Public/Private Construction:
The Photographic Album of Nellie L. McClung

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

The album of Nellie Letitia Mooney McClung (1873-1951) is housed in the British Columbia Archives' Visual Records and is the only photographic album in the McClung Papers. This thesis proposes to contextualize the album within women's photographic history in general, and McClung's photographic practice in particular.

The following points will be argued: first, photo albums are complex socio-historical documents which provide insight into gender and class constructions; second, late nineteenth and early twentieth century album-making was considered a female pursuit linked to the domestic sphere; third, the Nellie McClung album dates primarily from 1896-1911, the years McClung lived with her husband, Wesley, and children in Manitou, Manitoba; and fourth, I propose that a number of the album's photos are not only private mementos, but also public documents, having been used or considered as illustrations and advertisements for works written by or about Nellie McClung in these years.

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In memory of
my grandparents

Marjorie Gladys Esther Mills née Hawkins
John Ernest Mills

&

Jane Donald Wilson née Robin
William Semple Wilson

Introduction

The "Nellie McClung Album," accession number 98307-1, is housed in Visual Records at the British Columbia Archives (BCA). It is the only photographic album in the McClung Papers (Add. MSS. 10), 62 volumes of manuscripts, correspondence, scrapbooks, notebooks and diaries belonging to Nellie Letitia Mooney McClung (1873-1951) donated to the BCA by her husband Robert Wesley McClung in November 1953. A select few of the album's photos have been used as illustrations for writings on this Canadian author, feminist and religious and social activist. While recent literary, feminist and theological scholarship has examined McClung's significant contributions to Canadian society, her album has not been the subject of any photo historical study.

Archivist Joan Schwartz states that archival photographs are too often regarded as "decontextualized 'pictures of something' " and "are robbed of their functional context [when] used by researchers to 'illustrate' written narratives, ... further reflecting and reinforcing the idea that visual materials occupy a lower level in the hierarchy of archival documentation."[1] Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Claire Fellman write "history is a retelling and a rethinking of human experience."[2] In keeping with their beliefs, I hope to contribute to the emerging field of Canadian photo history by examining one woman's uses of snapshots and other forms of photography in turn-of-the-century rural Manitoba.

The following points will be argued: first, photo albums are complex socio-historical documents which provide insight into gender and class constructions. Gender is posited as "the representation of each individual in terms of a particular social relation which pre-exists the individual and is predicated upon the *conceptual* and rigid (structural) opposition of two

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[1] " 'We make our tools and our tools make us': Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomatics," Archivaria 40 (Fall 1995): 58.

[2] Introduction, Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History 2nd Edition (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991) 1.

biological sexes."[3] Class is defined here as a group of individuals placed in a social hierarchy according to economic status. Photo albums, made for display to family and friends, are often a mix of snapshots and professional portraits. These albums' popularity expanded as simplified and inexpensive technology made photography affordable to those middle and working class women, men and children who historically did not have access to image-making. However, photo historians concerned with the elite image production of male photographers have left photo albums to the scrutiny of sociologists and cultural anthropologists.[4] Second, while many studies of family snapshot photography identify the home as an ungendered site of production, late nineteenth and early twentieth century album-making was considered a female pursuit linked to the domestic sphere and arts associated with it, such as embroidery. Like these other arts, album-making and photography have been used both to reinforce and subvert feminine social roles. As such, women's photo albums should not immediately be considered family albums; they can be forms of visual autobiography, documenting an individual compiler's life rather than the development of a family.[5] My third assertion is that the Nellie McClung album dates primarily from 1896-1911, the years McClung lived with her husband and children in Manitou, Manitoba.[6] During the early 1900s McClung rose to national and international prominence as a novelist, orator and activist with the publication of her first novel Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908), its

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[3] Teresa de Lauretis, Technologies of Gender (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987) 5.

[4] By elite photography, I mean those images which are linked to handmade art works in form, content and limited reproduction, and whose producers are revered in the same manner as the renowned artists of western civilization.

[5] Marilyn F. Motz, "Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women," American Quarterly 41.1 (March 1989): 63.

[6] I am arguing that a majority of the identifiable photographs date from this time. However, some appear to date from Winnipeg (1911-14), and Edmonton or Calgary (1914-32).

sequel The Second Chance (1910), a short story collection The Black Creek Stopping-House (1912) and a selection of feminist essays In Times Like These (1915). In Manitou, McClung had access to photographic postcards, amateur photographic supplies and the services of professional photographers. Finally, like McClung herself, her album occupies both public and private spheres, functioning as a visual autobiography. I propose that a number of the album's photos are not only private mementos, but also public documents, having been used or considered as illustrations and advertisements for works written by or about Nellie McClung in these years.

While the album possesses evidential value through its photographs from McClung's public and private life, identifying its approximate date and subject matter is only a starting point in determining its context. Close scrutiny of photographic form and content and album layout reveals the limitations of such an analysis. The multiple discourses surrounding photography and album-making necessitate a varied approach to the Nellie McClung album. Complimentary research methods informing this study include those found in women's history and in the archival discipline of diplomatics as applied to photography, approaches which stress integration of marginalized sources with traditionally authoritative written documents.

Strong-Boag and Fellman write that the pursuit of women's history is a significant enterprise: "we cannot pretend to reconstruct a reasonable history of the Canadian people by ignoring the lives and participation of half of them. History without women is, of necessity, a distorted history . . . Unless it includes the contributions of women, any portrait of the past is essentially incomplete and finally inexplicable." Photo history is no different, as a focus on elite image production excludes those varied aspects which elaborate on women's experience in patriarchal society. As mainstream history has focused on the deeds of elite men, feminist methodology forces a "broadening of what constitutes an historical source . . . Photographs and other visual materials are viewed with an increasingly sophisticated eye for the clues they provide for sense of self, and for patterns of interaction among family

members, friends, and co-workers."[7] A photographic album can be rescued from the limbo between fine art object and neglected archival document, becoming the source of renewed historical investigation.

If photographs are to be the subject of such undertakings, the historian must be "photo-literate."[8] The application of diplomatics can assist in understanding the functional context of archival photographs. Diplomatics, a seventeenth century discipline, "seeks to identify, evaluate, and communicate the "true nature" of archival documents. It does so by studying their origins, forms and transmission, as well as the relationship between documents and the facts represented, and between documents and their creators."[9] As photography literally means "light writing" from the Greek *photos* (light) and *graphein* (to write), diplomatics can be extended to its study if photographs "can be considered 'written' in the sense that they express ideas in a documentary and syntactic form."[10] As written legal records dominate archives, there is some debate also over whether photographs constitute archival documents. Luciana Duranti defines the archival document as "a document created or received by a physical or juridical person in the course of practical activity." Significantly, Schwartz invokes family photographs in her argument for the archival nature of visual materials. Strong-Boag and Fellman's feminist methodology recognizes the potential information available in historical photographs; similarly, "diplomatics can be extended to private photographic 'manuscripts' which 'result from non-juridical individuals

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[7] Strong-Boag and Fellman, 2 and 8.

[8] Schwartz, 42. Schwartz's argument is principally directed towards archivists. "Archivists seldom ask the most basic questions about [photographic documents'] physical form, internal articulation, purpose or intellectual result." 44.

[9] Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science: Part II," cited in Schwartz, 43.

[10] Schwartz, 43. Further, the first photographically illustrated book by W.H. Fox Talbot, one of the inventors of the negative positive process, was entitled The Pencil of Nature (1844).

acting according to their own will' ... seemingly private and spontaneous family photographs can be analyzed in terms of their social habits, routines and conventions as well as ideological rules of representation."[11]

The diplomatic approach to photographic analysis demands a broad understanding of a photograph's characteristics; format, size, and process all matter when determining context. These photographic concerns do not stand alone however; other documents "around, above and parallel" to the images must also be researched.[12] This approach compliments that proposed by Strong-Boag and Fellman: "historians of women cannot abandon traditional historical sources . . . historians must re-examine, from new angles if necessary, long familiar documents."[13] The McClung album was placed in the public record along with 61 other volumes and therefore needs to considered in relation to these other documents, as well as to her published works, both fictional and autobiographical. Photographic analysis also blurs the boundaries between academic disciplines: "Critical approaches to verbal and visual representation from [other fields including art and photo history] provide an opportunity for application by analogy and provide valuable insights for evaluating photographs within an archival context."[14]

Schwartz pinpoints the main challenge inherent in applying to photographs a methodology which seeks to find a document's "true nature," namely, that photographs are complex constructions which have been narrowly regarded as neutral representations of a unified reality:

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[11] Duranti, "Diplomatics, Part IV," cited in Schwartz, 50 and Lorraine O'Donnell, "Towards Total Archives," cited in Schwartz, 50.

[12] Schwartz, 58 and 52.

[13] Strong-Boag and Fellman., 6-7.

[14] Schwartz, 58.

> In order to understand the evidential value of archival photographs, archivists must first abandon their faith in the function of the photographic document as a truthful representation of material reality and cease to equate archival value with image content ... the mechanical origins and verisimilitude of the photographic image have long veiled its ability to affect, shape and communicate views of reality ... the message of the photographic document is not necessarily directly linked to its "reliability" as a transcription of reality.[15]

Further complicating the diplomatics approach is the multiple reproduction possible with the photographic negative. This too undermines the assumption that a photograph can possess a single, true meaning or function. However, the possibility of one image simultaneously existing in several contexts only "demonstrates that the meaning of a photographic document lies not in the content or the form but in the context of document creation." While the subject matter of many McClung album photographs appears mundane or imprecise, this does not diminish their historical value. Their placement in a photo album suggests a role in producing a domestic visual history. However, their uses in commercial and literary contexts not only suggests other functions, it affects the album photographs' meaning as well. Diplomatics also recognizes that often many people are involved in document creation: "In identifying the author of the act, the author of the document, the addressee of the document, and the writer of the document, diplomatics reminds us that the photographer is not the only "person concurring in the formation of the document."[16] In the case of the Nellie McClung album, it is the owner/compiler who can overshadow its analysis. She was not the only one involved in its production and the album is at the centre of a web of issues. Therefore, this thesis is not only about Nellie McClung, it is also about art history, feminism, photographic theory, family photography, album making, professional photography in turn-of-the-century Manitoba, literary illustration and autobiography.

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[15] Schwartz, 50.

[16] Schwartz, 46, and Duranti, "Diplomatics, Part III," cited in Schwartz, 47.

This thesis distinguishes between family and autobiographical photograph albums, for evidence suggests that some women producing albums around the turn-of-the-century were themselves making this distinction; they were constructing a subjectivity denied by patriarchal society, and in some cases, intentionally subverting the conventions of family albums, apparently challenging societal expectations placed upon women. In addition, to distinguish the family album from the autobiographical album is to challenge further historical approaches which universalize the male dominated public sphere, and disregard women, relegating them to a private sphere and limiting them to their biology. In promoting this difference, Nellie McClung's self representation and photography's involvement in its construction may be better understood.

Marilyn F. Motz posits these varying album types and her study "Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women" is influential in my approach to the Nellie McClung album. She writes that the albums of the 1860s and '70s, whose images were mostly studio portraits, established a photographic symbolism for the unified family. The advent of the snapshot camera allowed for more experimentation with conventions of subject matter and composition, and changed the format of the album. While earlier albums were designed to display professional portraits in pre-cut slots, the new albums "consisted of sheets of heavy paper. . . bound together in a form of a book . . . Since the compiler could now determine the arrangement of the photographs on the page, he or she could exercise considerable artistic control in composing the album." The Nellie McClung album is of the latter type. By expressing varying degrees of acceptance or rejection of this familial ideal, the women whose albums are discussed appear to acknowledge the societal norms functioning in family albums. These albums' photographers and compilers included captions and photographs which challenged the practice: "by altering the conventional poses, settings, and clothing viewers expected to find

in a family album, these women could suggest the arbitrary nature not only of the artistic conventions, but also of the social conventions they portrayed."[17] Although the images in the Nellie McClung album do not appear to be pointed manipulations of photographic conventions, there are many images of women, no doubt reflecting the friendships and associations made through community, political and literary activities.

Two examples taken from Motz's study illustrate different kinds of visual autobiography which emerge out of the tradition of the late nineteenth century photograph album and which are related to the compilers' class and sexual orientation. The Marie Kolberg album (1880s - 1950s) is that of a woman who had little education and appeared to have been from a working class background: she followed the older conventions and constructed an album which focused on her family. The Grace McClurg Carson album from 1906 is that of a upper-middle-class college educated woman, who chose another woman to be her life partner: her album photographs frequently parodied photographic and social conventions.[18] The Nellie McClung album appears to fall between these two categories of visual autobiography. McClung upheld the social and religious mores of her time, choosing to marry and have children, unlike some album compilers from Motz's latter group. However, she was a writer, suffragette and temperance woman and thus an agitator for social reform. In fact, to many first-wave feminists, maternalism was inseparable from social consciousness. The album which was placed in the British Columbia Archives appears to represent a more public facet of her life, distinct but not separate from her life as a wife and mother.

Nellie McClung was among the minority of women from the early 1900s who maintained both families and active public lives. When her album, with what appear to be

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[17] Motz, 63, 64-65, and 67.

[18] Motz, 88.

many non-family photographs, is considered alongside those from Marilyn F. Motz's article, it indicates that turn-of-the-century North American women did not always see their identities as limited to those of daughter, wife and mother, their visual self-constructions sometimes making reference to relationships beyond the family. This further reinforces the argument that historical analysis of women's lives should not be limited to what Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell call the "life-cycle" approach. They see women's historians emphasizing the private lives of individual women, "thereby confirming stereotypical views of male traditionalists that sexuality, reproduction and domesticity are what matters when considering women."[19] This ideology of gendered public and private spheres affects even the best intentioned - when first examining the McClung album, I made the assumption that it was foremost a *family* album, never thinking it included photographs representing her literary characters. Its study provides insight into the lived experience of Nellie McClung, and possibly, by extension, other Canadian women. As the album of a woman active in shaping a rapidly changing society, it should be considered both a public and a private construction.

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[19] Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, "The Making of a Feminist Biography: Reflections on a Miniature Passion" in Atlantis 15.1 (Fall 1989): 56.

Chapter One: Photo-Historical Considerations

Nellie McClung's photographic album is a scrapbook containing snapshots, professional studio portraits, photographic postcards and a few lines of hand-written text. While the album may have had a famous compiler, its study does not fit easily into traditional photo history, where Canadians, women and non-elite photography have been marginalized.[1] Having emerged from the older discipline of art history with its hierarchy of geniuses and masterpieces, photo history has constructed a canon of leading American, British and Western European male photographers and their influential works. However, the scope of photography extends far beyond its representation in art and photo history texts. John Berger writes that within thirty years of the camera's invention it was used for, among other things, police filing, war reporting, military reconnaissance, pornography, encyclopedic documentation, family albums, postcards, and anthropological records.[2] Therefore, gaining a greater understanding of Canadian photographic history and Nellie McClung's album necessitates a paradigm shift from aesthetic determinations to social analysis.[3]

In keeping with diplomatics' broad approach, this chapter discusses methodologies and disciplines influencing the study of domestic photography. Of particular concern is the

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[1] Briefly, by non-elite photography I mean snapshot, studio and other relatively inexpensive mass-produced photographic forms.

[2] John Berger, About Looking (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) 48.

[3] Thomas Kuhn, Structure of Scientific Revolutions, cited in Griselda Pollock, Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art (New York: Routledge, 1988) 2: "A paradigm defines the objectives shared within a scientific community, what it aims to research and explain, its procedures and its boundaries . . . A paradigm shift occurs when the dominant mode of investigation and explanation is found to be unable satisfactorily to explain the phenomenon which it is that science's or discipline's job to analyse;" further in "Images of Rural America: View Photographs and Picture Postcards" in History of Photography 12.4 (October-December 1988): 327, Jay Ruby writes: "the confinement of exploration to aesthetic appreciation ... [ignores] the production and consumption of most of the photographs that are actually made."

role of gender and class in non-elite photography's production and study. In expanding the discourse to include objects such as the McClung album, this chapter reconsiders the question of what constitutes a photo-historical investigation. Drawing on art history, feminist historical materialism, deconstructivist photo theory and sociology, I argue that:[4] the elitist and patriarchal notions of the original artwork and the divinely inspired male artist, which work to exclude women from art/photographic discourse, are demystified when the economic and social conditions of image production are investigated. While photography is an artistic medium, it is also a technology valued for its documentary capabilities. When regarded as a neutral, rather than a complex and subjective medium, photography's verisimilitude is perceived as "truth" and non-elite photographs, in particular, are relegated to Schwartz's evidential "pictures of something."[5] Yet, considering the many factors bearing upon its production, a photograph can be read for a number of meanings. In reproducing persons, objects and spaces in a two dimensional form, the act and content of photography establish and reinforce social identity and behaviours. Snapshot photography, in particular, is associated with family, home and social values, and typical patterns of image-making and organization can be identified. Indeed, it is difficult to separate the notion of "family" from that of "album." Significantly, the domestic sphere is considered a site where gendered behaviours are learned and/or resisted, yet some studies on domestic or "home mode" photography do not link the practice with constructions of femininity. The home and children have been considered integral aspects of women's identity, and household settings are represented or replicated in snapshots and studio portraits. Therefore, the albums women make with these images are complex documents, analysis of which provides new insights into the histories of women and photography. Collectively, these methodologies can inspire

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[4] Sources for these arguments will be cited in the following pages.

[5] Schwartz, 58.

and challenge, providing an analytical framework for the McClung album's contextualization.

In this study of turn-of-the-century photography, I rely upon various methodologies, since traditional photo history excludes the kind of images many women have produced and consumed. In an age of mechanical reproduction, photography challenges notions of an artwork's authenticity.[6] Elizabeth Anne McCauley writes that photo historians often disregard images, such as small town portrait photography, produced under a deadline for a mass audience. This situation is a result of a conflict between the academy and commerce:

> In a widespread effort to legitimize photography and equate it with traditional handmade images, recent scholars have emphasized the individuality of the print, the transforming power of the operator, and the continuities of vision between photography and established 'fine arts' ... Quality, or the accoutrements of quality (elegant matting, spotting, rich and continuous tonal range, immaculate condition), has too often defined function, with the result that many nineteenth-century photographs have been isolated from the contexts of their production in order to enhance their resale value.[7]

In "What Shall We Tell the Children? Photography and Its Text (Books)," Mary Warner Marien contends that post-war photo histories have been more concerned with notions of the master photographer and the masterwork than with social and cultural analysis.[8] Indeed, her argument is inadvertently supported by the publisher's comment from Photography: A Concise History: "Here at last is a concise critical history of photography which explains by

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[6] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in Marxism and Art: Essays Classic and Contemporary, ed. Maynard Solomon (New York: Alfred R. Knopf, 1973) 553.

[7] Elizabeth Anne McCauley, A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) 5. See also Ruby, "Images," 327.

[8] Mary Warner Marien, "What Shall We Tell the Children? Photography and Its Text (Books)" in Illuminations: Women Writing on Photography from the 1850s to the Present, eds. Liz Heron and Val Williams (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996) 207. Ironically, many of the selections in Illuminations represent this paradigm.

what criteria we can judge one photograph to be better than other . . . This brilliant study provides a unique guide to the critical issues through the example of the greatest photographers in the world, from Fox Talbot, the father of photography, to the masters of today."[9] Not only does this statement imply that there is an aesthetic standard which photographs must meet in order to be considered art, but greatness is also equated with being male. Warner Marien might say the same thing of Jeffrey's text as she does of Beaumont Newhall's The History of Photography (1st edition 1949) and Naomi Rosenblum's recent A World History of Photography (1984), that these standard surveys are elitist in their overemphasis on individual creativity and neglect of photography's social context. Photo history's narrow masterwork/ master paradigm results in little social inquiry, forcing scholars to turn to other disciplines such as sociology for methodological guidance; she argues that photo historians "have lacked critical and theoretical means, as well as the broad historical and cultural framework necessary … to keep photo-historical studies from being subsumed by other disciplines."[10] The perception of photography as a unique and democratic medium must be re-thought, and "brought to bear equally on art photography, non-art photography, and mass-media photography."[11]

Susan Sontag associates photography's focus on the artist and the oeuvre with its legitimacy as an art.[12] Warner Marien argues that there will be no "new photo history" until its historians become less reliant upon literature and art histories as models.[13] Conversely,

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[9] Ian Jeffrey, Photography: A Concise History World of Art (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1981) back cover.

[10] Warner Marien, 221. Warner Marien, 219, also observes that courses in photo history "are usually taught by those trained in [and who teach in] other fields, like photographic technique, journalism, art history and literary history."

[11] Warner Marien, 222.

[12] Susan Sontag, On Photography (New York: Farrarr, Straus and Giroux, 1977) 137.

[13] Warner Marien, 221-222.

Marxist photo historian and theoretician John Tagg states: "it's impossible to teach the history of photography as a canon, as a discrete and coherent field or discipline ... how could one teach the history of photography without talking about family photography ... the photographic industry, advertising, pornography, surveillance, documentary records, documentation, [and] instrumental photography?"[14] This notion of multiple photographic histories is articulated in the title and essays of Tagg's The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories. Ironically, it is art historian Griselda Pollock who presents a helpful methodology - feminist historical materialism - which can produce a photo history that contains archival documents such as the McClung album. Her approach is applicable to both art history in the broadest sense, encompassing all media, and to the more specialized field of photo history.[15]

Of primary interest are her observations regarding art history's perpetuation of gender and class hierarchies. In photography, as in the older arts, consideration of the social and economic context of image production demystifies the canon, creating a paradigm shift and subsequent expansion of subject matter. Modernist art history, the "linear, evolutionary narrative of individual creators grouped together in styles and schools,"[16] constrains what can and cannot be discussed in the discipline; it naturalizes the ideology of the individual artist-genius, who creates "out of his (sic) personal necessity a discrete work of art which then goes out from its private place of creation into a world where it will be admired and

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[14] Joanne Luktish, "Practicing Theories: An Interview with John Tagg," in The Critical Image: Essays on Contemporary Photography, ed. Carol Squires (Seattle: Bay Press, 1990) 224.

[15] If photographs and the high arts are equally constructs, then Pollock's methodology can be applied to photo history. Susan Sontag, 7, supports photography's constructed nature: "photographs are as much an interpretation of the world as paintings and drawings are."

[16] Meyer Schapiro, "On the nature of abstract art" cited in Pollock, 19. The photographic equivalent to modernist art history is embodied in the above comment from Jeffrey's Photography: A Concise History.

cherished by art lovers expressing a human capacity for valuing beautiful objects." Feminist historical materialism demystifies the process of art-making by substituting ideas of *creation* and *reception* with those of *production* and *consumption*, and by revealing art's social institutions as sites for the reproduction and resistance of patriarchal ideology.[17]

In Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art, Pollock cites the problem of merely adding women to the male centred discipline: adopting the established criteria of monographs, *oeuvres,* membership in artists' groups, questions of style, iconography, and quality for women reproduces and secures "the normative status of men artists and men's art whose superiority was unquestioned in its disguise as Art and the Artist." Evoking Linda Nochlin's pivotal article "Why have there been no great women artists?", Pollock argues that it is an exercise in futility to measure women artists by the above criteria of greatness: "Evolving concepts of the artist and the social definitions of women have historically followed different and, recently, contradictory paths. Creativity has been appropriated as an ideological component of masculinity while femininity has been constructed as man's, and, therefore, the artist's negative."[18] In Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology, Pollock and Rosika Parker contend women have always made art, often within established art forms and languages. However, "because of the economic, social and ideological effects of sexual difference in a western, patriarchal culture, women have spoken and acted from a different place within society and culture."[19] Thus, continuing to fit women into a male discipline will not further the understanding of women's relationship to art production.

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[17] Pollock, 2 and 3

[18] Pollock, 1 and 21. Pollock, 24: "We never say man artist or man's art; we simply say art and artist. This hidden sexual prerogative is secured by the assertion of a negative, an 'other', the feminine, as a necessary point of differentiation."

[19] Rosika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London: Pandora Press, 1981) 49.

While Warner Marien contends that photo history is weakened by other disciplines, Nochlin turns this into a strength, and calls for a feminist critique of art history "which can pierce cultural-ideological limitations ... providing a paradigm for other kinds of internal questioning and providing links to paradigms established by radical approaches in other fields."[20] Pollock's answer is feminist historical materialism, a form of feminist critique which draws upon "radical approaches in other fields," particularly Marxism. Pollock argues not for the replacement of one gendered canon with another, but for "feminist interventions in the histories of art."[21] Such interventions, presumably, encompass diverse investigations into women's relationship to art production. According to Friedrich Engels "we make our history ourselves" and the determining factor in history is materialism, or "the material practices embodied in concrete social institutions."[22] Pollock argues that "the project before us is ... the development of art historical practices which analyse cultural production in the visual arts and related media by attending to the imperatives of both Marxism and feminism."[23]

As an introduction to Marxist methodology, she quotes the introduction to *Gründrisse*:

> Production not only supplies a material for a need, but also supplies a need for a material. As soon as consumption emerges from its initial natural state of crudity and immediacy . . . it becomes itself mediated as a drive by the object ... The object of art - like every other product - creates a public which is sensitive to art and enjoys beauty. Production not only creates an object for the subject, but also a subject for the object.[24]

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[20] Linda Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" cited in Pollock, 2.

[21] Pollock, 17.

[22] Friedrich Engels, "Letter to J. Bloch" in Solomon, 30, and Pollock, 7.

[23] Pollock, 20

[24] Karl Marx, *Gründrisse*, cited in Pollock, 3.

This idea is certainly applicable to photography, for until its invention, identity of self, others and objects was not necessarily predicated upon visual documentation. Photography's variety of materials requiring manufacture, from the camera to the sensitizing chemicals, also has a wide-ranging effect on commerce. In fact, the French government anticipated the potential economic gain of this cyclical relation of photographic production and consumption when it acquired the daguerreotype's patent from its inventor, Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, within 6 months of his announcement of the discovery in January 1839.[25] Cultural objects, whether they be oil paintings or photo albums, make meaning through their connection to other social forces. All forms of production are interrelated: "politics and art, together with science, religion, family life and other categories we speak of as absolutes, belong in a whole world of active and interactive relationships."[26] Thus, Pollock states, the social practice of art should be considered as a "totality of many relations and determinations."[27] Feminists should not uncritically adopt Marxist cultural analysis, however. Both Pollock and Maynard Solomon point out that Marx and Engels, and some contemporary Marxist art historians, continue to revere the artist as a thinker, educator, and imparter of social truths.[28] The problems of applying an all-encompassing, patriarchal theory to women's diverse art practices are further emphasized by Pollock. In feminist art history, "women artists are often treated ... as representatives of their gender; their work expressing the visual ideology of a whole sex."[29] Particular to the study of a photographic

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[25] Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene (New York: Dover Publications, 1964) 5-6.

[26] Raymond Williams, "Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory," cited in Pollock, 4.

[27] Pollock, 5.

[28] Pollock, 11, and Solomon, 11.

[29] Pollock, 27-28. Further, Mary Warner Marien, 222, also cautions against mechanistic socio-political analytical models.

archival document, is the assumption that art and artist are merely reflections of society. This reductionism is essentializing and works against the goal of studying women's diverse experiences within a larger social context.

Consequently, Pollock argues that gender, like class, is an ideological construction. Though gender and class are related concerns, "there is a strategic priority in insisting upon recognition of gender power and sexuality as historical forces of significance as great as any of the other matrices privileged in Marxism or other forms of social history or cultural analysis."[30] Although engaged in "feminist interventions in the histories of art," Pollock contends that art is only one of many social practices which produce and reinforce ideas of sexual difference. Indeed, feminist historical materialism is an appropriate methodology to apply to photo history, as Abigail Solomon-Godeau writes: "Inextricably linked to the emerging commodity culture of the nineteenth century, and popularly believed to operate as a direct transcription of the real, photography has been a significant cultural agent in the production, reproduction and dissemination of ideology, including the ideology of gender."[31] While notions of masculinity and femininity are produced in social institutions associated with child care, socialization, family relations, school and language acquisition, cultural representations, such as paintings and photographs, also continue to reinforce sexual difference.[32]

Pollock's argument for feminist interventions in the histories of art is an attempt to address modernist art history's lack of social analysis.[33] This approach can be a catalyst for

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[30] Pollock, 5. Gender, moreso than race, is considered by Pollock as the primary contributor to the perpetuation of social hierarchies.

