

Canada by Photograph: Instructed Looking and Tourism of the Late Nineteenth-century Canadian Landscape

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The view book found a prominent place in the nineteenth century, a period when the newly minted railroad opened up the country for personal exploration. Photographically dominant, relatively inexpensive, and easily reproduced, these publications had the ability to guide tourists visually through the landscapes they traversed, as well as to bring distant landscapes to those who could not afford the time or price of venturing there in person. This study of the inclusion and use of photography in nineteenth-century publications highlights a key moment in the history of Canadian tourism when travellers and readers were becoming photographically literate and, further still, were being instructed about how to view and understand place through the photographic image.

Le livre de vues a trouvé une place de premier plan au XIX^e siècle, période au cours de laquelle le chemin de fer nouvellement inventé a ouvert le pays à l'exploration personnelle. Remplies de photographies, relativement peu coûteuses et faciles à reproduire, ces publications avaient la capacité de guider les touristes visuellement à travers les paysages qu'ils parcouraient; ils amenaient aussi de lointains paysages à la vue de personnes qui n'avaient ni le temps ni l'argent nécessaires pour se rendre les voir en personne. La présente étude de l'inclusion et de l'utilisation de la photographie dans les publications du XIX^e siècle met en lumière un moment clé de l'histoire du tourisme canadien : celui où les voyageurs et les lecteurs se sont familiarisés avec la photographie et, plus encore, celui où on leur a appris comment voir et comprendre les lieux à travers l'image photographique.

TRAVEL, WRITING, and image-making have long gone hand in hand. Early explorers and adventurers to Canada kept journals and made sketches that, once published, captured the public imagination with the little-known and bewildering

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Canadian landscape. Famous examples include George Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas* (1807), Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), Colonel J. E. Alexander's *L'Acadie* (1849), and Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle's *Northwest Passage by Land* (1865). These early publications shaped the place of British North America in the popular imagination at a time when travel to and within the colonies was a practical option for only a very limited number of people. However, the development and gradual expansion of railways, beginning in the 1830s, had a profound impact on both travel and travel literature in what would become Canada. Railroads opened up long-distance overland travel, making it quick and relatively inexpensive, so that anyone who could afford a ticket could escape into the landscape in a manner that had previously only been possible for explorers and adventurers.

Railroads were not alone responsible for the growing interest in travel literature in the nineteenth century. Photography, which, like the railroad, had been invented in a climate of industrialization, scientific progress, and colonial expansion, also held an important place in Canadian tourism and the publications that bolstered it. Relatively inexpensive and easily reproduced, photographs had the ability to guide tourists visually through the landscapes they traversed, as well as to bring distant landscapes to those who could not afford the time or price of venturing there in person.¹ Photography's perceived attributes of truthfulness and objective accuracy along with its reproducibility gave rise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to a new genre of photography-based travel literature: the view book.² Full of photographs and often produced in-house by photographic studios, view books were consumed both as an imaginative way to visit the sites represented in the book and as a visual guide to noteworthy sites and the best points from which tourists could make their own photographs. Two illustrated volumes are of particular interest in exploring the effects of photography on tourism and on popular experiences of place and landscape in late nineteenth-century Canada: Colin R. (C. R.) Chisholm's *All-round route guide* (1869), featuring the photographs of Alexander Henderson, and photographer William Godsoe MacFarlane Notman's *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* (1901).³ This study of

1 Joan Schwartz has developed the notion of the armchair traveller who experiences place through photography. See Joan M. Schwartz, "'Records of Simple Truth and Precision': Photography, Archives, and the Illusion of Control," *Archivaria*, vol. 50 (Fall 2000), pp. 1-40. Martha Langford also discusses the experience of place through the ordering of photographs in relation to memory and mnemonics in the Edwardian and early-twentieth century private travel album. See Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), pp. 76-88.

2 The perceived objectivity and the reproducibility of the photograph have been theorized from the outset of the medium. Mobility theorist John Urry has placed these discussions in relation to tourism through his development of the "tourist gaze." Urry argues that, through the photograph's ability to produce a knowledge relationship, to pass itself off as a miniaturization of the real, and its democratization and commodification, it has shaped the travel experience. Urry's theorization of photography in its relationship to tourism is rich; however, he does not provide historical and archival examples of the mechanisms he discusses. Further, Urry's attention is placed principally on the tourist, and not the changing uses of photography, which this paper charts as an important indicator of the impact of photography on tourism. See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 127-129.

3 C. R. Chisholm, *All-round route guide: the Hudson River, Trenton Falls, Niagara, Toronto, the Thousand Islands and the river St. Lawrence, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, the lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay*

the inclusion and use of photography in nineteenth-century publications highlights a key moment in the history of Canadian tourism when travellers and readers were becoming photographically literate and, further still, were being instructed about how to view and understand place through the photographic image. The pervasive insertion of photography into art, advertisement, album, and literature, coupled with increasing public photographic literacy, indicates the central importance of photography in the development of Canadian tourism.

The two publications in question—appearing 30 years apart—reflect important changes in the use of photography in Canadian tourist literature during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. While many tourist publications were produced in Canada during this period, several threads bring those of Chisholm and MacFarlane Notman together as exemplary: the extensive print run of Chisholm's *All-round route guide* and the exalted reputation of the Notman photographic studio; the relationship of the publishers and photographers of both books with railroad companies; and the artistic circles in which both Henderson and MacFarlane Notman participated. There were also significant differences between the two volumes. Scholar of American landscape architecture and tourism Herbert Gottfried has differentiated the guidebook from the view book, suggesting that guidebooks were often “produced by local business groups or city governments ... simplified ... printed much like newspapers, with pictures embedded in text ... contents relate to area assets, organized as a journey, one stopping place after another.”⁴ View books, on the other hand, functioned primarily as souvenirs, with at least one image per page, and they reflected “the propensity of souvenirs to publish known scenes” with subjects that were “places, objects and structures of scenic value.”⁵ Ostensibly a guidebook, *All-round route guide* sits near the beginning of a growing photographic interest that led to the development of the view book. It is precisely in this development—this grey area between Gottfried's categories—that the role and use of the photograph in tourism publications can be traced.

