of the salmon weirs, drying racks and tree caches of the Indian fishery commanded interest more as examples of strange customs than as statements about resource exploitation.

Collective progress translated into personal pride and achievement. British Columbians paid local and itinerant photographers to record their individual accomplishments; their work produced a boastful
imagery of personal property and success akin to the illustrations commissioned for late nineteenth century county atlases of Ontario. Likenesses of miners at a claim, loggers beside a tree and navvies on a trestle were statements of challenges made and met. Photographs of family and house, merchant and store reflected individual aspiration and achievement just as the town panorama or streetscape view revealed the collective advance of industry and commerce. Photographs of barns, fences, fields and crops, though few, were taken at the request and expense of the farm owner. They were not general images of agrarian felicity, but rather they were personal statements of financial investment, family enterprise and the successful creation of home.

The reversion to frontier conditions did not last long in British Columbia, for immigrants quickly began to establish social amenities. Order and elegance were imposed on the landscape by the individual on his lot and by townsfolk in their community. The spread of Empire became an integral part of the progression from pioneer hardship to settled comfort. Recently arrived British Columbians, like members of colonial societies elsewhere, looked upon the Old World as "the mecca of all that was tasteful, refined, and creative."34 Emily Carr claimed that in the late nineteenth century the people of Victoria "tried to be more English than the English themselves, just to prove

to themselves and the world how loyal they were being to the Old Land.\textsuperscript{35} Many envisaged British Columbia's development within a conservative English conception of genteel society that incorporated order, decorum, stability and hierarchy. They re-established those trappings of upper middle class life that were most easily and inexpensively transplanted. Photographs reflect their traditional fondness for leisure activities and their traditional attitudes to nature. They demonstrate that British Columbia, despite its wilderness and isolation, was a civilized place.

In Victoria, in New Westminster and later, in the agricultural communities of the Okanagan Valley and southern Vancouver Island, English manners, art, architecture, social amenities and recreational amusements were widely imitated. Habit and homesickness moved many immigrants to recreate a corner of the Old World on their property. In landscaping his ten-acre lot adjoining Beacon Hill Park in the 1860's, Emily Carr's father:

wanted his place to look exactly like England. He planted cowslips and primroses and hawthorn hedges and all the Englishy flowers. He had stiles and meadows and took away all the wild Canadian-ness and made it as meek and English as he could.\textsuperscript{36}

On such landscaped estates, leisure hours were passed fashionably among family and friends at croquet or at tea.

\textsuperscript{35} Emily Carr, \textit{The Book of Small}, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, Ltd., 1966, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 8.
Photographs also reveal the recreational pastimes transplanted by British colonization. Queen Victoria's birthday was celebrated with picnics and regattas. Club and school sports were introduced by the Royal Engineers, the Royal Navy, schoolmasters and colonial officials. As early as 1861, the Pioneer Cricket Club was formed in New Westminster. Intercolonial matches took place between teams from the colonial capitals (Plate 4.49) and, in the late 1880's, the Vancouver Eleven offered further competition. Tennis, rowing and cycling were other popular activities brought to early British Columbia.

At another level, the seats of colonial government were the focus of efforts to establish Old Country political and social traditions. Photographers recorded government buildings and colonial officials in Victoria (Plate 4.54) and in New Westminster (Plate 4.55). Similarly, early views of Esquimalt, the Pacific base of the British fleet (Plate 4.39), and Nanaimo, its coaling station, demonstrate the presence of the Royal Navy in this distant outpost of Empire.

In comparison with the ordered appearance and gentle proportions of the Old Country landscape, the physical land of British Columbia was big, empty and raw. The wilderness with its coniferous forests, dense vegetation, rugged mountains and abrupt coastlines did not conform to the Victorian landscape taste for the picturesque. Concerns for the deteriorating quality of city life under the spreading evils

of industrialization were irrelevant in a place where wilderness was ubiquitous, development avidly sought and technology an ally. Nevertheless, the photographic record demonstrates that an appreciation of nature was not, as is often assumed, irrelevant to the frontier experience.

