

1936/272

REPORT on -

SANDFORD FLEMING COLLECTION

1936-272

ORIGINAL

BY Martha Phemister

THE ONE-EYED DEVIL\*

A Collection of Nineteenth  
Century Photographs from the  
Sandford Fleming Collection

1936-272

\* for reference to the cameras as a one-eyed devil see  
Charles Horetzky's Canada on the Pacific, pp. 109

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NUMBERED PORTFOLIO  
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ENCLOSURES

The twenty-nine portfolios making up the Fleming collection are significant in two aspects. First, they provide a vivid account of the development of photography in Canada and secondly, they present a pictorial documentation of expansion into the Canadian frontier. The collection, covering the years 1865 to 1900 focuses on twenty-five photographers, some well-known, others lesser known. Of the eight hundred and fifty odd photographs, the focal point is undoubtedly the development of two of Canada's major railway systems, the Intercolonial (opened 1876) and the Canadian Pacific (opened 1885). The lesser points of the collection include the Geological Surveys photographs and the Ross-McTavish-Fleming portfolio.

They serve as a reminder of the Fleming mystique — the mystique of the late Victorian gentleman, a throw-back to the Renaissance respect for the accumulation of documented information. Fleming certainly had this flair for collecting, as revealed by his fine library, the walls with European art, down to the hot house of exotic plants,

cared for from as far away as London, England. The photographs are a testimonial to a mind that demanded exact detail and impeccable research, a mind that brought twenty-four hour time to Canada, established a cable link between Canada and Hawaii, and founded the Royal Canadian Institute.

Photography would naturally be included in the many interests that Fleming would pursue, for both pleasure and business.

To what extent Sandford Fleming fully realized the potential of photography, especially as a visual aid, was never expressed. It is still uncertain to what extent the validity of photography was accepted. Fleming was progressive and no doubt he had had significant exposure to the art of photography by the 1860's to realize that photographs would be indispensable to his career as an engineer. Undoubtedly Fleming still relied on sketching and drawings as he refers in a letter to the Desbarats Publishing company to the sketches to be used for a proposed book.

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1. Public Archives of Canada MG 29 A8, Vol. 63,  
Dec. 1872 S. Fleming to Desbarats Co. Montreal

After all, it was Fleming who at the tender age of twelve was experimenting with his own photographic "camera" and taking likenesses of his family. As early as 1845 Fleming recorded in his diary that he had "fitted up a machine for taking profiles which did very well". He refers to the grinding and polishing of the edges and "the (sole?) of the brass plate fitted at a machine for taking profiles". Four days later, on March 18 Fleming had graduated to "making a machine" for taking portraits and reported that the results were "very like".<sup>2</sup>

The conclusion to be made is that these photographs were, for the large part, actively accumulated by Fleming. They represent a conscious effort to assemble a new, at that time, type of documentation and a new form of visual reality.

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2. Public Archives of Canada, Sir Sandford Fleming Papers, MG 29 A8, Diaries- 1845, M6 29 A8, Vol. 97, March 14 and March 18

GUIDE TO THE  
COLLECTION



CHAPTER I  
THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY  
1869-1875

## INTRODUCTION

When Sandford Fleming was appointed in 1863<sup>3</sup> as Engineer-in-chief of the newly announced Intercolonial Railway he was faced with an awesome project. This railway, which would open communication between Canada and the Maritimes and ultimately Great Britain, was one of many firsts for railway building in Canada. It was the first massive engineering feat in Canada, and as far as railway construction is concerned, it dealt with new concepts of railway engineering. It was the first national railway, as Fleming pointed out in his Final Report to Alexander Mackenzie and it was the first government-sponsored railway (Britain limited its financial involvement to providing the interest on loans to be raised by Canada)<sup>4</sup>. Most important, for the field of photography, it was also a first. The Intercolonial is probably the first Canadian railway for which there exists some form of visual documentation of all stages of construction; these photos present a pictorial continuum from the initial

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3. Public Archives of Canada, Sir Sandford Fleming Papers, MG 29 A8, Diaries - 1845, M6 29 A8, Vol. 97.

4. Sandford Fleming, The Intercolonial: A History 1832 to 1876. Montreal, Dawson Bros. 1876, pg. 71

surveys (in this case, 1869) through to the final stages of completion in 1876.

THE INTERCOLONIAL PHOTOGRAPHS: WHY WERE THEY TAKEN?

These photographs were primarily used as supplements and later on as substitutes to the earlier and more traditional methods of sketching, all to the aid of the engineer. It is known that engineers were schooled in the art of drawing and there are many references in the Fleming manuscripts on the Intercolonial to the many sketches executed by the engineers, such as "the drawing of the staff engine house recently exhibited at your office"<sup>5</sup>. Fleming himself was an amateur artist.

The question then arises of why the use of photography was encouraged, who encouraged it and what changes did the introduction of photography create. Did Fleming actively commission such photographers as F.X. Labelle or perhaps Williams of Newcastle?

The Intercolonial photographs that survive to-day differ from those photos taken for the CPR.

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5. MG 29 A8 Vol. 62 Letterbook 1870-71, Nov. 2, 1870

First of all, they do not concentrate heavily on the surveying for the railway — there are views of the surveyors and their camps (taken by Labelle) but they only depict the living conditions and show group gatherings of the surveyors. There seems to have been no attempt to utilize the camera as an integral part of the surveying, possibly because of the lack of a mountainous terrain, more conducive and suitable for photographic surveying.

Secondly, the photos were used as a type of lever on the part of Fleming to apply pressure on the Commissioners of the Intercolonial for steel bridges instead of wood. The anonymous series of the Miramachi Bridge construction may have been used to show not only the rapidity of steel-bridge building, but also the skill and care that Fleming devoted to these bridges. They were to be a monument to Fleming's reputation as an engineer. Therefore the Miramachi photos, I believe were not primarily engineering aids, as were some CPR photos but were taken for primarily personal reasons.

Analagous to the CPR photos, however, was the idea of the photograph as a promotional tool. They could be used as illustrative photos in publications to foster the idea of tourism and travel and in the case of the CPR, of land settlement. With the salmon fishing of New Brunswick, and along the north shore of the St. Lawrence, the Intercolonial promoted tourist travel. A. Henderson's photos were taken to show not only the "principal structures" but also the "natural scenery"<sup>6</sup> the views of which would no doubt entice the railway tourist.

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6. Public Archives of Canada RG11 Series III Vol. 733  
Sandford Fleming to Ralph Jones, May 25, 1875

Despite financial uncertainties, the three governments of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia finally initiated surveys in 1864 and by 1868, with a proposed route for the railway, a Board of Commissioners was appointed. Professional quarrels immediately rose between Fleming and the four appointed Commissioners, who represented the management side of operations. Fleming's position on the other hand was of an executive nature. He was able to exert enough control over his superiors to maintain a foothold on construction and surveying matters. He stipulated that certain principles must govern the building of a railway, the most important being the use of steel bridges instead of wooden bridges.<sup>7</sup> The Commissioners balked at the high cost of steel and opted for temporary, hazardous and cheaper wooden structures. The battle was on.