From the middle of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, photography in tourism publications went from being a supplement for descriptive text and train schedules to being the centre of attention. Within this increasing prominence, and eventual dominance, of photography in tourist publications sits a traceable development in the use of photography as a communicative tool. Literally embedded within the context of tourism and travel, the photographs in these publications were visual manifestations of the places that represented the most defining aspects of Canada—at least those aspects most important to the mandates and aims of the publications' creators. Consumers of these publications

Rivers, the White Mountains, Portland, Boston, New York, 2nd ed. (Montreal: Montreal Printing and Publish. Co., 1869); William Godsoe MacFarlane Notman, *Canada's Scenic Grandeur: Four Thousand Miles across Canada from Sydney to Victoria. Cities and Cataracts, Mighty Rivers and Broad Prairies, Mountain Chains and Waterfalls. A Panorama of Vastness and Grandeur from Sea Rim to Mountain Summit* (Toronto: W. G. MacFarlane, 1901).

4 Herbert Gottfried, *Landscape in American Guides and View Books: Visual History of Touring and Travel* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), p. 17.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 32.

were thus learning what was most defining about Canada through the inclusion of photography. A photograph of a particular place signalled that place as being noteworthy. That consumers understood such signals indicates that they were beginning to recognize and appreciate photography as a device, like text, that relayed valuable information about the importance of a place. In addition, that the photographs were placed within the instructive context of travel and tourism literature suggests that people were also learning how to view and experience the sights by looking first at the photographs and using them to determine what to look at in person, thus learning to view the landscape photographically. These instances of learning about place through photographs are what I call “instructed viewing” and are a crucial element of the photographic literacy that was developing in the nineteenth century as it was being fostered in a significant way by tourism and travel.

To understand how the photographs in *All-round route guide* and *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* were being used as communicative tools and as devices of instructed viewing, it is first important to explore the origins of the two publications, located as they were in a combination of entrepreneurialism, photographic talent, and circumstance. Although not much is known about C. R. Chisholm himself, several elements aligned in his life to bring him to the publishing world, the first being his brother, Hugh J. Chisholm. The brothers were two of ten siblings who grew up in Chippewa, Ontario, near the Michigan border. Hugh J. entered the print industry as a boy selling newspapers to passengers along the Grand Trunk Railway in the 1860s. By the end of the decade, he had expanded and delegated his newsboy deliveries along various rail and shipping routes across the eastern seaboard. He had also acquired distribution rights and established a central office in Portland, Maine, becoming a business magnate by taking advantage of new opportunities connected with the railroad.⁶

Like his brother, Colin R. Chisholm's story also begins with the railroad, though in a more experiential, if not romantic, way. In the 1860s, he began working on ways to represent and sell the experience of travel. He established the C. R. Chisholm Bros. publishing company in Montreal and gradually diversified its interests into the printing and commissioning of original travel literature as well as photography. For example, the company published an edition of Mark Twain's 1869 *Innocents Abroad: A Book of Travel in Pursuit of Pleasure*, a story of American tourists venturing through Europe and the Holy Land. Though rare, there also exist stereoscopes with the stamp of “C. R. Chisholm & Bros. Montreal.” Stereoscopes consist of two images, usually photographs or engravings, made of

6 Unlike C. R. Chisholm, who has been passed over almost entirely in scholarship, there is much historical writing about Hugh J. Chisholm's contribution to the newspaper and pulp industry in America. This attention is no doubt a result of his prolific accomplishments in industry: founding and serving as president for Umbagog Pulp Company; Otis Falls Pulp and Paper Company; Livermore Falls Iron Foundry; Rumford Falls Power Company; Portland & Rumford Falls Railroad; Rumford Falls Paper Company; Rumford Falls Sulphite Company; Rumford Falls & Rangely Lakes Railroad; Continental Bag Company; and International Paper Company. He also implemented International Paper's first forest management programme in 1901 and organized the creation of Oxford Paper Company. The most comprehensive narrative of Hugh J. Chisholm's career was written by the Paper Industry International Hall of Fame in Appleton, Wisconsin, and available at <http://www.paperhall.org/hughchisholm/> (accessed January 28, 2016).

the same subject from slightly different angles on a card side-by-side; when seen alongside one another through a viewing device, they produce a three-dimensional effect. Stereoscopes were popular in the nineteenth century for their ability to allow the viewer to see spatially and to experience far-away locations and scenes from the comfort of home. The images on Chisholm's stereoscopes were also reproduced in his guidebooks. For example, the stereoscope of a steamer on the Great Lakes also appeared in the 1870 edition of Chisholm's *All-round route and panoramic guide*. Images played an important role in the travel literature that Chisholm produced as a means of accentuating the marketability and saleability of the product.

As for his interest in producing original travel literature, Chisholm first worked with William S. Hunter on a travel guide of the region from Niagara Falls to Quebec City. Hunter had written and illustrated some of the earliest guidebooks produced on Canada, and in 1867 he and Chisholm paired up to produce *Hunter & Chisholm's Panoramic Guide From Niagara Falls to Quebec*.⁷ In the guidebook's subsequent iteration, Chisholm took over entirely, printing *Chisholm's Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec* in both 1869 and 1870. It is noteworthy that the preface of every edition from 1867 to 1870 remained essentially unchanged, which indicates a strong continuity between Hunter and Chisholm and suggests that Chisholm's collaboration with Hunter acted as a springboard for further publications of his own, most notably his *All-round route guide*.⁸

Publishing related to travel and tourism in North America was a lucrative endeavour during this period, and the market was growing rapidly with the increased use of railways for pleasure travel. In *The Selling of Canada*, E. J. Hart describes the class of travellers and consumers of early Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) advertising and publications. Not only were there well-heeled Canadians looking to explore their own backyard, but also an imperial market of British tourists looking for adventure in the colonies and Americans seeking wilderness and nature's beauty north of their border with Canada.⁹ Chisholm's *All-round route guide* could tap into all three of these markets: it was specifically addressed towards American tourists, but was also available to Canadians and Britons travelling the Grand Trunk mainline through Ontario and Quebec.