Views of wilderness satisfied the Victorian enthusiasm for the spectacular. Although it is reasonable to expect that the pioneer was too close to the land to require photographic reminders of familiar physical surroundings, the photographic record demonstrates that there was a general interest in views of natural wonders. Photographs of Hell's Gate and the Great Chasm are frequently found in albums of British Columbia views. Photographers recorded the topography made accessible by road or rail. Dally's panoramas illustrate the physiographic variety between the Coast and the Cariboo. Blanc advertised views of Cariboo scenery. Canyons, waterfalls and rushing rivers dominate their work. Nineteenth century photographers emphasized the intractable, the forbidding and the spectacular aspects of the physical landscape. Their work was simple and unreflective. Artistic attention to microscale detail was not part of pioneer photography. Fascination with light, shape and texture had not yet entered the aesthetics of the new medium. Essentially "placeless" artistic compositions would not have satisfied nineteenth century curiosity about

38. The Cariboo Sentinel praised "the grandeur, the sublimity, the majesty of the scenery afforded by a view from the plateaus of the mountain peaks of the Baldhead range" and suggested that the unemployed should not remain inactive and despondent, but should "enjoy a glimpse of Bald Mountain scenery...to drive dull care away." The Cariboo Sentinel, September 9, 1868.
place and their fine art motives would not have suited the general conception of the photograph as a record image.

Photographs reveal the enthusiasm for the picnic as a foray into nature. Despite the abundance of surrounding wilderness and the absence of industrial urbanism, traditional expressions of nature were recreated in public parks where residents of Victoria enjoyed Sunday and holiday picnics. What had begun in the eighteenth century as "an intellectual amusement of the aristocracy...held on the manicured lawns of formal gardens" was transposed to a wilder setting by nineteenth century Romanticists. The picnic became a genteel social institution. Brought to British Columbia along with the public park, it was considered at least a relaxing leisure activity and, in some cases a rejuvenating moral experience. Describing the Gorge, The Resources of British Columbia suggested:

The memory of a few hours spent in this lovely spot is not easily eradicated from the mind; it shines out amidst the gloomy haze of hardships and rough trials of life in a colony, and makes the heart grateful to the God of Nature for these touches of light and purity in the picture of life.40

Beacon Hill Park was "studded with noble oak trees, reminding the English immigrant of some privileged spot in his far-away home."41

The park was an enclave of tamed nature; some like Goldstream, provided slightly wilder forest surroundings.

41. Ibid.
The Canadian Pacific Railway exploited visual images of British Columbia's spectacular natural landscapes. Artists and photographers were commissioned to record the physical setting of the railroad. With the completion of the transcontinental line, the tourist became an important component of western rail traffic. Recognizing that spectacular scenery was a locational advantage and a lucrative asset, the C.P.R. quickly incorporated the promotion of tourist travel into its passenger and hotel policy. Not only the railroad, but the government recognized that nature was a marketable commodity:

How significant that almost at the very time the promoters of the Canadian Pacific were driving the spike that linked Montreal with Vancouver, the Canadian government was setting aside the beautiful Banff National Park and advertising the rugged beauties of the Selkirks in eastern British Columbia.42

The Canadian government's policy regarding the creation and management of national parks was founded upon utilitarian attitudes to wilderness which persisted well into the twentieth century.43 Nature was not preserved for its pristine beauty, rather national parks were conceived as raw materials: they provided coal for mining, forests for logging, townsites for settlement, and mountain scenery and mineral hot springs for tourism.