Fleming felt personally responsible "for the stability and permanence of the railway structures"<sup>8</sup> and made more than one frantic petition to John A. MacDonald on the subject of these bridges. One particular protestation made in 1869 was never

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7. The Intercolonial, pg. 98-99

8. The Intercolonial, The Genesis of its Bridges, Ottawa 1875, Sir Sandford Fleming.

acknowledged.<sup>9</sup> In the end, Fleming won his argument against the Commissioners, one of whom had resorted to lying.<sup>10</sup> But it had cost him two years of valuable construction time (from Jan. 1869 to May 1871) and it was not before three wooden bridges had been built without this consent.

The abundant number of photographs of bridges, in particular, leads to speculation that the use of photography did not exist solely to aid the engineers. They may have been used by Fleming to support his side of the argument for iron bridges.

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9. Public Archives of Canada Sir John A. MacDonald Papers, MG 26 A1, Vol. 121 # 49867.

10. CJ. Brydges was accused of this. See John A. MacDonald papers Public Archives of Canada MG 26 Vol. 121 Letter no. 49867. Brydges claimed that he knew nothing about the burning of a wooden bridge, when in fact, it was later proved that he was well aware of the happening.

A. 1869

INTERCOLONIAL IV

PORTFOLIO S.F. 16

F.X. LABELLE

The earliest evidence of the use of photography on the Intercolonial is that of François-Xavier Labelle who photographed an 1869 survey group in northern New Brunswick. These 6 photographs present themselves more as memento photos rather than technical photographs. That is, they do not seem to illustrate any of the topographical features or engineering obstacles, of railway building which Fleming would be interested in. They do, however, vividly depict the typical life of a surveyor in camps, from their tents and surveying instruments to the bottle of spirits displayed rather conspicuously in the foreground of the photo. /C25624/

There is no documentation in the Fleming papers to indicate why these photos were taken. It is unclear whether F.X. Labelle, a resident of both Rimouski and Quebec City<sup>11</sup> approached Sandford Fleming to do work on commission, or whether he was

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11. Lovell's Business and Professional Directory, Montreal, 1869, p. 980.



hired by Fleming with a distinct purpose in mind. If the photos had been commissioned for survey work, one would certainly think that more photos would exist. A search of the Fleming papers brought no Fleming-Labelle correspondence to light on this subject. However, there is reference in Fleming's financial journal for the payment of \$312 to the Notman Firm of Montreal (see foot-note 14) which would indicate that Fleming may have been using some photographic services. Samuel Hazelwood, District Engineer of the Intercolonial, listed in the Quebec directory as residing in Rimouski<sup>12</sup> at the same time as Labelle, may have recommended Labelle to Fleming. In fact, Fleming may have known Labelle personally, for more than once on his frequent inspection tours along the Intercolonial, Fleming recorded in his diary that he stayed at a Labelle household. One particular entry in his diary for April 20, 1868 records that "he arrived at Labelle's 7:00 p.m. Rivière-du-Loup",<sup>13</sup> and on July 9, 1872 he and his family were at Labelle's.

Labelle's actual address is unclear. The

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12. Quebec Provincial Directory, 1871, pg. 582

13. Sandford Fleming Papers, Diaries, April 20, 1868

photo, PA 22121, has a signature indicating that F.X. Labelle was a resident of Quebec; PA 22128, on the other hand, indicates Labelle is from Rimouski. (The reference to Quebec may be to the province and not the city.)

B. 1871

INTERCOLONIAL VI

PORTFOLIO S.F. 20

ANONYMOUS

The next series of Intercolonial photographs are those taken in August of 1871 of Sections 4, 7 and 12 of the construction in Nova Scotia. These 11 half-stereo views are not signed and the photographer remains anonymous. There are, however, negatives numbers on the prints ranging from 53349 to 53362.

In light of these negative numbers, it is possible that they represent items from the Notman Collection, in particular the Notman Studio in Halifax. Evidently William Notman allotted large blocks of numbers to his Halifax Studio (to others as well). To verify this, I checked with the Nova Scotia Archives concerning this block but their Notman Collection was not sufficiently organized to validate anything.

Stan Triggs, however, volunteered the information that there was a gap in the Montreal

negative numbering of the Notman Archives that coincided with these Intercolonial numbers.

The Notman studio in Saint John, New Brunswick may also have taken them.

In addition, F.X. Labelle could have been responsible for these photos. The Canadian Illustrated News indicates that Labelle was photographing in August 1871, the same month these particular photos were made. It ran a reproduction of "the Intercolonial Railway Bridge at Rimouski" taken "some five months ago, by Labelle of Rimouski"<sup>14</sup>

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14. Canadian Illustrated News, Dec. 21, 1872

C. 1872, 1873, 1874

MIRAMACHI BRIDGES

ANONYMOUS

PORTFOLIO S.F. 5 and S.F. 18

1. This series portraying the construction of the Miramachi bridges reveals the work of a conscientious although anonymous photographer.

Certain habits of the photographer come to light. First, he (or she) had time to spare. He was able to wait for good weather and able to return to an identical spot re re-photograph a certain view. Secondly, the photographer apparently had a monthly routine of photography. The photos start the 21 of August 1872 and it is evident he returned to the bridges in mid-September and again in mid-November. The same routine appears to 1873 and 1874. (It is possible that the photos could coincide with the Intercolonial Commissioner's Inspection Tours along the Intercolonial)✓

The obvious conclusion is that the photographer lived in an area accessible to Newcastle, the site of the Miramachi Bridges. A perusal of

the Newcastle area photographers revealed a W.S. Williams of Newcastle and Chatham.

The principal source of information on Williams is a local Newcastle newspaper, The Union Advocate. Williams was very active in photography during the years 1871 to 1875<sup>15</sup> and the Advocate makes reference to his "excellent photographs" and to his new experiments with "lantern slides"<sup>16</sup>

Williams opened up his photograph gallery in Newcastle sometime shortly before September 13, 1871 the date that his first ad appeared in the Union Advocate. He advertised himself as a photographer and general artist. He added that he had recently "taken the rooms over Russell Bros. store recently occupied by John Spence and is now prepared to furnish pictures IN EVERY STYLE OF ART. Having had 15 years of experience, Churches etc. and accurately taken."<sup>17</sup> (John Spence was a local Miramachi photographer and Williams may have bought his business.)

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15. The Union Advocate, Newcastle, N.B. Nov. 19, 1873  
(copies exist in the National Library; also microfilm copies has been provided by the New Brunswick Archives (National Photography Collection)

16. Ibid., Dec. 18, 1873

17. Ibid., Sept. 13, 1871

The photographer might have had some training or appreciation of the field of engineering photography. His photos do not present a scenic or general view of the bridges. Rather, they focus on construction of a bridge and on the various principles connected with the construction. Of course, this concentration on the Miramichi bridges, to be the proof of Fleming's engineering talent, is not surprising. Perhaps Fleming felt the need to visually reinforce his options for steel-instead-of-wood-bridges to his antagonists, the Commissioners. Perhaps the photos were specifically ordered by Fleming to be shown in Ottawa. Or, maybe they are the product of a curious local photographer who wished to promote a local tourist attraction.

J. Russell Harper writes in his Early Painters and Engravers in Canada teacher who emigrated from Bath, England. By 1833 he was living in Chatham, New Brunswick, conducting painting classes and practising accountancy. It is unclear when Williams turned to photography full-time, if in fact he ever did. At any rate Williams never

felt any great need to compete with other photographers in the area (there was only a S.T. Whittier listed as a photographer who resided in Miramachi in the 1870's) and he evidently did not see fit to advertise in other newspaper. His name does not appear in the "Colonial Times", the "Miramachi Gleaner" or the "Eel Ground Times", all local Newcastle newspapers.