[31] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Photography" in Feminism and Psychoanalysis: A Critical Dictionary, ed. E. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 327.

[32] Pollock, 9 and 33, and de Lauretis, 3.

[33] Pollock, 18.

"internal questioning" of photo history, for the discipline also produced the additive and superficial texts of which Pollock and Warner Marien are critical. Among such works is Naomi Rosenblum's recent A History of Women Photographers. It begins with the apparently radical intention of examining not only the work of female photographers, but also "the underlying economic, social, and cultural conditions . . . the interplay of ideology, activism and grit."[34] Unfortunately, Rosenblum upholds established notions of originality, genius and biological essentialism, ideas generated by male-centred photo history. According to Rosenblum women transform the fad of photography into an art form; they embody or transcend their femininity; their work possesses "transcendent grace" or is "pedestrian", "tired and insipid."[35] In making visible the work of women photographers, chapter titles such as "Not Just for Fun: Women Become Professionals, 1880-1915", "Photography as Art, 1940-1990" and "The Feminist Vision", trivialize and delimit women's photographic production. Considering that photography's ascension coincided with the rise of the suffragette movement, assigning feminism a separate chapter at the end of the chronological sequence implies it is disconnected from the activities of the photographers considered in previous chapters. Like the art history Pollock wishes to displace with feminist interventions, Rosenblum contends that certain women photographers of the past have been "almost completely forgotten."[36] Thus, she furthers the idea that it is the prerogative of photo historian to uncover these lost photographers, as if quantity will legitimize women's involvement in the medium. Whenever possible the entries for A History of Women Photographers' select bibliography, written by Peter E. Palmquist, actually cite the

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[34] Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994) 11.

[35] Rosenblum, 93, 161, 192, 94, 188 and 223.

[36] Rosenblum, 164.

number of women mentioned in each article.[37] But in her effort to mention as many women photographers as possible, Rosenblum's analysis of photography's "underlying economic, social, and cultural conditions" is cursory and subjective: left without explanation are statements such as "the perception that women were uninterested in photographing the natural landscape has recently given rise to an effort by women to claim this theme."[38]

Rosenblum's production of an additive text of well-known, little known and lost photographers is not unlike Laura Jones' exhibition catalogue Rediscovery: Canadian Women Photographers 1841 - 1941. In her curatorial statement, Jones notes that of hundreds of women photographers active before 1940 only Julia Margaret Cameron is consistently mentioned in photo history surveys. Therefore, it is not surprising that "even after 1900, little is known of the Canadian women photographers."[39] In the field of Canadian photo history, there are only two major comprehensive texts, Canadian Photography: 1839-1920 and Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940, and only the latter considers women's image production.[40] Of the professional and amateur photographers of Rediscovery, there are "many more to be rediscovered."[41] Exhibitions and texts such as Jones' add to the cumulative knowledge of Canadian photo history, however, they are also

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[37] Palmquist in Rosenblum, 228-333.

[38] Rosenblum, 254. Warner Marien, 218, also makes similar criticism of Rosenblum's A World History of Photography.

[39] Laura Jones, Rediscovery: Canadian Women Photographers 1841 - 1941, exhibition catalogue (London, Ontario: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983) 3.

[40] Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, Canadian Photography: 1839-1920 (Toronto: The Coach House Press, 1979) and Lilly Koltun, ed., Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940 (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984). "Canadian Photography: A Selected Bibliography" compiled by David Mattison can be found in History of Photography 20.2 (Summer 1996): 186.

[41] Jones, 3.

sites for feminist interventions. Rediscovery's descriptions of lives and works are cursory and sometimes trivializing. In the section on Connecticut-born Edith Watson (1861-1943), the book Watson published with her companion, writer Victoria Hayward, is mentioned but its title, Romantic Canada, is not. Hayward's diary entries, which take up most of the text, are anecdotal and do not provide any information on Watson's photographic practice. Although Jones states Watson's images "were widely published in magazines" there is little analysis of their function: "From the mid-1890s until 1930, she regularly travelled through Canada, photographing people working, women carrying buckets, children with large sacks of sticks nearly as big as themselves."[42] The work of Quebec photographer Annie McDougall, who arranged her photographs into albums, are described as "delightful," their juxtaposition "entrancing" and "whimsical," but there is no discussion of her subject matter.[43] While it is possible that these photographers may have first become interested in the medium through snapshot photography, all are included because they were professional or amateur photographers.[44]

It is not surprising that amateur work is seriously considered in photo history surveys when snapshots are not, as amateur photography is historically associated with wealth,

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[42] Jones, 10. Significantly, Jones notes that Watson's photographs are in the form of albums kept by Watson's sister.

[43] Jones, 14. McDougall was born in 1866, but no death date is given. Jones writes that Millie Gamble (b. 1887) of Alberton, Prince Edward Island, became interested in photography after receiving a Ray No. 1 camera from her uncle in 1904. Jones does not elaborate on the camera's significance, but presumably it was of the simple box or folding type. Jones also gives little description of Gamble's work other than to describe it as "delightful".

[44] Jones, 6, notes that by 1891 there were 135 female professional photographers in Canada, but many times this number of amateurs "were taking photographs for personal use." Val Williams' text, Women Photographers: The Other Observers, 1900-Present (London: Virago,1986) is also primarily concerned with the work of professional and serious amateur photographers.

education and the fine arts. Amateur photography can be considered distinct from popular or snapshot photography, as the former's practitioners often had an extensive knowledge of processes and materials: "Serious amateurs spent a great deal of time and patience increasing their technical skills. Lectures on recent inventions, technical processes, portraiture, and composition were held [by camera clubs] on a regular basis, usually monthly."[45] According to Grace Seiberling, early English amateurs usually came from the leisured classes: "Their photographs emerged from a social context in which aesthetic values and scholarly inquiry co-existed ... [From its invention in 1839] photography was publicized through institutions and periodicals that attracted members and readers of means, education, and wide-ranging interests." These early amateurs wished their work be considered art; some contemplated becoming professionals photographers and "the questions of how to distinguish themselves from the commercial portraitists and what kind of subject matter was appropriate for art photography concerned them."[46] Su Braden writes that "members of photographic societies took a snobbish attitude to the snapshot and championed themselves as keepers of the art and craft of photography."[47] In the chronology of amateur photography in Canada, the turn-of-the-century marked a heightened interest in art photography, specifically pictorialism. According to Lilly Koltun, "pictorialism sought to emulate traditional art media by using broad composition design, suppression of detail, atmospheric effect ... to create photographs that could be judged as works of art ...The images looked little like photographs, and much

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[45] Jones, 6.

[46] Grace Seiberling, with Carolyn Bloor, Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) 3 and 85.

[47] Su Braden, Committing Photography (London: Pluto Press,1983) 26. The line between "amateur photograph" and "snapshot" has blurred over the twentieth century. Joan Schwartz, "Salon Crescendo/1930-40" in Private Realms of Light, 88-91, notes that in the rules of a 1931 Kodak-sponsored Canadian amateur photo contest, "contestants were not required to own their own cameras, nor to do their own photo-finishing."

like charcoal sketches, or distant cousins of paintings and prints."[48] However, most turn-of-the-century women were neither professional photographers nor serious amateurs with the time and money to invest in elaborate cameras and developing supplies. As today, the function of most photographic activity was to document family, friends and special events. Mainstream photo-historical discourse treats such non-elite photographic practice much like other arts made by women: "Social and feminist studies of cultural practices in the visual arts are commonly ejected from art history by being labelled a sociological approach, as if reference to social conditions and ideological determinations are introducing foreign concerns into the discrete realm of art."[49]

In the same process that marginalizes women's art through masculine definitions of artistic production, non-elite photographs are not considered culturally legitimate because their accessibility does not uphold expectations of "consecrated artistic activity".[50] Susan Sontag argues that bringing what she terms, "functional photographs" into mainstream art institutions is antithetical to their descriptive purpose; photography is not an art like painting, she posits, in that it is a democratic medium.[51] However, as most women did not have access to established visual traditions of the fine arts, feminist interventions in the histories of photography urge a re-definition of art to include non-elite material culture.[52] Thus, an expanded photo-historical discourse which includes study of snapshots, albums and other

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[48] Lilly Koltun, "Art Ascendant/1900-1914" in Private Realms of Light, 32.

[49] Pollock, 7.

[50] Bourdieu, 7.

[51] Sontag, 132-133 and 149.

[52] Jane Gover, The Positive Image (Albany, New York; State University of New York Press, 1988) 8, writes that lightweight cameras and commercial processing "had definitive and far-reaching implications for women in the medium," making accessible to women the means for producing their own images.

mass-produced images begins in the recognition of their complexity. Photo theorists and sociologists contend, like Pollock, that as a product of interconnecting social relations, a photograph has many meanings. Yet, as a photo-chemical and mechanical process, photography is often considered a neutral medium; photography's myth is that the camera confers truth and eliminates error.[53] David L. Jacobs argues: "The snapshooter is primarily interested in whether the subject is recognizable. Issues like composition ... are subordinate."[54] As a result, non-elite photography, particularly the snapshot, is regarded as naïve, uncomplicated and definitely not art: "unlike more demanding cultural activities such as drawing, painting or playing a musical instrument ... photography presupposes neither academically communicated culture, nor the apprenticeships and the 'profession' which confer their value on the cultural consumptions and practices ordinarily held to be most noble."[55] To Sontag, photographs "do not seem to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire."[56]

Nevertheless, while camera technology's accessibility and verisimilitude may distinguish it from other arts, a photograph is a construct and its realism the vehicle of ideology. Roland Barthes writes that a photograph is never distinguished from its referent, that which it represents; thus it confers a reality: "Every photograph is a certificate of presence."[57] Yet, its link to the real is tenuous, mediated by culture. At the very least, the

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[53] Sontag, 53.

[54] David L. Jacobs, "Domestic Snapshots Towards a Grammer of Motives" in Journal of American Culture 4 (Spring 1981): 95.

[55] Pierre Bourdieu et al, Photography: A Middle-Brow Art, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990) 5. Bourdieu's study focuses on French photographic practices.

[56] Sontag, 4.

[57] Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) 5, 76 and 87.

presence of a camera affects a human subject's behaviour.[58] Furthermore, the photographer makes a number of decisions before releasing the shutter: "even when the production of the picture is entirely delivered over to the automatism of the camera, the taking of the picture is still a choice involving aesthetic and ethical values."[59] As Warner Marien urges the photo historian to question the medium's naturalizing attributes, John Tagg pursues the photograph's demystification. Beyond darkroom manipulation, a photograph is a piece of paper which can be meaningful to many people in many different ways; it cannot guarantee a single, immutable truth. A photograph has an agenda, for it is "a material product of a material apparatus set to work in specific contexts, by specific forces, for more or less defined purposes."[60] Therefore, in order to contextualize the Nellie McClung photographs, the question of a photo album's purpose, its ideology, must first be addressed.

Significantly, albums are usually discussed within larger sociological studies of snapshot or family photography. Although some scholars consider snapshots as a form of amateur photography, to distinguish it from the amateur work discussed above, snapshots are defined as "photographs taken quickly with a minimum of deliberate posing on the part of the people represented and with a minimum of deliberate selectivity on the part of the photographer so far as vantage point and the framing or cropping of the image are concerned."[61] To this can be added Richard Chalfen's observation that snapshots "visually represent personally important subject matter, for use and interpretation in private context of

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[58] Jacobs, 98.

[59] Bourdieu, 6.

[60] John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988) 3. See also Alan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in Photography Against the Grain (Halifax, Nova Scotia: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984), 3-4.

[61] John A. Kouwenhoven, untitled, in The Snapshot, ed. Jonathan Green. (New York: Aperture, 1974) 107.

interpersonal communicative relationships."[62] Family photography encompasses both snapshots and more formal studio portraits, and its most obvious purpose is to produce a visual record. As a number of scholars have noted, family photography affirms socially sanctioned and institutionalized practices; such photography records special, symbolically important events, such as birthdays, weddings and vacations, and denies moments considered deviant or outside societal norms.[63]

In its social context, family photography is linked to the concept of family as a corporate entity, representing material and social success. Oddlung Reiakvam draws on Bourdieu in positing that family photography reproduces the bourgeois family ideology of "idyllic institutional harmony." The industrial culture's notions of leisure and holiday time are put to use in the construction of an authorized family history. Reiakvam contends that leisured activities such as the "Sunday promenade" and vacations are extensions of the domestic sphere, demarcating working time and free time. Photos of such activities construct and naturalize a family's privileged social position.[64] Also associated with status are photographs which clearly situate the family inside and in-front of homes. They include details such as furnishings and varying scales of housefronts which, Julia Hirsch contends, are symbolic "balance sheets of money earned and money spent." While exterior architecture controls subject place and suggests spatial mastery, interior photographs blur the line between public and private. Living rooms and parlours, until recently the most frequently

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[62] Richard Chalfen, "Redundant Imagery: Some Observations on the Use of Snapshots in American Culture," in Journal of American Culture 4.1 (Spring 1981): 106.

[63] Sontag, 11; Jacobs, 96; Ralph F. Bogardus, "Their '*Carte de visite* to posterity': A Family's Snapshots as Autobiography and Art" in Journal of American Culture 4.1 (Spring 1981): 127; and Oddlung Reiakvan, "Reframing Family Photography", in Journal of Popular Culture 26 (Spring 1993): 42. Julia Hirsch, Family Photographs: Content, Meaning and Effect (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) 118, notes: "Family photographs … do not show grades failed, jobs lost, opportunities missed."

[64] Reiakvam, 42-43.

photographed rooms, "are the places in which we display our furniture, our pianos, our good carpets and china, even our photographs, the places in which we are on our best behaviour not only for company but among ourselves."[65] These types of photographs not only construct a subject's identity in relation to the family and material possessions, they also endorse the consumption upon which industrial culture depends.

Compositional choice also conveys messages about the event or moment photographed. Formal photography, whether taken by a professional photographer or by a family member with a box camera, usually depicts serious occasions. Bourdieu contends that domestic photography forces differentiation "between pictures reserved for family contemplation" and those shown to visitors.[66] It could be argued that formal photographs are most likely to be displayed where they are seen by outsiders. Emerging from conventions of the painted portrait, formal photographs are marked by frontal poses, which best display a subject's likeness and, if group portraits, convey an affiliation: "in the language of every aesthetic, frontality means eternity." [67] Conversely, the snapshot connotes a less enduring, more casual and spontaneous photograph. Vacations in particular are represented in snapshots for they are breaks in routine "meant to remove us from necessity, production, and even propriety ... [Since] vacations are most often recorded in candid photography ... we find relatively few pictures of family picnics and visits to the beach before the 1880s when candid photography comes into existence."[68] Christopher Musello concludes that spontaneous photography's aim is to minimize intrusion and therefore produce 'everyday',

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[65] Hirsch, 48 and 56. Hirsch, 59, states that until the medium became more advanced and less expensive, indoor photography was "most commonly a celebration by the affluent of their own prosperity."

[66] Bourdieu, 28.

[67] Hirsch, 81 and Bourdieu, 76.

[68] Hirsch, 64.

'typical' and 'natural' photos, suggesting that snapshot photography's appeal lies in the potential for a truer image.[69] Yet, no matter where or by what means a photograph is taken, it is a commodity as well as a mnemonic device: "family photography is an industry, too, and the makers of the various paraphernalia of family photography - cameras, film, processing, albums to keep pictures in - all have a stake in our memories ... The promise is of a brighter past in the future, if we only seize the chance today to consume the raw materials of our tomorrow's memories."[70]

The previously mentioned studies on snapshot and domestic photography all mention the album as a means of ordering the family visual record. Meaningful choices are made when selecting and discarding images for family albums; "family albums, then, are ... constructs that *propose* positive histories ... [they] reflect the same kinds of biases, motives and historiographical difficulties that any historical work manifests."[71] What is significant in these studies of family photography and albums is what is left to conjecture regarding gendered cultural practices. Bourdieu concludes "there is a very close correlation between the presence of children in the household and the possession of the camera"; furthermore, "the sexual division of labour gives the wife the responsibility of maintaining relations with [friends and family] who live a long way away ... the photograph has its role to play in the continual updating of the exchange of family information." As albums are visual-cultural constructions of family, the person tasked with compiling these narratives is active in the reproduction of family ideology. Bordieu continues: "the ardent practice of [amateur] photography ... by its very nature demands a complimentary practice, which is left to the

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[69] Christopher Musello, "Studying the Home Mode: An Exploration of Family photography and Visual Communication" in Studies in Visual Communication 6 (Spring 1980): 25.

[70] Annette Kuhn, "Remembrance", in Heron and Williams, 475.

[71] Jacobs, 104.

wife and entirely devoted to family functions."[72] If traditional gender roles dictate that women are responsible for maintaining domestic order, and if snapshot and other forms of non-elite photography are associated with the domestic sphere, then it may be concluded that photo album compilation falls within women's expected responsibilities.

If, as Teresa de Lauretis posits, gender is a constructed representation supported by institutions such as the family, then it is likely that the tradition of the photo album reinforces prevailing notions of gendered behaviour.[73] However, Annette Kuhn points out that although the subject matter of albums is largely circumscribed, there is room for its manipulation: "People will make use of the 'rules' of the family album in their own ways."[74] According to Marilyn Motz, turn-of-the-century women were experimenting with the already established conventions of the family album and the women who subverted these practices also lead unconventional lives. The following chapter argues that the Nellie McClung album emerges from the social practice of women's album production, wherein expectations of femininity are negotiated. If photographs can be read and interpreted, then the ways in which the McClung album does or does not resemble these earlier albums can be linked to the historical and social context of its production in Manitou, Manitoba and to McClung's activities as a writer and suffragette.

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[72] Bourdieu, 19, 22 and 40.

[73] de Lauretis, 3.

[74] Kuhn, 476.

Chapter Two: A History of Women's Album Production

Researching the photographic album of Nellie McClung and its 166 images has raised a number of interrelated questions regarding its place amongst existing studies of photo albums and its role as visual autobiography. In the article "Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the Century Midwestern Women," Marilyn F. Motz makes a distinction between family and personal photograph albums:

> In contrast to family albums designed to record the development and cohesiveness of families as corporate units, these albums focused on the lives of their individual compilers. Like autobiographies, such albums presented women's constructions of their lives as they saw them and as they wished to have them seen by others.[1]

This issue is particularly apropos in the consideration of Nellie McClung's album, as she produced two written autobiographies, Clearing in the West (1935) and The Stream Runs Fast (1945), and two volumes of short non-fiction stories Leaves from Lantern Lane (1936) and More Leaves from Lantern Lane (1937) which recount her life and experiences after her move to Victoria, British Columbia from Calgary, Alberta in 1932. In addition, the character of Pearlie Watson in McClung's novel trilogy Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908), The Second Chance (1910) and Purple Springs (1921) is at least partly autobiographical.[2] It should be stressed that aside from several photographs found in newspaper clipping scrapbooks,[3] there is only the one photo album in the McClung Papers, whose majority of volumes are her

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[1] Motz, 63

[2] Misao Dean, "Voicing the Voiceless: The Practice of 'Self-Expression' in Nellie McClung's Fiction and Her Autobiography" in Practising Femininity: Domestic Realism and the Performance of Gender in Early Canadian Fiction (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 79, and Randi R. Warne, Literature as Pulpit: The Christian Social Activism of Nellie L. McClung. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1993) 15.

[3] Add. MSS 10, Vols. 32 and 57.

published and unpublished manuscripts. Assuming that the McClungs had a number of albums, the BCA album's exclusivity suggests that it was deemed the most appropriate body of photographs to accompany the other documents into the public record.[4]

This issue of visual autobiography is inextricably linked to the history of photography, particularly the phenomenon of domestic photography and its effect upon album construction. Celluloid roll film cameras such as the Kodak box type, introduced in 1888, made image-making available to women, men, even children, who previously did not have the means or skills to undertake the expensive pastime of amateur photography.[5] During the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, photography became a medium for women's self expression, often reinforcing gender roles, but sometimes providing the opportunity to subvert traditional essentializing images of women.

This chapter highlights the problems faced in attempting to contextualize the Nellie McClung Album. In the field of photographic history, few scholars study albums, and Canadian albums have received little attention. Material from Britain, Europe and the United States must be extrapolated in order to determine the conventions of the practice. A hypothesis regarding the function(s) of the Nellie McClung album can only be posited after consideration of the few but compelling studies in the area of album construction.

The origins of women's photograph album production are suggested by Anne Higonnet in "Secluded Vision." Photographs are found amongst the drawings, paintings and

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[4] Nellie McClung (1929-), "Letters from Lantern Lane (voices for Young Nellie & Old Nellie)" in Tea with the Queen (Vancouver: Intermedia, 1980) 50: McClung's granddaughter, also named Nellie, writes of her great-grandmother, Letitia McCurdy Mooney, "gazing out of family albums."

[5] Brian Coe and Paul Gates, The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography. (London: Ash and Grant, 1977) 16. Coe and Gates, 23: Introduced in 1900, the Brownie Camera was named after the fairy-like Brownies, characters first made popular by Canadian author-illustrator Palmer Cox in his stories and poems written for the children's magazine St. Nicholas in the 1880s. Brownie advertisements also ran in magazines such as St. Nicholas.

poems of albums she considers. The article is a lesson in photo-illiteracy, as it reveals Higonnet's limited analysis of the social and economic contexts of photographic production. However, the study is also valuable since these albums compiled by women can be considered precursors of later photographic albums.[6]

While "Secluded Vision" is concerned mainly with painted albums made by middle and upper-class European women in the middle nineteenth century, the association between album production and photography is strong. Higonnet argues that "women's albums and amateur paintings constitute a widespread, self-conscious, and imaginative interpretation of femininity as a crafted social role." The construction of femininity affects the ways in which these women re-presented themselves to society: "Feminine imagery works not just with objects or settings, but through them to depict, cultivate and perpetuate ideals of social harmony and emotional bonding." As photographs are social constructions, so too are albums of Higonnet's study: "they represent women's definition of themselves as it was structured by gender conventions." Higonnet writes that the lack of interest with which scholars and collectors regard women's amateur images is a result of comparison with the high art paintings of the nineteenth century: "in an aesthetic comparison with professional painting, [the images of feminine culture] often seem feeble ... however ... feminine images do not fail to meet aesthetic criteria, but rather obey different criteria altogether." While women's social position restricted their opportunity for artistic expression, academically trained painters had freedom and privilege: "Painting protected itself with a powerful profession and an elaborate body of theory. Women had a pictorial tradition and feminine values, but no institutional protection."[7]

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[6] Anne Higonnet. "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe" in The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History, Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard eds. (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) 174.

[7] Higonnet, 171, 178, and 182.

The issues of class that arise when considering the nineteenth-century albums are also intertwined with those of gender. That the production of the painted album was in turn influenced by the Romantic movement's celebration of nature through the outdoor sketch indicates that this was a pastime undertaken by non-labouring classes. However, while the albums are indicators of the leisure time available to the women of privilege in European society, they also connote the expectations placed upon them. Women of these classes developed a rudimentary knowledge of the minor arts, as these skills were deemed feminine and thus "accomplishments attractive to suitable husbands." As such, it is not surprising to discover that the albums and images considered by Higonnet do not upset the *status quo*. The themes remain the same: family, female friends, the more public areas of homes, local and foreign trips, messages, poems, landscapes and found objects. Despite the realities of class privilege, women's cultural standing limited their experience of the world: "Women's album pictures accept the domain allotted to women . . . The outside world in albums reaches only as far as families went on vacations or unmarried women could go unchaparoned - not as far as cafés, boulevards, or professional studios."[8]

The middle-class work ethic's role in the construction of femininity influenced the production of these scenes from bourgeois life. In fact, the expression "pastime" reveals much about album making's function: it was an acceptable way to prevent women's idleness, filling the hours spent in the home. Women were encouraged to sit at the parlour worktable; Higonnet includes an excerpt of a story printed in the French women's magazine *Le Monde Illustrée*, wherein a husband instructs his wife: "The most important of all duties, because it subsumes all her obligations, is to know how to stay at home . . . Have, I beg of you, a worktable, at which you will acquire the habit of sitting for a few hours each day." In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite the primacy of housekeeping and charity

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[8] Higonnet, 173-176.

activities as appropriate pastimes for women, definitions of femininity expanded to include amateur artistic pursuits contained by the worktable and other domestic settings. Further, as women's self-expression became more acceptable, these albums were a means to present their makers' social identity to friends and family. Not permitted or expected to be self-sufficient outside the home, they defined themselves by the society they kept. Most telling, however, were the moments in women's lives when albums were created. According to Higonnet, most albums and pictures were made by young women between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five, often at times of transition: "during adolescence, when they left school, fell in love or gave birth to their children . . . Women actively represented feminine conventions during phases in which they had to redefine themselves and their social role. Picture making rehearsed feminine obligations and privileges."[9]

In many ways, nineteenth century album making is related to embroidery. Both are activities of the domestic sphere, often undertaken in the company of other women. The woman at the worktable and the woman bent over her embroidery were both symbols of familial social status. In her study on embroidery, Rosika Parker links this art practice with industrialization and gender construction. As the middle class grew in economic and social power, the housewife became "an important indication of class status." As a result "greater numbers of women were sequestered in the home where the regulation of life became strictly structured . . . the family had become a social and emotional centre;" women embroiderers, like album-makers, "presided over drawing room society, but were not permitted the respite of the impersonal public domain." The act of embroidering was a suitable, indeed expected accomplishment, which "came to be seen as correct drawing room behaviour, and the content was expected to convey the special social and psychological attributes required of a lady" such as piety, love, devotion and selflessness. Parker argues that a woman's act of

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[9] Higonnet, 173-179.

embroidery was a means of gaining a man's love: "Love could not be expressed sexually or passionately, but through the providing of *comfort*" and embroidering chairs and carpets increased a man's domestic ease. However, like album making, embroidery also strengthened the emotional ties between women: "The habit of communicating their care for another through embroidery started early amongst women with friendship samplers . . . When women called on one another they invariably worked together." Like friendship samplers, amateur paintings, such as the type found in these nineteenth century albums, "were hung in family rooms given as tokens of friendship, exchanged as talismans against separation."[10]

That Higonnet's albums contain few, if any, amateur photographs is not surprising, as most nineteenth century women did not have the same physical, intellectual, and economic freedom as men. Before the mass-production of lightweight hand-held cameras, amateur photography was an expensive, complicated and exclusive pursuit, and may have seemed at-odds with feminine conventions. However, Higonnet does mention the influential English amateur photographer Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-79), who assembled her separate images into albums for viewing, thus revealing "her work's conceptual origins in a feminine amateur tradition." Higonnet's example of Cameron's work is also used to buttress her argument regarding the connectedness of individual paintings: "Paintings by the same women who made albums . . . might seem to be isolated objects, but should be thought of as if they were detached album pages." This assumption, applied to both Cameron and the various album makers, is problematic. While album making appears to be a feminine tradition, Higonnet's assertion that all images should be considered as album leaves is essentializing, positing a specific female image making process. Further, as will be argued in the McClung album's analysis, the significance of a particular image cannot be

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[10] Rosika Parker, The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (London: The Women's Press, 1984) 18, 151, 152, 154-155, 168 and 179.

underestimated. Cameron also posed her sitters in innovative ways and used extreme close-ups that excluded landscape and domestic details, choices that appear at odds with Higonnet's rehearsals of feminine behaviours. In Higonnet's albums, class distinctions are clear, as female servants appear engaged in household chores and "only the mother-substitute nurse" is included in an example of a family group painting.[11] Conversely,

> While earlier women had seen their subjects as an integral part of their surroundings, inextricably linked with the artefacts of their class, Cameron displaced them, making village girls into characters from Arthurian legend, picturing her servants as holy virgins, sanctifying or making heroes of women who [in other photographs by women] would have been indistinct figures, hovering behind the main family group or lurking unseen beneath stairs.[12]

Thus, Val Williams notes, they are unlike the works of other mid-nineteenth century women amateur photographers.[13] While women are the subjects of both "Secluded Vision's" and Cameron's images, the latter works have more in-common with history painting's iconography than Higonnet's feminine imagery. Higonnet's concern with establishing an artistic practice outside of the "high art" tradition creates some problems when she is faced with explaining nineteenth century album photographs. While both paintings and photographs were often combined in a single album, the varied circumstances of photographic production must be noted.