Twelve editions of the *All-round route guide* were published between 1867 and 1886.¹⁰ Although it features a schedule for the Grand Trunk Railway, a company with headquarters in Montreal, the publication's appendix makes note of the

7 *Hunter's Ottawa Scenery* in 1855 and 1856; *Hunter's Eastern Townships Scenery, Canada East* in 1860; and *Hunter's Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec* in 1857 and 1860. For a more thorough look at Hunter and early guidebooks of Canada, see Georgia B. Barnhill, "Looking North: Views of Canada Published in the United States," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2011), pp. 13-40. Barnhill does not discuss Hunter's later work with Chisholm.

8 Hunter was taking some cues from William Henry Bartlett's 1842 publication *Canadian Scenery*, which was illustrated with watercolour views. See J. I. Little, "Scenic Tourism on the Northeastern Borderland: Lake Memphremagog's Steamboat Excursions and Resort Hotels, 1850-1900," *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 35, no. 4 (2009), pp. 716-742.

9 E. J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude, 1983), p. 41.

10 Years of publication were: 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1880, 1881, 1885, and 1886.

possible tourist attractions along other lines, such as the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad, and includes advertisements from numerous Canadian and American railroads, steam lines, hotels, and travel insurers. The 1869 edition was unique among the many iterations for its inclusion of photographs. In its preface Chisholm wrote:

A series of photographic views from the admirable camera of Mr. Henderson, of Montreal, taken expressly for this work, will form an important and beautiful feature in the new edition. Six pages of the work will be found thus illustrated, comprising eleven different views of the most interesting and important points visited on the journey, so that when no longer in use as a guide,—the All-Round Route “vade mecum,”—will still possess a charm which will entitle it to a place where more ponderous guides have no room.¹¹

The photographs were individually labelled and featured bridges, important architectural sites, and landscapes. Seven of the eleven photographs were scenes in the province of Quebec (Appendix 1).

By the time of publication of the *All-round route guide* in 1869, Alexander Henderson was establishing himself as a photographer of landscapes and maker of view books. Henderson’s move to become a professional photographer came after a few key first steps into the artistic and photographic fabric of Montreal. The first was the publication of his earliest collection of landscape photographs in 1865 titled *Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur*, which must have been the publication that made Chisholm eager to work with him. There are a handful of copies in archival collections, with the contents of each copy varying slightly as Henderson personalized them for their purchasers. These photographs, like those in *All-round route guide*, offer a variety of scenes that range from still lifes, to cityscapes, to pastoral landscapes, to more dynamic sights like ice in the St. Lawrence River. Henderson’s success selling the *Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur* contributed to his decision to submit a version of this album to the 1865 Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.¹² The entry won honourable mention.¹³ After two address changes without occupation listed, Henderson appears in Montreal’s 1867-1868 *Lovell Directory* as a photographer located at 10 Phillips Square.¹⁴ In the *Lovell Directory* for 1874-1875, his occupation is indicated more specifically as “Landscape Photographer.”¹⁵

Ownership of a Henderson view or album would have been possible only for the small few who could afford one, and Chisholm clearly believed that this reputation would strengthen the popularity of his guidebook. In turn,

11 Chisholm, *All-round route guide* (1869), pp. 4-5.

12 In the catalogue for the exhibition the album is listed under the category of “Class F. Fine Arts, Section 30, Painting, Drawing, Photography, &c.,” Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, *Catalogue of the Canadian Contributions to the Dublin Exhibition, 1865* (1865), p. 9.

13 “Dublin Exhibition: Report of the Jury, and the List of Awards,” *The Photographic Journal*, vol. 10, no. 162 (October 1865), p. 170.

14 John Lovell, *Montreal Annual Directory 1867-1868* (Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1868), p. 171.

15 John Lovell, *Lovell’s Montreal Directory 1874-1875* (Montreal: Lovell Printing and Publishing, 1875), p. 400.

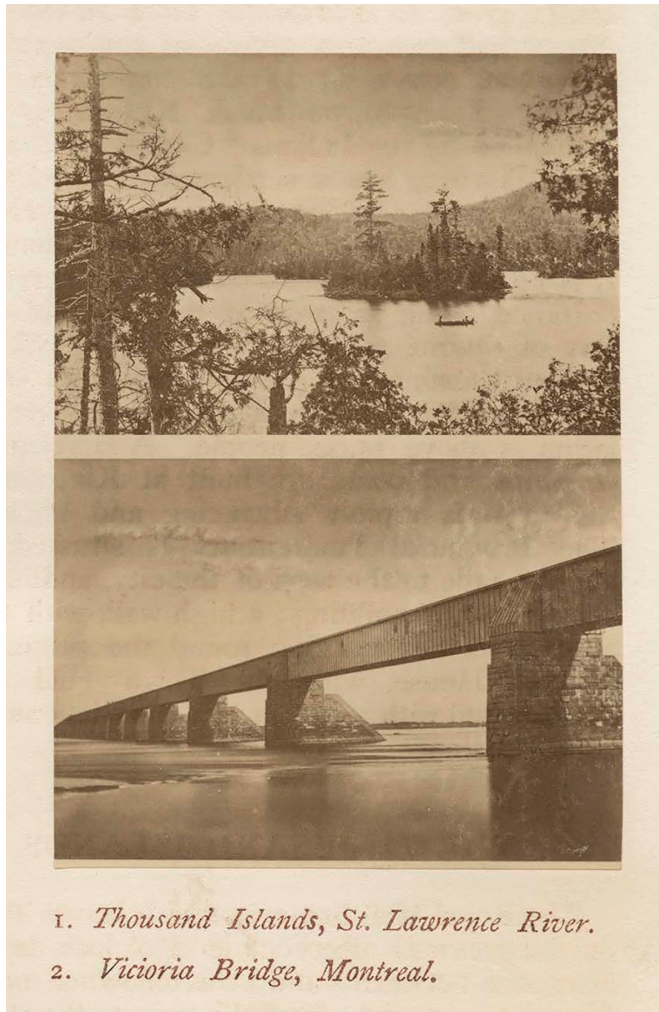


Figure 1: Alexander Henderson, “Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River” and “Victoria Bridge, Montreal”.