The Old Manse Library (a Beaverbrook endowment) in Newcastle, New Brunswick, has a record of Williams photographs. They have found:

3 Williams pictures of railroad building in the Miramachi area...All the photos appear to be of the same bridge, over the North West Miramachi.<sup>18</sup>

It is known that Williams photographed local establishments in Newcastle. Again, the Union Advocate of Sept. 15, 1875 makes mention of two fine photos, by Williams, of the St. John's Andrews Church and the residence of W. Park, both in Newcastle.<sup>19</sup> By December 1875 Williams had opened a new studio at the Public Wharf and was offering a choice of stock of "sewing machines,

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18. See enclosed correspondence Appendix I.  
Mrs. M<sup>c</sup>Allister to M. Phemister.

19. The Union Advocate, September 15, 1875



picture frames, mouldings, oysters and meals"!<sup>20</sup>

2. Another possibility is Edward John Russell, 1832-1906, the Maritime artist and photographer (not to be confused with A.J. Russell, also a photographer and illustrator as well as engineer, See note 18).

Russell's water colours and engravings appeared regularly in the Canadian Illustrated News (Montreal) 1871-73.<sup>21</sup> According to Russell Harper, Russell "operated a photographic studio in Saint John in the 1860 s,<sup>22</sup> but his experimenting with photography was a venture "with little foresight and of the greatest of enthusiasm."<sup>23</sup> He continued his photography until the early 1870's.

3. After Williams and Russell, the names of William Scheuer, Eugene Haberer and the team of Walker and Wiseman come to mind as possibilities for the anonymous photographer.

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20. Union Advocate, December 29, 1875

21. Canadian Illustrated News, April 22, 1871, "Cutting on the European and North American Railroad, Carleton Branch, New Brunswick", by F.J. Russell.

22. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970), p. 276

23. Huia Ryder, Edward John Russell, Marine Artist, special publication, (The New Brunswick Museum, 1953), p. 11

These gentlemen are all connected with the engravings done for the publication, The Inter-colonial. Information about William Scheuer is scanty but his name does appear as the most prominent of the photo-lithographers of the plates in the book. Most of the engravings are from Henderson's photographs and most are signed by a "W. Scheuer" and in some cases, simply by "W.S.". <sup>24</sup> No doubt his profession was that of an engraver for the Burland-Desbarats Lithography Company in Montreal. J. Russell Harper also records that Scheuer was an "illustrator and a staff artist for the Canadian Illustrated News, in Cape Breton and throughout Ontario and Quebec". <sup>25</sup> He was active from 1873 to 1883.

4. There are other photo-lithographers cum photographers, as well. Eugene Haberer, for example, may be the name of the mysterious Mr. "H" who signed the engraving on page 146 (Plate No. 5) of The Inter-colonial. The Official Catalogue of the Canadian Section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886 listed a Eugene Haberer of 516 St. Denis, Montreal, as having entered some photos of "a bird's eye view

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24. See Appendix I, Most important, Scheuer was a photographer. The Canadian Illustrated News ran a reproduction from a photo taken C. 1873 by a W. Scheuer. "The Shediac New Brunswick Intercolonial Railway at Point du Chêne"

25. J. Russell Harper, op. cit. p. 281

of the City of Montreal from Victoria Bridge to Hochelaga Cotton Mills".<sup>26</sup> There are other references to Haberer<sup>27</sup> which support the fact that Haberer was a well-known photographer and it is possible that he might have been responsible for some of these anonymous photos.

5. The other two engravers, the team of John Henry Walker and James Lowell Wisemand (see Harper, p. 320) were primarily wood-engravers and illustrators and it is doubtful that they were prominent photographers, although their names should certainly be included in this list.

After Williams, Russell, Scheuer and Haberer, the list of photographers rapidly diminishes. It is possible that various Intercolonial engineers, known to be advanced sketchers, may have taken up photography to aid their engineering. Persons such as Albert Hill or R. Shanley may have resorted to such methods. Hill was an illustrator

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26. Canada Department of Agriculture, Official Catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886, (Ottawa, 1886), p. 280

27. For further references to Haberer, see: The Canadian Illustrated News, November 15, 1873, p. 317, regarding prizes he possibly won at the Provincial Exhibition at London, Ontario.

and as assistant engineer on the Intercolonial 1869-1871;<sup>28</sup> some of his work appears in the Canadian Illustrated News.

However, the Miramachi photographs are definitely the labours of a talented photographer, probably a local professional, hired with the explicit purpose to record the structured development of these two controversial bridges, and most likely W. Williams from Newcastle.

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28. J. Russell Harper, op. cit., p. 157

D. Alexander Henderson:

INTERCOLONIAL 1875

PORTFOLIO S.F. 6 T2959  
S.F. 7 T2960  
S.F. 14 R2962

Alexander Henderson (1830-1913) came to Canada from his native Scotland in 1855 to practice his profession as an accountant. Born in Cress, Berkshire he married Agnes E. Robertson of Gorgie Lodge, Edinburgh.<sup>29</sup> Upon arriving in Canada, he shortly gave up the security of his job to devote himself full-time to his hobby of photography. A member of the Stereoscopic Exchange Club since 1859,<sup>30</sup> Henderson turned professional in the early 1860's.

He probably started his photography with portraiture. There is a Henderson portrait in the Bibaud Album,<sup>31</sup> and the album is dated 1863.

Henderson officially initiated his advertising in 1867 and the next year he could offer portraits:

"in the new Parisien style...so much admired".

William C. Darrah in his book Stereo Views,<sup>32</sup>

A History of Stereographs in America and Their Collection

1913<sup>7</sup>

29. The Montreal Star, Saturday, April 5, pg. 3

30. The Photographic News, September 9, 1859, p. 12

31. Public Archives of Canada, M. Bibaud Collection 1953-4, Box P3290, see: portrait of Judge McKay.

32. The Daily Witness, April 11, 1868.

makes mention of Henderson as a stereographer in Montreal during the years 1868 to 1878, the era of the "grand flowering" of stereo views.<sup>33</sup>

By 1873 Henderson regarded himself as a "landscape photographer" (rather than simply a "photographer") and by 1875 he had firmly established his reputation in Montreal. As the publisher of the Baltimore Photographer's Friend pointed out after a trip to Canada in 1871, Henderson had a "high reputation".

It was in early May, 1875, that Henderson first approached Sandford Fleming, with a proposal:

to go over the whole of the Intercolonial Railway for the purpose of making photographs of the principle structures and natural scenery.<sup>34</sup>

No record of this letter exists. There is only Fleming's letter to R. Burpee, Secretary of the Intercolonial, to assure us that Henderson's services were not actively commissioned by Fleming. It would seem that it was Henderson who was responsible for seeking this particular assignment.

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33. Williams Culp Darrah, Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs In America and Their Collections (Times and News Publishing Co., Gettysburg, Pennsylvania 1964), p. 208

34. Public Archives of Canada RG 11 Series III <sup>vol. 829</sup> ~~Letterbook~~  
~~Vol. 733, letter no~~ p. 117, May 25, 1875, S. Fleming to Ralph Jones (see enclosure).