The photographs found in Higonnet's albums are either stereographs or *cartes de visite*, types of photographs made by professional photographers. In addressing photography's minor place in these albums, Higonnet does not thoroughly consider the

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[11] Higonnet, 176 and 178.

[12] Williams, 17.

[13] Williams, 14, cites Lady Clementine Hawarden (1822-65) and Cameron as photographers who broke from aristocratic amateur photography, which sought to "assert and describe the family."

different formats or problematize the professional or studio photograph's involvement in the construction of femininity. Her argument for the phenomenon of nineteenth century feminine imagery includes some forms of photography, while others are specifically identified as commodities and signify the co-opting of "secluded vision" in the capitalist society. To better understand a photograph's function and possible alteration in a mixed-media album, its original use should be known.[14] While it appears that many more women assembled albums than were amateur photographers in the mid to late nineteenth century, from the working classes to aristocracy, the services of professional photographers were often called upon. These studio images appear in the "Secluded Vision" albums.

Higonnet does not distinguish stereoscopic photos, which would likely have been taken by a professional, from paintings in a section on varied album images. A stereoscopic photograph is a double photograph which, when viewed at the correct distance through a special holder, or stereoscope, has a three-dimensional effect.[15] Amongst references to water-colour sketches, the stereoscopic views of a home and human subjects are described within Higonnet's text as "the view from home windows." The illustration's caption, "Marie de Krüdner, *Album Page with Photographs of a Home,* stereoscopic photographs and ink, 1863," does not acknowledge the photographs' origins outside of the album. While de Krüdner arranged the photographs on the page and framed them with an ink border, the caption gives the impression that de Krüdner took these photos, when there is no indication

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[14] Schwartz, 58: "The format of a photograph determined the circumstances and way in which the image was viewed. A photograph taken with a view [or large format] camera and tipped into a presentation album conveyed a very different will, purpose, and message than one recorded with a stereo camera and sold in a series of stereoviews."

[15] Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene (New York: Dover Publications, 1964) 171: A stereoscopic photograph is made with a large double camera, the two lenses being "two and a half inches apart on the same horizontal plane. This distance is the average distance between the human eyes from center to center. Each lens records the image seen by one eye."

that she was an amateur photographer. The novelty and popularity of the stereoscopic photograph lay in its ability to create a realistic image, "the original scene in all but colour and motion."[16] While de Krüdner altered this significant property by pasting the stereographs in an album, their inclusion suggests they possessed a referential value which may have been preferred over a painted or sketched representation.[17]

Cartes de visite are also found in the "Secluded Vision" albums. Patented by André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri in Paris in 1854, the *carte* was a small, inexpensive portrait photograph "six by nine centimeters, that could be pasted on the back of a conventional engraved calling card."[18] Its popularity lasted until the late 1860s, when it was surpassed by the larger cabinet card. Its affordability was due to the efficient use of the photographic plate: "by dividing one collodion-coated glass plate into ten rectangles which could be exposed simultaneously or in a series, ten portraits could be printed in the time that formerly yielded a single, full plate image."[19] Soon albums were produced for the preservation and display of *cartes*. These albums played a part in the sanctification of the woman's domestic realm. As Parker argues for the nineteenth century middle-class cult of the family, so too

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[16] Taft, 184. Taft also notes that the popularity of the American stereograph exceeded that of the *carte de visite*, and "thus has the longest history of any form of photograph . . . stereoscopic photographs were made in the early [1850s], and in every subsequent decade up to the [1930s] . . . by all photographic processes."

[17] Higonnet, 174, writes that De Krüdner's album includes images in various media: penned caricatures, watercolour landscapes, lithographs, maps, photographs, pressed flowers and butterflies.

[18] Elizabeth Anne McCauley, A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Viste Portrait Photograph (New Haven: Yale University Press,1985), 3. While McCauley's study is limited to France, "[the carte's] history in France can be supposed to correspond to its patterns of adoption and influence elsewhere." Greenhill and Burrill, 44, write that the popularity of *cartes* during the American Civil War "also created an economic boom in Canada."

[19] McCauley, 1.

does McCauley. As embroidery inculcated feminine behaviours,[20] the *carte* album focused concern on the family and its public representation:

> Modelled on medieval breviary, with a heavy embossed leather or thermoplastic cover and a series of metal latches, the carte album can be considered the new, positivist bible of the Second Empire, in which all that was admired or held sacred by the family could be preserved and exhibited to friends and visitors . . . Contemplation of the family, rather than the Holy Family, filled the leisure hours of the bourgeoisie, for whom the carte album, like the stereoscope, became a faddish parlour amusement as well as the object of personal devotions and heartaches.[21]

McCauley links this desire for the mass-produced image with the culture of the industrial age: the *carte de visite*'s popularity marks "the insidious transformation of the individual into a malleable commodity."[22]

However, rather than acknowledging the broader social/material context of the *carte*'s production, in "Secluded Vision" its consideration is limited to feminine self-representation. One paragraph describes albums with photographs as assembled images: "In their albums, women assembled images . . . women exchanged and collected *carte de viste* portraits of friends and family, making their albums microcosmic versions of their social networks." Later, Higonnett considers the opening illustration of "Secluded Vision" - an 1865 *carte de visite* photograph of a woman sitting at a studio prop table, perusing a *carte de visite* album: "The woman in the photograph relies on surfaces to represent herself, yet her individual and social presence still generate the image's message. She manipulates her stance and her accessories, she seeks out the photographer whose style flatters her preconceptions of

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[20] Parker, 88: "the household was becoming the agency for moral and religious control. The advent of samplers with embroidered pledges of obedience to mother or father, and moralizing verses, signifies the changes."

[21] McCauley, 48. In France, commercial *carte* albums date from 1860, but may have been produced as early as 1854.

[22] McCauley, 223.

herself."[23] The sitter ultimately accepts or rejects the photographs, yet her image is mediated by the photographer, social conventions and commodity culture. While the female sitter may manipulate her stance, McCauley writes that a woman did not have the same freedom of expression as her male counterpart: "propriety demanded that a woman only exhibit herself standing, closed-mouthed, fully clothed, and calm, unless she had the excuse of being an entertainer."[24] Props were an important aspect of the *carte*'s composition and function as signifier of the sitter's social status: "The purpose of showing an individual's surroundings was originally emblematic, to complete his characterization by revealing the objects he used or collected. Carte photographers vitiated his goal by providing the sitter with ready-made "home," class, and taste."[25] In fact, Higonnet notes that the *carte* presents the viewer with emblems of bourgeois femininity.[26]

Nonetheless, for a sitting in a professional studio, exposure time for the *carte*'s collodion negative was usually fifteen to thirty seconds. While certain compositions may have been fashionable and promoted through the trade journals, the pose and the studio props were more often than not manipulated by the photographer to steady the sitter and to aid in securing a clear image. Photographic trade journals would address the problems of lighting, props, posing and processing.[27] Due to early processes' long exposures, photographers used

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[23] Higonnet, 179 and 182.

[24] McCauley, 91. McCauley also notes that women were most often seen sitting in *cartes* of married couples, but these were not as popular as single portraits.

[25] McCauley, 149.

[26] Higonnet, 182

[27] Studios gave suggestions and instructions which influenced the appearance of their sitters. Scott Robson, " 'Now hold it!' People and Portrait photography" in Social History and Photography: The Atlantic Region, 1870-1921 (Halifax: Art Gallery Mount Saint Vincent University, 1990) 54: A circa 1888 leaflet, "Hints to Sitters" produced by a Halifax photography studio, recommends that "velvet, though beautiful, should be avoided ... light blue will appear nearly white ... in dressing the hair avoid divergence from the ordinary style

headrests to steady their sitters. A New York photographer, William Kurtz, said of *cartes* in 1871: "The pose invariably stereotyped; here the inevitable little table, the irrepressible columns, chairs, hanging curtains, to say nothing of the head-rest, whose foot generally makes a third in the picture."[28] The chapter "The Family Album" in Photography and the American Scene is mostly devoted to the popularity of the *carte de viste* and its effect upon the newly emerging commodity of the photograph. A photographic journal account of May 1863 states: "In Boston, as in every other city and town in this country, the card photograph has for the past two years been in universal demand, almost to the complete exclusion of every other style of photographic portraiture, and has in fact produced a revolution in the photographic business."[29] In Higonnet's illustration, the prop of the *carte* album is particularly significant as a commodity: the sitter is reinforcing not only the approved feminine behaviour of album-making/keeping, but also the consumption of *cartes* and *carte albums.*

Higonnet's observations regarding women's involvement in the construction of feminine imagery is valuable in understanding the emergence of the photographic albums. However, the photographs which appear in her albums are not discussed as commodities. This is troubling as she associates the end of femininity's "secluded vision" with the dominance of the commodity culture. Higonnet contrasts the *carte* and women's albums with fashion illustrations: the latter, she argues, represents the co-opting of feminine imagery

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as changes are disguises."

[28] Philadelphia Photographer 8: 2 cited in Taft, 321-322.

[29] Humphrey's Journal 15 (1862-63): 12 and 32, cited in Taft, 143. The remainting quotation clearly indicates the economic influence of the *carte de visite*'s popularity: "It is interesting to see what changes in the photographic business have been wrought by the paper pictures; *carte de visite* especially. There has been a great falling off in the demand for cases, mats, preservers, glass, etc. [Ambrotype and Daguerreotype materials] and a proportional increase in the sales of albumen paper, cardboard, iodides, bromides, toning dishes, and baths."

by consumer culture. For Higonnet to identify certain forms of photography with commodity culture and not others oversimplifies the technology's effect upon society. McCauley argues that the *carte* as a luxury item "could have been conceived only during a period of industrial expansion," as an image of the sitter's social aspirations.[30] While Higonnet links the fashion illustration with albums' feminine imagery, McCauley cites the similarity between the fashion plate and the *carte.* In the former instance, it is noted that fashion illustration shared the same compositions and themes as "most figures in albums and amateur paintings."[31] However, regardless of the freedom in arranging an album's image, photographs - *cartes* or otherwise - are purchased self-images: "That the carte photograph shared many formal qualities with the fashion plate is not surprising, since both were intended to sell a figure's good looks and publicly display him [or her] to an anonymous viewer."[32]

Higonnet's concluding statements inadvertently create a photographic hierarchy, wherein certain types of photography found in feminine imagery, the studio *cartes* and the stereoscopic views which resemble most closely the formal portraits and landscapes of high art, are disconnected from their commodity context. By the end of the nineteenth century, "feminine visual culture and consumer culture had merged almost entirely. Postcards of celebrities replaced family photographs in albums, department store bonuses succeeded water-colours, snapshots taken like trophies supplanted the mixed-media narratives of earlier voyages."[33] The mass-produced postcard or the instantaneous snapshot are not considered by Higonnet as a part of the discreet act of feminine album making. Yet, from the *carte de*

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[30] McCauley, 1.

[31] Higonnet, 180-1

[32] McCauley, 36. Further, "the fact that many artists pursued multiple careers, as caricaturists, fashion illustrators, and photographers, also contributed to the similarity of approaches in these areas."

[33] Higonnet, 182.

visite's beginning, its most popular subjects were "types" (unusual or pathetic persons) and celebrities, the *cartes* bought for amusement, as spectacle or momento of a theatrical performance: "The mass production of carte photographs of heads of state, artists, writers, and other individuals who qualified as celebrities formed the mainstay of Disdéri's studio in the late 1850s and 1860s as it did the majority of large urban studios throughout the world."[34] Her use of the phrase "snapshots taken like trophies" is also intriguing. Quoting the Oxford English Dictionary, John A. Kouwenhoven notes that "snapshot" was originally a hunting term, meaning "a hurried shot, taken without deliberate aim."[35] Generally, hunting is perceived to be a masculine activity, thus the implication is that the snapshot, displayed like a trophy head, displaced the labour intensive feminine album construction. By extension, the definition of acceptable feminine behaviour was broadened.

By regarding her album's photography as an adjunct to painting, yet in a category separate from high art, Higonnet echoes the debate over photography's artistic merits. If anything, photography's diffusion also broadened the definition of art, as the availability of inexpensive camera technology to most classes of society increased the visual component of individual and familial identity construction. While Higonnet argues that capitalism absorbed feminine imagery, it must be acknowledged that widespread camera technology also made the means of self-representation accessible to less privileged classes. Visual histories, once a sign of noble lineages, were now displayed in humble parlours.

Higonnet's argument for album making as rehearsal of feminine obligations is similar to that made by Josephine Gear in her study "The Baby's Picture: Woman as Image Maker in Small-Town America."[36] Like Higonnet, Gear identifies these women in turn-of-the-century

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[34] McCauley, 15 and 82.

[35] Kouwenhoven, 107.

[36] Josephine Gear, "The Baby's Picture: Woman as Image Maker in Small-Town America" in Feminist Studies 13.2 (Summer 1987): 419-443.

New York state as image producers, "as they help to shape and use photographic conventions and images to assert a sense of their own importance in the reproduction of the family and its public representation." As in the previous studies of women's art practices, the boundaries separating the private and the public sphere are blurred. The baby's picture, consumed in a domestic setting, nevertheless was a symbol of motherhood and displayed a family's social aspirations. Yet, while the public invaded the private, Gear argues women were increasingly identified with the domestic sphere: "Images of mother with baby proliferated both in the high art and the popular culture of industrial capitalist nations, as the increased separation of public and private spheres encouraged a compensatory emphasis on the mother and baby in family life." In the turn-of-century's patriarchal culture, the infant, particularly a boy, was placed above the mother in the family hierarchy. The baby was her responsibility, as were the arrangements for its portrait to be taken. A visit to the photographer's studio was a ritual she observed, just like baptism, christening, and mother and child's first at-home: "Each event was a double social initiation, introducing both the mother and the infant to the community."[37]

The baby pictures studied by Gear were produced for both urban middle-class and rural farming families, and thus provide more information on the links between class and photographic conventions. In considering the function of these pictures and the small-town families that commissioned them, Gear determined that this genre of photograph falls into two categories: the formal portrait preferred by rural families and the less-formal professional portrait sought by urban families. Like the full length *carte de visite* portrait, the formally composed photograph positions the child in the foreground and often displays material goods, either studio props or the parents' possessions. This is significant, since in the rural family both parents worked, often engaged in another related trade, such as

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[37] Gear, 419, 420 and 421-422. In a link to the *carte de visite*'s origins in the calling card, the child's first at-home was announced with his or her first calling card.

furniture-making or upholstery. A rural mother had many tasks, not just the raising of her children, and therefore did not solely identify herself as a mother. Gear argues that farming families preferred the formal portrait, with its material trappings, because it was a symbol of the family and its hopes for the future. Conversely, the more intimate photograph of the urban family places the baby much closer to the foreground, at eye level, and eschews most props. By isolating the child from its social/familial context, it becomes "an emblem of motherhood in and of itself."[38] Ironically, bourgeois women's freedom from labour had limited their experiences and expressions of individuality.

Although Gear does not make any definite association between the type of baby picture and the manner in which it was viewed, the reader may presume that both styles of photograph were displayed in a parlour setting. Significantly, many baby photographs were displayed in albums: "Photos were not made to be shut away in the family photo album and never seen. They were framed and displayed on the front parlour mantle where visitors could examine them. Or they were set in albums and brought out for examination and gossip on 'a long afternoon of visiting.' "[39] What links these types of albums to those discussed in Higonnet is their role in middle-class women's social construction of self.

Gear's example of Lelia Warren Angell's circa 1890 scrapbook journal clearly illustrates how devotion to family can dominate a woman's personal expression. Within the covers, Angell kept two journals, one of her married life which included clippings of social events the couple attended, the other of her motherhood. Although not a photo album, her scrapbook is similar to the albums of "Secluded Vision." Angell traced her son's hands onto its pages, noted physical changes, hair and eye colour, weight and length, their first words and steps. When one son died in his second year she ended the entries in her motherhood

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[38] Gear, 426 and 428-30.

[39] Gear, 422.

journal with mourning poems and sympathy cards. Gear argues that Lelia Angell "saw her motherhood as something that essentially defined her social identity . . . Without evidence of her motherhood, Lelia Angell's social profile would not be complete."[40] As baby pictures were displayed and gossiped over, as the social journal and motherhood journal shared the same covers, so too was private loss experienced in the social sphere.

While "Secluded Vision" and "The Baby's Picture" emphasize both the mixed media and the photograph album's function in reaffirming women's social roles to a greater or lesser degree within the family, a brief study by Marina Warner examines the subversive possibilities of the Victorian family album. The albums discussed in "Parlour Made" are often mixed-media constructions with an emphasis on photographs incorporated into drawings. Whereas Higonnet's worktable is a place where femininity is re-articulated, Warner's parlours of the privileged classes witness the making of albums which are voices "raised against banality."[41] Held in the Victoria and Albert collection, these Victorian photographic albums, like those discussed by Higonnet, are associated with domestic arts, their compilers orchestrating much of their meaning:

> Though it cannot be known for certain whose hand is involved in the albums, it's very likely that Victorian women here and elsewhere added the tasks of selection, cropping, framing and embellishment to the usual grospoint, samplers and whatnot with which they whiled away long evenings at home . . . [these albums were a means of] self-expression and gratification.[42]

A particularly avant garde album by Kate E. Gough, circa 1870, has family members' photographs incorporated into a sketch of monkeys and ducks with women's heads. Warner points out that Gough's image may have been a comment on one of the great scientific

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[40] Gear, 438.

[41] Marina Warner, "Parlour Made" in Creative Camera 315 (April-May 1992): 28.

[42] Warner, 29-30.

debates of the day, as it was made at the height of the controversy surrounding Darwinism. Warner notes that "dislocations of scale . . . , the mixture of farce and solemnity, the *jeux d'esprit* in fantastic vein . . . all anticipate the deflationary devices of the Surrealists."[43] This mixing of media can also be connected to fancywork and its anticipation of Cubist techniques: "Women worked with shells, feathers and paper collage. However, the artistic value and potential of these new media were not recognized until the twentieth century, when they were adopted by male artists."[44] Williams also comments on the significance of these Englishwomen's albums in their whimsical use of collage and anticipation of the family album's popularity.[45]

Additionally, Warner considers albums of celebrities, Disdéri's mainstay, which Higonnet associates with the end of the century.[46] As in other albums, the photographs have been elaborated upon: the album described by Warner has photographs of famous beauties in its cardboard openings, around which the creator has drawn elaborate floral and jewelled borders. Revealing her understanding of Victorian gender construction, she writes that "such close, decorative water-colour work would be a most unusual masculine practice at the time . . . and women's identification with the objects of their menfolk's fantasy has always been strong."[47] The production of albums for celebrity photos encourages the idealization and emulation of public figures. These types of embellished images are another way femininity is reinforced and re-articulated visually in patriarchal culture.

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[43] Warner, 30, notes that this monkey image was created at the height of Darwinism.

[44] Parker, 80.

[45] Williams, 18.

[46] Judging from the date Warner gives for the album, late 1860s, its photographs may be *cartes de visite*.

[47] Warner, 30. This, however, is a heterosexual reading of the albums' possible meaning.

A few of Warner's privileged album producers were also amateur photographers. Like the water-colours and sketches of Higonnet's albums, their photographs were particularly autobiographical, exploring ideas of the social self and self-representation: "it is striking how often these aristocrats, with enough money to indulge in the new expensive medium, pictured themselves at work or included their products in the picture . . . self consciousness, even a fashionable self-reflexiveness, seems to have come naturally to early practitioners of photography."[48] Such photos were made visible, as albums did not conceal but displayed these images to the maker, family and friends.

Charlotte Bridgeman practiced wet-plate photography and her album was a means of self-expression, even visual autobiography. She often was the subject of her own pictures. To achieve this, Bridgeman set up the composition and had someone else release the shutter. However, the viewer is still aware of the restrictions placed upon women, even of the privileged classes: Bridgeman's album and photographs convey "the tedious confinement of the unmarried and unoccupied women's domestic round." Williams writes that the photography of the aristocracy and the gentry rarely functioned as a tool for social change. Even though wealth may have offered her freedoms, such as the opportunity to pursue amateur photography, within her privileged circle a woman gained power through a socially approved marriage and subsequent motherhood. Interestingly, Warner notes that Bridgeman did many studies of a companion "Miss Hope" and often appeared in photos with her sister Lucy. As discussed later in this chapter in reference to women's albums in turn-of-the-century America, Bridgeman may have been representing a very important and fulfilling relationship and may have chosen not to marry. There is no opportunity for analysis,

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[48] Warner, 30.

however, as none of Bridgeman's photographs of "tedious confinement" are included in "Parlour Made."[49]

The construction of albums as a feminine pursuit is further emphasized by Warner in her discussion of Lewis Wingfield, a young upper-class man who shunned his class's conventions of masculinity by rejecting public life and taking up acting. Although he was unconventional and spent some years as a photographer, it is believed unlikely that he compiled his own album. That may have been done by his relative Lady Fanny Jocelyn, herself an aristocratic photographer whose production was, according to Williams, undertaken with the "express intent of arranging them in an album." There is no comparison of the layouts of the Wingfield and Lady Jocelyn albums, which may have supported the argument of Lady Jocelyn's involvement. Warner argues that the Wingfield album represents a man who has the opportunity to experiment with his social identity: "This is not something offered to women of his status, and can't be found therefore in the albums made by women." While Lewis Wingfield's album contained highly stylized self-portraits, photographs from travels to Europe and Asia, Lady Jocelyn's photographs predictably chronicled the family's social circle and its "progress from country house to country house."[50] However, if the album was compiled by Lady Jocelyn, then it is possible that she influenced the photographic representation of Lewis Wingfield.

The above examples of album making relate to professional and amateur photographic practices, but Warner does not mention the use of snapshot cameras, although they could have been found in later Victorian albums. With the advent of the Kodak box and pocket cameras near the turn-of-the century, the practice of photography, and issues of

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[49] Warner, 32 and 15. Speculations as to the reasons behind her unmarried state will remain unanswered as both Bridgeman and her sister Lucy died from burns in 1858.

[50] Warner, 32, and Williams, 14. Lady Jocelyn's work was included in the Bridgeman album.

gender and class connected with it, therefore, changed markedly. The affordable price of many camera models made them accessible to those classes which hitherto depended on the services of the professional photographer. No longer did a person need knowledge of complicated processes or the money to purchase home equipment. In addition, Kodak recognized the consumer power of women: "to promote the new cameras Eastman advertised widely . . . in leading magazines, such as *Harper's, Life, Time* . . . Many of the advertisements featured young women with the camera, setting a pattern which was to become an integral feature of his company's advertising."[51]

Coe and Gates write that from 1901 onwards both North American and British Kodak operations made a consistent use of either a photograph or a drawing of "The Kodak Girl." In Britain, the drawing (introduced 1910) was especially popular: "her striped dress, it is said, had a strong influence on popular fashion . . . [she was shown] in a wide variety of settings . . . from the English countryside to more exotic locations . . . her message was simple and direct - 'No holiday is complete without a Kodak camera.' "[52] Kodak advertisements featuring a photograph of a woman with parasol and folding camera were placed in early 1900s editions of the Manitou Western Canadian by Nellie McClung's husband Wesley, who sold cameras, photographic supplies and photo albums at his pharmacy. It is all the more significant that these advertisements are associated with Nellie McClung, one of the most well-known suffragettes in Canadian history. That the Kodak camera and women were so closely associated reinforced the technology's simplicity: "You press the button, and we do the rest" - so simple even a woman can do it. Kodak used sex-appeal to sell its product, and soon the Kodak was a signifier of an out-going and free-spirited young woman:

The Kodak Girl

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[51] Coe and Gates, 18.

[52] Coe and Gates, 35.

She is delicate and sweet;
She is pretty and petite;
Her hair is either fluffy or in curl;
And a man with any taste
Would go far to clasp her waist;
While her dainty ankles make your senses whirl.

When I see her calm and bland
With a Kodak in her hand
Prepared to take a snap-shot, sun or rain,
My eyes have snapped her face
In its witchery and grace
And have printed it in colours on my brain.

I hope that in her glee
She has a shot at me
With the Kodak which she carries in her hand.

For I know my photograph
In her eyes will loving laugh
When she puts it on the mantle in a stand.[53]

Whether it was an intentional advertisement for Kodak products or a parody, the above poem constructs the camera as means of romantic fulfillment controlled by an feminine, alluring photo-snapping girl. In promoting photography, the image of Kodak Girl in turn became a product to be consumed.

Women's photography and album production were lent an added respectability and aristocratic image through Queen Alexandra's use of Kodak products. In 1897 at an Eastman Photographic Materials Company Limited of London exhibition, her photographs were displayed with others by royal photographers. This exhibition also travelled to New York City and was seen by an estimated 26,000 people.[54] In 1902, Alexandra also issued a

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[53] William E.S. Fales in The Photo Beacon (February 1902): 38 in Camera Fiends and Kodak Girls, ed. Peter E. Palmquist (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989) 127.

[54] Coe and Gates, 20-21

Royal Warrant to George Eastman as purveyor of photographic materials to the Royal Family. The Queen's use of the emerging technology is in keeping with Williams' observations regarding the aristocracy and photography: "they have been seen, through photography, exactly as they have wished to be seen, exactly as social, economic and political circumstances have suggested that a particular image suits a particular time."[55] In 1908, Alexandra's photographs were also published in the popular Queen Alexandra's Christmas Gift Book, subtitled Photographs From My Camera.[56] Although its frontispiece is a formal portrait of the Queen by "Messrs W. and D. Downey, 61 Ebury Street, London, S.W.," significantly, its format replicates that of a photo album. The pages are alternately black and white separated by tissue paper, the former having the printed photographs actually pasted on each page. Despite its aristocratic subjects, the captions are relatively informal: "The King returning for Lunch from a Deer Drive", or "Family Group at Athens."[57] The photo album presented the royal family as a suitable subject for contemplation and emulation, and photography as an appropriately feminine pursuit. Correspondingly, the quality and status of Kodak products were reinforced by Royal Warrant.

Kodak's marketing aside, these descendants of mid-nineteenth century mixed media and *carte* albums provided opportunities for women's self expression. These opportunities were especially important for western women like Nellie McClung, as Motz notes that western migration separated women from friends and relatives in the east. During the nineteenth century, women's letters to other women described the house, its furnishings, fabrics and decoration. Accessible camera technology enabled women to document their lives visually for themselves and others. Albums produced at the turn-of-the-century did not

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[55] Williams, 15.

[56] Coe and Gates, 29.

[57] Queen Alexandra, Queen Alexandra's Christmas Gift Book: Photographs From My Camera (London: The Daily Telegraph, 1908) N. pag.

have pre-cut slots as found in *carte* albums but were made of stiff paper onto which photos were glued. Motz argues that this allowed for more creative arrangements of photos, and she draws parallels between album production and other arts, specifically quilts. She notes that in the late nineteenth century "crazy quilts" were increasingly popular. Just as the crazy quilt was composed of variously shaped pieces of fabric, some albums included collages of irregularly shaped photos.[58]

A number of albums in the Motz study represent compilers' families through group and individual photos. These albums are defined as visual autobiographies rather than family albums because they seem to represent a single perspective.[59] Of the Marie Allemendinger Kolberg album, Motz writes: "She appears not to be acting as an agent to preserve the photographs taken of the family as a collective body, but rather to be organizing her impressions of her life." However, a number of the women whose albums are held in mid-western archives use the visual conventions of family photographs to "comment on their own lives and on the traditional women's roles they had rejected."[60] These women have an awareness of the construction of "femininity," but gender is not rehearsed in these albums, rather the albums are expressions of non-conformity.

As in the earlier studies, Motz notes that women's album production was a socially accepted activity because it was linked to the expression of family unity. In the case of some of the Michigan and Ohio albums researched, the inversion of visual conventions were most often found in the albums of single women, including those who had chosen other women as life partners. An album by Grace McClurg Carson, dating from approximately the same years as the Nellie McClung album, shows a heart-shaped photograph of two women sitting

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[58] Motz, 72, 65 and 75.

[59] Therefore, most of the albums considered in this chapter may be described as visual autobiographies.

[60] Motz, 69 and 63.

side-by-side with the caption "An Old Sweetheart of Mine." Another conventional-looking photograph of a women on a porch is elaborated by the caption "My 'Old Woman' - She 'doubled my joys and halved my sorrows.' " Jennie Hatch's album includes a photo titled "Three Generations" which shows two women, the younger of the two holds a doll in her arms in an apparent satire of family photo conventions.[61]

The photo album of Nellie McClung, which will be considered in chapters three and four, appears to fall within the category of visual autobiography. It does not appear to parody the conventions of family photography, as Nellie was married and, characteristic of first-wave feminists, considered motherhood and the family as an inspiration for social change. However, of those pictures which can be contextualized, many seem to refer to the events of McClung's Manitou years, during which she gained considerable prominence as a novelist.