Source: C. R. Chisholm’s *All-round route guide* (Montreal, Que.: Montreal Printing and Publish. Co., 1869), p. 42. Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada.

Henderson’s contribution to Chisholm’s railway guide was a key step in earning commissions throughout his career to photograph landscapes and railways for the Intercolonial Railway; the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Occidental Railway; and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Interestingly, Henderson’s photographic career parallels the development of view books traced here, as, like William Godsoe MacFarlane Notman, he ended up working under the commission of the CPR.¹⁶

¹⁶ In 1875 Henderson approached Sir Sanford Fleming, chief engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, with a proposal to make a number of photographs along the ICR between Truro, Nova Scotia, and Rivière-

Despite the calibre of Henderson's work and the quality of the photographs in the 1869 edition of the *All-round route guide*, it seems apparent by comparing the 1869 and 1870 editions that the small number of photographs in the former—eleven to be exact—was not enough to satisfy the consumer. The 1870 edition forewent including photography due to the lower cost of engraving, but contained over four times as many illustrations. In the preface to the 1870 edition, Chisholm wrote, "In its new form, this guide will meet with the criticism of American tourists, and it is earnestly requested that any improvements, or alterations, that will benefit the work, may be communicated by those into whose hands it may fall, best able to make such suggestions."¹⁷ Subsequent editions had more and more illustrations, so that by the time C. R. Chisholm went into business with his brother, his guides were predominantly illustrated, making them view books in the firmest sense. However, the 1869 edition of *All-round route guide* was the only edition of this volume to feature reproductions of photographs. Likely the reason was their expense, with the commissioning or purchasing of rights to use photographs by photographers as notable as Henderson being too costly for illustrated guides. However, Chisholm must have appreciated the appeal of photography as an accurate description of place, as well as the demand for the level of quality that photography provided, for he returned to using photography in his souvenir-album publications throughout the 1880s and 1890s. By this period the cheaper Glaser/Frey process had been developed to emulate photographic quality; the images were in fact hand-drawn, but based on photographs. The effect, like the stereoscope, was realistic and dimensional in quality. In short, the demand for more illustrations in travel publications, and specifically illustrations with photographic qualities, could only be fulfilled with developments like the Glaser/Frey process that struck a balance between quality and a competitive price.

The circumstances and personalities involved in the production of MacFarlane Notman's *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* (1901) have been better traced by scholarship than those of Chisholm's *All-round route guide*.¹⁸ The photographs that make up *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* were taken as part of the artists' pass programme set up by William Cornelius Van Horne, who oversaw construction of the CPR as general manager from 1882 and became its president in 1888. An important part of Van Horne's success with the CPR was that he understood the need for, and potential of, illustrated promotional material about the railroad in attracting both tourists

du-Loup, Quebec, resulting in the inclusion of several of Henderson's photographs in Fleming's 1876 publication, *The Intercolonial, A Historical Sketch of the Inception, Location, Construction of the Line of Railway Uniting the Inland and Atlantic Provinces of the Dominion*. That same decade, Henderson worked for the Phoenixville Bridge Company producing photographs for *Wrought Iron Railroad Bridges, Constructed & Erected, 1877-1878: For the Government of the Dominion of Canada on the Line of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway*. In 1885 Henderson travelled west to photograph along the CPR route through the Rocky Mountains, and by 1892 he had agreed to take on the role of Superintendent of the CPR Photographic Department.

17 C. R. Chisholm, & Co., *All-round route and panoramic guide of the St. Lawrence* (Montreal: Chisholm & Co., 1870), p. 3.

18 See the exhibition catalogues Roger Boulet and Terry Fenton, *Vistas: Artists on the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 2009); and Stanley Triggs, *William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985).

and settlers westwards. Van Horne had a fondness for the arts, both as a collector and as an amateur painter, and would later bequeath much of his collection to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the Art Gallery of Ontario.¹⁹ As Allan Pringle observes in his study of Van Horne's role as Art Director of the CPR, the creation of an artists' pass programme, whereby artists could apply to use the railroad free of charge in exchange for its right to use and reproduce their work, allowed him to further his collecting practice while justifying the CPR's substantial expenditures in fine art patronage as promotional and advertising expenses.²⁰

Many notable painters, including Lucius O'Brien, John Fraser, Albert Bierstadt, John Hammond, and George Horne Russell, took up the CPR's offer. Van Horne thereby acquired works that he could use explicitly for company purposes—from hanging pieces in hotels to placing engravings in magazine advertisements. Many of these painters were also at some point employed by, or worked in, collaboration with the William Notman Studio in Montreal. They were employed as painters to colour tint photographs, most often portraits, as well as to create large-scale oil paintings on top of photographs. Van Horne would have met many of these painters and photographers through his involvement with art associations like the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and the Art Association of Montreal—indeed, Notman and Alexander Henderson were both founding members of the latter organization.²¹ Given that many of the members were photographers and that there was a handful of exhibitions that involved and displayed photography, this may have been the place where Van Horne came to realize the potential of photography, in addition to painting, as a visual medium that could promote railway tourism.