Up to 1875, Henderson had not done any serious railway photography. It is possible that Charles Horetzky, a friend and colleague of Henderson, may have interested him in railroad work and may have persuaded him to contact Fleming, with whom Horetzky had been associated since at least 1871. Certainly Fleming knew of Henderson, as he refers to Henderson in a letter of December, 1872 to the Desbarats Publishing Company.

Henderson was already vaguely familiar with the Maritimes and by 1875 he had skirted the northern part of New Brunswick and the St. Lawrence (see Murray Bay, C 4854).

In 1873 when Alexander Mackenzie succeeded John A. MacDonald he transferred control of the Intercolonial from the inept and, upon occasion, corrupt management of the four commissioners (with whom Fleming so bitterly fought) to the Department of Public Works<sup>35</sup> of which he was Minister.

It was Mackenzie who ultimately decided to hire Henderson, sometime shortly after May, at

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35. MG 29 A8, Letter no. 144, May 28, 1871, S. Fleming to E. Johnson (see enclosure).

a salary "not less than \$200".<sup>36</sup> This, at that time, represented a substantial sum; but Henderson undoubtedly a shrewd businessman, stipulated that if he should spend "6 or more weeks on the work, he should receive \$150 above his expenses, for his services".<sup>37</sup> Henderson, in fact, must have spent more than 6 weeks on his route and by authority of the Minister he was then "entitled to receive \$150 for his services".<sup>38</sup> Henderson was given "full assistance", both for himself and an assistant, in travelling along the almost completed Intercolonial line, in the ballast or other trains.

Just whom Henderson hired as an assistant is unknown. However, there is one small factor which links the man who appears in many of the Intercolonial photos to a series of pictures taken previously on a camping and photographing expedition to 16 Island Lake, Ontario. (See S.F. 14). The link is the hat worn by this person. It is the uniform cap worn by the Scottish regiment, the 49th Highlanders, the regiment that Henderson belonged

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36. *vol. 829, p. 117*  
Op Cit., RG. 11 ~~Series III, Letter no. 117~~ (see enclosure).

37. Ibid.

38. *vol. 829, p. 131*  
Op. cit. RG 11 ~~Series III, October 11, 1875, Letter~~ *November*  
~~no. 124~~, S. Fleming to Ralph Jones (see enclosure).



to when he first came to Canada. (See PA 22005, PA 22014, PA 22019). It is possible that Henderson made the acquaintance of this person while stationed at the same camp. This person is either Henderson or his assistant, although my recollection of Henderson (from a photo in the Notman archives) is that he was a larger man than the person in these particular photos.

The date that Henderson left Montreal for the Maritimes is not known. The exact route he travelled is likewise unclear, but his total distance was from Rivière-du-Loup in Quebec, through to New Brunswick, ending in Truro, Nova Scotia. By the summer of 1875, when he was preparing to start his excursion, 18 of the 23 contracts for construction of the railway were already completed. It would be only another year, almost to the month, that the Intercolonial was officially opened (1st July 1876) and this meant that most of the track being already laid, Henderson probably followed the exact route of the railway.

Judging from the negative numbers of Henderson's photos, he travelled to Quebec and Northern Brunswick, southwards past the Miramichi Truro, Nova Scotia and the coal mines. (See attached IB). The place names of Bic and Trois Pistoles, P.Q. feature prominently in the collection and Henderson may have stayed in these two areas for a number of days.

Other than some futile attempts at dry-plate photography, it would appear that Henderson's excursion posed few severe mishaps or discomforts. As was to be expected, he did experience some of the Maritime inclement weather, usually near the coastal areas. At Bic, along the St. Lawrence, Henderson photographed the rock-cutting in process and commented that the photo was "taken in rain" [PA 22005B]. Again, as he approached the Atlantic Ocean in Nova Scotia, he frustratingly encountered "cold rain and fog for several days." [Faolly Lake PA 22091].

USE OF DRY-PLATE AND WET-PLATE

Henderson utilized the wet-plate for most of his work, at this time. However, there are a few notations made on his photographs about the use of the dry-plate. It is known that as far back as 1859 Henderson was experimenting with the dry-plate, using the 1858 Fothergill process.<sup>39</sup> His success must have been limited; he concluded that because of the deteriorating effect of summer heat and humidity on the photos he doubted very much if he would ever "take a dry-plate again, ~~unless~~ in winter."<sup>40</sup>

However, it would seem that by the summer of 1875 Henderson had been sufficiently convinced of usefulness the newer types of dry-plate (more resistant to hot conditions) that were on the market. For instance, a photo taken at the Jacquet River Bridge in New Brunswick has the notation "parts of injured dry-plate" on it. [PA 22114A]. Again, at "New Mills", Henderson comments on his "dry-plate failure" [PA 22092].

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39. Bernard E. Jones, Cassells, Encyclopedia of Photography, Cassell & Co. Ltd. (London, N.Y., Toronto, 1911) describes the Fothergill process, a dry-plate process, developed in 1858, as being collodionized and albumenized, p. 268.

40. The Photographic News, October 21, 1859, pgs. 82-83.

By mid-November of the same year, Henderson was able to furnish copies of all the photos he had taken that summer. As part of the agreement made with Fleming, Henderson agreed to furnish a free copy of each negative taken. Any more could be "required" at the "reduced price" of 6 /pence?/ per dozen.<sup>41</sup>

Obviously Sandford Fleming was not too sure of any agreement on his own part. In a letter in late October, R. Burpee was writing to Henderson that:

Mr. Fleming desires me to send you the enclosed copies of letters referring to your trip over the Intercolonial etc. He says he does not remember what he said in his last note to you but that whatever it was, it expressed his understanding of the agreement.<sup>42</sup>

The primary purpose of the photographs, at that point, was to illustrate Fleming's forthcoming book on the Intercolonial. In a running correspondence between Fleming and the Burland-Desbarats Publishing Company on the subject of the book, it becomes evident that Fleming in 1876 was still concerned with the credibility of his steel bridges.

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41. Op. cit. RG 11, Letter no. 117, (see enclosure).

42. Op. cit. RG 11, Vol. 733, Letter no. , October 30, 1875  
R. Burpee to Alex Henderson (see enclosure).

This manifested itself in Fleming's concern for small details of the photograph. Fleming lamented that "the photographer has not been so careful as to make the picture plumb with the piers of the bridges as I could wish"<sup>43</sup> and stated that he wanted the photos arranged so that "the perspective will be perfect."

There were 13 Henderson photographs chosen for the book, the size to be 7 x 4½; all the plates, except 3, are of the bridges of the Intercolonial! (see attached).

The engravings of these Henderson photographs are signed or initialed by a W. Scheuer who was a staff illustrator and artist for Canadian Illustrated News.

Scheuer's reproductions of Henderson's work are almost exact. It is interesting that the photos had to be updated to depict that railway as it would look in a completed state (in 1876). Henderson's photos were taken in 1875, a full year before the opening, and certainly the photos would

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43. Op. cit. MG 29 A8, Vol. , Letter no. 132, November 29, 1875 S. Fleming to G. Burland (see enclosure).

have to have been "touched up" to update them a year. In some cases, Scheuer has "erased" a figure and removed traces of plank or board along the bridge trestle (the planks of course would reveal that work had not been completed), as in the Sackville bridge [C18189; PA 22109]. The most significant change is in the plate of the "river Matapedia" [PA 22019] in which an obvious cut through a mountain side has been made by the artist to show the route of the tracks. No such cut exists on Henderson's original photo.