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[61] Motz, 63-86.

Chapter Three: Nellie McClung and Non-Elite Photography in Manitou, Manitoba

As stated in the introduction, the Nellie McClung photographic album was given to the British Columbia Archives by Robert Wesley (Wes) McClung in 1953, two years after the death of his wife in Victoria, BC. Comparison of some album images with photographs from sources such as the Provincial Archives of Manitoba's Visual Records, support my contention that the album dates from approximately 1896-1911, the years Nellie and Wesley McClung lived in Manitou, Manitoba. Although she lived in Victoria for nineteen years, sixteen years at "Lantern Lane" - 1861 Ferndale Road in Gordon Head,[1] it was in Manitoba where McClung became known nationally and internationally as an author and political activist. This chapter discusses the early events of Nellie McClung's life and those photographs which appear to confirm the above dating. Additionally, photographic practices and photography's uses in Manitou and early 1900s Western Canada will be considered.

An account of McClung's life reveals similarities to and differences from those of the album-makers considered previously. Although McClung represented middle-class feminism's struggle for female suffrage, she grew up on farms and in villages, where the idealized Victorian housewife was far from the reality of the homesteading woman.[2] In order to provide a context for McClung's album production, this chapter presents the events of her life in quotations which elaborate upon her social experiences. The sources for this information are McClung's two autobiographies, Clearing in the West and The Stream Runs Fast, and Mary Hallett and Marilyn Davis' recent work, Firing the Heather: The Life and Times of Nellie McClung, for which McClung's writings are a primary source. However,

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[1] McClung's two collections of her syndicated newspaper column essays are named after her home: Leaves from Lantern Lane (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1936) and More Leaves from Lantern Lane (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1937).

[2] Elizabeth Jameson, "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West," in The Women's West, eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987) 150.

McClung's self-fashioned history in these texts is complex and subjective. Hallett and Davis point out that "McClung did, at times, alter or embroider on the facts in the writing of her autobiography."[3] Furthermore, Misao Dean argues that McClung claims a "truth" for her autobiographies, yet constructs her persona "Nellie" as self-effacing.[4] Consequently, the issue of self-effacement and certain passages from her autobiographies will be revisited in chapter four's discussion of her album as visual autobiography.

Nellie Letitia Mooney was a first generation Canadian and pioneer, born in 1873 near Chatsworth, Grey County, Ontario to John and Letitia Mooney. Nellie was the last of six children, nearly fifteen years younger than her eldest sibling Will. Nellie's father came to Canada from Tipperary, Ireland in 1830, settled in Grey County by the 1840s and married Letitia in 1858. She had recently immigrated from Scotland with her mother, Margaret Fullerton McCurdy.[5] From all accounts, Nellie had a happy childhood, although rural life was arduous and Letitia Mooney was "the High Priestess of all domestic rights."[6] Nellie assisted her mother and learned of women's many responsibilities to farm and family: meal preparation, the vegetable garden, the dairy, the poultry, washing, spinning, weaving and sewing, soap-making, assisting with slaughtering and some field work at planting and harvest time.[7] Hallett and Davis note that "in the early pioneer days many farmers had to abandon farming because their wives were unable to withstand the physical strain that their endless

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[3] Mary Hallett and Marilyn Davis, Firing the Heather: The Life and Times of Nellie McClung (Saskatoon, Sask: Fifth House, 1994) 37.

[4] Dean, Voicing, 88.

[5] Hallett and Davis, 1-7.

[6] Nellie McClung, Clearing in the West: My Own Story (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1936) 33.

[7] Jameson, 150, argues that life's vicissitudes meant gendered work roles were often permeable and changeable

duties of a farm house imposed on them."[8] For the Mooney family, these hardships were increased as their stony land produced little surplus: "thirty years of hard work had developed a farm that kept the family well-fed and housed but little more." According to McClung, after a long day of difficult plowing her brother Will decided to move to Manitoba, and went ahead in the spring of 1879. The family followed in May, 1880, living in a tent city in Winnipeg before continuing by foot and ox-cart to their new land near Millford, 40 km (25 miles) south-east of Brandon at the junction of the Souris and Assiniboine Rivers.[9]

The first years near Millford were devoted to building the homestead and cultivating the land for wheat, which became their main cash crop. In 1882 their log and thatch cabin was replaced by a new house, whose raising was a community event: "logs had been brought for two winters from the bush, squared and made ready and there came a great day when the neighbours gathered, men and women and the house went up, with great good will." With the family established, Nellie could finally receive formal schooling: "the great event of our first three years was the building of the [Northfield] school - two miles from our farm ... I would be ten years old that fall and I was deeply sensitive about my age and ignorance. [My sister] ... was willing to teach me, but I would not be taught. I was going to be a cowboy anyway, so why should I bother with an education?" Her homespun clothes were another anxiety related to school and her social position, as the sewing and weaving once commonplace and done by Letitia Mooney out of necessity, were now a conspicuous sign of the family's thrifty pioneer ways. McClung recounts her mother having said: "The [children] are a little bit ashamed of home-made stuff. They want machine-made clothes ... It was a kindness too, on Willie's part - he knew I had plenty to do without weaving, but weaving was not work - it was my pleasure." That Will did not let his mother bring her spinning wheel

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[8] Marjorie Griffin Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," cited in Hallett and Davis, 7.

[9] McClung, Clearing, 38 and 55-81.

and loom from Ontario also suggests that it was possibly a sign of the Mooney's lower socio-economic status. Of the clothes Nellie wore for the first day of school, she wished she had a dress made from manufactured cloth: "I was sure I would be the only girl at school with a homespun dress and, I was. I think mother had been somewhat hurt with us because we all preferred 'boughten' goods." Once established at school, Nellie was successful in learning to read and write, and excelled in her studies. After six years of schooling, she sought independence through one of the few occupations available to young women in the late nineteenth century, teaching. She was able to do this, in part, because as a younger child she had less responsibility for assisting in the running of the farm. Later in Clearing in the West, Nellie's brother Jack attributes her independence and education to a laziness that he, as a young man, was compelled to reject: "There is always something to do on a farm if you're willing to do it. I've been too willing. You were blessed by a having a saving streak of laziness. You wouldn't piece quilts or crotchet, or knit, and you raised a row when you had to stay at home from school, but I hopped in and did a man's work since I was fourteen."[10]

Nellie wrote exams at the Normal School in Brandon and obtained her Second Class Certificate in July of 1889, which made her eligible to attend the Winnipeg Normal School in September. On the day she learned of her acceptance, McClung writes that she compared the life before her with that of her older married sister, Lizzie: "Lizzie was always an immaculate house-keeper and loved pretty things ...I wondered if it satisfied her ... I wondered if this little house felt like a prison to Lizzie as it would to me."[11] From September,1889 to February,1890 Nellie attended Normal School in Winnipeg, sometimes

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[10] McClung, Clearing, 82-83, 92, 178, 96 and 242. Hallett and Davis, 26, note that as a girl, Nellie engaged in some tasks usually done by the men, such as tanning hides. This was not unusual for girls, see Katherine Harris, "Homesteading in Northeastern Colorado, 1873-1920: Sex Roles and Women's Experience" in Armitage and Jameson, 170.

[11] McClung, Clearing, 240.

substitute teaching there. She particularly enjoyed debating; the skills gained would prove to be valuable in the coming years. When she returned home, she delayed seeking a teaching position, since her mother thought her too young and too outspoken; conversely, "Mother had the Old-world reverence for men, and attributed to her sons qualities of wisdom and foresight which, no doubt, surprised them … she had no faith in my discretion at all."[12]

However, in late August of 1890 Nellie took over a teaching position at the Hazel school near Manitou, 95 km (60 miles) south-east of Millford in the Pembina Valley. It was during this time that she became involved in the temperance movement, as she came in contact with families who had suffered from alcohol abuse. Her political consciousness was also developing at this time; McClung recalls a petition for women's suffrage circulated at a quilting bee: "I gathered that the ladies were opposed to the movement, and were bitterly scornful of the minister's wife and her friend for sponsoring it … were they not quilting for the manse? I was surprised to see how bitter they were."[13] She became more involved in the Women's Christian Temperance Union when she transferred to the Manitou school in 1892. There she boarded with the Methodist minister, Rev. J.A. McClung, whose wife Annie was active in the WCTU, holding the position of provincial president. During Nellie's first winter in Manitou "the WCTU opened a reading room and amusement room, and it became a gathering place for the intelligensia after four and on Saturday afternoons."[14] It was in Manitou that Nellie met her future husband, Wesley, a clerk at Mr. Scarlett's drug store and eldest son of the Rev. and Mrs. McClung.

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[12] McClung, Clearing, 257.

[13] McClung, Clearing, 264 and 287-88. While quilting and embroidery differ, Parker, 102, argues that "embroiderers throughout history were rarely in the vanguard of the fight for women's rights."

[14] McClung, Clearing, 316.

Nellie's father died in January, 1893 and the month was spent in mourning at the Mooney home. The Mooney's recognized the appropriate Victorian mourning customs: new black dresses were made in Wawanesa, Nellie had black-edged handkerchiefs, black-edged notepaper, and her mother wore a long crepe veil. In January, 1894 Nellie attended Winnipeg Collegiate, where she obtained her First Class Teaching Certificate. While in attendance she corresponded with Wes, who was studying at the College of Pharmacy in Toronto. By August of that year she had secured a teaching position in Treherne, 80 km (50 miles) north of Manitou, where again she boarded with the McClungs, who had recently moved there. She taught grades 6-8, sang in the choir, joined the WCTU and helped with the Mission Band. Nellie returned to Millford in the summer of 1895 to assist on the various family farms, making the large meals for the threshing crews. In her autobiography she laments the increasing industrialization of farm life: "I am glad I knew of the farm in the days of abundance before the evil days had come when machinery had driven out the horses ... after the threshing machine came Jack and Will lost their day of rest."[15] In January 1896 Nellie resumed teaching at the nearby Northfield School. Wesley, recently graduated, had bought Scarlett's Manitou drug store.[16] Her family's social status was a concern and Nellie worried about her mother's first meeting with the young pharmacist: "I wondered what he would think of my people who ate in the kitchen, in their shirt sleeves."[17] However, by the end of his visit to Millford, Wesley was given permission to marry Nellie.

The decision to marry was apparently not an easy one for a young, independent woman who had ambitions of becoming a writer. When her eldest sister Lizzie's first child

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[15] McClung, Clearing, 334-35 and 370-371.

[16] Haraldine Webb and Diana Vodden, eds, In Rhythm With Our Roots: A History of Manitou and Area (Rosenort, Manitoba: Country Graphics, 1997) 224. Hallett and Davis, 88: Wesley also bought another drug store in nearby Crystal City in 1900.

[17] McClung, Clearing, 375.

had died, Nellie wrote that marriage had a "terrible finality about it." Of her impending marriage to Wesley she states: "I would not need to lay aside my ambition if I married him. He would not want me to devote my whole life to him, he often said so."[18] However, her journal entries of this time indicate she was considerably more apprehensive about the consequences of marriage. On January 31,1895 she writes: "She saw herself so full of ambition and desire to excel that everything is made subservient to that; and O, the high hopes, the day dreams of greatness and fame, never, never to be realized ... I was to have been a great author and sent my tho'ts to the millions."[19] Nellie overcame these concerns and married Wesley on August 25, 1896 in the Wawanesa Presbyterian Church.

For the first years of their marriage, Nellie and Wesley lived above the drug store in Manitou. Manitou at the turn-of-the-century was, according to Canada Census of 1901, a village with 617 inhabitants,[20] connected to larger centres such as Winnipeg by the south-western branch of the CPR. In Manitou, Nellie was again involved in a number of community organizations including the WCTU and its children's group the Band of Hope, the Methodist Sunday School and Ladies Aid, and the Home Economics Association, which advised women on household management concerns. Hallett and Davis note that the WCTU supported many reforms, including women's suffrage, and was central to small town social and cultural life. Wesley, too, was a community leader holding positions as town councillor and mayor (1905-07), and was a member of the Masons, the temperance group the Royal Templars, the "Dog and Duck" hunting club, and the local and provincial lacrosse

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[18] McClung, Clearing, 224 and 354.

[19] BCARS McClung Papers, Add. MSS. 10, Vol. 26, 1895 notebook. Hallett and Davis, 63, comment on the melodramatic tone of her journal entries.

[20] Canadian Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada, Census of Population and Agriculture in the Northwest Provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1906, Canadian Parliament Sessional Paper No. 17a (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson Printer, 1907) 8.

associations.[21] Nellie found herself to be a middle-class woman in a community which had preserved some rituals of urban bourgeois life, and she enacted the social behaviours expected of her position: calling cards were engraved stating that Mrs. R.W. McClung was "at home on the first and second Tuesday from three to five." In her second autobiography, The Stream Runs Fast, McClung writes that "the first and second Tuesday was the time to have the four rooms, including hall and stairway, as clean as mortal hands could make them ... I knew how sharp-eyed the callers were." Favourite pillow shams, embroidered with the moralizing lines, "I slept and dreamed that life was beauty" / "I woke and found that life was duty" were arranged in anticipation of her guests' arrival. For McClung, farm and small town ways seemed at-odds when ladies came calling: "having cooked for threshers, I had a fear of running short ... I knew a thick sandwich would constitute a social error. I balked at cutting off the crusts though - that was the McCurdy strain in me."[22]

Nellie was pregnant with their first child, Jack, within a few months of the wedding; she recalls that the misery of her first morning sickness caused her to reflect on women's plight:

> ... why had not something been found to save women from this infernal nausea? ... what useful purpose did it serve? Life at that moment looked like a black conspiracy against women ... why had [God] thrown in this ugly extra, to spoil the occasion? It was not like God ... Women had endured too much and said nothing ... Women should change social conditions, not merely endure them, and I was positive something should be done.[23]

Indeed, to Nellie, motherhood was a woman's highest task and the inspiration for social consciousness and activism; she contends, "Women must be made to feel their responsibility. All this protective love, this instinctive mother love, must be organized in some way, and

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[21] Hallett and Davis, 70-77.

[22] McClung, The Stream Runs Fast (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1945) 23-24.

[23] McClung, Stream, 16.

made effective."[24] Nellie and Wes had four more children, Florence (1899), Paul (1900), Horace (1906) and Mark (1911). It was in Manitou that Nellie hired her first domestic servant, a young farm girl named Alice Foster, who worked for them for twelve years; McClung believed that paid domestics freed her to pursue other goals in the public realm.[25] It was also, no doubt, an accepted class practice in a community of English and Scottish immigrant families, from whom Nellie "heard much of the Royal family and their influence on the people of Britain."[26]

By 1901 Wesley had built a new drug store and the McClungs had bought their first house in Manitou, on Park Street: "it will always have a place in our affections. It had high ceilings and large rooms, a fine big farmer's kitchen." At this time Nellie was encouraged in writing by her mother-in-law, who informed her of a Colliers Magazine short story contest. Her submission was a story about the Watsons, an Irish-immigrant family who would become central to her first novel, Sowing Seeds in Danny. In 1906 Wes sold his pharmacy, but McClung gives little explanation other than "his primitive Methodist conscience" and anxiety resulting from "overcautiousness." Wesley did not secure steady employment until he found a position with Manufacturers' Life Insurance Company in 1911. With the proceeds of the drug store sale, the McClungs bought two farms, which they rented. As a result of these new circumstances, Nellie's quest to become a writer took on a more immediate urgency - she had to contribute to the family income. After success at freelance work for Sunday School publications and magazines such as Women's Home Companion, Ladies' Home Journal, Saturday Night, Canada-West Magazine and the Delineator, Nellie received a letter from E.S. Caswell at the Methodist Book and Publishing House in Toronto expressing

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[24] McClung, Stream, 27.

[25] Hallett and Davis, 76 and 44.

[26] McClung, Stream, 10.

interest in the Watson story; "I shall never forget the radiance that shone around me that day. I had no doubt in the world about my ability."[27] In 1908 the novel was published by Toronto's William Briggs, and Doubleday, Page & Company in New York. The story of the struggling Watson family and their eldest daughter Pearlie was a best seller in both Canada and the United States.

Sowing Seeds in Danny was followed by The Second Chance in 1910. During these years Nellie gave many public readings from her novels. Hallett and Davis write that between 1908 and 1911, Nellie became known as an entertaining and effective orator through her appearances in Moosejaw and Regina, Saskatchewan, St. Vincent, Minnesota, and a dozen Manitoba towns.[28] After spending the summer of 1911 at Matlock Beach near Gimli, the McClungs moved to 97 Chestnut Street in Winnipeg. In the city, Nellie's political activism was encouraged through her membership in the Canadian Women's Press Club, an association of women journalists interested in both writing and feminist reform, and whose members included Cora Hind and Francis Benyon. Through the CWPC's agitation for factory workers rights, women's suffrage and prohibition, Nellie was involved in the founding of the Winnipeg Political Equality League. 1912 saw the publication of Nellie's short stories, The Black Creek Stopping House, her last work of fiction until 1921's Purple Springs, the final instalment of the Pearlie Watson trilogy. Nellie and the PEL were active in supporting the Liberal Party in their unsuccessful bid against the incumbent Conservatives and Premiere Sir Rodmond Roblin during the 1914 provincial election. As a means of focusing public attention upon the issue of female suffrage, Nellie and her fellow suffragettes performed "The Women's Parliament" at the Walker Theatre in Winnipeg. The play was set in a parliament governed by women to which a group of men request the right to vote. Nellie

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[27] McClung, Stream, 89, 98-99, and 76.

[28] Hallett and Davis, 96. These public readings raised funds for the WCTU and local churches.

played the role of the Premiere, whose patronizing manner she had experienced first hand. Performances in Winnipeg and Brandon brought in new supporters and money for the campaign.[29] 1914 also saw her son Jack's enlistment and Wesley's transfer to Edmonton. According to her account in The Stream Runs Fast, the decision to move to Alberta came at a time when Nellie was consolidating her political influence in Manitoba: "There had been predictions that I would be invited into the [next Liberal] Cabinet, and probably be made Minister of education ... I had great dreams of what I could do for rural education." However, the pressing expectations of possibly being the first female in Cabinet reconciled her to the move to Edmonton, where she hoped to return to writing.[30]

In Alberta, Nellie published her collection of feminist essays In Times Like These, which included her conflicting thoughts on the war.[31] She supported the successful 1915 Alberta prohibition bill, made public appearances in both Canada and the United States in support of the war effort, suffrage and prohibition, joined the Equal Franchise League and was elected as a Liberal MLA for Edmonton in 1921.[32] In the Conservative assembly she remained true to her beliefs, which meant on several occasions she voted against her Liberal caucus. Of the day of her defeat in 1926, McClung writes: "No woman can be utterly cast down who has a nice bright kitchen facing west ... I set off at once on a perfect debauch of cooking ... I got more comfort that day out of my cooking spree that I did from either my

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[29] Hallet and Davis, 106-138. In 1915 Roblin resigned and the Liberals won the next election, fulfilling their promise of women's suffrage on January 28, 1916.

[30] McClung, Stream, 142 and 145: "If a woman succeeded, her success would belong to her as an individual. People would say she was an exceptional woman. She had a 'masculine' mind ... but if she failed, she failed for women everywhere."

[31] Hallett and Davis, 144, note that McClung, while still abhorring war, "came to accept the present conflict as a battle between good and evil."

[32] Hallett and Davis, 168-175. As an MLA McClung supported the Act authorizing the sterilization of the unfit. Prohibition ended in Alberta in 1923 and McClung agitated for its reinstatement, which may have been a contributing factor to her defeat in 1926.

philosophy or my religion … no woman can turn out an ovenfull of good flaky pies with well-cooked undercrusts and not find peace for her troubled soul." It was also in Alberta that Nellie, along with Emily Murphy, Irene Parlby, Louise McKinney and Henrietta Edwards instigated the famous "Person's Case" challenging the British North America Act's definition of "person" as male; at the time women were not considered persons and were therefore not eligible for senate appointments. In 1928, after the Supreme Court's refusal to reinterpret the 1867 act, the women - soon to be known as the "Famous Five" - appealed to the Privy Council in London, which decided in their favour on October 18, 1929.[33]

Despite these and other political accomplishments and appointments - to the Ecumenical Conference in London (1921), to Canadian Broadcasting's Board of Governors (1936), and the League of Nations (1938) - McClung primarily thought of herself as a writer and looked most fondly back at her years in Manitou. McClung describes the town in Clearing in the West: "I have lived in several small towns, but I have not known any other place that had such a decided flavor. Manitou was engaging, unexpected, and altogether adventurous."[34] Furthermore, in The Stream Runs Fast she writes: "I find it hard to leave the happy life we led in Manitou. I remember how often I heard my mother say that the happiest days a mother has are the years when her children are small … I know the quiet years in Manitou is the part of my life I would like to live over. They were abundant days with plenty of everything."[35] The McClung album appears to record these happy years, a time marked by McClung's success as a novelist.

Manitou and south-western Manitoba are the subjects of a number of album photos. These photos not only provide clues to McClung's photographic practice, they also reveal the

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[33] McClung, Stream, 247 and 186-89.

[34] McClung, Clearing, 312-16.

[35] McClung, Stream, 94.

uses of photography and the dissemination of photographic products in south-western Manitoba. The album itself is of the scrapbook type, 25.5 cm by 31cm (10" x 13"), consisting of 68 pages (unpaginated) and 166 photographs, some of which are identical. Its cover is blue, decorated with an illustration of a woman in Japanese-style dress and "SCRAPS" in red "orientalized" lettering. 160 images are found in the first 35 pages and there are hand-written inscriptions below 4 photographs. Over time these first 35 pages have broken from the spine, and as a result, their original order may have been lost. The damaged pages are now preserved in the album between sheets of acid-free paper. To discuss better the album photos, I have assigned a number to each image according to its page and placement thereon, roughly left to right and top to bottom.[36]

The McClung album's images are in various sizes and formats, and depict women, men, children, pets, homes, townscapes and vacations. Analysis of the album's subject matter begins with photos which can be identified as scenes of Manitou. The first photo considered is 2-2, a view of a dirt street and churches which is identical to an image from the Provincial Archives of Manitoba's (PAM) Visual Records.[37] The PAM version is identified as Manitou's Hamilton Street, facing north, circa 1908. Based on another PAM image, the churches visible on the left in 2-2 appear to be St. John's Church of England and St. Andrews Presbyterian. Not only does this image appear in PAM Visual Records, it also found three more times in the album as 8-3, 21-5 and 28-1 with slight differences in size and processing . A street with gas lamps is seen in 18-3; it is the same as an illustration of Fuller Street, facing

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[36] I have numbered the pages consecutively, as they were found in the album. Each image number consists of page and position number, separated by a dash. See Appendix A.

[37] PAM Visual Records, Manitou #11, Accession #N1347 copied from Souvenir Letter - Manitou, Canadian Pacific Railroad Series, n.d.

west, in Webb and Vodden, who note that acetylene gas lamps were installed on the street in 1903.[38]

The album also contains a photo of the Manitou Normal School, 3-5, which is identical to a photo found in the PAM Visual Records with the date of 1908 (Fig. 1). PAM Visual Records also includes additional views of the school in photographic postcard form.[39] According to Webb and Vodden, the Normal School was built in 1903, as one of four centres in Manitoba were teachers studied for their First Class Certificates, qualifications which contributed to improved teaching standards in the province. Also, what appears to be the Manitou Normal School is visible in the background of 6-3 and 8-1, photos which may be of the Manitou Agricultural Society Spring Horse Show or an agricultural fair held at the Manitou fairgrounds.[40] In addition, the album contains an image of another Manitou landmark, the train station and grain elevators. In 35-3, elevators including that of the "Lake of the Woods Milling Co. Limited" are visible, as is the station with "Manitou" painted across the roof . The PAM Visual Records holds a similar photo, identifying it as Manitou's elevators and CPR Station, circa 1908. A photo of the station in the April 6, 1905 edition of Manitou Western Canadian identifies it as the "new CPR Station."[41]

The album photos of storefronts also provide clues to their location. 11-2, 22-1 and 68-2 all show a similar scene of adults and children gathered around cars, and above the

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[38] PAM Visual Records, Manitou Churches, Accession #N1348; and Webb and Vodden, 39-4.

[39] PAM Visual Records, Manitou Schools, Normal School #5 from Souvenir Letter - Manitou, Canadian Pacific Railroad Series." Also similar to PAM Visual Records, Normal School #3 and #4, photographic postcards from 1908.

[40] Webb and Vodden, 174 and 308: the Manitou Agricultural Society was officially incorporated in 1889. According to the May 7, 1903 edition of the Manitou Sun there was also a La Rivière Horse Association.

[41] PAM Visual Records, Manitou #2, Accession #N1313.

sidewalk is a sign announcing "Free Reading Room." This might be the Manitou WCTU Reading Room referred to above, which was established in 1892. More tentatively identified is a sign down the street on the far left, which may advertise "Cockshutt Implements." According to Webb and Vodden, the Manitou implement dealers Pollock and Boyle were agents for Cockshutt plows in the early 1910s.[42] Photos 23-1 and 26-5 show two opposing views of Main Street. The sign for "Prest's Art Studio" is visible on the left in 23-1 and provides approximate dating as S.E. Prest operated his Manitou photography studio from 1905 -1913.[43] A photo similar to 23-1 in PAM Visual Records identifies the street as Main, facing south, circa 1908. In addition, there is a photo resembling 26-5 in PAM Visual Records, also of Main, circa 1908, facing North. A number of storefronts are visible in 26-5 (Fig. 2) , including Prest's and P.W. Winram & Co., a clothing store which had been in business since 1886.[44] Yet, another street scene of Manitou is album photo 26-1, which appears to be of a parade, with children following a wagon. Storefronts visible include "W.A. Parker Jeweller" and "J.S. Cram Barber"; both Parker and Cram were in business during the years McClung lived in Manitou. Furthermore, a photo identical to 26-1 is found in Webb and Vodden, inscribed with the date of "July 1st, 1911 / Manitou, Man."[45]

In the McClung album there are also a number of photographs and postcards of towns and sites, some in the Pembina Valley region. The photographic postcards include 3-1, a

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[42] Webb and Vodden, 231.

[43] "Manitou", Western Canadian Photographers List: 1860-1925, ed. Glen C. Phillips (London, Ontario: Iron Gate Publishing, 1997) 87.

[44] PAM Visual Records, Manitou #9, Accession #N1346; PAM Visual Records, Manitou #9, Accession #N1345; and Webb and Vodden, 223.

[45] Webb and Vodden, 232, 239, and 39: Cram ran his barbershop from 1896-1925 and Parker's Jewellers was in operation from circa 1910 to 1919. The McClungs spent July of 1911 at Matlock Beach. However, in a 1911 diary (Vol. 26) McClung writes that Wesley went to Manitou on June 30th.

scene of a house in the snow, inscribed with "Killarney, Man"; 20-5, an oxbow river with the caption "A spot near Rea Ferry, Man."; 25-5, a view of lake and distant shore identified as "Killarney Lake"; 26-3, a dirt street and houses with the caption "The Broadway, Treherne, Man."; 28-3, a photo of the "Methodist Church, Emerson, Man."; and 29-2 and 34-3, both identified as Wawanesa, the former a view of the town with a church with hand-written comment on the lower right, "In this church R.W. McClung and Nellie L. Mooney were married August 25th, 1896." There are also photographic postcards captioned with a 1908 copyright (7-2), addressed to R.W. McClung, Manitou, Man. (20-1), and postmarked "July 28, 1910 - Laura, Sask" (28-4) respectively. Other photographs may depict favourite local scenes, as they are similar or identical to illustrations found in Turning Leaves: A History of La Rivière and Area: 4-1 is of six men posing on a low train trestle, possibly that of the CPR line between Manitou and La Rivière, 25 km (15 miles) west; identical album photos 19-2 and 21-4, the former including a hand written description down the left side, "A service on the La Rivière R.R. line," which are almost identical to the first illustration in Turning Leaves which identifies the scene as the line along Mary Jane Creek, near La Rivière; a view of an apparently unremarkable tree-lined dirt road (21-3) may be "Lover's Lane" at the La Rivière Ski Hills; and 68-3, a photo of a horse and carriage posed on a bridge matches an illustration of "the Red Bridge" south of La Rivière, crossing the Pembina.[46] In addition, PAM Visual Records possesses a 1908 photographic postcard of a meandering river entitled "Ford on the Pembina River, near Manitou" which, aside from processing differences and lack of text, is identical to album photo 29-1 (Fig. 3).[47]

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[46] La Rivière Historical Book Society, Turning Leaves: A History of La Rivière and Area (Altona, Manitoba: Friesen Printers, 1979) 13-14, 302 and 15.