Notman and Van Horne came to an arrangement to have a Notman studio photographer participate in the CPR's artists' pass programme. Notman would keep the rights to use and sell the photographs, along with the negatives, with Van Horne given a complete set of photographs to use for promoting the railway and its tourist service. Notman's eldest son and eventual heir to his business, William Godsoe McFarlane Notman, made his first trip to western Canada in connection with the CPR in 1884 and would return in 1887, 1889, 1897, 1901, 1903, 1904, and 1909.²² Unlike his father, whose accomplishments rested on his studio work, MacFarlane Notman was largely interested in photographing outside the confines of the studio, but he did not lack his father's understanding of the photograph as a commodity. The Notman studio had produced many publications, including view books that ranged from albums affordable to middle-class purchasers, both arm-chair and actual travellers alike, up to extravagant portfolios like *Canada East* and *Canada West* (1869), copies of which were given to Queen Victoria.²³

19 Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario Archives, Van Horne Family Fonds, CA OTAG SC065.

20 Allan Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, vol. 8 (1984), p. 52.

21 Listed in "Annual Members," *Art Association of Montreal. Report of the Council to the Association for the Year ending in December, 1891* (Montreal: D. Bently & Co., Printers, 1892), p. 25.

22 McCord Museum of Canadian History, *William Notman's Studio: The Canadian Picture* (McCord Museum, Montreal, 1992), exhibition text.

23 See *Historic Montreal: Canada's metropolis* (1899); *Through mountains and canyons, the Canadian Rockies* (1906); and *48 specially selected views of the Canadian Rockies on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (1907). Some Notman publications were made in collaboration with other publishers

Canada's Scenic Grandeur was published under the name W. G. MacFarlane in 1901, though he is referred to in much current scholarship as MacFarlane Notman, both to associate and to distinguish him from his father. The title page indicates that the photographs had been “furnished by the Canadian Pacific Railway and Wm. Notman & Son.”²⁴ The 60 photographic plates contained within *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* were prefaced with a brief account of the coast-to-coast adventures MacFarlane Notman had experienced while making them. He also uses the introduction to set up the photographs as ones that partake in a legacy of Canadian travel, and thus invites the viewers of the photographs to become a part of this history: “No country in the world affords more that will interest in beautiful and sublime scenery and in historic and romantic association. The rivers and forests of Canada were the theatre of action of the noble redmen, the gay noblesse, the roving coureurs de bois, the adventurous Englishmen.”²⁵ *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* includes at least one photograph from every province and multiple photographs of Quebec City, Montreal, and Toronto. The bulk of the photographs and half the preface, however, focus on the westernmost provinces (Appendix 2). The photographs fall, for the most part, into the categories of architectural views of important buildings such as the Parliament buildings in Ottawa and the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec; panoramic views of cities with a dominant natural or built landscape feature as the focal point, such as Halifax harbour, or simply the main streets of smaller towns like Rossland, British Columbia; views of industrial structures such as grain towers, bridges, and even trolleys throughout the Prairie provinces; and scenic natural landscapes including a photograph of the waterfall at Montmorency, Quebec, and 16 photographs of views in the Canadian Rocky Mountains.

Though Van Horne was careful not to commission artists specifically, so as to allow them freedom to experience both the railroad and the landscape unhampered by obligation to the CPR, the images they produced often glorified the railway company and its infrastructure. Tracks, stations, and hotels were regularly included in images of the landscape. In *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* there are several photographs of CPR hotels, steam ships, and offices alongside views of prominent Canadian architectural works, mountains, and waterways, as if to suggest that these are all symbols of Canada, with the CPR and its infrastructure being equally important to Canada as its public institutions and natural environment. In her work on the relationship between photography and tourism in Jasper Park, Keri Cronin has suggested that tourist publications, particularly those that featured photography, contributed to a process that she calls “manufacturing nature” whereby Canadian-ness was constructed and communicated through locations

and institutions, including *North American scenery being selections from C. J. Way's Studies* (1864); *Picturesque British Columbia: illustrating in over 80 views the magnificent scenery of the Rockies and Selkirks* (1905) with S. J. Thompson; and *Souvenir of the Thousand Islands: a collection of views* (1900-1910) with James Bayne of Michigan.

24 The title page indicates that this version is a second edition. However, I have been unable to locate any copies of a first edition.

25 MacFarlane Notman and William Notman & Son, *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* (1901), preface.

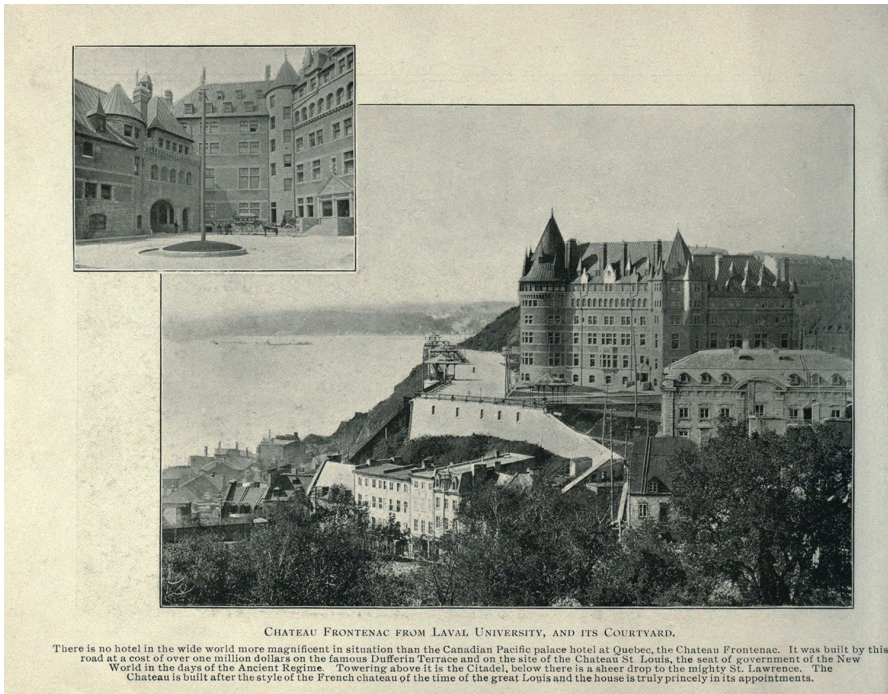


Figure 2: William Godsoe MacFarlane Notman, “Chateau Frontenac from Laval University, and its Courtyard”.