It would seem that Henderson's photos were also used in various Exhibitions. In the Handbook and Official Catalogue of the Canadian Section of the Paris Universal Exhibition 1878, there is an entry of Alexander Henderson with the statement "among others were views of Matapedia, Scene on the Intercolonial Railway."<sup>44</sup>

His photos may also have been entered in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. It is recorded in the Official Catalogue of the exhibition that the entry of the Department of Railways & Canals

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44. Thomas Keefer, Handbook and Official Catalogue of the Canadian Section of the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1878 (London 1878, G. Eyre and Spottiswoode).

was "Views along the Intercolonial Railway."<sup>45</sup>

As well, the Henderson photos may have been used at a later date as part of an exhibition in Montreal. The Daily Witness, a newspaper in Montreal ran an advertisement of April 20 in the year 1903, making reference to the "Free Art Exhibition by the Intercolonial, with photographs, at 2206 St. Catherines Street."<sup>46</sup>

No doubt Henderson had profited by his assignment with the Intercolonial. Not only had he grossed a substantial sum of money, but he had also raised his status in the field of photography. He evidently felt that after the Intercolonial excursion he could not advertise himself simply as a "photographer", as a Montreal directory lists him in 1875. By 1876, Henderson was no longer a mere "photographer" but a "landscape photographer".<sup>47</sup>

It is sad to note the 1913 obituaries of Henderson failed to report the fact that he had been a prominent photographer. He was the oldest member

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45. Official Catalogue of the Colonial and Paris Exhibition 1886, op. cit. 279.

46. The Daily Witness, op. cit., April 20, 1903.

47. The Montreal Directory, Lovell's, 1875.

of the Chartered Accountant Society of Edinburgh and was active in many social affairs, but no mention was made of his greatest contribution to Canadian history.



CHAPTER II

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

1871 to 1885

### INTRODUCTION

When British Columbia's 10,000 citizens agreed to join Confederation in 1871 they kept to their demands that the construction of an overland railway was an indispensable condition of union. John A. Macdonald courageously accepted their terms, glibly agreeing that construction would be started within two years and would be finished within ten.

After two years of surveys, a cursory route to the west coast had been found. The commencement of construction, however, was delayed eight years until 1881, the date the railway was to have been completed. Granted, the delay was partially due to the vast amount of territory that had to be explored between Ottawa and the Pacific Coast. Although it was uncharted land it was not altogether unknown.<sup>48</sup>

The task of surveying the 40,000 miles fell to Sandford Fleming, appointed Engineer-in-Chief of the Pacific Railroad in 1871. He held this position in conjunction with that of Engineer-in-

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48. Public Archives of Canada, Andrew Sibbald Papers, MG 29 B 28

Chief of the Intercolonial until 1876 when the Intercolonial was completed. During the nine years that Fleming was in charge of the CPR surveys (his employment with the CPR was terminated in 1880) over half of his time was absorbed by his duties on the Intercolonial; the other half was spent in the placating ambitious and stubborn CPR officials and in dealing with Ottawa politicians.

Certainly every attempt was made by John A. Macdonald to ensure Fleming as much administrative and financial independence as he needed.<sup>49</sup> This 'carte blanche' treatment handed to Fleming may have been a confirmation of his integrity and capability; it may also have been used to offset some of the more pessimistic reports of earlier explorers. One such report was made by Captain Palliser, the explorer and appointee of the British Government. Palliser declared in 1863, after roaming the country west of the Great Lakes, that thanks to the choice of the 49th parallel as Canada's border, there would be little possibility of a transcontinental railway ever being built entirely through British territory.

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49. As Samuel Keefer, appointed in 1880 as a member of the Royal Commission to investigate the CPR, pointed out: "when first appointed to conduct the surveys for the CPR, the Engineer-in-Chief was not restricted by any written instructions. He was left perfectly free in the choice of a line..."

Yet only a year after the forest survey for the CPR was sent out on July 20 1871, Fleming could report to Macdonald that with the survey information already in from the field, a possible route had been found, with the "Yellowhead" being his choice of the pass through the Rockies.

However, in 1881 Fleming's proposed choice of the northerly route via Edmonton, and the Yellowhead Pass was rejected by the newly-organized "Syndicate", (under William Van Horne), the company that took over this government white elephant. The syndicate was more concerned with the economic benefits to be gained from a more southerly pass through the Kicking Horse Pass and through Lake Louise. As the syndicate had anticipated, these two areas were soon to be veritable gold mines in tourism.

There were of course other reasons and justifications for the southerly route via Lake Louise, such as the provision for economic competition for the rapidly expanding American Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railways. However, in the initial stages of railway surveying, Fleming

was aware of certain principles other than economic profit that would determine the location of a line from Ottawa to the Pacific. Much in contrast to the military question which totally governed the building of the Intercolonial, the construction of the Pacific Railway in Fleming's mind would be more of a pragmatic approach to railway building, dependent directly upon the Canadian terrain. In fact, Fleming seemed to be echoing the words of the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie. According to Prime Minister Mackenzie "...the location of this Railway may be treated as a purely engineering question."<sup>50</sup>

However, after 8 years of surveys covering 40,000 miles and at an estimated cost of 100 to 120 million dollars, the question of the railway being a purely engineering matter had become a question of pure politics.

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50. Public Archives of Canada, Colin Ranking Papers  
(1869-1913) MG 29 A 12

### THE USE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE CPR SURVEYS

As discussed previously, the photographs representing the survey and construction of the Intercolonial railway do not indicate any consistent policy towards picture-taking. The photos were given to Fleming or were commissioned, either actively or passively by Fleming, primarily as illustrative adjuncts to written reports or as supports to Fleming's arguments, such as the Miramachi series.

Although nowhere explicitly stated, there were on the other hand certain consistent functions which the CPR photographs were fulfilling in contrast to the Intercolonial. It is true that photos, such as the Maynard series of Yale to Boston Bar, served the identical purpose of the Miramachi photos, that is to assist Fleming in convincing his superiors of his professional integrity and skill. The Maynard photos were sent to Fleming by his friend Cambie to show Fleming's antagonists the speedy construction of this section of the CPR. It was only eight years after the first Intercolonial surveys

that the CPR surveys began; but in that interval the use of photography in the field had progressed. For the first time, half-tone reproductions became available in October 1869 with the first publication of the Canadian Illustrated News. Matthew Brady had paved the way for the documentary, even the propaganda value of the photograph, with his Civil War series.

It was conceivable, therefore, that the camera should be brought along on the expeditions to explore the west.

There seem to have been three major areas to which the photographs would successfully be adapted. First of all, the camera, as on the 1871 Baltzly expedition, was utilized as a distinct part of the surveying technique, especially on the preliminary surveys. The photographs provided accurate documentation of the terrain and of the topographic features. The primary advantage of the photograph at this point was probably the accuracy of the perspective in the photo, although experiments were going on in Europe at the time purporting to show

blatant misrepresentation of the perspective in the photo. Evidently, a minor change in the photographer's viewing position or in a focal length could easily distort the perspective. However, the photograph could, particularly in mountainous regions, still provide an accurate interpretation of the geography.