The practice of photography in early British Columbia is summed up in the work of Frederick Dally. During his brief career in British

42. Tilden, op. cit., p. 326.

Columbia, he pursued a resident business and an itinerant trade and practised studio and outdoor photography. He took portraits and views, on commission and for display. He travelled widely throughout island and mainland colonies photographing the elite of the capitals and the pioneers of the Cariboo. As a member of a government party and as an amateur anthropologist, Dally photographed the Indians of the Coast and the Interior. There were few facets of early photography in British Columbia in which Dally did not engage. Despite the expense and effort involved, he was among the first photographers to travel the wagon road to the gold fields. In 1867, he visited Barkerville between mid-August and mid-September. The following summer, Dally again made the long and costly journey to Barkerville even though Blanc had already established a photographic gallery there. After transporting himself and his equipment up the wagon road, Dally spent almost two hundred dollars for board and lodging while his studio was being built. The time and capital which Dally invested in the Cariboo venture is a clear indication of his hopes to profit from the undertaking.

44. On August 12 (p. 2), The Cariboo Sentinel announced that he would "remain for one month only" and on September 12 (p. 3), it noted his departure for Quesnelmouth en route down country."


46. It was only ten days after announcing the opening of these new premises that Dally suffered more than one thousand dollars in losses in the Barkerville fire of September 16, 1868. "A Journey to Williams Creek, Cariboo" Dally papers, PABC, E/B/D 16m.
From the cartwright in Yale to the innkeeper at Clinton to the
teamster in Quesnel, British Columbians along the Cariboo Road posed
for likenesses, commissioned views and ordered copies from Dally's
growing collection. The mining communities of Williams, Grouse,
Lightning, Mosquito and other creeks presented Dally with similar
professional opportunities. Subsequently Dally reaped added rewards
by selling his views of the scenery and settlements of the wagon road
and the towns and gulches of the Cariboo to patrons in distant parts
of the colony. Though the opportunities were lucrative, the success
Dally achieved reflected his grasp of the markets he served.

Dally approached his market in several ways. At various times,
his newspaper advertisements were directed at the public's obsession
with observable fact,47 at its materialistic interests,48 at its
desire for convenience of service,49 at its sense of urgency,50
at its impecunity51 and at its concern for professional facilities.52

47. "beautiful and truthful pictures" The Cariboo Sentinel, September 12,
1867, p. 3.

48. "his collection...will be a very valuable one", Ibid.

49. "all kinds of work on the shortest notice", Ibid., September 6,
1868, p. 2.

50. "will remain for one month only", Ibid., August 12, 1867, p. 2.

51. "views...at the most reasonable rates", Ibid., September 6,
1868, p. 3.

52. "everything necessary to the carrying on of the art", The Colonist,
June 26, 1866.
Announcements repeatedly informed readers that he was "an artist of the first class"\textsuperscript{53} offering work "of the very best quality"\textsuperscript{54} and guaranteeing his patrons the "utmost satisfaction"\textsuperscript{55}. His collection of views was described as "large and beautiful", "choice", "excellent", "unequalled for...variety and quality" and "the finest...produced in the colony."\textsuperscript{56} The editors of \textit{The Cariboo Sentinel} commented:

Mr. D. is so well known in the colony as being one of the best accomplished in the art of photography, that it needs no recommendation from us to insure the patronage which he so well merits.\textsuperscript{57}

Beyond Dally's merits as a photographer, it was his astute choice of subject matter that captivated British Columbians in the late 1860's. Dally solicited orders for likenesses of individuals and groups and views of residences, stores, mining claims, scenery and all kinds of out-door photography. He also accepted orders for copies from his collection of landscape views. Dally's photographs exhibit careful attention to prevailing interests in spectacular scenery, engineering feats and material progress. His advertisements appealed to the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} \textit{The Cariboo Sentinel}, September 6, 1868, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{55} \textit{The Colonist}, June 26, 1866.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., February 25, 1869.
\item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{The Cariboo Sentinel}, July 26, 1868, p. 3.
\end{itemize}
public's curiosity about place offering "a large and complete collection of views taken in British Columbia, Puget Sound and on Vancouver Island" upon his arrival in Barkerville; and later informing "the inhabitants of Victoria and vicinity" that he had returned from the upper country with a choice collection of new photographic views of mountain scenery and other highly interesting subjects." Views of Government House in Victoria, the Admiral's House in Esquimalt and HMS Zealous "enhanced by...faithful full-length likenesses of...persons of distinction" satisfied public fascination with prominent buildings and public figures. Dally also acknowledged the attraction of a place made historic by the fact that it no longer existed in a "general view of the Volunteer Camp at Clover point, just before the encampment was broken up." Dally left Victoria in 1870 "after making a fortune," but interest in his photographs did not cease with his departure. The large number of Dally views which bear the Maynard imprint (Plate 4.6) attest to the on-going appeal of his work. Dally was a skilled and versatile photographer; his success can be attributed to the quality