Source: *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* (Toronto: W.G. MacFarlane, 1901). Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library.

that physically or symbolically embodied a particular quality of the country.²⁶ It is therefore important to consider *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* not simply as a view book but also as an instructive guide. Its photographs instructed potential and actual travellers as to the what, how, and why of viewing particular places.

This notion is further theorized by Joan Schwartz and James Ryan as “picturing place,” a process in which “practices of photograph production, circulation and consumption [allow] photographs to enter seamlessly into the relationship between observer and material reality.”²⁷ In this way they become part of the geographical imagination. *Canada's Scenic Grandeur*, the *All-round route guide*, and other view books encouraged their viewers to picture place by communicating something specific about Canada within the geographical imagination and thus worked within the framework of Cronin’s “manufacturing nature.” The tourism aspect here provides an additional layer in that the owners of view books could physically travel to locations that the books depicted photographically. In such a situation, tourists were learning as much about how to view the actual scene,

26 Keri J. Cronin, *Manufacturing National Park Nature: Photography, Ecology, and the Wilderness Industry of Jasper* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), p. 21.

27 Joan Schwartz and James Ryan, “Introduction,” *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 3.

as instructed by the view book, as they were learning about the symbolic or imaginative importance of the place or landscape in front of them, which would have been made clear through both the text and placement of the photographs within the publication. The physical act of viewing was structured by the photograph in hand.

In Chisholm's *All-round route guide* the photographs are used both to supplement and to corroborate the text, which is quite descriptive. Regarding the banks in Montreal, for example, Chisholm wrote:

The Bank of Montreal faces the French Cathedral in Place d'Armes, with six massive stone columns as a portico. A very handsome stone-sculptured pediment has lately been added to the facade surmounting the Corinthian columns. Molson's Bank, in Great St. James Street, is a very handsome building, in Ohio sandstone, with granite columns, the whole front of the edifice being finely decorated with stone carvings.²⁸

Here Chisholm tells the tourist to take notice of the substantial and contemporary architecture found throughout the city. A photograph included in the view book corroborates his description, with one picture of an impressive bank standing in for the several that are described. This strategy informs all eleven of the book's photographs. The sites chosen are iconic and presented in a complete way. For example, two views are included of Niagara Falls. One shows a suspension bridge, the other the immensity of the falls themselves. These photographs occupy a single page with the bridge photograph above that of the falls as though to indicate that progress and technology have dominated nature. This layout is symbolic, but also practical, indicating to the viewer that one can traverse the falls by bridge and gain an excellent vantage point in the process. Except for the image of Parliament, which occupies a page unto itself, all of the images are set up as pairings on a single page. These pairings work to set up contrast, as with the Thousand Islands paired with the Victoria Bridge, or similarities between locations, as with the two images of the Saguenay. Editorial decisions about image placement worked to give the images additional readings; in the case of the Parliament photograph, its placement by itself added gravitas to the image of Canada's capital.

The move towards entirely photographic publications like MacFarlane Notman's was not without its less practical side—these publications included none of the advertisements, timetables, schedules, and maps that were typical of earlier ones like the *All-round route guide*. The absence of these features did not confine the entirely photographic publications to being merely a collection of pretty vistas, however, nor did it prevent them from being effective communicative tools. That Van Horne realized this potential, and that view books full of photographs proliferated in the late nineteenth century, indicates a growing photographic literacy of place. Van Horne, MacFarlane Notman, and consumers alike understood the connections being forged between railway companies and romantic ideas associated with travel. The railway—in this case the CPR—and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

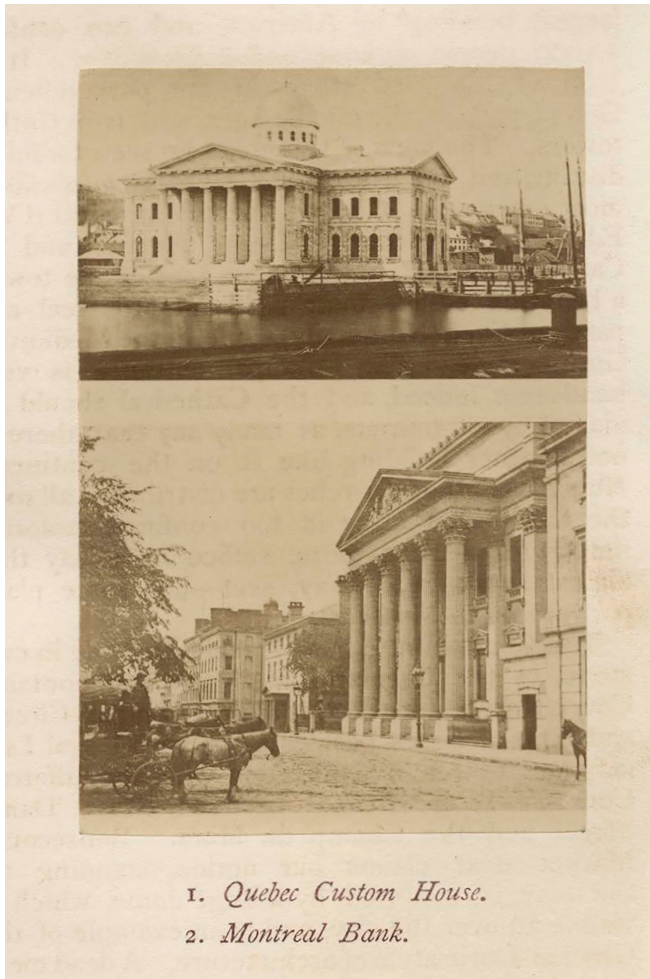


Figure 3: Alexander Henderson, “Quebec, Custom House” and “Montreal Bank”.