Secondly, the photographs provided information on agriculture, coal deposits etc., data which would be useful to determine what land could support agriculture and civilization. After all, the building of a railway is not always a question of engineering or of providing a defence system, as the Intercolonial. Also to be considered is the question of an agriculture terrain with enough resources to support a potential population alongside the tracks. There is no sense in laying two strips of steel connecting point A to point B without considering the possibilities of human growth between these points. Essentially, it comes down to a question of economics. The rails were used to tap resources which in turn would affect the growth of towns and land speculation. Land speculation is a necessary adjunct



to financing the building of a railway and offsetting operating costs. Although land subsidies were discarded in the United States because of corruption, the practice had been adopted in Canada on June 14, 1872.

Third, the CPR photographs were used for illustrative purposes, to embellish the survey reports for the CPRS and the Geological Surveys and to promote the idea of the west and settlement. They may have been aimed at such doubting Thomases as Edward Blake who had dismissed the west as a "sea of mountains". Hopefully, the photographs were to provide some impetus to the concept of a united Canada, linked by a transcontinental railway.

Despite any attempts at classification, the fact still remains that there was no consistent philosophy governing any methods of surveying and hence, of the use of the camera on the surveys. The survey techniques were pragmatic and inconsistent. Initially they were used to reaffirm or to refute conclusions of early explorers such as Alexander Mackenzie or Milton Cheadle, Macoun, etc.

But by 1878 the *raison d'être* of the surveys had become enmeshed in opposition politics and consequently delayed; and survey guidelines were being formulated by various dissident groups, each vying for a different path for the railway.

It seems that the composition of the surveys and of the survey photographs, therefore, depended to a large degree on the personality and interests of the photographer.

THE SURVEYS:

CPR AND GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

It was with the Geological Surveys that Fleming shared much of the burden for obtaining topographical data of the railway land. The CPR and Geological Surveys shared their financial responsibilities as well. The Canadian Pacific Exploratory Fund (set up by Macdonald's government) split many expenditures with the General appropriation fund of the Geological Surveys as in the case of 1871 Baltzly expedition.<sup>51</sup> However, it was not until 1883 that the salaries of the staff of the Geological Surveys were paid out of Government coffers.<sup>52</sup> Although Fleming paid reasonable amounts for the services of Dawson, Selwyn et al, the Geological Surveys had to cope with heavy costs for their surveys.<sup>53</sup> However, the Geological Surveys gained certain benefits from the symbiotic relationship with the Pacific Surveys, expanding prominence significantly from its four. For one thing, as of 1868, the CPR survey reports and plans had to<sup>54</sup> be turned over to the Geological Surveys.

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51. CANADA Geological Surveys of Canada Reports of Progress for 1871-72. Journal and Report of Preliminary Explorations in British Columbia by Alfred Selwys (Montreal, 1872)

52. PAC M6 29 B45 (S. Cochrane Papers) pg. 50

53. PAC Provincial Secretary Cor. Registers

54. PAC Canadian Government Statutes 31 Vic Cap. 67 Dominion

For another, as G.M. Dawson commented:

"their (Geological Surveys) work was carried on in more or less intimate connexion with that of the surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway and much assistance derived from the depots established by the railway parties and trails cut by them, without which the geological examinations would have been a very difficult matter." 55

Despite a later rivalry in the 1880's (the CPR in that year wanted the Department of Interior to transfer over all the survey programs to its care.) between the CPR company and the Geological Surveys, responsible to the Department of Interior since 1873, the 1870's represent a good ten years of co-operation.

In 1871 there were 21 exploring surveys sent out by S. Fleming, 2 of which are represented in the Fleming Collection by the photographers Benjamin Baltzly and Charles Horetzky. The first was the Geological Survey expedition under Alfred Selwyn, accompanied by Baltzly. Their recommendations, from their trip up the North Thompson River, were influential in reinforcing Fleming's 1872 decision for the route via the Yellowhead Pass. The other was the one survey conducted on the Prairies that year, from Fort Garry to Winnipeg, Horetzky being the photographer.

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55. CANADA Geological Surveys of Canada, Reports of Explorations and Surveys 1877-1878 (Montreal, Dawson Bros. 1879) 2B

A. 1871  
GEOLOGICAL AND CPR SURVEYS  
PORTFOLIO S.F. 21  
B. BALTZLY

The 1871 Selwyn exploration is the only portfolio in the Fleming collection that illustrates BENJAMIN BALTZLY'S work (26 photographs). There is scant information on Baltzly's career as a photographer prior to 1871. It would appear therefore that his reputation was further enhanced through his assignments with the 1871 surveys.

By 1869 he was comfortably set up at 372 Notre Dame St., Montreal with "Three First Prizes" in both the 1863 and 1864 Provincial Exhibitions.<sup>56</sup> He advertised that he was able to offer "one dozen photographs for \$1.00," adding that "they <sup>are</sup> were very good."

In the instructions sent to Alfred Selwyn in 1871 by Joseph Howe, then Secretary of State (responsible for government correspondence), there was to be provision made for a photographer and assistant.<sup>57</sup> The William Notman firm of Montreal would provide the photographers. This trip was the first joint enterprise of the CPR and Geological Surveys. Not surprisingly, Baltzly's instructions were rather vague and, reflecting the general uncertainty about the land over which they would travel, they

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56. The Canada Scotsman, December 4, 1869, 8, col. 2

57. CANADA Geological Surveys of Canada Report of Progress for 1871-72, Journal and Report of Preliminary Explorations in British Columbia, by Alfred Selwyn, (Montreal, 1872) pg. 17

simply stipulated that he "secure accurate <sup>illustrations</sup> instructions of the physical features of the country, and other objects of interest." 58

As far as the Pacific Railway crew was concerned, their co-operation on the venture seemed entirely centered around clearing a path ahead of the Geological group. The CPR, however, assumed all travelling expenses of the two photographers while all other photographic costs were subsidized by Notman.

The connection between Notman and the CPR was to be a long-lasting one, with the Notman firm finding many capable photographers such as Báltzly, who were "paid and equipped" by Notman. According to Stan Triggs, it was Notman who evidently approached the federal government with the proposal to use photography for surveying purposes, and it was he who therefore assumed most of the financial burden and hence financial risk of photography in those early surveying days. It seems ironical that William Notman himself never ventured out west. 59

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58. CANADA Geological Surveys of Canada Report of Progress for 1871-72, Journal and Report of Preliminary Explorations in British Columbia, by Alfred Selwyn, (Montreal, 1872) pg. 17.

59. Ralph Greenhill, Early Photography in Canada (Toronto, Oxford University Press 1965) Note 10 pg. 56.

### TYPES OF SURVEYS

It should be noted that there were by 1871 about 6 different categories of surveys. Ordinarily this would have little consequence on the field of photography but it is worthwhile to point out the adaptability of the photographer, in particular the wet-plate photographer, to the early travelling conditions. These 6 types of surveys extend from the simplest explorations and preliminary examinations through to "revised surveys" and revised locations". Through each successive stage, the instruments and equipment used by the surveyors would become more extensive and consequently more cumbersome. The barometer at this time was the customary surveying instrument, used for indicating altitude or vertical distance. Horizontal distance on the other hand was measured by the lapse of time from one place to another. [See Selwyn's notes footnote 52.]