[47] PAM Visual Records, Manitou #1, private postal card with "Ap. 14" written on back. That these two images are identical suggests that the McClungs knew someone involved in postcard production, or were themselves involved.

In the context of the photo album, these images may preserve and display the consecrated places in the life of Nellie McClung, sites which "communicate the memory of events."[48] However, that a number of the previous images are present in separate contexts and institutions, often as photographic postcards or illustrations, reinforces the notion that a single photograph may possess varied meanings and uses. Schwartz argues that the existence of an "identical photograph in two different *fonds* or ... two different institutions ... [is] the logical outcome of the appropriation and reappropriation of a photograph with fixed content and physical configuration ... this points to the importance of studying the context or history of the record and the broader functional universe in which it circulates and acts."[49] The presence of such particular images in the McClung album is significant; these images reveal much about turn-of-the-century photographic practice.

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada, visual materials such as photographic postcards were used to promote the idea of a settled and stable prairie region. Significantly, Hallett and Davis argue that McClung's optimistically-toned autobiography Clearing in the West embodies the myth of the Golden West, "so assiduously promoted by railway builders, immigration officials, and westerners themselves." At the time of the Mooney's move to Manitoba "the West was seen by many Ontarians as a kind of agricultural wonderland ... Faith in the land and the region's commercial potential knew no limits. The West was opportunity waiting to be realized where settlers would fulfil their dreams and prosperity was inevitable."[50] Previously, in the mid-nineteenth century, western Canada was depicted in writings and early photographs as a desolate and wild frontier. Keith Bell writes that such texts were used to justify colonization, "to emphasize difference: savageness and

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[48] Bourdieu, 36 and 31.

[49] Duranti, "Diplomatics, Part I" cited in Schwartz, 52.

[50] Hallett and Davis, 1 and 8.

civilization, wilderness and cultivation, anarchy and order ... [photographers] carefully constructed dramas of exploration based on danger, death, loneliness and emptiness, as well as the positive outcomes of success, endurance and discovery."[51] However, with the settlement of the west, photographic "truth" was again put to use to negate these earlier constructions which might discourage further migration.

A passage in Clearing in the West exemplifies the conflicting preconceptions of Manitoba, that of a lawless frontier and agricultural paradise. Of the decision to quit Ontario, McClung recalls that the young people of Grey County "could see the sea of grass and the friendly skies above it, and could feel the intoxication of being the first to plant the seed in that mellow black loam," while John Mooney fretted over the move to the new province, for there were not only "Indians to consider ... but mosquitoes."[52] During the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, photography was used to promote western settlement and investment:

> Earlier photographs of empty landscapes, winter, and broken ground were replaced by scenes of towns, heavily mechanized farming, and prosperous people abundantly serviced by schools, churches, and hospitals set in what appeared to be permanent summer. Views of agricultural activity were carefully composed to emphasize the symbiotic relationship between the railways, elevator towns, and farms. These images ... were promoted as the most perfect and up-to-date example of capitalist enterprise available.[53]

The dissemination of visual materials was often controlled by the same corporate and governmental land-owners, and as a result the images they produced of fields of wheat, grain

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[51] Keith Bell, "Professional Photographers in Western Canada: Constructing the Great Lone Land" in Plain Truth, exhibition catalogue (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Mendel Art Gallery, 1998) 33-34.

[52] McClung, Clearing, 31-32. He was naturally concerned about the move to Manitoba, as the Red River Rebellion had taken place only ten years earlier.

[53] Bell, 39.

elevators and prosperous communities furthered their interests in a settled and productive west. Photographs were provided free of charge to publishers for the illustration of allegedly factual texts such as encyclopedias. Postcards of idyllic prairie scenes, as well as pamphlets and posters, were distributed and displayed by immigration offices in Europe and North America, even in the Canadian west itself, "where it was clearly intended that settlers would send them home as positive views of their new way of life."[54] In addition, Jay Ruby writes that while photographic postcards visually supported a social identity of idealized rural life, they were also, for the local populace, an inexpensive and simple means of communication.[55] While the postcards in the McClung album may not have come from an immigration office, the production and consumption of such images can be associated with the promotion of the settled Pembina Valley.

The CPR has a closer association with the album postcards, through its publicity photos and local economic influence. Manitou in part owed its existence to the CPR: originally called Manitoba City, in the early 1880s the village's buildings were moved some distance south to the new railway. Manitou was a considered a boom town, promoted as a future rival to Brandon or Portage La Prairie.[56] With the completion of the CPR, the line had to remain profitable, and tourism and immigration were ways to increase revenue. Bell writes that stereotypical western images were found in hotels, trains, and news agencies where both immigrants and tourists alike could purchase them.[57] Significantly, the work of photographers hired by the railway was displayed in albums and ranged from postcards to

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[54] Bell, 39-40.

[55] Ruby, "Images," 339.

[56] Webb and Vodden, 288 and 221.

[57] In a September 11, 1902 edition of the Manitou Sun, the newspaper offers "22 Beautiful Pictures" for $1.75.

large mounted photos. Presumably, mementos such as Souvenir Letter - Manitou, the source of some PAM images above, could be purchased by travellers. Not only did the CPR make money through tourism and tourist consumption, so too did the towns along the line. With the building of Manitou's new CPR station in 1905, the potential for revenue increased. Turn-of-the-century editions of Manitou newspapers reveal that local businesses, including Wesley McClung's drug store, sold Manitou souvenirs, including: bookmarks, penwipes, bookcovers, blotters, card cases, napkin rings, soap holders, photobanners, photobooks, postcards, and photographic views. Already physically settled, the consumption of the prairie region is furthered by its transformation into a postcard. The above products, described as "inexpensive," "easy to send away," and "useful", promoted the notion of a civilized west to both the locals and visitors.[58] It is posited, therefore, that some photos/photographic postcards of Manitou found in the album may have been souvenirs sold at Wesley's store.[59]

In addition to these local promotional images, the McClung album also contains studio portraits. Motz writes that western migration meant communication with distant friends and family was especially valued, and photographs were one way to maintain these important relationships and convey details of everyday life.[60] Photography studios quickly followed the settling of Manitou; twelve years before the town's incorporation in April of

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[58] Manitou Sun, Oct. 27, 1904; Manitou Western Canadian, Aug. 6, 1902, Dec. 9, 1903, Oct. 29, 1904, Dec. 15, 1904 and Dec. 21, 1905.

[59] Pembina Manitou 100th Anniversary and Reunion (Manitou, Manitoba: Pembina-Manitou Centennial Committee, 1979) N. pag., includes a photograph of Manitou's Main Street with the caption "Oct. 1895. Photographed by Mrs.William Gowe. (These views of Main Street were originally sold for 25 cents)." This suggests that there was a demand for local photographs and that Mrs. Gowe may have earned some income as an amateur photographer.

[60] Motz, 72.

1897, Robert G. Bisset ran a photography studio on Main Street.[61] According to the Western Canadian Photographers List, seven photographers conducted business in Manitou between 1885 and 1904. They including Harry C. Birnie, who advertised in the Manitou Sun throughout the fall of 1898. His October 27 advertisement states that for $5 one could have a dozen cabinet photographs in either "Platino or Enamel finish" and a crayon portrait. Evoking both rural and city life, Birnie describes his photos as "first prize" winners and "the latest styles of the art." Summer 1907 editions of the Manitou Western Canadian include advertisements for a photographer, possibly itinerant, named Sturk. He could be called upon "for a view of your premises, or a family group at home, or a picture of that lawn party, including visiting friends."[62] This demand for group and house photos supports Motz's contention regarding photograph's documentary value in the live of homesteaders. During McClung's years in Manitou, Sidney E. Prest was the community's established professional photographer. The Western Canadian Photographer's List cites Prest as Manitou's only professional photographer from 1905 - 1913, although advertisements for "Arthur Summerscales Photography" appear in the summer 1907 editions of the Manitou Western Canadian.[63] As will be discussed in Chapter 4, McClung hired Prest to produce photographic illustrations for her novels. However, consideration of Prest's advertisements is also of value to this thesis because such advertising reveals much about photographic production in Manitou and its involvement in the construction of femininity.

Beginning in July of 1904,[64] Prest advertised almost weekly, the majority of his ads mentioning women, specifically "ladies," in the text and/or including an illustration of a

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[61] Webb and Vodden, 84 and 221.

[62] Manitou Sun, Nov. 10, 1898; and Manitou Western Canadian, August 29, 1907.

[63] Summerscales may have taken over for Prest during an illness, as there are no Prest advertisements from January 1907 to March 1908.

[64] The Western Canadian Photographers List is compiled based on business directories, thus

fashionably dressed Edwardian woman. Even at the beginning of the Kodak-era, a studio portrait conveyed a formality related to elite portrait painting. As in many ads from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Prest responded to woman's domestic influence.[65] His advertisements for Prest's Art Studio invoke vanity and duty to friends and family to construct women as the primary consumers of his photography, and the home as the site of consumption. From London to Manitou, the patriarchal ideal of a woman devoted to family, home and husband was either embraced or resisted. Prest's first ad proclaims: "INSPECTION SOLICITED. You will, we think appreciate a thorough inspection of our photos. We aim to turn out only work that is perfect in posing, printing and finish."[66] The advertisement's text and illustration of an elegantly-dressed woman examining a display case of mounted photos suggests that a visit to the photographers was a serious matter requiring a woman's careful consideration. The combination of text and illustration implies his female customers are also perfect in pose and finish and thus appreciative of his product's quality.

Continuing in the August 18th, 1904 edition of the Manitou Western Canadian, Prest's "New Styles and Mountings are more attractive than ever. We have them all here to show you. We would like to have you come and examine some of our photographs and see the new mounts we are using. We'll please you in every particular." Accompanying the text is a drawing of a woman in a full length pose, with the suggestion of a town background behind. As with clothing fashion, the female customer is expected and encouraged to keep up with the "more attractive", "latest styles" in photography. In the September 1, 1904 advertisement Prest assures his customers: "Portraiture! NEW STYLES. You don't need to

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while Prest started his business in 1904, he was listed in the next directory publication.

[65] Lori Anne Loeb, Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) 8-9: "advertisers perceived middle-class women as the agents of material acquisition;" see also Gover, 11.

[66] Manitou Western Canadian, July 28, 1904.

go to the city to have an up-to-date picture taken. We never pass the new things by. We manage to keep well abreast of the latest ideas in photography, in posing, printing, finishing and mounting." Clearly Prest aims this message at women who would have travelled to Winnipeg or Brandon to stay current with the latest clothing and photographic fashions.

While some of these illustrations used by Prest may have been the newspaper's stock designs, in 1904 as today, an image of an idealized woman is used to sell a product. In fact, it is all the more significant that an illustration for professional photography could also be used to sell other commodities for women, such as dresses or hats. Furthermore, as photography is often thought to embody an optical truth which surpasses other visual representations, and as the product may be woman's own image, the commodity and woman are inextricably linked. A Prest advertisement from late autumn 1904 announces: "Ladies! Now is the time to have your photograph taken. There is nothing more appropriate to send to your friends for Christmas than your photo. Our styles are very select and we know they will please you." Like the postcards and other souvenirs of Manitou which are "easy to send away", one's own image is a suitable gift for a women to give. The industrial and patriarchal ideology which confers upon women the traits of artifice and vanity is used to promote the services of a studio photographer.

Lori Anne Loeb states that nineteenth century advertisers preyed upon female consumer's anxieties, including age, death and self doubt, to sell a range of products.[67] Women's vanity is evoked in the August 25th, 1904 advertisement: "BEAUTY Preserve it! Each one's appearance should be perpetuated. When you want good photos, we'll insure a likeness and an artistic picture." At a time when the British North America Act did not recognize women as persons, physical attractiveness was one virtue they could possess, but it was fleeting and only photography could immortalize it; Andre Bazin writes "[The

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[67] Loeb, 100.

photograph] embalms time, rescuing it from its proper condition."[68] Time's theft of youth and beauty was promoted by the photographic industry since the days of the daguerreotype. "Secure the shadow, Ere the substance fade / Let nature imitate what nature made" was photography's early advertising cliché which added an urgency to the acquisition of a photo.[69]

The Prest Studio promoted the photography of children, associating the passage of time with women's lives and familial responsibility. Throughout 1905 Prest advertisements state that photographs of the children must be kept up-to-date: "Your Future - we cannot photograph the future but the present can be recorded by PHOTOGRAPHS that will afford no end of satisfaction and pleasure in the future. We want you to come to our Studio and arrange with us to have the family or at least the children, photographed." Because the future is unknown and time is a thief, it is a maternal imperative that the children be photographed and that the family's visual record be maintained: "The Little Ones. When they are playing around you, you do not realize the necessity of having them PHOTOGRAPHED, but your friends and relatives who are interested in them, will appreciate a photograph greatly and now out of courtesy toward them you should not hesitate to bring the little ones to the studio."[70] Gear notes that the baby was a woman's status symbol, "a kind of union card when they entered the ranks of motherhood" and advertisements for Prest's Photography suggest that such social expectations existed in Manitou, Manitoba.[71] The above ads culminated

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[68] Andre Bazin in Jay Ruby, Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995) epigraph.

[69] In "Shadow and Substance: Sojourner Truth" in History of Photography 7.7 (July-September 1983):183-205, Kathleen Collins discusses how images of the African-American suffragette Sojourner Truth, sold to raise funds for her causes, subverted the above advertising line. Below her portraits was the caption: "I sell the shadow to support the substance."

[70] Manitou Western Canadian, April 6, 1905 and May 18, 1905.

[71] Gear, 421-422.

with this patronizing announcement, which invokes the pressures of maintaining the home and social relationships in order to sell photographs:

> NOW DON'T YOU THINK I'M RIGHT? Did you ever realize how dreary your home would look if you did not have a photograph in it. Don't it please you to have the photographs of your relatives and friends, possibly some you have not seen for years. Now then, don't you think you had better have your photograph taken to send to friends and relatives. I know you have not thought much about it, and that is why I call your attention to a duty you are neglecting, and my advice is that you call and inspect the new styles now being displayed.[72]

Prest's advertisements exploited notions of rural isolation and idealized femininity by suggesting that women's preoccupation with vanity and devotion to home and family were legitimate concerns that could be resolved by a trip to a professional photographer. However, the era of the professional photographer was waning, as snapshot cameras, like the Kodak Brownie, became more widely available. Kodak, in selling the idea of snapshot photography, presented a different image of femininity to women consumers.

Kodak products were available in Manitou at Wesley McClung's pharmacy. His advertisements from 1903 and 1905 in both the Sun and Western Canadian include illustrations of both the "Kodak Girl" and the fairy-like Brownies. While the Brownies evoked the simplicity of the box camera and its appeal to children, the "Kodak Girl", introduced by both Eastman-Kodak (US) and Kodak Ltd. (UK), targeted adult female and male consumers.[73] As stated in the previous chapter, the "Kodak Girl" was an attractive young woman, often shown in a striped dress, who was never without her Brownie or Folding Pocket Kodak. Eastman-Kodak was determined to capture the ever-growing female market

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[72] Manitou Western Canadian, June 25, 1905.

[73] Coe and Gates, 22 and 34. In "The Brownie Camera" in History of Photography 2.1 (January 1978): 7, Eaton S. Lothrop, Jr. notes that Kodak followed its successful "Kodak Girl" campaign with "The Boy With A Brownie" advertisements in 1903.

and the company, like many other manufacturers, recognized that women's magazines such as McCalls, The Ladies Home Journal, Women's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping, and Cosmopolitan were the ideal medium with which to create a demand for the product. Jane Gover writes that in an era when women were not enfranchised, the "Kodak Girl" was free-spirited but remained within the bounds of femininity: "the public perceived this symbol as a 'nice girl' ... [she] possessed a sweet smile and a sympathetic air ... What began as an advertising gimmick emerged as a symbol of a new middle class woman who, though not fully emancipated, could still enjoy an expanded notion of acceptable behaviour."[74] If she wished, this new woman could now eschew the services of the professional photographer and take her own pictures with a simple camera.

McClung's advertisements also give an indication of the kinds of products available to local snapshooters and amateurs. A 1903 ad, with an illustration of a Kodak Developing Machine and Brownie camera surrounded by Brownies, announces: "The Price Doesn't Make the Picture. These inexpensive cameras have full Kodak quality. Flexo Kodak $5, No. 1 Folding Pocket Kodak $10, No. 2 Bull's Eye Kodak $8. Everything in high grade photographic materials." A 1905 McClung's Drug Store advertisement includes a photo of a woman in a striped dress and floral hat, with a parasol over her right shoulder and a Folding Pocket Kodak tucked under her left arm. The text reads "Get a Kodak For Your Holiday." Another advertisement from 1905 shows a different woman, also with a Folding Pocket Kodak. Both ads state that McClung's carries a wide variety of cameras from $1 to $20 and photographic supplies, "Films, plates, Papers, etc."[75] Related to McClung's Kodak

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[74] Gover, 11 and 15.

[75] Manitou Western Canadian, Aug. 19, 1903; Manitou Sun, June 15, 1905; and Manitou Western Canadian, May 18, 1905. The frontispiece of History of Photography 6.4 (October 1982) is a cover illustration for the 1902 sheet music "The Kodak Girl: March and Two-Step" by William T. Cramer. The illustration includes the same "Kodak Girl" as seen in McClung's June 15 advertisement. For further discussion of the Kodak Developing Machine see Kathleen Fuller, "The Darkroom Abolished" in History of Photography 3.3 (July 1979): 227-

advertisements are album postcards 12-3 and 33-3, which depict, respectively, a woman and a child posing with folding cameras (Figs. 4a and 4b).[76] These images, along with the above advertisements, are noteworthy for a number of reasons: first, the McClungs may have used Kodaks for their snapshot photography and a number of album photos may have been taken with Kodak cameras; second, the McClungs may have experimented with home processing, as photographic supplies were sold at the drug store;[77] and third, while these are mostly stock images, Nellie may have had some influence in the arrangement of the Kodak ads. This last hypothesis is a result of Randi R. Warne's statement that McClung wrote the text for an number of her husband's advertisements.[78] It is possible that if McClung contributed to promotions for strychnine, "Nyal's Dyspepsia Tablets", and "Beef, Iron and Wine Tonic" then she may have also approved of the Kodak advertisements, which marketed the new mnemonic technology to the semi-emancipated woman.[79]

In constructing the "Kodak Girl," Eastman-Kodak was responding to a society in which women like Nellie McClung were creating and documenting their public lives. Although McClung's autobiographies contain little discussion of photography, photographs play an important part in the representation of McClung's early fictional characters. Furthermore, the presence of the photo album in the McClung Papers indicates its possible

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[76] These may have been stock images suppied by Kodak or promotional images made by Wes for his line of Kodak products.

[77] The McClungs likely also had their photos processed professionally. A notebook from the McClung Papers, Volume 26, includes a March 27 (1901?) expenses list in McClung's handwriting with an entry for "photos (by check) $1.25."

[78] Warne, 25. It should be noted that the Kodak promotions are among the few advertisements for McClung's Drug Store that feature a single product.

[79] For Kodak's commodification of memory see James E. Paster, "Advertising Immortality by Kodak" in History of Photography 16.2 (Summer 1992): 135-139.

value in the record of her career. The following chapter considers the converging issues of photographic representation and autobiography in the McClung album's analysis.

Chapter Four: The Nellie McClung Album as a Public/Private Construction

John Berger contends that if "the living take the past upon themselves ... then all photographs would re-acquire a living context; a radical system can be taken up whereby a photograph "may be seen in terms which are simultaneously personal, political, economic, dramatic, everyday and historic."[1] In re-contextualizing the Nellie McClung album, I argue that a number of its photos illustrated, promoted and inspired McClung's writings, both fictional and autobiographical; certain photos, in particular, appear to depict members of McClung's family portraying her fictional characters. Thus, in addition to elaborating upon the social context of album production and non-elite photographic practices in turn-of-the-century Manitou, Manitoba, the McClung album's images function simultaneously as public and private visual texts. Further, the album is analogous to her written autobiographies, wherein she attempted to reconcile her life in the public sphere with her duties as wife and mother. This connection between visual and written texts is plausible since McClung considered herself an author from an early age, and even her fictional works are widely considered to be autobiographical.[2] Therefore, it is likely that she extended an authorial voice to the construction of her photo album.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, McClung possessed other albums. Significantly, only one was chosen to be deposited in a public archive, in a unit mostly comprised of original

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[1] Berger, 57 and 63.

[2] Marilyn L. Davis, ed., Introduction, Stories Subversive: Through the Field with Gloves Off - Short Fiction by Nellie L. McClung (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1996) 3-4; Dean, 81; Hallett and Davis, 269; Veronica Strong-Boag, " 'Ever A Crusader': Nellie McClung, First Wave Feminist" in Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History, eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 2nd Edition (Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1991) 314; Warne, 15; and Muriel Whitaker, "The Innocent Eye: Perceptive Children in Canadian Prairie Fiction" in The Voice of the Narrator in Children's Literature: Insights from Writers and Critics, Contributions to the Study of World Literature, Number 28, eds. Charlotte F. Otten and Gary D. Schmidt (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989) 30.

manuscripts and newspaper clipping scrapbooks. As for other written and visual texts in family possession, it must be noted that McClung's diaries, kept by the family, were burned: "Grandma was very keen about keeping diaries and in her sun porch were some fifty diaries - red books - kept since she was a girl ... Unfortunately all of her diaries came to naught when they were burned in 1975. This came about because an enterprising relative thought there was just too much in them."[3] While the purpose behind this destruction remains vague, the loss of such material highlights the importance of examining non-written sources in the pursuit of women's histories.

In this chapter, album photos are compared to photos and clippings from scrapbooks (Add. MSS. 10, Vols. 29, 30 and 32), and journals and correspondence (Vols. 26, 58, and 10) dating mostly from circa 1906-1912. Significantly, the album's approximate date corresponds to the publication of the first two novels of the Pearlie Watson trilogy, Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908) and The Second Chance (1910). When images from the album are compared to those in scrapbooks and to the content of letters between McClung and her publishers, it appears these images played an important role in the promotion of her writing. Many letters in Volume 10 are from E. S. Caswell, at William Briggs Methodist Book and Publishing House in Toronto, and from Doubleday, Page & Company in New York. A number of these communications are requests for photographs. Aside from elaborating upon the album photos, these passages convey a faith in the power of photographic verisimilitude. What emerges is the notion that photographs, particularly snapshots, possess a reality beyond other forms of visual representation. Through photography, McClung is promoted as "real" in a socio-literary sense, for both she and her writing are constructed as genuine and unpretentious conveyors of rural prairie life.[4] Ironically, the demands for "natural" representations also include photos of her fictional characters.

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[3] McClung (1929-), "Letters", 51.

[4] Dean, Voicing, 85: In defining the "realism" which contemporary scholars ascribe to

Two years before the publication of Sowing Seeds in Danny, Caswell writes asking McClung for photographs of herself: "May 26, 1906 ... By all means send me a 'photo, but we shan't use it until it come near to publishing time . . . (Get a good one.)" Upon receiving photographs from McClung, Caswell evokes vanity, so closely associated with women and photography, in his response to the pictures: (July 26, 1906) "I was delighted [with] the photos. Not knowing how susceptible you may be to vanity I had better hold my adjectives in leash." During 1908 Caswell writes McClung a number of times, requesting and acknowledging photographs sent and debating their usefulness and quality for publicity purposes. In these and later letters, there are references to prints, films and snapshots, possibly taken by McClung: (September 4) "Thank you for the very interesting little snapshot of Nellie L. McClung and her happy family. I wish the photographs were a little clearer and sharper. Can you give me a better print of it? I would like to get it into the Saturday Globe and Saturday Night;" (September 5) "I showed [the editor of Saturday Night] the picture of you and the "childer" but it is too faint to reproduce effectively ... I find most folks don't like the picture of you with the hat;" (September 8) "If you get some good snapshots let me have them immediately if not sooner;" (September 14) "Your letter of the 10th with the photos enclosed just received, these are fine! Editor Creighton has three of them + I am using another - the one where N. M. McClung is looking up with a knock-the-chip-off-my-shoulder-if-you-dare expression on her face or rather in her attitude - for the big circular in its next printing. We're going to imprint quantities of these for big booksellers."[5] In addition, Caswell asks McClung if she could send him a picture of her with manuscript in hand.

McClung's fiction, Dean writes that "reality is defined as material objects; dirt, ugliness, poverty, and moral weakness."

[5] Add. MSS. 10, Vol. 10, letter dated June 4, 1910.

Once a publishing contract is secured with Doubleday, Page & Company, its representatives also seek photographs of McClung. In a letter of August 12, 1908, Peyton Steger queries: "Can't you send me at once some sort of an unconventional photograph of yourself? Something more natural than a formal photograph - more on the order of your style of writing? . . . I want a good picture of yourself, your family, your home, a picnic . . . I want some Manitoban, McClungian pictures." Shortly thereafter Steger states that he is pleased with the photos of McClung and two of her children "in the bracken," and Caswell thanks her for photos of her "happy family." [6] Subsequently, at Doubleday new prints are made from McClung's negatives, which include images of the horse "Pleurisy" from The Sowing Seeds in Danny.[7] On September 11, 1908 Steger writes to McClung: "

> Our photographic department is making prints from your films which I think will be better than the ones you sent - whereby I mean no reflection on you *as a photographer* [italics mine], you have the right idea about the sort of material I wish. All of this intimate characteristic publicity has a real value to people who read, and is in no way to be confounded with the sensational exploitation that has no foundation in fact ... And, by all means, more photos.

It is clear from these requests that Briggs and Doubleday were eager for photographs which connect McClung to the setting of her novels. However, the Caswell and Steger letters imply that the professional photographic portrait is an inadequate means of representing the author. They suggest that informal, yet contrived, photographs, possibly taken by McClung, can capture her true self. That some seemingly candid album photos may have been used for

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[6] Add. MSS. 10, Vol. 10, letters dated August 21, 1908 and September 4, 1908. Throughout Volumes 29 and 30 there are also illustrations of McClung posing with children, the captions include: "Twilight Story Hour," and "Mrs. McClung and her children."

[7] In his letter of September 8, 1908 Caswell mentions a photo of a group of children "with the cavalry detachment." Volume 29 clipping illustrations of McClung and a horse include one with the following caption: "Mrs. McClung and 'Pleurisy' the horse in Mrs. McClung's Sowing Seeds in Danny, is in real life the Jasper who appears in the above picture."

publicity purposes highlights further the potential variety of photographic meaning and function.

The following album photos lend themselves to a comparison with the above demands for publicity images: 2-1, 17-1, 22-3 (Fig. 5a), 22-4 (Fig. 5b), 23-2, 23-3 and 23-4. In them, McClung is pictured both outdoors and indoors, often writing. She is also wearing the same clothing and jewellery in several of the photos, which suggests the pictures were taken in one or two sessions. While the size and black border of 23-2 suggests home processing, the format and appearance of the other photos, particularly those set indoors, may indicate their being taken by a professional photographer, possibly S.E. Prest. At the turn-of-the-century indoor photography required a cumbersome magnesium flash, although McClung's indoor photos benefit from the light coming in the window by her desk. These photos are in sharp focus as well, and thus less likely taken by a box or folding camera, for while the latter allowed for some distance adjustment, the former could not clearly focus on subjects less than six or seven feet away without a portrait attachment, which was, according to Coe and Gates, "a complication for many people."[8] Scrapbook Volumes 29 and 30 preserve a number of articles on McClung illustrated with variations of these photographs. In Volume 29, a newspaper clipping includes a photograph of McClung looking up, pen in hand, seated at a desk. It is almost identical to 22-4 and 23-4 and is similar to album photos 17-1 and 23-3, however the former images show McClung writing with her head down. While the above photographs are representations of Nellie McClung, their meanings fluctuate from the contextual change from family album to illustration. They recall Tagg's argument against inherent photographic truth: "At every stage, chance effects, purposeful interventions, choices and variations produce meaning."[9] The album photographs appear to

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[8] Coe and Gates, 26 and 37.