58. Ibid., September 6, 1868, p. 2.
59. The Colonist, December 10, 1868.
60. Ibid., February 25, 1869.
61. Ibid., August 4, 1866.
of his photographs, the diversity of his subjects and, above all, to his understanding of market taste in pioneer British Columbia.

* * * * *

In late nineteenth century British Columbia, the landscape view was a portrait of place. It recorded the natural and man-made landscapes as a setting for the activity of people. Some photographs were picture postcards made personal by the presence of a familiar figure. Others captured the surroundings of an individual or his loved ones. Still others, without personal association, appealed to the Victorian vision of truth or curiosity about place. Whatever their subject matter, photographs were regarded as factual, not decorative, images. Professional photographers were not insensitive to aesthetic considerations, but their professional concerns were overwhelmingly pragmatic. They executed their work with respect for style and composition, but in their choice of subject matter, they catered to the interests of their buying public.

In a colony where everything was new and different, landscape photographers provided a record of immigrants, of technology that overcame the imposing physical environment and of settlements that brought civilization to the wilderness. As a frontier, British Columbia offered the photographer an intriguing juxtaposition of elegance and roughness. The recency of landscape change and the physical proximity of wilderness both revealed material progress. Images that captured British traditions of society and government transplanted by colonials illustrated the spread of Empire. The wagon road
and railway line spawned a photography of engineering feats. Townscapes abounded. The waterfalls and rapids of precipitous canyons afforded spectacular views. Cornerstone ceremonies and other public occasions were historic events that deserved to be photographed. Above all, British Columbians, responsible for the creation of this new place, wanted a simple record of their accomplishments.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: THE WIDER CONTEXT

The photographic record of pioneer British Columbia is a data source of considerable interest for it presents past landscapes with "the compelling stamp of authenticity."

Marked by the preponderance of some subjects and the scarcity of others, it was shaped by the assumptions of professional photographers who supplemented their trade in portraiture with landscape views. The range of subjects was influenced by the limitations of photographic technology and the interests of the market. For late nineteenth century British Columbians, photographs were interesting intrinsically because they were mechanically produced and minutely detailed. Representative of the subjects they portrayed, they appealed to the Victorian obsession with fact, fascination with technology, preoccupation with progress and curiosity about place. Historical photographs reveal the values and aspirations of the British Columbians who transformed the wilderness and who patronized pioneer photographers. They mirror the enthusiasm of a frontier community for material development and the concern of a colonial society for genteel traditions. These interests were not unique. Similar photographs illustrate the patterns of late nineteenth century development in close and distant territories and in similar and dissimilar environments, and reveal that landscape

1. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 103.
images of early British Columbia reflect influences more widespread than local.