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Although the railway surveys under Fleming varied in nature and chronological order, the 1871 survey of Baltzly was a "preliminary examination", in advance of the regular surveys. Selwyn more than once refers to the barometer and to the lapse of time, both used on preliminary surveys.

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60. Don W. Thompson, Men and Meridians The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada, Volume 2, 1867-1917, pg. 86 (Ottawa, 1967)

The 120 Baltzly photographs trace the Geological party's progress from Victoria, British Columbia up the Fraser River via Burrard Inlet (Vancouver) to the North Thompson River. No doubt this trip has been made so memorable because of the descriptive diary that Selwyn kept.

On the 22nd of July Selwyn, James Richardson, Baltzly, John Hammond (Baltzly's assistant) and James Deans were assembled in Victoria busy with last minute preparations. Baltzly took a group photo (PA-22611) of some of this Geological crew, along with some officers of the Pacific Railroad. Among the latter were Moberly and McLennan "who had not left Victoria .... and were still occupied in perfecting their arrangements, purchasing supplies". <sup>61</sup>

Before the group's July 24th departure, Baltzly was able to capture the atmosphere of early Victoria. His four photos of the town were systematically taken from four compass points:

Victoria N.N.E.	(PA-22610)
Victoria W.S.W.	(C-21400)
Victoria S.E.	(C-21399)
Victoria Harbour	(C-21397)

The next morning the Geological group left, headed for New Westminster and from there up the Fraser River to Yale. There they sadly discovered that the Railway crew had already "secured" all viable "means of transport". <sup>62</sup> One of course is lead to speculate on just how close the Geological-CPR co-operation was!

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61. Selwyn, op cit

62. IBID

Faced with the prospect of delaying the trip or hiring Indian packers, Selwyn decided on the latter and paid them \$1.00 a day each to carry the photography equipment, including two cameras. The maximum price that Geological Surveys would pay was \$1.50.<sup>64</sup> The group travelled up river, and one can picture Selwyn commenting on possible agricultural land and as he himself commented quoting from Milton and Cheadle's North West Passage by Land.

At Kamloops, where the north and south branches of the Thompson River meet, Baltzly "secured a number of excellent and characteristic photographs of the scenery", although none of the particular group are in the Fleming Collection.

They followed a zig-zag trail cut out by the railway crew who Selwyn could describe only as a "strong party of axe-men". Following behind this group of strong men, Baltzly was able to stop periodically to photograph in such places as the Raft River Rapids which "issue from a rocky gorge, making several picturesque cascades" (PA-22587) and again at Mad River (PA-22598). By now Baltzly had resorted to panoramic photography to capture the expansive views of the mountain ranges, in particular the Selkirk range (PA-22615; (PA-22599).

As Selwyn succinctly put it:

"though they (the photographers) fail to do justice to the reality, (they) still afford a good view of the grandly picturesque character of the scenery"<sup>65</sup>

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64. MG 29 A8, H.M. Cambie to S. Fleming, Nov. 30th, 1875

65. Selwyn, op. cit. pg. 31



As they reached higher altitudes the group was forced to clear a trail through forests so thick as to form "an unpenetrable wall". (See PA-22606 "A forest scene ...") Often Selwyn and Baltzly were forced to go ahead to blaze trails, which meant that Baltzly was more than once left without his camera.

At Canoe River, the group posed for a photo with Baltzly and Hammond both being in the picture. The others are probably Mr. McLennan, Selwyn (seated in the center), Philip the Indian Pacer, LaRue (an Indian), and Jim the Shuswap Guide (PA-22612).

By October 28th winter was setting in; it was impossible now to reach Jasper House, as planned, on the provisions that they had. Like Major Rogers, who faced that same <sup>?</sup> remittance to a lack of provisions and was forced to abandon his expedition, they had to turn back. This time they travelled by water instead of land.

Abandonning their weak horses for canoes they returned along the same route which had taken them roughly 23 days to journey up. Baltzly still had his equipment with him, and despite the prevalent fear of capsizing canoes he did stop for photos. The photos show the group portaging at Porte D'Enfer (PA-22618) and farther along at Murchison Rapids (PA-22614 & PA-22604). Numbers 40014 (PA-22608) and 70021 (PA-22614) referred to in Selwyn's diary (pg. 46) afford an excellent idea of the character of the scenery.

Along the way, Selwyn reports that they lost one canoe - "it went down the hill like a sleigh"<sup>66</sup> - and minus a canoe they were now forced to cache their photographic apparatus at Mad River. Selwyn doesn't mention the fact in the 1872 Report of Progress that the equipment was recovered but a special trip was sent back to retrieve it. At any rate, the group safely arrived back in Victoria.

Baltzly's photographs were used extensively by Geological Surveys and by Notman. The Canadian Illustrated News ran 2 Baltzly photos in 1872. "Forest Scene on the North Thompson, 165 miles above Kamloops" (PA-22606) appeared in January 24, 1872. The other, "Lower Falls of Garnet River Cascade near Mt Cheadle, B.C." (PA-22607) was listed under "scenery by Notman" in a March 2 issue of 1872.

In addition to publication, the 26 Baltzly photos in the Fleming collection may have been also used for display purposes - there are printed stickers on the backs of the mounts and there is no writing on the front which might indicate that they were to be viewed by the public. Selwyn submitted an entry to the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1878. Although not indicated, his entry, a "Collection of Photographic Views of Scenery in British Columbia", may not have entirely been his own photographs. It is possible that he may have used some of these Baltzly photos.

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66. IBID, pg. 47

The 26 photos extend from the photographs negative number 69901 to 70024, with a few gaps.

Of interest is PA-22604 (neg. # 70,024) which shows the photographer's tent.

S. Fleming evidently wished to use 11 Baltzly photos for some type of publication he was writing about in late 1872. To be included were some Horetzky photos and others were Baltzly's. Of these specified 11 photos, 4 are in the Fleming collection:

Part of A Stereo	PA-22601 #69973	Snow-clad mountains on the North Thompson
	PA-22608 #70014	View above upper gate of Murchison's rapids
Part of A Stereo	PA-22617 #70017	Lower end of upper gate of Murchison's rapids
	PA-22598 #69961	Mad River, its junction with the North Thompson River, B.C.

Fleming was obviously taken with them and wrote to Desbarats that the photos "were very good ... I wish you could see them."<sup>67</sup>  
The photographs are indeed very good, one hundred years later.

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67. PAC MG 29 A8 Vol. 63  
3 Dec., 1872, S. Fleming to Desbarats.

B. 1871

FORT GARRY TO JASPER ALBUM (371)

T2502

C. HORETZKY

The other survey of 1871 that is documented by the Fleming collection is that of Horetzky's trip westward from Fort Garry to Jasper House. This expedition was designed as an extension to Selwyn's trip from Victoria to Jasper House, a trip that was never completed.

Charles Horetzky is the most outstanding example of the diverse roles that a photographer could assume. Not only was he a passable photographer but he considered himself an expert in the fields of surveying and elementary engineering. At an early date in the surveys (1872) he was more than ~~adamant~~ that the Pine River Pass, a route north of the Rockies, should be adopted as the railway pass through the Rockies.

It was only through his own persistence and single-mindedness that he was able to retain his job, let alone his credibility.