[9] Tagg, Burden, 3.

document McClung's life in an introspective and domestic context, while in the newspaper image McClung looks back at the reader, and the caption below identifies her as "Nellie L. McClung of Manitou Manitoba, whose Sowing Seeds in Danny heads the Latest List of Bestsellers."

Beginning in 1907 Doubleday, Page & Company and William Briggs also request photographs of McClung's fictional characters for illustration and advertisement of her books. Since the introduction of photography, the medium has exerted notable influence upon literature, from literary realism to writers taking-up amateur photography. In fact, Lucy Maud Montgomery was also an avid amateur photographer and had her own darkroom.[10] However, Jane M. Rabb writes that popular authors embraced aspects of photography more readily than did serious writers. In fact, amateur photographer-authors, such as Samuel Butler, were more likely to keep their photographic activities private, and serious authors generally resisted using photographs to illustrate their work: "perhaps they felt that their presence might imply that their words were insufficient or their readers verbally unsophisticated."[11] In the case of McClung's illustrations, she may have preferred photographs over drawings, believing they strengthened Sowing Seeds in Danny's realism rather than detracting from it.

W. H. Winthrow of Doubleday defers to her on the matter of illustrations: (November 12) "I cannot suggest particularly any line of sketch. Your own good judgement will suggest." On November 25, H.W. Lanier of Doubleday writes: "Yes, the Woman's Home Companion has been expecting to illustrate the material which it will use, and we had

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[10] Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, eds., Selected Journals of L. M. Montgomery, Volume I (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1985) 296.

[11] Jane M. Rabb, ed., Literature and Photography: Interactions 1840-1990 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) xxxviii-ix, and xl.

planned to make an arrangement by which we could have the use of these pictures for the book." Lanier follows on December 27:

> It has occurred to me that it might be a real help to the book if we could get a photograph of a youngster who might stand for 'Danny.' If we had this, I should believe in putting it on the cover, so as to give the feeling of the book right from the start. Is there any chance that you might be able to secure something of that sort for us? I am sure that it would be worth some effort . . . I would try from this end, except for the difficulty of getting just the right model. We need it quickly, by the way.

His contention that the photo would "give the feeling of the book right from the start" suggest that Lanier believed the photos would be a more compelling form of illustration. Pleased with McClung's photographs, Lanier informs her: (January 19, 1908) "I entirely agree that the best one for the cover is the one you marked ... and I will see if I can make a frontispiece for the other. I wired you to-day asking for the films, because one of the prints got injured and we need to go ahead at once." During 1908 there is also discussion of a fully illustrated edition of Sowing Seeds in Danny, with images drawn from photographs; Caswell urges her to "give a hint to D.P. & Co. They should get a good series of local snapshots for you + put a high-class artist on them." On February 11, Lanier states his case against a fully illustrated edition: "Our idea was to put one of those photographs on the cover, and then to have only a frontispiece. No illustrations we could get would go with the photographs and the latter seem so much more characteristic than an artist could make that we think they will do more business for the book."[12]

Photographs of "Danny" appear in early editions of Sowing Seeds in Danny. The cover of the first Canadian edition (1908) by William Briggs includes a photo on the lower

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[12] Rabb, xxxix-xl, notes that J.M Synge took photographs of people and places as a basis for illustrations in The Aran Islands (1898), and Henry James used photographic views by Alvin Langdon Coburn as frontispieces for an edition of his collected works (1907-09). Rabb, 165, observes that in the introduction to The Golden Bowl (1909), James "affirmed the suitability of photography for illustrations while disavowing it as a serious art in its own right."

right corner of "Danny" in a striped smock, polka dot kerchief and leggings (Figs. 6a), and a gold embossed "Danny" on the spine. As Lanier indicated above, "Danny" also became the frontispiece, represented in a vignetted studio portrait by Gauvin Gentzel of Winnipeg (Fig. 6b).[13] A 1908 American edition of Sowing Seeds in Danny, copyrighted to both The Women's Home Companion and Doubleday, Page & Company, and published by Grosset and Dunlap also contains the Gauvin Gentzel frontispiece. However, it has a different coloured binding and the entire cover is taken up by a coloured, drawn version of the William Briggs 1908 "Danny" (Fig. 7). This adapted illustration is clearly that anticipated in the November 1907 letter from Lanier. In 1912 Briggs also published an edition with a cover similar to 1908 first edition, but with the Grosset and Dunlap image as the dustjacket. The photo of "Danny" seen on the cover was also used in advertisements for the book; a Doubleday advertisement proof featuring "Danny" is found in the McClung Paper's Volume 10. The text accompanying the illustration announces: "[Mrs. McClung's] account of the small Watsons and their neighbours - centring around small Danny and the Pink Lady - will surprise and delight all lovers of bright fiction." A hand-written note accompanying a clipping in Volume 29 reads: "a real live boy, and everyone who reads Sowing Seeds in Danny' will recognize him as such."

Significantly, Hallett and Davis note that "Danny" was McClung's nephew, and this is supported by correspondence and album photographs. A January 18, 1908 CPR telegram sent by Lanier requests the immediate dispatch of the "Danny" films to Doubleday in New York. On the back of the telegram is the following hand-written message addressed to Mrs.

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[13] The Western Canadian Photographers List 1860-1925 entry for Gauvin, Gentzel & Co. lists them as being in business from 1904 up to 1925. The Provincial Archives of Manitoba Visual Records has photographs by the studio dating to the 1960s. In a letter of March 2, 1908, A.G. Krahe of Doubleday writes to McClung: "send your portraits, we can make good use of them. We can use three to good advantage and shall try to get the papers to print the photographer's name."

Percy Anderson, 213 Balmoral Street, Winnipeg: "Henry Lanier has telegrammed for the films of pictures. Send immediately - Nellie L. McClung." Mrs. Anderson was Wesley's sister Eleanor who had married Charles Percy Anderson in Winnipeg on August 7, 1902.[14] As the boy is a relative, it is not remarkable that the album includes photographs of him; however, that he played the role of "Danny" enriches the autobiographical aspect of the McClung album. In 22-3, found on a page with the above mentioned publicity photos, this "real live boy" sits on a swing at McClung's feet (Fig. 5a). John Berger argues that "there are photographs which belong to private experience and there are those which are used publicly."[15] The album photographs of "Danny" function in both public and private realms. 6-1, 14-2, 17-4, 19-2 (Fig. 8a), 19-4 (Fig. 8b) and 27-4 are of a boy bearing a striking resemblance to "Danny," pictured alone, with male playmates and with a man. In these pictures he poses in a wagon with a teddy bear, in a wagon with a dog, and with a toy rifle. 19-4 was also used for publicity; a clipping with this image appears in Volume 29, the caption below it reads: " 'Danny' out for an airing." With these album images the boundaries between public and private, fact and fiction are blurred, as the boy is both McClung's nephew and literary creation. Questions remain whether the above "Danny" photographs were taken expressly at McClung's request or were already in the possession of the Andersons, and whether the Gauvin Gentzel Studio produced them, as they did The Sowing Seeds in Danny frontispiece.

Danny is not the only character found in the album, however. From September to November of 1908 there is also a search for a corporeal Pearlie Watson. Caswell writes on September 16: "You are in for it now. The pictures you sent me are bully. So I am asking you to get me one of 'Pearlie'." By September 25 he hastens McClung in her task: "I hope the

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[14] Add. MSS. 10. Vol. 27, wedding invitation.

[15] Berger, 51.

Pearl photo will materialize and prove a satisfactory picture." Steger then writes: (October 7) "Mr. Lanier tells me that you are tyring [sic] to secure a portrait of Pearlie for me. I hope the sunshine will come, as it surely will ... I think the photographs you have already sent me are excellent, and so do other people who have seen them." Caswell later writes, "I am glad that you see in your local surrounds first-class material for illustrations."[16] He receives the long-anticipated photographs on November 28th and writes "they are really good - a very fair realization of one's conceptions of 'Pearlie' - a thoughtful old fashioned face." Significantly, he adds in a December 7 letter: "Really I wondered myself if 'Pearlie' in that photo were 'Florence.' It was that face that suggested a "little faithful copy"of her mother. And she's a raconteur in Pearlie's class."

Thus, it appears that McClung's daughter Florence represented "Pearlie" in promotional photographs. Album photo 4-2 (Fig. 9a) depicts a young girl in pigtails and a check dress gazing at the camera, washbasin and china before her on the kitchen table. A similar photograph of the girl is found in Volume 32, and illustrates a newspaper clipping in Volume 30 (Fig. 9b). In the latter, "Pearlie" sweeps the floor and the caption reads: "Pearl, the Heroine of The Second Chance." Based on 4-2's size, even lighting, sharp focus, metallic tarnishing, and black borders, these images of Pearlie may also have been taken by a professional, although there is no mention of McClung hiring a studio photographer in the above letters. These photos of "Pearlie" can also be construed as illustrating a specific passage from Sowing Seeds in Danny, for it is Pearlie, not Danny, who is the protagonist of McClung's stories. As one of nine children, Pearlie must contribute to the family income, and in Chapter IX -"The Live Wire",[17] she explains to two more privileged girls the games she has invented while washing dishes and sweeping floors for Mrs. Evans: "I play I am at

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[16] Add. MSS. 10, Vol. 10, letters dated October 23 and 31, 1908.

[17] "The Live Wire" first appeared as a short story in The Canadian Magazine (June 1906) and The Woman's Home Companion (October 1908).

the seashore ... I put all the dishes into the big dish pan, and pretend the tide is risin' on them ... The cups are the boys and the saucers are the girls, the plates are the fathers and mothers ... When I sweep the floor I pretend I'm the army of the Lord that comes to clear the way from dust and sin ... Under the stove the hordes of sin are awful thick."[18] Pearlie's optimism and sacrifice for her family is clearly conveyed by this passage. Yet, the Watsons' economic situation worsens when Pearlie must work on the Motherwells' farm for three months in order to pay-off a family debt, and it is her experiences on the farm which are at the centre of Sowing Seeds in Danny. McClung likely selected the above scene for Florence to portray, possibly in the "fine, big farmer's kitchen" of the Park Street house in Manitou. While functioning as photos of her daughter and home, as illustrations and promotions for McClung's novels these photos situate Pearlie in the humble prairie surroundings which McClung's publishers wished her to convey.

Acceptance of the manuscript for its sequel, The Second Chance brought with it the need for more photographs. Doubleday and William Briggs' initial insistence upon photographic representation of McClung's characters is an a indicator of a growing ubiquity and demand for photographs, and their evidential value. Although in previous letters McClung's "snapshots" are desired for their naturalness, Lanier suggests the use of a professional photographer for The Second Chance illustrations in a March 5, 1910 letter. The novel's rural setting, so much a part of McClung's life, is considered a valuable aspect of The Second Chance's illustration and promotion:

> The photographs have a nice character, but they are hardly as good technically as they might be. Of course photographic illustrations have to be especially good to pass muster, and I think it would be extremely wise to get a good photographer and try this again. Ought we not, also, have some pictures which show the character, but give the more *primitive surroundings* [italics mine] which your book certainly suggests.

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[18] McClung, Sowing Seeds in Danny (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908) 103-106.

Although photographs appeared to have won out over drawings in earlier discussions regarding the Sowing Seeds in Danny's illustrations, by April 2 Caswell questions the use of photographs to illustrate The Second Chance. Although McClung has provided more photographs, her editor is not satisfied:

> The Watson group picture is not bad. Danny is fine but it hardly comes up to one's idea of that interesting family group. I am not sure that it would be a wise thing to use a photograph for the crowd. A good artist would make a better picture. The photograph for Pearly Watson strikes me as not really satisfactory. I would rather have her face without the smile, but there is hardly enough of shrewdness and oldwomanliness in the face to represent Pearl. Florence's face is near to my idea, but rather too young. I doubt if you will be able to illustrate the book satisfactorily from photographs.

Correspondence from Lanier confirms that these photos were taken by Manitou's own S.E. Prest, but were rejected in favour of drawn illustrations. For the latter, McClung may have requested an artist named Fogarty, who is mentioned in a subsequent message from Doubleday. Lanier writes (April 18, 1901) "I will look up the artist in The Woman's Home Companion. I have directed our Art Department to return the negatives, and of course we should reimburse you ... I think the matter of further payment had better be left in your hands. If you think Mr. Prest ought to have $10 more under the circumstances (it is probable that we can't use the pictures), you settle it with him."

These rejected photos of the Watson children are among the few studio photos found in the McClung album.[19] 34-2 depicts nine children standing in two rows in front of a painted curtain backdrop (Fig. 10a). The backdrop's iron gate motif is seen in a Manitou

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[19] Prest suggested that his customers could have their photos taken in costume. An advertisement from the September 6, 1906 edition of The Manitou Western Canadian includes an image of a women in asian dress and the text: "In Foreign Style or whatever other way you may be costumed, we can satisfy and please you when it comes to a Photograph." McCauley, 197, notes that the European orientalism of 1870s influenced a fad in *carte de visite* portraiture of women posing in asian costume.

Town Council photo by Prest, found the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.[20] Judging from the blackening of 14-1, which is barely discernible as the "Watson group," the totally degraded 15-3 is another image from this Prest session. There are additional Watson images in Volume 32: two portraits of the older girl from the back row (Fig. 10b) and an image identical to 34-2. The former must be new versions of "Pearlie", as the girl in the front row of the group bears a striking resemblance to the Pearlie of 4-2, Florence's "Pearlie" preferred by Caswell.

It can be argued that McClung hoped to recreate another a scene from the novel by having Prest photograph a group of neatly attired children. A pivotal event of Sowing Seeds in Danny occurs when Pearlie aids Arthur Wemyss who is gravely ill with appendicitis, and in gratitude his family gives the Watsons $600. At the beginning of The Second Chance the Watsons, in new clothes bought with the Wemyss's gift, have their snapshot taken. The photograph is sent in a letter to Pearlie's Aunt Kate in Ontario: "The letter was written with infinite pains . . . it was a very pleasant and alluring picture [Pearlie] drew of how [her father] had prospered since coming west, and then, to give weight to it, she sent a snapshot that Camilla had taken of the whole family in their good clothes."[21] McClung uses the clothes as a symbol of the family's freedom from indentured toil and the resulting opportunity for Pearlie to attend school. While the photograph in the novel is a snapshot taken by a friend, there may just as likely have been an account of the Watsons visiting a studio like Prest's where, like countless families, they would have documented their social ascent with a photograph.

The rejection of Prest's photos leaves Doubleday scrambling to find a suitable illustrator for The Second Chance; on September 9, A.G. Krahe informs McClung:

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[20] PAM Visual Records, Manitou Council #2, Accession # N3774.

[21] McClung, The Second Chance (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910) 28.

> ... an oil painting in colour was prepared for us, and still that was not suitable. Then we tried to reach Mr. Fogarty, whose work you liked so much in the story of Sowing Seeds in Danny, as it appeared in Woman's Home Companion, but he was out of town ... however ... we take pleasure in sending you the first rough proofs of the reproductions of the two pictures made by this man, Mr. Wladyslaw T. Benda.

It appears McClung wrote to her publishers expressing unhappiness with the replacement illustrations and she may have wanted The Second Chance's printing delayed.[22] In a September 26, 1910 letter, Krahe quotes a telegram from Lanier: "Just received letter about illustrations. Edition printed. Think delay would be unfortunate. Briggs ordered edition these illustrations feeling with us they had selling value. Hope greatly you can reconcile yourself to having them in first edition." Krahe then states, "We are terribly sorry that the pictures haven't your approval . . . The trade seemed very much taken up with Mr. Benda's pictures, but of course in their estimation they were considering more the quality of the drawing, and the question of the pictures being inconsistent with the context did not come to their notice."[23] Benda's cover reduces the Watson children from nine to six (Fig.11a), and the frontispiece portrays the children in mean surroundings where Pearlie apparently examines her sister Mary's hair for lice, a scene which is not in the story (Fig. 11b). Faithfulness to the novel's events is sacrificed to readers' anticipated class prejudices; the

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[22] Selected Journals of L. M. Montgomery, Volume II (1987) 134, and Volume III (1992) 383: Conflict over illustrations is certainly not uncommon in the publishing world. Montgomery was also unhappy with images chosen by her publishers, Page & Company of New York.

[23] In this letter Krahe also mentions William Briggs' requesting the image of "Pearlie" which appeared on the book's advance dummies. This may have been the earlier photo of her in the kitchen or Prest's later portrait. Benda's drawings appeared to increase the attractiveness of the book, as the 1911 Houston Chronicle article which accompanies Fig.12b describes The Second Chance as "published with a frontispiece in color by Wladyslaw T. Benda." The article also promotes the novel's "realistic description of low life" and "cheerful philosophy."

Irish immigrant family is portrayed as poor and dirty rather than newly prosperous and well-attired.

This matter of McClung's illustrations emphasizes the constructed nature of images made with both brush and photo chemical processes. That Nellie McClung was asked to secure the photographs for her publishers suggests that she had some control of the visual representation of herself and her writings. McClung may have felt Prest's studio photographs lent an illusion of reality to her fictional Watsons' good fortune - people do, after all, respond to advertisements and make that visit to a photographer. In fact, the Watson photos are an example of the medium's potential equalizing power. It is ironic that Prest's photographs for McClung were so effective in their representation of an everyday family that they were rejected as uninteresting.

Photographs produced for McClung's non-fiction writings may also have found their way into the album. McClung engaged in national myth-making when she agreed to produce articles for Canada West Magazine, published by the Western Canadian Immigration Association.[24] In April and May, 1908 editor Herbert Vanderhoot wrote McClung offering her free round-trip passage on the Canadian Northern and Canadian Pacific Railways from Winnipeg to Vancouver in exchange for "anything you write about Western Canada."[25] While a 1908 journal, Volume 58, contains descriptions of places in British Columbia such as Field, the Okanagan and Vancouver, Hallett and Davis note that no publication arising from the trip has been found.[26] In the journal, McClung describes this new land with a keen

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[24] McClung, Stream, 7-10: McClung's first attempt at commercial writing, in1897, was for the alleged Town and Country Magazine, to which she subscribed and produced essays on Manitou life. However, the magazine was merely created to defraud unwitting subscribers.

[25] Add. MSS. 10, Volume 10, letters dating April 22, April 23, and May 22, 1908.

[26] Hallett and Davis, 94.

interest. For example, at Field she writes of the fossil beds and "sea green waters [that] foam and churn ... centuries of erosion has made an opening thro which the water pours and roars ... The postcard pictures are inadequate. In front of the falls, the water falls ... the glassy green waters seem to hesitate a second then jump."

The content of such notes lend them to a comparison with a number of album photographs. The varying sizes and formats of images tentatively ascribed to the 1908 trip discourage the notion that they all date from this event.[27] However, they support the argument for the photo album as visual autobiography, as many similar trips and tours resulted from McClung's public life of writing and social reform. The subject matter of a group of photographs found on pages 12 and 13, may date the photographs to 1908. Photos 13-1 to 13-3 (Fig. 12) are studies of what appear to be of stream-bed rocks and mountain valleys. The close study of this subject matter is unlike any other album images, and these photos could have illustrated or at least inspired McClung's Canada West articles. 12-2, a waterfall in a pine forest, is identical in size and processing to 31-2, a group photo of three men and five women, possibly including McClung, standing by a similar waterfall. There are also photos of mountain rivers (12-1 and 30-3), a boat with the name "Revelstoke" across the wheelhouse, 11-2 and 27-1 (Fig. 13a),[28] and group photos of women posing in front of a mountain lake, 1-6 (Fig. 13b), and on a woodland trail, 1-9.

However, in keeping with the hypothesis that the album is both a public and private visual text, the latter photos are similar to countless vacation snapshots; such images

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[27] The McClung album contains a number of photographs which appear to represent British Columbia and/or non-prairie views, but only a few are discussed above. In addition, the poor quality of some images hinders reproduction and suggests home processing.

[28] Hallett and Davis, 95, note that McClung took the sternwheel steamer "S.S. Kootenay" through the Arrow Lakes. However, according to BCA Visual records, the "S.S. Revelstoke" travelled the Columbia River until it burned in 1915. McClung did not travel to BC again until after 1915.

"consecrate the unique encounter between a person and a consecrated place, between an exceptional moment in one's life and a place that is exceptional by virtue of its high symbolic yield."[29] Yet, as well as recording remarkable encounters, vacation photographs are an extension of a society's consumption and work practices. McClung travelled to BC to promote Western settlement, and like countless travellers, she recorded and consumed the landscape she travelled through. Vacation photography "document[s] sequences of consumption carried on outside the view of family, friends or neighbors ... using a camera appeases the anxiety which the work-driven feel about not working when they are on vacation;" further, "people wielded cameras as a way of taking possession of the places they visited. Kodak put signs at the entrances of many towns listing what to photograph."[30] One photo closely associated with the Canada West trip is the photographic postcard, 7-2 (Fig. 14), discussed in the previous chapter. On their journey by train, the McClungs stopped over in Lacombe, Alberta, as is attested by a clipping in Volume 29: "Mr. and Mrs. R.W. McClung of Manitou, Man. spent last week in Lacombe visiting Mrs. McClung's brother, W.S. Mooney ... Mrs. McClung is at present engaged in gathering material for a series of articles on the West." The 1908 postcard is identified as having been taken by "John Scales, Lacombe - Gull Lake, Lacombe." Scales no doubt had his equipment set-up on the lakeshore, where passing vacationers could commission evidence of their consumption in the form of a photographic postcard.

The album also contains images which elaborate upon McClung's community responsibilities in Manitou. 11-1, 11-5, 21-1, 22-2 and 32-3 appear to depict the same event in the yard of McClung's Park Street house.[31] 11-1, 11-5 and 21-1 are group photos children

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[29] Bourdieu, 36.

[30] Sontag, 9-10 and 65.

[31] This house has since been moved to a private museum site in La Rivière, Manitoba.

with three women, one of whom is McClung. In the background of 11-1 and 21-1 can be seen a large tent, which McClung also stands beside in 22-2 and 32-3 (Fig. 15, top). The location is supported by a comment from McClung in The Stream Runs Fast: "There was a great movement toward outdoor sleeping then, and we bought a large tent which was put up on the lawn, and here the McClungs slept until well into November, a hale and happy family."[32] 25-2 and 35-1 may also depict a Sunday School or the WCTU Band of Hope children's group outing at a lake, where McClung is seen in the fore- and backgrounds respectively.

In 25-2 Wesley is also pictured, holding a child in his arms. Although there are few images of Wesley in the album, an instance of his activities and influence is seen in 6-5, 20-3 and all six images on page 24. These appear to represent a "Dog and Duck Club" shoot, as the men therein pose with rifles and dogs. (24-2 is a photo of Canada Geese cut from a magazine). 6-5 and 20-3 depict these men in a canoe on a stream, with rifles at the ready. It is possible that Wesley took these photos, as he cannot be discerned in any of them. The questions remain as to who developed and arranged the photos. Wesley may have developed them, but if album-making was considered a feminine activity and/or typically undertaken by Nellie, then it seems unlikely that in this one instance Wesley would organize the "Dog and Duck Club" photos.

While the images on page 24 construct a narrative, the album's strongest expository elements are hand-written captions identifying sites from Nellie's childhood. Photos 6-4, 26-4, and 26-6 (Figs. 16a and 16b) all have accompanying captions in McClung's handwriting. The photos were likely taken during McClung's 1915 speaking tour of Ontario, although Hallett and Davis note that McClung undertook a recitation tour of Ontario in 1910.[33] In

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[32] McClung, Stream, 99.

[33] Hallett and Davis, 73 and 96.

The Stream Runs Fast McClung describes her return to the province in 1915: "I had looked forward to my trip to Owen Sound, the port from which we sailed in 1880, and especially Chatsworth on the Garafraxa Road, where I was born. I had been away thirty-five years, but when we drove the ten miles to Chatsworth, I could recall some of the places."[34] These remembered places found their way into the album: 6-4 is a distant view of house across a road and fields, identified as "The house NLM was born in one mile south of Chatsworth on the Garafraxa Road"; McClung entitles 26-4, a photo of a white tombstone, as "My grandmother's grave near Chatsworth"; and 26-6 is "The first school NLM attends. It is in Chatsworth."

As McClung was an autobiographer, the links between her album and her writings are potentially significant.[35] McClung notes the value of her scrap albums as she prepared to write The Stream Runs Fast: "I have been reading over my diaries which I have kept since 1912, and my scrapbooks, and it has been rather an overwhelming task, but I am glad that I have kept everything, and so these have been an honest record of my activities."[36] Thus, the above images may have functioned as mnemonic devices, even during the writing of Clearing in the West. In her first autobiography, McClung describes the place of her birth: "We lived a mile from Chatsworth, on the Garafraxa road, in a stony part of the county of Grey."[37] Throughout the first two chapters, the Garafraxa Road symbolizes the conflicting

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[34] McClung, Stream, 148.

[35] Schwartz, 53, argues for the informative value of written texts associated with visual records; see also Chalfen, "Imagery," 109; Pauline Greenhill, So We Can Remember: Showing Family Photographs, Canadian Centre for Folk Cultural Studies, Paper No. 36 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981) 4; and Marsha Peters and Bernard Mergan, " 'Doing the Rest': The Uses of Photographs in American Studies," in American Quarterly 29 Bibliographical Issue (1977): 290.

[36] McClung, Clearing, xii.

[37] McClung, Clearing, 7.

fortunes of those who live in Chatsworth. John Mooney settled on the less fertile land west of the road, and was reminded of this decision by relatives who had prospered on the east side, near the township of Holland.[38] Firing the Heather maintains McClung's connection to the land, as it begins with a reiteration of her words: "A mile south of Chatsworth, in Grey County, Ontario, on the west side of the Garafraxa Road, was the Mooney farm." Thus, the Mooney homestead embodies Bourdieu's "high symbolic yield," for it represents both family hardships and triumphs. The farm has dramatic qualities as well, for it is the starting point of young Nellie's journey to the "Golden West."

Photo 26-4 is also related to a scene in Clearing in the West, as the departure from Ontario in 1880 is marked by remembrances of her maternal grandmother:

> I was dressed in my best dress, the day we left, for I was going to have my picture taken in Owen Sound. It was black and white farmer's satin, second mourning for my grandmother who had died the year before ... We stopped in Chatsworth and went into the cemetery. On my grandmother's grave mother put a wreath of paper flowers, in a little box with a glass lid ... there was a new white stone with her name, "Margaret Fullerton McCurdy." There was a little grave beside grandmother's with a white lamb at the head and this was where my little brother, John Wesley, whom I had never seen, was laid.[39]

It is not surprising that such an event would be remembered by McClung in both autobiography and photo album. That Nellie had her picture taken reinforces the solemnity of the Mooneys' journey to Manitoba; it points to pattern of social behaviour that, even in 1880, promoted photography's symbolic and representational value.

Finally, album photo 26-6 and its caption call attention to McClung's autobiographical persona and the complex role of photography in documenting memory. McClung's caption identifies the building in 26-6 as the first school she attends in Chatsworth. In her biography she mentions attending Sunday school: "I was taken to

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[38] McClung, Clearing, 16.

[39] McClung, Clearing, 40-41.

Sunday-school in Chatsworth, by Elizabeth and Annie Stevenson ... [it] was held in the church." However, there is no discussion of McClung having attended any sort of public school there, and the building in 26-6 is described specifically as a school, not a church. Although McClung may have learned little while in Chatsworth, the account of her education in Clearing in the West is lent greater drama by emphasizing Northfield as her first school. In her autobiography, McClung draws attention to her lack of education, contrasting herself to her older sister Hannah, who had been to school in Ontario and who could read the newspaper: "I was going to be a cowboy anyway, so why should I bother with an education? I could count to a hundred and I would never own more than a hundred head; all of which was a bit of a pretence on my part, a form of self protection."[40] McClung obviously wished to document the personally significant site of the Chatsworth school by photographing and bestowing it with an identifying caption. Yet, to consider automatically the photographic document as the more accurate account is to embrace the camera's seemingly magical power to stop time and relive the past.[41] Similarly, to designate the album and autobiography as separate private and public reminiscences, is to restrict and oversimplify their functions.