South of the 49th parallel, various types of photographs recognized in British Columbia illustrate the roughly contemporaneous development of the similar environment of the Pacific Northwest States. Gold rush creeks and claims were photographed frequently in both areas. The boom towns of the Cariboo were of a genre that included Black Hills, North Dakota and Murraysville, Idaho. The logging activities of Vancouver Island paralleled those throughout the Pacific Coast forest. Photographs of river steamers at Coal Banks Landing on the Upper Missouri and at Kamloops on the Thompson bear striking similarities. The wooden trestles of both the Union Pacific and the Canadian Pacific were testimonies to the engineering progress of the railway age. In the main, British Columbians did not share the American belief in the rejuvenating powers of the frontier. Homesteading and agriculture were much more a part of American than British Columbian development. Nevertheless, the boastful likenesses of British Columbia's miners, loggers and navvies approximate the photographs that eulogize the bravado of the American pioneer. Equally, however, the photographic records capture the differences in the two areas' conceptions of society. Cricket and regattas, so much a part of the English conception of a genteel society transplanted to British Columbia, are singularly absent from the photographic record of the rough frontier democracy of the Pacific Northwest.
In both British Columbia and the Australian colony of Victoria, the camera recorded the history of white settlement almost from its beginnings. Though differing physically - in size, climate and terrain - British Columbia and Victoria shared kindred qualities of vastness and isolation. Their historical developments were shaped by the broader forces common to areas of British colonization, frontier mining and nineteenth century economic development. In both colonies, immigrants brought similar intellectual baggage and technological might to their confrontation with nature. Among the early entrepreneurs were professional photographers who earned their livelihood through portraiture, but who also recorded landscapes and activities - from the laying of cornerstones to the building of railway bridges.

Like their counterparts in British Columbia, nineteenth century photographs of the colony of Victoria demonstrate the great landscape changes wrought by the gold rushes. In both areas, mining excitement was an impetus to population growth and economic development, directing emergent patterns of settlement and commerce. Mines and miners, false-fronted towns and muddy thoroughfares were elements of a human landscape associated with the experience, not the location of the gold rush frontier.

"Boodcarra", home of John Ritchie, president of the Shire of Belfast, and "Fairfield", home of Joseph Trutch (Plate 4.48), were both photographed in the 1860's. While Boodcarra's one storey solid stone construction bears no architectural resemblance to Fairfield, the import of the scene is the same. Posed on the front lawn of Boodcarra are aboriginal servants and white hired hands. A crinolined governess attends Ritchie's young daughter seated on her pony. His wife stands on the spacious verandah beside the front door. Ritchie himself is seated in a horse-drawn, iron-sprung buggy. Like Trutch and his Fairfield estate, the Boodcarra household exudes the wealth and respectability to which successful British immigrants aspired in diverse corners of the Empire.

Photographs illustrate the impact of Victorian ideas and British customs upon the landscapes of the colonies of the Empire. They demonstrate that British Columbia shared parallel experiences with parts of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India. The Mechanics' Institute in Ballarat, Victoria and the Cariboo Literary Institute in Barkerville, British Columbia, like similar cultural institutions in nineteenth century cities throughout Britain, served the cause of adult education in the 1860's. Old World social and recreational traditions were emulated. Large estates complete with architectural embellishment, gardens and servants sprang up wherever colonial officials and enterprising immigrants attained wealth and social standing. Tea was served on their verandahs and croquet was played on their lawns from New Westminster to Rawalpindi. Cricket was a pastime for players and spectators alike; annual regattas recreated the spirit of the
Henley-upon-Thames; and picnic outings were held in sylvan settings. The first cricket test match was photographed in Melbourne in 1861, the same year that the Pioneer Cricket Club was formed in New Westminster. Victoria Day regattas had long been a tradition on the Gorge by the time the Henley-on-Yarra began in Melbourne in 1904. As a popular setting for informal portraits, even the Hollow Tree in Vancouver's Stanley Park had its counterpart in a giant burnt-out eucalyptus tree in the Beech Forest of southern Victoria. British customs and the pervasive ideas of the age - not least of all progress and improvement - found fertile ground throughout the Empire; photographic records capture the physical manifestations of these developments and reveal much of the attitudes that lay behind the creation of diverse landscapes.