Source: C. R. Chisholm’s *All-round route guide* (Montreal, Que.: Montreal Printing and Publish. Co., 1869), p. 60. Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada.

its accompanying structures and hotels were architectural, technological, and industrial triumphs to be marvelled at, and great romantic possibilities lay within the presentation of the railroad as a conduit into the interior of a vast, unknown land. Chisholm and MacFarlane Notman were not only selling views and view books, but also selling Canada—and, in doing so, they were helping to stir up further tourist interest that would in turn sell more view books.²⁹

In his 1999 essay “Destination Nation: Nineteenth-century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway,” Kevin Flynn credits the intersection of text and

²⁹ To borrow from the title of Hart’s *The Selling of Canada*.

technology in travel writing as a factor in the creation of symbols of Canadian nationhood. He writes: “Few travellers on the railway failed to record their impressions of Chateau Frontenac, Lake Superior, the grain elevators and vast wheat fields of the prairies, or the mountain scenery of the Rockies and points west, or of the various feats of engineering that facilitated their travel.”³⁰ Photography tapped into this notion as well. The purchasers of Chisholm’s and MacFarlane Notman’s publications would have expected to see sites that were iconic, or

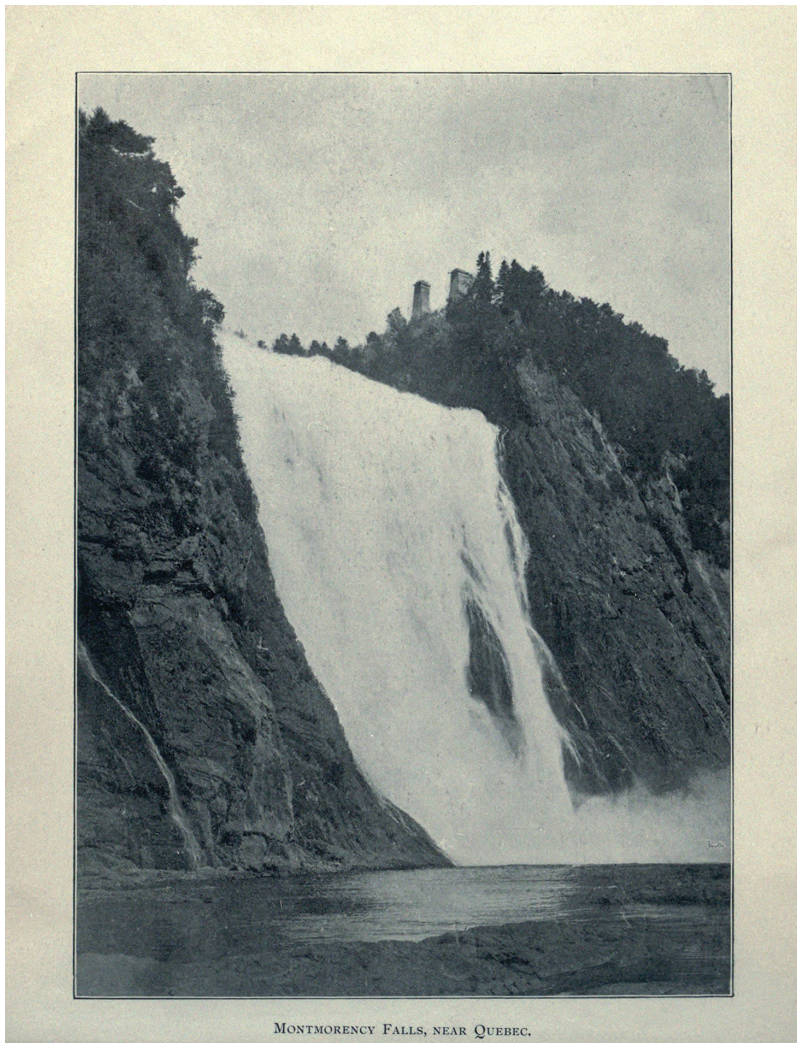


Figure 4: William Godsoe MacFarlane Notman, “Montmorency Falls, near Quebec”
Source: *Canada’s Scenic Grandeur* (Toronto: W.G. MacFarlane, 1901). Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library.

30 Kevin Flynn, “Destination Nation: Nineteenth-century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway,” *Essays on Canadian Writing*, vol. 67 (Spring 1999), p. 193.

symbolic, of Canada. In fact, the two publications contain photographs of some of the same sites—Montmorency Falls, for example. While the photographs in these publications provided a visual guide specifically for tourists and armchair travellers, they also contributed to the growing understanding of Canada and Canadian-ness in the nineteenth century.

Photographic literacy goes hand in hand with the idea of instructed viewing. The consumers of Canadian tourist guides and view books wanted information about how to approach, look at, and understand sites and landscapes that had become more accessible to travellers and tourists in the railway age. This instruction began with text: information about what train to take, what streets to walk, where to dine and to rest, what places to admire and why. With view books, instructions took a visual turn. An impressive photograph of the Chateau Frontenac could help convince tourists that that hotel was where they should stay while visiting Quebec City. Likewise, a photograph of Montmorency Falls from a particular angle showed tourists the best vantage point from which to view and experience that natural wonder.³¹ Of course, a tourist wanting to take his or her own photograph of the falls was also receiving highly informed photographic and aesthetic advice by using the published photograph, which was often by a reputable photographer like Henderson or MacFarlane Notman, as a compositional template. In addition to how and what to view, instructed viewing encouraged people to see the parts of Canada that were most important to see, and certainly in both *All-round route guide* and *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* these sites were ones that encouraged railway travel. Progressing from containing only a few key images to becoming entirely composed of images by the turn of the century, these two photographic tourism publications instructed those who used them to see the sites that were considered to be quintessentially Canadian with a new visual sensitivity, thereby capturing as well as helping to define the Canadian experience.

31 Hart discusses this imitative approach in writing by tourists, suggesting that “one aspect of these tourist accounts is the degree to which they were similar in terms of the things they chose to describe. Seemingly, such accounts were written with one of the CPR’s annotated time tables in hand, the author constantly paraphrasing the company’s own descriptions of the attractions along the line” (*The Selling of Canada*, p. 50).