McClung's domesticity is particularly relevant to this study, since photo album production has been a means to inculcate femininity. In fact, the public functions of certain album images are obscured by the conventions of album construction; the subject matter of many photos cannot be determined, for they may document her private life. However, analysis of McClung's autobiographical persona may contribute to the understanding of her photo album. As stated in Chapter Two, albums were a socially acceptable form of women's self-expression, for they encouraged the feminine virtues of selfless labour and familial devotion. Nellie McClung saw these attributes as a natural impetus for women's social

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[40] McClung, Clearing, 19 and 92.

[41] Paster, 139.

consciousness and public activism. But like her photo album, which contains few overt references to her autonomous activities, she is reluctant to characterize herself as a public person in her autobiographies; the persona McClung fashions for herself is feminine and domestic.

While McClung's novels have been celebrated for their realistic portrayal of prairie life and women's experience,[42] Misao Dean contends that McClung employs a self-effacing self-representation. Like the photo theorists who argue for the distinction between photographic subject and referent, Dean cautions against the "literal correspondence between the text and material reality."[43] Turn-of-the-century works by Canadian women authors such as McClung have been considered as realistic "progressive narrative[s] of liberation ... The assumption underlying these readings is that while women were oppressed in the past, they have been and are struggling as active agents to free themselves, and that representations of women thus become progressively more free and accurate as literature progresses from the nineteenth to the twentieth century."[44] Similarly, it is easy to assume that the McClung album represents a significant progression from earlier, more restrictive social and photo album conventions. Dean argues that McClung's texts are predicated upon a naturalized, feminine "inner-self." As writings which support the social construction "femininity," and as constructions of the signifying system of language, they cannot, therefore, directly imitate reality: "a literary text can no more reproduce the real lives of women than ... painted fruit

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[42] Hallett and Davis, 267: among the social issues addressed in McClung's fiction are wife and child battering; verbal and emotional abuse; family violence; alcoholism; prairie isolation and loneliness; vote fixing; racial prejudice and hatred; native assimilation; class prejudices; illegitimacy and single motherhood; debilitating pregnancies and lack of legalized birth control; female suffrage and antiquated laws against women; women's oppressive domestic responsibilities; mental, moral and physical deprivations; and poor rural medical and social services

[43] Dean, Introduction, Practising Femininity, 5

[44] Dean, Introduction, 5.

can be eaten. Literary realism, like the realist painting [or photography], is ideological, a discourse whose fundamental purpose is to erase the arbitrary relationship between the text and the material world by creating the illusion that language is wholly referential."[45]

A characteristic of McClung's novels is "the rebellious, the strong-minded, self-determining woman who is not passively acted upon by the society in which she lives;"[46] "Pearlie Watson learns to 'speak out' for herself and for other women in the three books which depict her life."[47] However, McClung relies on the patriarchal and essentializing construct of feminine virtue to motivate her characters:

> McClung's fiction has its roots in the very stereotypes it seeks to overthrow. The inner feminine virtues of self-sacrifice and self-control, expressed as the practices of nurturing domestic labour, reproduction and support of the self-made man, mother love, and moral authority are naturalized in McClung's fiction ... constituting the self-expression of a universal feminine woman.[48]

Women, McClung believed, possessed a natural responsibility, a mother love, which could transform society, and teaching self-expression was, for McClung, "the greatest thing an author can do."[49] Yet, the notion of liberating self-expression is problematic: "Self-expression relies upon a concept of a natural self which reinstalls the stereotypes of the feminine which it seeks to overthrow."[50] Evoking Sidonie Smith, Dean identifies the inherent challenge to women expressing themselves in the masculinized genre of autobiography. Smith asserts that the autobiographical text is a product of the public sphere, "a narrative artifice, privileging a presence, or identity, that does not exist outside of

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[45] Dean, Introduction, 11.

[46] Hallett and Davis, 269, cited in Dean, Voicing, 81.

[47] Dean, Voicing, 81.

[48] Dean, Voicing, 86.

language." As women have had little access to the masculinized public sphere, McClung as suffragette and autobiographer risked being doubly labelled as "unfeminine." Furthermore,

> male distrust and consequent repression of female speech have either condemned her to public silence or profoundly contaminated her relationship to the pen as an instrument of power. If [a woman] presumes to claim a fully human identity by seeking a place in the public arena, therefore, she transgresses patriarchal definitions of female nature by enacting the scenario of male selfhood.[51]

Wishing to invert the public image of herself as an unfeminine suffragette, McClung created a feminine, domestic persona for herself in Clearing in the West and The Stream Runs Fast.

As is characteristic of women's autobiography, McClung "creates a self identified with domestic ideology, self-effacing, conservative, bound by duty to family and a moral community ... [her] autobiography deflects attention away from herself and towards her family, her colleagues, and her domestic life." McClung constructs a "multiple self, a self who has no self, the sum of the influence of her family, other women's experience, and her choice to be a writer." She cites her parents as the source of her temperament; she admires her mother's self-reliance; she becomes a writer so that she may selflessly speak for the poor and oppressed; McClung's support for the recognition of women's work is signified by her sadness at the loss of her mother's spinning wheel and loom.[52] In Clearing in the West, young Nellie prefers school to quilting and composes the following poem renouncing all forms of handiwork:

> The heights by great men reached and kept

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[49] McClung, Stream, 27, and Hallett and Davis, 222, cited in Dean, Voicing, 76.

[50] Dean, Voicing, 78.

[51] Sidonie Smith, A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987) 7-8.

[52] Dean, Voicing, 88-90.

Were not attained by sudden flight,
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night.
They did not leave their reading books
To fool around with crochet hook;
They did not slight their history-notes
To make lace for their petticoats;
But step by step they did advance
And gave no thought to coat or pants!
So let my steps ever be led
Away from wool, and crochet thread;
And let my hear be set to find
The higher treasures of the mind.[53]

Dean comments that the above poem "shows forcefully how the genre of poems which exhort children to hard work and excellence simply do not include 'real women.'"[54] It may also be added this subversive poem, a rejection of feminine domestic behaviours in favour of masculine intellectual pursuits, results from Nellie's envy, rather than rejection, of her classmates' crocheting skills: "I could not make a scallop without a bulge ... even Annie's little sister Maude who had just started to school could do the mile-a-minute pattern."[55]

Dean notes that McClung's public activism is rooted in women's naturalized private sphere of motherhood and children.[56] Analogously, her adult persona is selfless and domesticated. While The Stream Runs Fast is described by McClung as "legacy of truth," her self-effacing persona diverts attention away from McClung's individual contribution to history.[57] In reference to the previously mentioned passages from her autobiography, she regrets the negative impact of farm mechanization on her brothers' lives; her various homes,

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[53] McClung, Clearing, 137.

[54] Dean, Voicing, 85.

[55] McClung, Clearing, 137.

[56] Dean, Voicing, 90.

[57] McClung, Stream, x, cited in Dean, Voicing, 90.

their material contents and kitchens are consistently described; she fusses over the Manitou apartment in anticipation of her first callers; upon discovering that she is pregnant, she laments womankind's plight; she follows her husband to Edmonton, despite its effect on her political career; and after losing her seat in the Alberta Legislative Assembly she spends the day in a "debauch" of cooking. Additionally, the occasion of McClung's first public reading is de-emphasized by her account of a visit to a beauty salon.[58]

The most obvious examples of the photo album's domestic narrative are seen in the four album photos with accompanying captions. Three of these images are sites from McClung's childhood, the time when she was "created" by her family's powerful personalities.[59] Significantly, in the captions of 6-4 and 26-6 McClung identifies herself in the third person ("NLM"), adding a somewhat distant, biographical tone to the album.[60] Yet, the places represented in these photographs are not only related to passages in her autobiographies, they are the kind of sites significant to family history in general and, therefore, often found in the visual record. A more familial function can also be attributed to the photo of two boys, 33-5, and its accompanying fragment of caption identifying them as McClung's youngest and oldest children "Mark and Jack." Similarly, album images of Nellie and children (with or without Wesley), such as 32-4 (Fig. 15, bottom), and other groupings of women and children, such as 15-1 and 15-2, may function as family documents and tokens of affection between friends and relatives.[61] The above images are a few of the many seemingly mundane album photos. However, by placing photos of the fictitious Watson

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[58] McClung, Stream, 77.

[59] Dean, Voicing, 88.

[60] Photographic postcard 29-2 is also inscribed with the following: "In this church R.W. McClung and Nellie L. Mooney were married August 25th, 1896."

[61] Copies of these photos in McClung's BCA Visual Record file are incorrectly identified as Nellie McClung with her children.

children amongst them, including 15-1 and 15-2, McClung intentionally or unintentionally foregrounds the conventions of family photography and blurs the boundaries between public and private photography.

Determining possible meanings and functions of the album benefits from a broad study of texts "around above, and parallel to it."[62] Nevertheless, the subject matter of many McClung album photos remains ambiguous. Image 7-3 (Fig. 17) with its uneven black borders and darkening on the right side suggests home developing. Its subject matter, a girl posed on an overturned boat on a river bank, brings to mind the promotional images of Pearlie. Could it also be a photo intended for illustrative purposes? Judging by the uniform lighting and even white border of 1-3, a sitting room interior, this photo may have been taken by a professional photographer (Fig. 18). While possibly a memento of a McClung home, it could have also illustrated an article on McClung, as the sheet music on the piano is titled "The Holy City," to which there is a reference in Sowing Seeds in Danny.[63]

The photo album reveals autobiographical characteristics when compared to texts both outside and a part of the McClung Papers. Yet, the latter's correspondence and scrapbooks are primarily collections of other people's impressions of McClung. While she likely arranged the scrapbooks' pages and selected their images and texts, the scrapbooks contain admired poems and prose, literary reviews, political reports, and programmes from public readings. Occasionally, her own words appear, as on the back of a 1906 letter from Caswell: "Send it back please. I keep all of them to show I came nearly [to] having a book published once." This comment reveals that McClung wished to document her life story,

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[62] Schwartz, 52.

[63] On page 135 Pearlie asks Arthur Wemyss, newly arrived from England and a rector's son, "Do you know 'The Holy City?' " In addition, based on pictures I have seen of the McClungs' Manitou house, the interior seen in 1-3 and 25-3 is likely that of a later house in Winnipeg or Alberta.

even if only initially for herself and her family. Significantly, Wesley McClung's gift of 62 volumes of manuscripts, correspondence, scrapbooks, notebooks and diaries did not include her red diaries, subsequently burned in 1975. As Volume 26's notebooks consist largely of lists and brief anecdotes, these diaries would have likely provided more complete information on McClung's public and private activities.[64] In 1953, the diaries may have been deemed too private and valuable for the family to place them in a public archive.

Conversely, as photo albums are often considered amongst a family's most treasured possessions, what aspects of this album caused it to be selected for the archives donation? As I have argued, a number of its images are associated with McClung's activities as a writer. The album may be autobiographical if its photographs were taken by her and/or were of a particular significance only to her. As well, it contains a number of photographic postcards, mass-produced images which lack the intimacy and familiarity valued by surviving family members. In addition, it may not have been considered a "family album," as it does not possess the repetitive narrative elements which Marilyn Motz ascribes to albums that "record the development and cohesiveness of families as corporate units;" while certain settings, such as the Park Street house, are seen in a number of McClung album photos, there appears to be no progressive documentation of annual family events. Along with their connection to her writings and travels, some photos appear to have been produced in a home darkroom, and perhaps duplicate photos exist in remaining McClung albums. Perhaps its title "SCRAPS" indicates that it was considered more a scrapbook than photo album, and thus included with the other scrapbooks (Volumes 27-54). As for its ultimate placement among her manuscripts, correspondence, notebooks and scrapbooks, McClung's compiling of her correspondence suggests that she might have pre-selected the album, as well as other volumes of the McClung Papers. The album may have been chosen by her, or another family

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[64] McClung's notebooks from 1895 and 1911, the years of McClung's engagement and move to Winnipeg respectively, contain diary entries.

member, because its subject matter was less a record of the McClungs' domestic life than a collection of images related to Nellie's public activities as an author and suffragette. If McClung considered writing her primary calling, and if the majority of these photographs date from circa 1896-1911, then this album may have been seen as representative of her early literary fame.

Despite these lingering questions, the preceding study proves the rewards of re-discovering archival photographs. No longer "decontextualized 'pictures of something,' " McClung's album photographs do exist in ways "which are simultaneously personal, political, economic, dramatic, everyday and historic." While relating to McClung's career and family life, they also elaborate upon the social and economic importance of non-elite photography in small towns like Manitou during the turn-of-the-century. The content of letters between McClung and her publishers regarding her photographs not only indicates a concern for photographic realism, but also foregrounds the issue of photography's artistic legitimacy. That an object such as the McClung album can encompass these varied issues, underscores the complexity of non-elite photography. Yet, these observations are only starting points for further investigation in the field of Canadian photo history.

In conclusion, this thesis has attempted to contextualize the photographic album of Nellie L. McClung. While my analysis of its photographs is not exhaustive, it has revealed many issues associated with the intertwining of McClung's public and private life. Accordingly, my arguments may be reconsidered in turn, and new observations made about the McClung album's subject matter. Strong-Boag and Fellman have challenged feminist historians to rethink women's history. It is my belief that this work has put into practice the methodological charges of the many scholars who, in different ways, have encouraged the social analysis of Canadian women's production and consumption of non-elite photography.

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Appendix A:
List of McClung Album Photographs

The album is 25.5 cm x 31 cm (10" x 13") and is unpaginated. Each entry below includes a consecutive number assigned to the album page, followed by an image number corresponding to the photograph's placement on the page, approximately left to right and top to bottom. This is followed by a brief description of the image's subject matter and appearance. With varying degrees of certainty, persons and/or places are identified. Approximate sizes are given in centimetres and inches, length by height. Whenever possible, a camera type, with date of introduction, or a process is proposed based on the print's size and appearance.

While different styles and brands of camera were available through the T. Eaton Company Catalogue, Kodak cameras are suggested as they were sold at Wesley McClung's Manitou pharmacy. Kodak films associated with specific cameras could be used in other Kodaks and produced the same sized image. Also different films produced the same sized image and some images may be enlargements or reductions, therefore the cameras/processes below are only tentative suggestions. Photographic postcards could be taken either by professional photographers or with certain snapshot cameras. In 1902 Kodak began producing 3½ x 5¼ photographic paper with "Post Card" imprinted on the back. The #3A Folding Pocket Kodak (1903) and #2 Stereo Brownie (1905) produced photographic postcard sized images. Entries suggest the likelier origin, professional or snapshot.

1-1 Group standing in yard, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 girls. Houses visible in background. Black border.
13.7 x 8, 5 x 3¼ - home processing?

1-2 Studio portrait of young woman and man, formally dressed. Vignetted.
8.3 x 13.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

1-3 Similar to 25-3. Interior of home with piano, hearth, chairs, pictures and other decorations. Sheet music on piano: "The Holy City." White border. Accession #80002.
12.6 x 10.1, 5 x 4 - professional/promotional photograph?

1-4 Two boys lying in yard, bushes and fence behind. Faded or overexposed. White border.
8.1 x 5.7, 3¼ x 2¼ - #2 Brownie (1901) or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak (1899)

1-5 Two men on boardwalk holding suitcases, cabin and trees in background. Originally torn in half, pasted together.
8 x 5.6, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

1-6 3 women in hats at lakeshore, Canadian Rockies. McClung in centre? 1908 train trip? Originally torn in half, pasted together.
8 x 5.6, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

1-7 2 women, 1 man and a baby propped up in a wicker carrier in front of Royal Alexandra Hotel (Winnipeg?). Originally torn in half, pasted together.
8 x 5.6, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

1-8 8 adults on a carriage. Torn and cropped.

2.3 x 5, 2 x 1 (extant)

1-9 3 women on mountain trail, 2 in fore-, 1 in background. 1908 train trip?
8 x 5.6, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

2-1 McClung in dark dress and hat, standing in front of tree, river in background.
8.4 x 13.8, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Stereo Brownie

2-2 Nearly identical to 8-3, 21-5, 28-1. Hamilton Street (facing North), Manitou. St. John's Anglican and St. Andrew's Presbyterian Churches on West side. Thick paper. White border on left side. Identical to Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM) Visual Records, Manitou #11, Accession #N1347: " 'c. 1908. Hamilton Street' from Souvenir Letter - Manitou, Canadian Pacific Railroad Series."
13.6 x 8, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard.

2-3 Group standing on lawn in front of house with veranda. 2 men, 2 women (elderly woman in chair) and a boy. White border.
14 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie

3-1 Winter scene of house behind a snow covered stone wall and trees. White caption, lower left: "Killarney, Man." White border.
14 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

3-2 Fruit trees in a field. Uneven black border.
6.9 x 11.1, 2½ x 4¼ - home processing?

3-3 Young man in suit and hat in yard, trees and picket fence behind. Uneven black border.
6.8 x 10.2, 2¾ x 4 - home processing?

3-4 Child running down sidewalk, houses in background. Torn lower right corner. White border.
9.5 x 6.4, 3¾ x 2¼

3-5 Manitou Normal School. Accession #80003. Identical to PAM Visual Records, Manitou Schools - Normal School #5: " '1908 Manitou Normal School' from Souvenir Letter - Manitou, Canadian Pacific Railroad Series." Similar to PAM Visual Records, Manitou Schools - Normal School #3 and #4: "1908" photographic postcards
12 x 8.5, 4½ x 3¼ - professional photograph/photographic postcard

4-1 6 men posing with tools on low train trestle. C.P.R. Line near La Riviere? Thick paper with metallic tarnish.
13.9 x 8.2, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or photographic postcard

4-2 Similar to photo and Sowing Seeds in Danny advertisement, BCA Add. Mss. 10, Vol. 32. Girl at table wash basin in kitchen - Florence McClung/"Pearlie Watson." Uneven black border. Metallic tarnish.
12.7 x 10.1, 5 x 4 - home processing or photograph by S.E. Prest, Manitou?

4-3 High view of mountains, trees and river valley. 1908 train trip? Very faded or overexposed.
11.9 x 9.8, 4½ x 4

5-1 5 men posed in a stream or pond, rope across water in foreground, cliff wall behind. 1908 train trip?
11.9 x 9.9, 4½ x 4

5-2 High view of mountains, trees and cabin with woodpile in foreground. 1908 train trip? Very faded or overexposed.
11.9 x 9.9, 4½ x 4.

5-3 3 women in hats sitting on log (or overturned boat?) on beach. McClung on right? Very blurry.
6.5 x 10.2, 4 x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak (1899) or #2A Brownie (1907)

5-4 Man driving buggy down dirt road. Angled white caption at lower left: "Stitts [Stills?] & Lake Drive, Hastings [?]" Written in ink across bottom "How is this for the tropics? S.C." White border except at top.
13.9 x 8.7, 5½ x 3½ - photographic postcard

6-1 Similar to 14-2, 17-4, 19-3, 27-4. 2 boys in matching clothes standing in front of fence, holding toy rifles. Anderson nephew/"Danny Watson" on right.

13.9 x 8.2, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or professional photograph by Gauvin, Gentzel & Co, Winnipeg.

6-2 Little boy in coat and hat on board sidewalk, house in background.
6.9 x 4.9, 1¾ x 2¾ - #0 Folding (1902) or Vest Pocket Kodak (1912)

6-3 Similar to 8-1. Crowd of men and boys at fairgrounds horse show. Manitou Normal School in distance? Thick paper.
13.9 x 8.5, 5½ x 3½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie

6-4 Distant view of house, taken from road. Text written in ink on page below photograph: "The house NLM was born in one mile south of Chatsworth on the Garafraxa Road." 1915 trip to Ontario? White border.
8.2 x 5.9, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

6-5 3 men with rifles in canoe, bulrushes behind. White boarder at left side. Manitou "Dog and Duck Hunting Club" photo? Thick paper
7.9 x 13.3, 5¼ x 3 - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or photographic postcard

7-1 Chicken in barnyard, peacock with tail up in background. Dark.
10.1 x 6.2, 4 x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

7-2 Lake shore, 2 men and 1 woman or 3 men in boat, 2 women on jetty, dog on beach and two men in distance. White caption across black bottom border, "Copyright, 1908 John Scales Lacombe Gull Lake, Lacombe." 1908 train trip and visit with brother Will Mooney in Lacombe, Alberta?
8.5 x 13.8, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

7-3 Girl posing on overturned boat on stony beach, river, pine trees and mountains in background. Uneven black border top and bottom. Metallic tarnishing.
10.7 x 8.1, 4¼ x 3¼ - professional photograph or home processing?

7-4 View over porch railing of orchard, hills in background. Black border.
11.5 x 7, 4½ x 2¾ - home processing?

7-5 Man standing by boat on beach, two women in background. Blurry. Same setting as 5-3, 7-2? 1908 train trip?
10.1 x 6.3, 4 x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie.

8-1 Similar to 6-3. Crowd of men and boys at same horse show. Different angle and horses.
13.8 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie

8-2 Interior of mine shaft. Caption at lower right: "Timbering in Calumet & Hecla - Calumet, Mich." Mounted sideways. Hand tinted. 1892 or 1913 trips to Michigan?
9 x 14.1, 5½ x 3½ - postcard

8-3 Nearly identical to 2-2, 21-5, 28-1. Darker and without left border (Cropped?)
11.8 x 7.5, 4½ x 3 - photographic postcard

8-4 Woman holding parasol standing beside child, trees and wire fence in background. White border.
5.5 x 8, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

8-5 Woman in hat and wide-collared dress, sitting in front of house with lattice-work siding. White border.
8.9 x 6.4, 3½ x 2½

9-1 Older and younger woman stand in forest, older woman holds child. British Columbia? McClung younger woman? Black borders on left and right.
8.1 x 11.8, 3¼ x 4¼ - home processing?

9-2 2 young women standing by stump in forest.
5.6 x 7.7, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

9-3 Group in yard, women of 9-1 sitting in chairs, older woman holds child. Boy with dog stands in front, older man stands behind with arms on chair backs. Man stands on veranda in background. British Columbia?
8.1 x 11.8, 3¼ x 4¼ - home processing?

9-4 Man holds hand of child, both stand beside large stump in clearing. British Columbia? House at far right. Black border left side (right side cropped?)

6.1 x 10.6, 2½ x 4¼ - home processing?

9-5 Identical to 9-4. Darker and with black left and right borders.
8.1 x 11.8, 3¼ x 4¼ - home processing?

9-6 Group outside doorway of house, 3 women (McClung at right), a man and young girl with dog. Neighbouring house in background. Black border.
11.3 x 6.8, 4½ x 2¾ - home processing?

10-1 6 women sitting on front porch, laughing. McClung is 2nd from left. House number (11140) is left of the door (Edmonton or Calgary?). Blurry. White border
13.8 x 8.3, 5½ x 3¼, #3A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Stereo Brownie

11-1 Group standing in yard, 10 girls and 2 women, McClung on right. Tent and house in background. Sunday school or Manitou W.C.T.U. children's group? Grey border or shadow.
10 x 12.6, 4 x 5 - re-photographed/home processing?

11-2 Sternwheel Steamer, "Revelstoke", alongside riverbank, dinghy in fore-, pine forest in background. Black border. 1908 train trip?
6.8 x 11.2, 2¾ x 4½ - home processing?

11-3 Nearly identical to 68-2, identical to 22-1. View of dirt street and businesses, people milling around cars parked at curb. Storefront visible: "Free Reading Room" (W.C.T.U. Reading Room?) Building in extreme background: "Cockshutt Implements [?]" (Pollock and Boyle implement dealers, Manitou?)
6 x 10.2, 2½ x 4¼ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

11-4 Studio portrait of girl in hat, coat and ankle boots, standing beside chair. Painted curtain backdrop.
8.5 x 13.8, 3¼ x 5½ - photographic postcard

11-5 Similar to 11-1. All kneeling or sitting, dog at left. Shadow in fore-, houses in background. Grey border or shadow.
8.2 x 13.9, 3¼ x 5½ - re-photographed/home processing?

12-1 Similar to 11-2. View of river, pine trees along banks. 1908 train trip?
10.5 x 6.2, 4¼ x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

12-2 Waterfall in pine forest. 1908 train trip? Very faded or overexposed.
6.9 x 11.4, 2¾ x 4½

12-3 Woman on porch with folding-type camera. She appears to be taking a photograph of the yard. Thick paper.
8.4 x 13.8, 3¼ x 5½ - photographic postcard.

12-4 Stream running over rocks. 1908 train trip? Very faded or overexposed.
7 x 11.5, 2¾ x 4½

13-1 Stream-bed rocks. Uneven black borders.
11.3 x 6.9, 4½ x 2¾ - home processing?

13-2 Low view of river and mountain valley. 1908 train trip? Faded or overexposed. Uneven black borders.
11.4 x 6.9, 4½ x 2¾ - home processing?

13-3 View of trees, mountains in background. 1908 train trip? Uneven black borders.
11.3 x 6.9, 4½ x 2¾ - home processing?

13-4 High view of town in mountain valley. 1908 train trip? Photograph originally torn across middle, pasted back together. Faded or overexposed.
11.6 x 9.9, 4½ x 3¾

13-5 Barnyard or farm. House or barn to left, penned area in fore- and trees in background. Uneven black borders.
6.9 x 11.5, 2¾ x 4½ - home processing?

14-1 Completely blackened image. "Watson children"?
13.9 x 9.7, 5½ x 3¾ - photo by S.E. Prest?

14-2 Identical to 17-4, same clothes and setting as 6-1, 19-3, 27-4. Older boy pulling "Danny" /Anderson

nephew with teddy bear in wagon. Overexposure on right.
13.8 x 8, 5½ x 3¼, #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or professional photograph by Gauvin, Gentzel & Co, Winnipeg.

15-1 Woman holding baby on knee in parlour or library. Accession #96861.
7.8 x 10.2, 3 x 4

15-2 Studio portrait of woman in glasses sitting on bench, holding baby. Vignetted. Accession #96862.
7.7 x 11.2, 3 x 4½

15-3 Studio portrait of 9 children (7 boys and 2 girls) "Watson children"? Very blackened.
9.7 x 14, 3¾ x 5½ - photo by S.E. Prest?

16-1 2 children dressed in winter clothes standing on sidewalk. Child on right holds reins of sled visible at bottom right. Message at bottom in ink: "Wishing you a merry Xmas and a Happy New Year." Back of card: "Compliments of the season Helen Sturdy." Accession #96863.
9.7 x 14, 3¾ x 5½ - photographic postcard

17-1 McClung with pen and paper at desk. She is looking up and wearing a dark dress. Bookshelves, with pictures (photos?) and figurines in background. Light source from left (window?). Metallic tarnishing.
13.8 x 8.2, 5½ x 3¼ - photo by S.E. Prest?

17-2 2 women in conversation on porch.
5.4 x 5.5, 2¼ x 2¼ - #1 Brownie (1900)

17-3 Child playing outdoors. Cut from a black paper album.
5.3 x 3.8, 2 x 1¼ - Pocket Kodak (1895) or #4 Bulls-Eye (1896)

17-4 Identical to 14-2, similar to 6-1, 19-3, 27-4. "Danny" in wagon. Darker.
13.8 x 8, 5½ x 3¼, #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or professional photograph by Gauvin, Gentzel & Co, Winnipeg.

17-5 4 women in dark dresses standing outdoors, snow on ground.
10 x 6.2, 4 x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

17-6 House surrounded by trees. McClung house in Manitou? Tear in negative top left. Very dark. Black edge at right.
13.9 x 8.1, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak / home processing?

18-1 2 women sitting on rocky shore. Written in ink on lower right: "Trinity Newfoundland."
13.8 x 8.6, 5½ x 3½ - photographic postcard

18-2 Beneath 18-1. Boarded-up outbuilding, person at left. Overexposure at bottom left.
10 x 4.5, 4 x 1¾ (visible)

18-3 Fuller Street (facing west), Manitou. Church, house and gas street light on south side. Identical to In Rhythm with Our Roots: A History of Manitou and Area, page 40.
12 x 9.6, 4¾ x 3¾ - professional photograph

18-4 Two boys playing with dog. Many houses/ buildings in background. Mounted on grey board, pasted sideways on page.
5 x 7.8, 3 x 2

19-1 View of cabins and pine trees taken from boat or opposite shore.
9.6 x 11.5, 4¼ x 3¼ - #3 Folding Brownie (1905) or #3 Brownie (1908)

19-2 Similar to 6-1, 14-2, 17-4, 27-4. Anderson nephew/"Danny Watson" posed with toy rifle propped against teddy bear at his feet.
8.2 x 13.9, 3¼ x 5½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or professional photograph by Gauvin, Gentzel & Co, Winnipeg.