Frontier development, British colonization, Victorian interests and nineteenth century technology unify the photographic records of geographically diverse areas. Yet to demonstrate the universality of landscape images is not to deny the distinctiveness of the photographic record of early British Columbia. The cultural experience, social aspirations and economic enterprise of immigrants shaped the nature of the place; the opportunities and obstacles presented by the physical landscape tempered human expectations and endeavour. Nor was pioneer British Columbia a homogeneous place. It differed from island to mainland, from coast to interior, from the beginning of the gold rush to the completion of the railway. American gold seekers sifting through gravels created a landscape and a society unlike that of British colonial officials presiding over government in Victoria and
New Westminster. In examining the photographic record in its wider context, what emerges as distinctively British Columbian is as much the mix of landscape images as the images themselves.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PHOTOGRAPHS

General holdings:

Archives of Ontario
Provincial Archives of British Columbia
Public Archives of Canada
Vancouver Public Library

Bound Collections, Provincial Archives of British Columbia:

Anon. Crease album. 1877.

. Crease album. n.d.

. Helmcken album. n.d.

. Memorial album. n.d.

. Pearse album. n.d.

Claudet, F.G. [untitled], n.d.


. [untitled], 2 vol.

Deville, E. "Views on C.P. Railway." 1886.


. [untitled], n.d.

Maynard, R. "Photographic View Album." 1890.

Thompson, S.J. "Views of British Columbia and Northwest Territories." 1893.
Slide Kits on the History of British Columbia and the Work of Early B.C. Photographers 1858-1950. Research Project on B.C. Photography, Vancouver Public Library:

No. 2 "Bailey and Neelands - pictorial representation of early B.C. - 1886-1914."

No. 3 "Brock and Devine - photographs of Vancouver before and after the great fire - 1886-1890."

No. 6 "Pictorial History of Chinese Settlement in British Columbia - 1885-1914."

No. 7 "Antoine Claudet - selections from a family album."

No. 8 "F.G. Claudet - views of New Westminster and Vancouver Island - 1860-1873"

No. 10 "Frederick Dally - views of the Cariboo Road and the Barkerville mining fields - 1867-1868."

No. 11 "Frederick Dally - views of Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland - 1862-1870."

No. 14 "Madeleine Gunterman - pioneer life in the Lardeau c. 1900."

No. 16 "Early British Columbia Photographers - 1858-1914."

No. 17 "Early Photographs of Indian Life in British Columbia - Part One and Two."

No. 21 "R. Maynard - views along the Cariboo Road and the C.P.R."

No. 26 "S.J. Thompson - views of B.C. - 1858-1914."

No. 29 "Transportation - 1858-1914."

No. 30 "R.H. Trueman & Norman Caple - pioneer photographers of British Columbia."

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL


Dally, Frederick. MSS., PABC, E/B/D16; E/B/D16c; E/B/D16m; E/B/D16.9; E/C/16; E/C/D16.9; E/D/D16.
DIRECTORIES


The British Columbia Directory, 1887. Victoria: Mallandaine and Williams, 1887.

NEWSPAPERS

British Columbia Examiner (Yale), July 20, 1868.

Canadian Illustrated News (Montreal), 1872-1873.

The Cariboo Sentinel (Barkerville), 1865-1875.

The Colonist (Victoria), 1858-1888.

April 5, 1896.
November 1, 1898.
September 29, 1912.
May 17, 1918.

title varies: The British Colonist, December 11, 1858-July 28, 1860; The Daily British Colonist, July 31, 1860-June 23, 1866; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, June 25, 1866-December 31, 1886. The Daily Colonist, 1887-

The Illustrated London News, 1858-1888.

The Resources of British Columbia (Victoria), 1883-1885.

The Victoria Gazette, July 23, 1859.

The Victoria Weekly Gazette, August 4, 1860.
SECONDARY SOURCES


Rees, Ronald. "Images of the Prairie: Landscape Painting and Perception in the Western Interior of Canada," The Canadian Geographer, XX, 3 (Fall, 1976), 259-278.


---