Appendix 1

List of images and image captions in *All-round route guide* (1869)

- Suspension Bridge over Niagara River.
- General View, Niagara Falls.
- Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River.
- Victoria Bridge, Montreal.
- Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.
- Quebec Custom House.
- Montreal Bank.
- Quebec from Point Levi.
- Montmorency Falls, near Quebec.
- L'Anse a L'Eau [sic], Saguenay.
- Tadousac [sic] and Mouth of Saguenay River.

Appendix 2

List of images and image captions in *Canada's Scenic Grandeur* (1901)

- Harbour Front, Sydney, Cape Breton.
- Harbour at Halifax, N.S., Showing H.M. Ships of War.
- Famous Reversing Falls and Bridges, St. John, N.B.
- Provincial Building and Queen Square, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
- Cape Diamond and the Citadel, Quebec.
- Citadel, Dufferin Terrace, and the C.P.R.'s Magnificent Chateau Frontenac, Quebec.
- Chateau Frontenac from Laval University, and its Courtyard.
There is no hotel in the wide world more magnificent in situation than the Canadian Pacific palace hotel at Quebec, the Chateau Frontenac. It was built by this road at a cost of over one million dollars on the famous Dufferin Terrace and on the site of the Chateau St Louis, the seat of government of the New World in the days of the Ancient Regime. Towering above it is the Citadel, below there is a sheer drop to the mighty St. Lawrence. The Chateau is built after the style of the French chateau of the time of the great Louis and the house is truly princely in its appointments.
- Dufferin Terrace, Overlooking the St. Lawrence.
- Montmorency Falls, Near Quebec.
- S. S. "Indian," 11,500 Tons, Leyland Line.
Loaded with the largest cargo of grain and general merchandise ever taken by the St. Lawrence route, at the Great Northern Railway Elevator, Quebec, May 31st, 1901. Montreal and Quebec are strong rivals for the export trade and Quebec's cause has received a strong impetus through the formation of a new trunk system giving a grain outlet through Quebec over the Canada Atlantic and the Great Northern Railways.
- Montreal from Notre Dame Tower.

- The Canadian Pacific Railway's Place Viger Hotel, Montreal. One of the Finest Hotels in America.
- The Palatial General Offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal, as recently expanded and enlarged.
- Windsor Hotel and Sir John A. Macdonald Monument, Montreal.
- Dominion Square, Montreal, From the General Offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal.
- Place D'Armes and Notre Dame Church, Montreal.
- The Central Block, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, at the Opening of Parliament in 1901.
- Dufferin and Sappers' Bridges, Post Office and Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.
- The Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, from Nepean Point.
- The City of Toronto from the Ontario Parliament Buildings, showing Queen's Park in the Foreground.
- The Ontario Parliament Buildings, Toronto.
- City Hall, Toronto.
- Toronto University, Toronto.
- Upper Canada College, Toronto. The Canadian Eton.
- Hamilton, Ontario, Looking along James Street, Showing the Gore on the right.
- The Falls of Niagara, From the Canadian Side.
- Wm. Notman & Son, Photo. American Fall. Goat Island. Canadian or Horseshoe Fall.
- The Whirlpool Rapids, Niagara Gorge.
- Wm. Notman & Son, Photo.
- Dundas Street, Looking East, London, Ont.
- Famous Thunder Cape at the Head of Lake Superior on the route of the Canadian Pacific Upper Lake Steamships.
- Wm. Notman & Son, Photo.
- Canadian Pacific Railway Hotel, The Kaministiquia, at Fort William, the terminus of the C.P.R.'s Upper Lake Steamship Line.
- Kakabeka Falls and Gorge, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, Near Fort William.
- Grain Elevators of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Fort William, Ont.
- Main Street from City Hall, Winnipeg, Man.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- City Hall and Volunteers' Monument, Winnipeg, Man.
- Wm. Notman & Son, Photo.
- Manitoba Parliament Building, Winnipeg.
Wm. Notman & Son, Photo.
- Brandon, From Assiniboine River, Manitoba.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Mounted Police Barracks, Regina, N.W.T.
Canadian Pacific Railway.

- Moosejaw from South, Assiniboia, N.W.T.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Medicine Hat, Assiniboia, and Saskatchewan River.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Calgary, Alberta, with Foothills in distance.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Stephen Avenue from West, Calgary, N.W.T.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- The Three Sisters, Canadian Rockies.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- The Bow Valley, in the Canadian National Park.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- The Canadian Pacific Railway's Splendid Mountain hotel, The Banff, at the Banff Hot Springs in the Canadian National Park.
- Bow River Falls, Banff, Alberta.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Mount Rundle, one of the Peaks Surrounding the bow Valley.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Lake in the Clouds, Reached from the Station of Laggan. A Scene of Enchantment.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Mount Sir Donald, in the Selkirks.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Lake Louise, One of the Lakes in the Clouds.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Cathedral Peak, in the Region of the Yoho Valley.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Yoho Valley and the Takakaw Falls.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Mount Stephen and Halo.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Takakaw Falls, the Highest Cataract in America.
- Canadian Pacific Railway. This is one of the most sublime spectacles on the Continent. An enormous volume of water, draining a vast glacier, leaps over a precipice of stupendous height into the narrow-walled gorge below.
- Hermit Range from Glacier Hotel.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Canadian Pacific Railway Hotel, Glacier House, at Glacier, B.C.
- The Foot of the Great Glacier of the Selkirks.
- Mount Sir Donald and Eagle Peak, Selkirk Range.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Columbia Avenue, Rossland, B.C.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Rossland, A Typical British Columbia Mining Town.
Canadian Pacific Railway.

- Main Street, Trail, British Columbia, The Smelter Town.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Vancouver from Mount Pleasant.
- Hastings Street, Vancouver, B.C.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
- Canadian Pacific Railway Terminus, Vancouver, B.C.
- Canadian Pacific Railway's Hotel, "The Vancouver," at Vancouver, B.C.
- Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.