19-3 Train on track between low hills. Written in pencil on left white border: "A service on the La Riviere R.R. line." Similar to Turning Leaves: A history of La Riviere and Region, page 1: "Mary Jane Creek" - Pembina Valley, Manitoba.
12.6 x 8.5, 5 x 3½ - photographic postcard.

19-4 2 boys, "Danny" in wagon pulled by dog, other boy behind. Buildings in background.

8.2 x 13.9, 3¼ x 5½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie

20-1 2 men sitting on river bank or ledge, forest on either side. Text across bottom in ink: "Perhaps 'Uncle' can help you with this." Text in ink on back: "To Mr. R.W. McClung, Manitou Manitoba. Scene of this [unreadable text]. Are there any familiar objects other than trees and grasses etc? Hope all of your family are well. W[?] McClean."
13.7 x 8.7, 5½ x 3½ - photographic postcard

20-2 Young woman/girl sitting on field or prairie, grass chains covering her lap. White border.
5.5 x 8, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

20-3 Similar to 6-5. 3 men posing with guns, in canoe on river. "Dog and Duck Club"? White border at left.
7.6 x 13.3, 5½ x 3 - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or photographic postcard

20-4 Group photo of girls and boys, 1 man in back row. Class photo? White border.
8.5 x 13.9, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

20-5 Meandering river with oxbow, prairie in background. White caption across bottom: "A spot near Rea Ferry, Man."
13.7 x 8.5, 3¼ x 5½ - photographic postcard

21-1 Identical to 11-1. McClung and group in yard. Grey border or shadow.
10 x 12.6, 4 x 5 - re-photographed/home processing?

21-2 McClung and woman smiling at each other outdoors, both wearing hats, house behind. Black border.
6.7 x 10.5, 2½ x 4¼ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak / home processing?

21-3 Carriage on dirt road. Similar to Turning Leaves, page 302: "Lover's Lane"- the Ski Hills near La Riviere. Thick paper.
8.5 x 13.6, 3¼ x 5¼ - photographic postcard

21-4 Identical to 19-2. La Riviére R.R. line. Darker and cropped, no text.
11x 4, 4½ x 1½

21-5 Nearly identical to 2-2, 8-3, 28-1. Some white border at left, black edge at top and bottom.
12.2 x 9.6, 4¾ x 3¾ - re-photographed/home processing?

22-1 Identical to 11-3, nearly identical to 68-2. More people standing in front of cars.
6 x 10.2, 2½ x 4¼ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

22-2 Same location as 11-1, 11-5, 21-1, 32-3. McClung standing beside tent in yard, house behind. Grey border or shadow.
10 x 12.7, 4 x 5 - re-photographed/home processing?

22-3 McClung on bench-swing, child (nephew/"Danny") at feet. Wire fence and trees in background.
8 x 13.9, 3¼ x 5¼ - publicity photograph by S.E. Prest?

22-4 McClung with head down, sitting at desk with lamp, pen and paper. Bookshelf in background. Book on desk: Heart of a Child, Danby. Clothes and jewellery as 22-3. Metallic tarnishing.
8 x 13.8, 3¼ x 5½ - publicity photograph by S.E. Prest?

23-1 Opposite biew of 26-5. Main Street (facing south), Manitou. Storefront of "Prest's Art Studio" on left. Similar to PAM Visual Records, Manitou #9 - Acession #N1346: "c. 1908. Main Street looking south."
Yellowed (from glue?). White border
12.5 x 10, 5 x 3 ¾ - photographic postcard

23-2 McClung sitting on hammock with book and pen in lap. Clothes and jewellery as in 22-3, 22-4. Publicity photo? Narrow black border.
6.5 x 10.1, 2½ x 4¼ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak / home processing?

23-3 Identical to 17-1. McClung wearing dark dress, looking up, seated at desk.
12.6 x 9.7, 5 x 3½ - photo by S.E. Prest?

23-4 Nearly identical to 22-4. More of the desk is visible. Metallic tarnishing. Acession # 99599.
13.9 x 8.1, 5½ x 3¼ - photo by S.E. Prest?

23-5 Studio portrait of toddler. Irregularly and closely cropped. Paper from another page attached to back. Acession # 96865.
3.4 x 3.5, 1¼ x 1¼ - studio proof?

23-6 Studio portrait of Nellie and Wesley McClung. Condition as above. Acession # 96866.
3.2 x 3.6, 1¼ x 1¼ - studio proof?

23-7 Studio portrait of older man with short hair and moustache. Condition as above. Acession # 968667.
3 x 3.4, 1¼ x 1¼ - studio proof?

23-8 Studio portrait of McClung with young boy. Condition as above. Acession # 96868.
3 x 3.2, 1¼ x 1¼ - studio proof?

23-9 Studio portrait of dog sitting in chair looking to the side. Condition as above. Acession # 96869.
2.8 x 2.9, 1 x 1 - studio proof?

23-10 Almost identical to 23-9. Dog is looking at the camera. Condition as above. Acession # 96870.
3 x 3, 1¼ x 1¼ - studio proof?

23-11 Studio portrait of McClung (seated) with young woman (standing), both wearing large hats. Condition as above. Acession # 96871.
3.5 x 3.4, 1¼ x 1¼ - studio proof?

24-1 5 men posed with rifles and black dog. Similar to 6-5, 20-3, "Dog and Duck Hunting Club"? White border at left.
13.2 x 7.4, 5¼ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak / home processing?

24-2 Photo of Canada geese cut from magazine.

24-3 Similar to 24-1. Slightly different pose. White border at left.
13.2 x 7.4, 5¼ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak / home processing?

24-4 Same group as above, different pose. Outbuilding on left. No white border.
9.3 x 7.4, 3½ x 3¾ -home processing?

24-5 Similar to 24-4. White border on right. Darkened in places.
13.2 x 7.4, 5¼ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak / home processing?

24-6 Identical to 24-4. Black edge at top, white edge at bottom.
10 x 8.4, 4 x 3¼ - home processing?

25-1 Small, bare-footed child holding kitten outside log cabin.
7.9 x 5.6, 3¼ x 2¼ - #1 Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Brownie

25-2 Nellie and Wesley and many children swimming in lake (Hughes Lake?). Wesley holds child, Nellie is in water up to her chin (foreground).
7.9 x 5.6, 3¼ x 2¼ - #1 Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Brownie

25-3 Similar to 1-3. No piano, focus on hearth and mantle. Accession #80002.
12.7 x 10.1, 5 x 4 - professional/promtional photograph?

25-4 View of lake and distant shore, trees in foreground.
8.2 x 13.8, 3¼ x 5½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie

25-5 Lake with island and distant shore. White caption lower right: "Killarney Lake." White border.
13.9 x 8.6, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

25-7 Studio portrait of baby. Pressed design around small oval opening in black mat.
5.5 x 7.9, 3 x 2¼ (mat)

26-1 Parade with girl in a wagon pulled by a cow, 3 boys walking alongside. Storefronts in background: "W.A. Parker Jeweller," "J.S. Cram Barber" and "Horse and Carriage, Ashford and Galbraith, Painters, Grainers, Paper Hangers." Identical to <u>In Rhythm with Our Roots</u>, page 39, white caption across lower left: "B. Owens, delivery rig July 1st / 11 Manitou, Man."
13.7 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

26-2 Man standing outdoors in uniform with Red Cross Badge on sleeve, fence and trees in background. Signature in ink across bottom: "Walter McKay" (?). White border
8.5 x 8.4, 3¼ x 3¼

26-3 Houses and buildings along dirt street. White caption across bottom: "The Broadway, Treherne, Man. No.10"

13.9 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

26-4 White gravestone engraved with "MOTHER, name visible "Margaret". Written on page below photo: "My grandmother's grave near Chatsworth." 1915 trip to Ontario? White border.
5.9 x 8.3, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

26-5 Similar to 23-1, facing north. Storefronts visible: "P.W. Winram & Co. Groceries, Ready-Made Clothing, Drygoods, Millinery, Boots & Shoes," "Hoffman and Jacobs, Dry Goods-Groceries," "Larson and Bloch," "[?] Restaurant, Fruit & Confectionery," "Prest's Art Studio," "The Peoples Store,"and "Bank". Similar to PAM Visual Records, Manitou #9, Accession # N1345: "c. 1908. Main Street looking north."
16.5 x 12, 6½ x 4¾ - professional or amateur photograph/photographic postcard

26-6 Stone schoolhouse. Written on page below photo: "The first school NLM attends. It is in Chatsworth ... ," rest of the text broken off with edge of page. Autobiographies and biographies state she began her schooling in Manitoba at the age of ten. 1915 trip to Ontario? White border.
5.9 x 8.3, 2¼ x 3¼ - #2 Brownie or #1 Folding Pocket Kodak

27-1 Similar to 11-2. The "Revelstoke?" woman standing on bow (McClung?).
8.2 x 10.2, 3¼ x 4¼ - #3 Folding Pocket or #3 Cartridge Kodak

27-2 3 men, 2 women and a girl standing in front of house. Nellie, Florence and Wesley at right?
6.1 x 10, 2¼ x 4

27-3 Low view of mountains and forest. 1908 train trip? Faded or overexposed.
11.6 x 9.9, 4½ x 4

27-4 Similar to 6-1, 14-2, 17-4, 19-3. Nephew/"Danny" and older boy sitting on grass with man in suit and hat. Same fence and flowers in background.
13.7 x 8.1, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak, #2 Stereo Brownie or professional photograph by Gauvin, Gentzel & Co, Winnipeg?

28-1 Nearly identical to 2-2, 8-3, 21-5. Cropped?
11.2 x 9.4, 4½ x 3¾ - photographic postcard

28-2 5 women outdoors, 3 standing, 2 sitting on grass, building in background.
7 x 10.2, 2¾ x 4¼ - 1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

28-3 Church and other buildings. Caption across upper right: "Methodist Church, Emerson, Man."
13.1 x 8.7, 5½ x 3½ - photographic postcard

28-4 Men posing in front of "Northern Crown Bank." Postmark on back: "July 28, 1910 Laura, Sask."
13.7 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

29-1 Meandering river, trees on banks, prairie in background. Identical to PAM Visual Records, Manitou #1: "circa 1908. Ford on the Pembina River, near Manitou." Uneven black border at right.
16.3 x 11.8, 6½ x 4½ - rephotographed/home processing?

29-2 High view of town and church. White caption in lower left: "Wawanesa." Text in ink on white space lower right: "In this church R.W. McClung and Nellie L. Mooney were married August 25th, 1896."
14 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

29-3 Child inside chicken coop.
6 x 10.6, 2½ x 4¼, #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

29-4 Large group photo of young men and women. Normal School class photo?
13.7 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

30-1 View of mountain valley. Caption across top: "View from Wolfe Creek (Mt. Geike in distance), Canadian Rockies Grand Trunk Pacific Route." 1908 train trip? Mounted sideways.
13.9 x 8.6, 3½ x 5½ - postcard

30-2 Younger and older woman in hats and coats seated on park bench, same elderly woman as 2-3. White border.
14.1 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak and #2 Stereo Brownie

30-3 Similar to 12-1. River lined with pine trees, boat and man standing on jetty at right. 1908 train trip? White border.

8.4 x 14, 3¼ x 5½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak and #2 Stereo Brownie

30-4 3 women, 1 man and a child standing outside of house. Nellie and Wesley? White border.
11.4 x 6.9, 4½ x 2¾

31-1 Studio portrait of boy standing on wooden bench. Studio's name embossed lower right.
9.5 x 13.9, 3¾ x 5½ - photographic postcard by "Rossie, Regina" (in operation c. 1904-1925)

31-2 3 women, 5 men standing to left of waterfall in forest. McClung in centre? 1908 train trip? Faded or overexposed.
7 x 11.4, 2¾ x 4½

31-3 Identical to 23-1. Main Street. Darker. White border at right.
13.9 x 8.2, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard.

31-4 12 children sitting by the side of road, house and prairie in distance.
8 x 5.4, 3¼ x 2¼ - #1 Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Brownie

31-5 Field with low, dry hills behind. Uneven back border except at bottom.
11.3 x 6.7, 4½ x 2½ - home processing?

32-1 Older and younger girl standing in front of railing, river behind. Either girl Florence McClung?
5.6 x 8.1, 2¼ x 3¼ - #1 Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Brownie

32-2 Nellie and Wesley McClung, young man, young woman and girl at door of house.
7.9 x 5.3, 3¼ x 2¼ - #1 Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Brownie

32-3 Similar to 22-2. McClung standing by tent. Grey border or shadow.
10 x 12.7, 4 x 5 - rephotographed/homeprocessing?

32-4 McClung with holding infant, child at knee and 2 women standing behind. Manitou house?
13.9 x 8.1, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Stereo Brownie

33-1 Man and boy laughing and standing in barnyard. White border and space to left.
13.9 x 8.5, 5½ x3 ¼ - photographic postcard

33-2 Similar to 25-4. Boy standing on rock, lake with distant shore and sun setting.
8.2 x 13.9, 3¼ x 5½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Stereo Brownie

33-3 Loose photographic postcard. Child holding folding-type camera and standing on table in store. Box of "Dr. Hess Stock Food" on floor. Accession # 85183.
8.5 x 13.9, 3¼ x 5½ - "Kodak Velvet Green Postcard"

33-4 Toddler in crib on porch, chair beside. White border
10.6 x 6.4, 4¼ x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

33-5 Similar to 33-4. Same toddler standing in crib, older boy reaching for him. Text in ink on page below photo: "Mark and Jack …," rest of the text broken off with edge of page. Mark McClung was born in Manitou in 1897. Jack, the youngest child, was born in Winnipeg in 1911. Accession # 96873. White border.
10.6 x 6.4, 4¼ x 2½ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

34-1 Off-centre, oval portrait of boy. White background, text written in ink and pencil on left side: "Happy New Year to all of you. Nellie L. McClung."
14 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

34-2 Similar to 15-3 and photos in BCA Add. Mss. 10, Vol. 32. Studio portrait of 9 children - "Watson children" portrait.
13.9 x 9.7, 5½ x 3¾ - professional photograph by S.E. Prest?

34-3 Man standing near train trestle. White caption on lower right: "Wawanesa." White border.
14 x 8.5, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

35-1 Large group photo, mostly women and children, 3 men. Standing on beach, trees behind. McClung is third from left, back row. Sunday School or Band of Hope?
13.9 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

35-2 View of trees and mountains. 1908 train trip? Black border. Faded or overexposed.
11.3 x 6.8, 4½ x 2¾ - home processing?

35-3 Rail line, Manitou train station and grain elevators: "Lake of the Woods Milling Co. Limited." Identical to PAM Visual Records, Manitou #2, Accession #N1313: "c.1908. Elevators and CPR Station Manitou, Man."
12 x 9, 4¾ x 3½ - professional or amateur photograph/photographic postcard

35-4 Boy in hat posed with dog, wooden fence and house behind. White border.
8.5 x 14, 3¼ x 5½ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Stereo Brownie

page 36 is blank

37-1 Elderly woman in chair and boy beneath tree. Same woman and boy as in 2-3. Accession # 96874. White border.
14 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2 Stereo Brownie

pages 37-44 are blank

45-1 Woman sitting on chair in parlour, newspaper or sheet music in her hands. Bookshelves in background and fringed lamp at left. Signature across bottom in ink: "E [...] V [...]"
6.3 x 11.3, 2½ x 4½

45-2 Woman in hat sitting on bench outside log cabin.
6.2 x 10.9, 2½ x 4¼ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

pages 46-67 are blank

68-1 Woman poling boat through reeds.
12.6 x 8.2, 5 x 3¼ - photographic postcard

68-2 Identical to 11-3, nearly identical to 22-1.
6 x 10.2, 2½ x 4¼ - #1A Folding Pocket Kodak or #2A Brownie

68-3 Man with horse and carriage, posing on bridge over river. Identical to Turning Leaves, page 15: " 'The Red Bridge' south of La Riviere, crossing the Pembina."
13.5 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - photographic postcard

three loose images

0-1 Man with bowler hat standing in front of building, holding child on shoulder.
8.4 x 13.8, 3¼ x 5½ - photographic postcard

0-2 Steamer "Put-in-Bay," Ashley and Dustin Steamer Line.
13.7 x 8.6, 5½ x 3¼ - postcard

0-3 Similar to 30-2. Same elderly woman sitting on park bench.
13.8 x 8.4, 5½ x 3¼ - #3A Folding Pocket Kodak and #2 Stereo Brownie

Appendix B:
Illustrations

Note: images are not actual size.

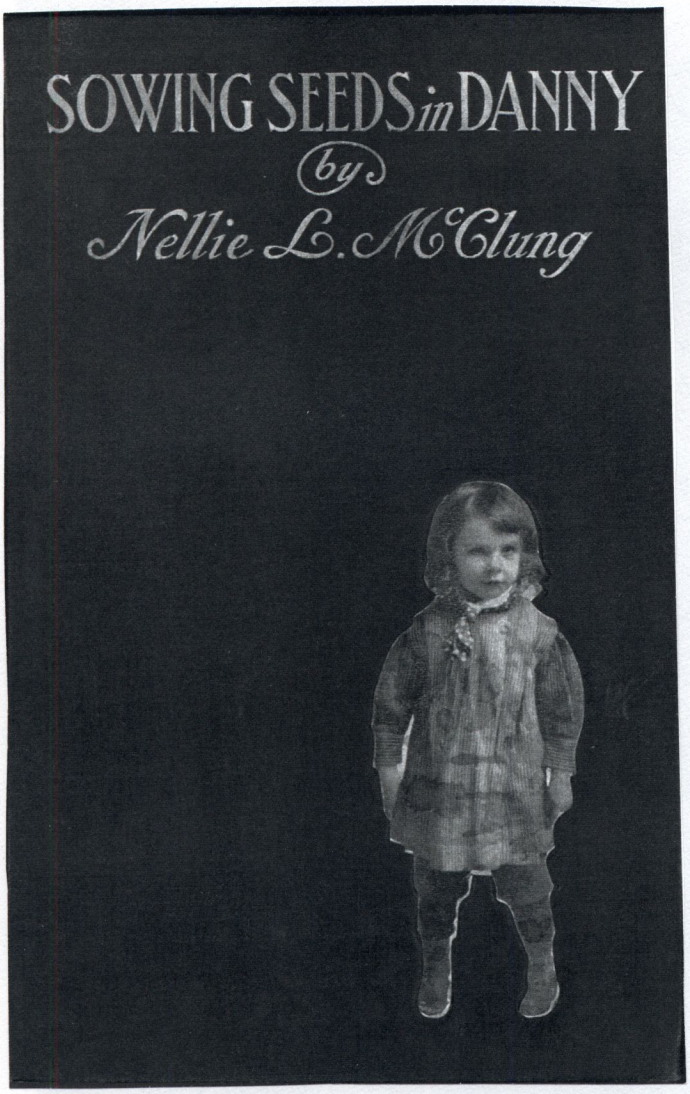
Figure 1: album photo 3-5, Manitou Normal School. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 2: album photo 26-5, Main Street, Manitou. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 3: album photo 29-2, ford on the Pembina River near Manitou. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 4a (left): album photo 12-3, woman with folding camera. Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 4b (right): album photo 33-3, child with folding camera. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 5a: album photo 22-3, McClung with "Danny." Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 5b: album photo 22-4, McClung at her desk. Courtesy of the BC Archives.



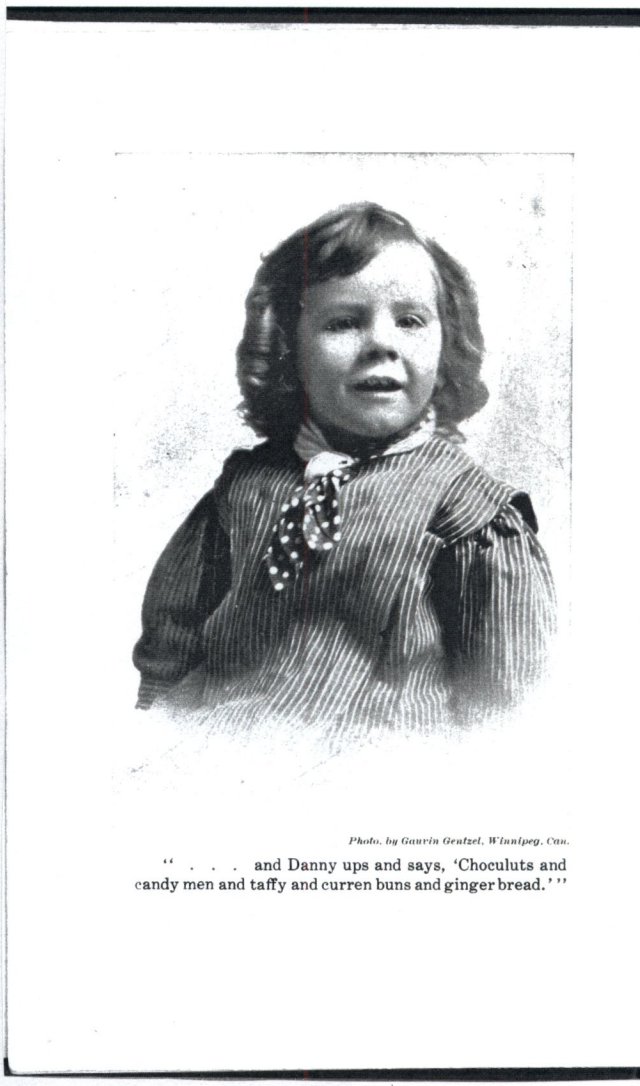


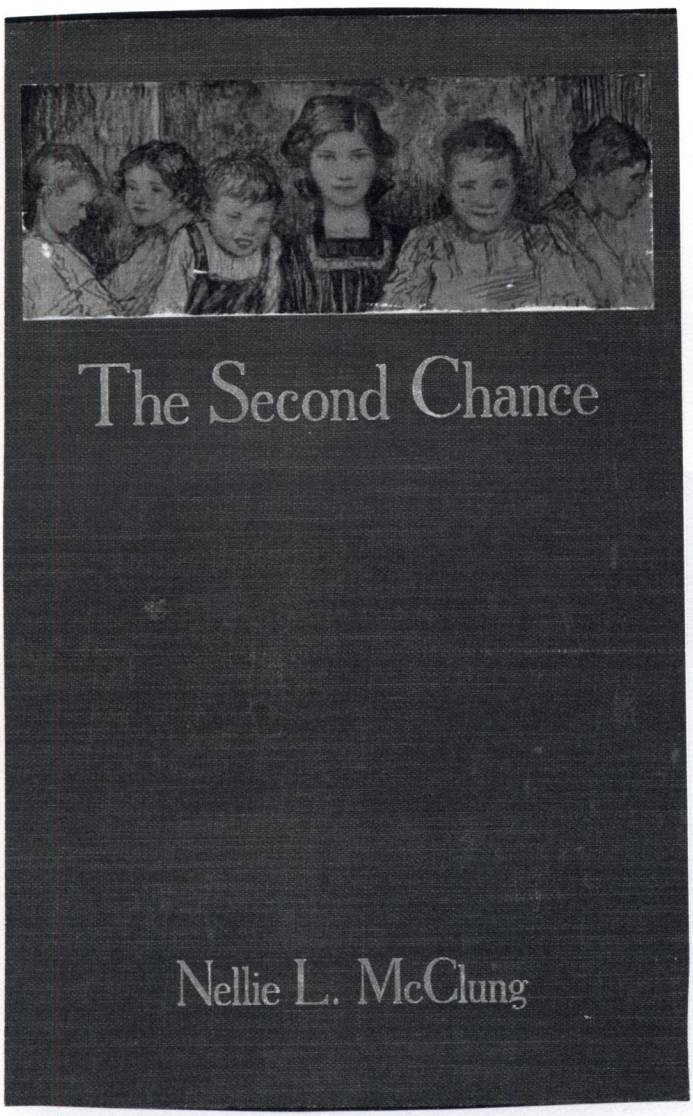
Figure 6a: cover, Sowing Seeds in Danny from 1st edition, William Briggs, 1908. Photographed by Gauvin Gentzel? Collection of the author.
Figure 6b: frontispiece by Gauvin Gentzel, from Sowing Seeds in Danny, 1st edition, William Briggs, 1908. Collection of the author.

Figure 7: cover from Sowing Seeds in Danny, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908. Artist unknown. Collection of the author.

Figure 8a: album photo 19-2, "Danny" with toy rifle and teddy bear. Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 8b: album photo 19-4, "Danny" with dog and companion. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 9a: album photo 4-2, "Pearlie" washing dishes. Photographed by S.E. Prest? Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 9b: Add. MSS. 10, Volume 30, " 'Pearl,' the Heroine from the 'Second Chance,' " from The Houston Chronicle, 1911. Photographed by S.E. Prest? Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 10a: album photo 34-2, by S.E. Prest, "The Watson Children." Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 10b: Add. MSS. 10, Volume 32, by S.E. Prest, "Pearlie" of the Second Chance. Courtesy of the BC Archives.



Beginning the day's work at "The Second Chance"

Figure 11a: cover by Wladysaw T. Benda, The Second Chance, 1st edition, William Briggs, 1910. Collection of the author.
Figure 11b: frontispiece by Wladyslaw T. Benda, The Second Chance, 1st edition, William Briggs, 1910. Collection of the author.

Figure 12: album photo 13-3, stream-bed rocks. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

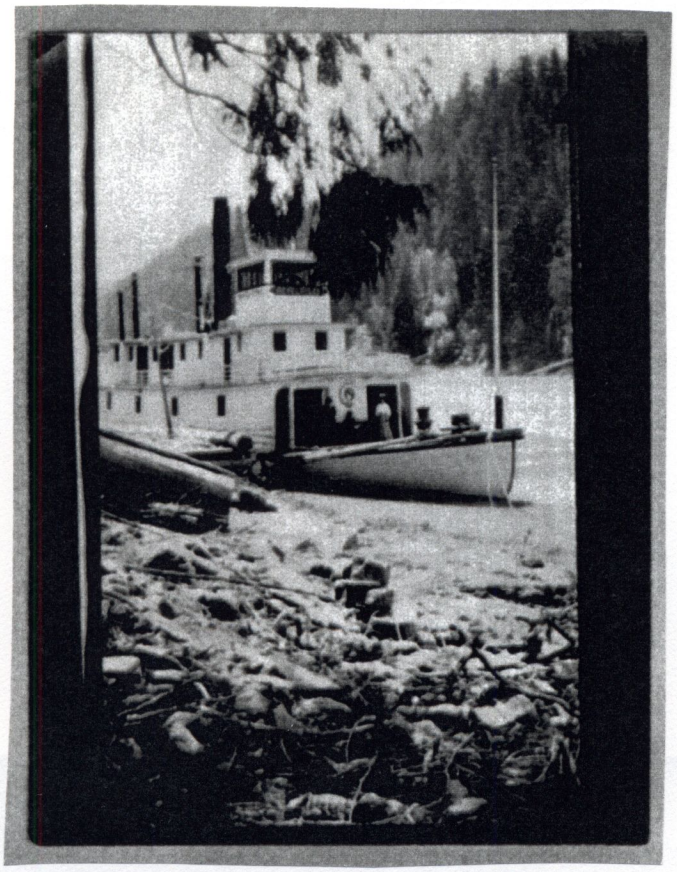


Figure 13a: album photo 27-1, "S.S. Revelstoke." Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 13b: album photo 1-6, three women at lakeshore. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 14: album photo 7-2, group at lakeshore. Photographic postcard by John Scales, Gull Lake, Lacombe, Alberta, 1908. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 15: album photo 32-3 (top), McClung by tent in yard of Park Street house, Manitou. Courtesy of the BC Archives; album photo 32-4 (bottom), McClung with companions and children. Florence at bottom right? Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 16a: album photo 6-4, "The house NLM was born in one mile south of Chatsworth on the Garrafraxa Road." Courtesy of the BC Archives.
Figure 16b: album photo 26-4 (top), "My Grandmother's grave near Chatsworth." Courtesy of the BC Archives; album photo 26-6 (bottom), "The first school NLM attends. It is in Chatsworth ..." Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 17: album photo 7-3, girl on overturned boat at lakeshore. Courtesy of the BC Archives.

Figure 18: album photo 1-3, interior of home with piano and sheet music, "The Holy City." Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the BC Archives.