As Horetzky candidly explained in 1880:

I am neither a photographer nor a good walker but I consider myself as well qualified to speak or write upon the subject of routes, harbours or the general engineering features of this northern continent as any. <sup>68</sup>

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68. Canadian Illustrated News, Ottawa, August 6, 1880

Despite the fact that Horetzky supposedly failed to regard himself as a photographer, it is primarily his photography for which he is remembered. Consciously or not, he has demonstrated the usefulness of photography for areas other than portraiture or picturesque scenes, and should be credited for this if nothing else.

Horetzky's 1871 trip was conducted on the Prairie Region (Fleming had divided the land to be surveyed into Woodland, Prairie and Mountain), a region that was "remarkable for its simplicity".<sup>69</sup> Logically, there would be few engineering obstacles to laying track across such a barren land. However, Fleming was swayed by Palliser's reports of numerous rivers and their deep troughs and felt they would be potential hazards to railway construction.

It was to examine these hazards that Fleming sent out division O & P, one of the 20 survey divisions placed under control of the Commissariat Department of the CPR. Which oversaw and co-ordinated correspondence, supplies and transportation for all the surveys.

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69. S. Fleming, Progress Report on the Canadian Pacific Railway Exploratory Survey (Ottawa, April 10th, 1872) pg. 5

70. IBID, pg. 7

Horetzky, who was assigned to Division O & P, left Fort Garry on August 4th. The group followed the Assiniboine River to the South Saskatchewan and from there reached Edmonton on October 16th. Spending November and part of December in the Rocky Mountain House region, Horetzky left in December for Jasper House. The 40 photographs that Horetzky took over a span of the fall & winter reveal the atmosphere of Prairie existence before the railway.

They point out the slow transportation in the Red River carts, the dog carriages (C-7474). There are the Indian bands they met and travelled with - the Cree (C-5181), the Piegan (C-7376) and the half-breeds (C-1716). Then there are the tiny pockets of isolated civilization, the bleak forts and trading posts such as Fort Edmonton (PA-9240), Jasper House (PA-9173), and the Wesleyan Mission (C-24248), Carlton House.

Horetzky's conclusions about his trip were thorough and partially included in the report of Frank Moberly' who was in charge of the expedition. Not only were there the 40 photographs, there was also the written description by Horetzky of the topography and available coal deposits. Not only did he comment, he even went as far as to add:

I should advise that an explorer be sent next summer to go over the country lying between Pembina and Lost River, and another ....from Lost River to Lac Brulé.<sup>71</sup>

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71. Sandford Fleming, Progress Report on the Canadian Pacific Exploratory Survey, 1872 (Ottawa, April 10th, 1872) pg. 54

Here was a concrete proposal for a route from Fort Garry to the Duck Mountains, Edmonton, via Lake St. Ann's and on to Jasper House.

The 42 photos by Horetzky in the album also show Moose Factory, probably residual photos taken earlier at his sojourn at the Factory, 1865. (See C-1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723) (See also Ross-McTavish-Fleming portfolio write-up for more information)

C. 1872

CPR III

PORTFOLIO S.F.8 BOX T2960

C. HORETZKY

The next series of photographs are those of 1872 depicting Horetzky's travels in Peace River Trip, an extension of Fleming's 1872 overland expedition from Collingwood to the west coast. After the first year of surveys, Fleming finally decided that he should see for himself the proposed route for the railway. His adventures of this trip, accompanied by a small group of friends including his son Frank, and the Reverend George Grant are carefully documented in Grant's Ocean to Ocean.

It was Horetzky that Fleming chose to accompany the group, in the capacity of guide and organizer. Fleming cabled Horetzky in Collingwood on July 8 informing him of his duties.

"I will look to you to have tents, blankets, supplies and everything furnished for journey between Thunder Bay and Fort Garry."

Horetzky no doubt was chosen because of his familiarity with the country from his 1871 trip. The route they took was much the same.

Unfortunately Horetzky had no camera equipment for the first leg of the journey and it was not until they reached Edmonton that it was retrieved.



Their departure from Collingwood was delayed until July 17th mainly because Horetzky was tardy in returning to Ottawa from Edmonton, as a series of telegrams to and from Fleming that spring well point out.

- March 11 "Horetzky is still out; is coming by another route
- March 20 "If Horetzky is not yet arrived, please instruct Moberly to proceed to Ottawa without him"
- March 20 "Horetzky is somewhere down the river"
- March 20 "I have telegraphed instructions to Horetzky to leave Collingwood"
- July 8 "Horetzky arrived here (Ottawa) about June 18th. Have not seen him since he returned." <sup>72</sup>

With Horetzky finally located, the expedition was ready to leave June 19th. There was a short stop in Toronto to have a group photo taken at Ewing's studio in Toronto. (probably C-8695)

They reached Edmonton on August 27th, in a little over a month since they had left Collingwood.\* Fleming had decided that Horetzky and the trip botanist, John Macoun, should take a separate excursion themselves, a reconnaissance expedition, to the Peace River District, via Fort Dunvegan. Their objective was to report on the lowest and most northerly pass through the Rockies, i.e. the Rocky Mountain Pass (an area that Alexander Mackenzie had explored in 1793). However, despite Horetzky's written conclusions of the trip it would appear that he offered little conclusive information (he did comment on the climate, the topography and mineral resources), because Fleming in 1878 stated that he thought there should be more extensive surveys in region of the Peace River Pass. <sup>73</sup>

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72. IBID MG 29 A8

73. Pierre Berton, The Great Railway (Toronto McLelland & Stewart 1972) pg. 80

\*There, as Fleming reports in his diary for August 27th, 1872, he "had a photo of the camp taken by Horetzky".

Macoun's and Horetzky's exit from Fort Edmonton was a speedy one. Evidently rumours reached the inhabitants at the fort on August 28th that some Cree and Blackfoot Indians were fighting downriver. Horetzky had no intention of being involved in either battles or any "long pow-wows". <sup>74</sup>

Despite discouraging reports about the impassibility of the Rocky Mountain Passes and the Peace River area, the two were determined to set a course for Fort Assiniboine on the Athabaska River and from there over the swamp and barren grounds between it and the Lesser Slave Lake. Perhaps Macoun best summed up their plans for this expedition:

A circumstance which lent an additional zest to our contemplated trip was the fact that we were in complete ignorance as to the proper means of procedure and the time necessary to accomplish the journey. (author's emphasis) <sup>75</sup>

At any rate, they reached Fort McLeod and finally the Peace River on October 1st. Horetzky was no doubt impressed with the beauty of the Peace River. Most of his photographs in this area were either of the Peace River or of Dunvegan, a Hudson's Bay Post on the River. (PA 9143)

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74. Ocean to Ocean, op cit., pg. 181

75. John Macoun, Autobiography of John Macoun: Canadian Explorer and Naturalist 1831-1920 (Ottawa Field - Naturalists Club 1922) pg. 65

At this point in the journey, a rift developed between Horetzky and Macoun. Horetzky had recently heard of a possible pass through the North Pine River, from an old Indian Chief, and entertained thoughts of exploring it himself, and sending Macoun along the Peace River. Despite Horetzky's attempts to "shake (him) off", Macoun stuck with Horetzky and the two headed for Stewart Lake and Fort St. James (PA-22620). There seem to be no photographs of the travels between Dunvegan and Fort St. James a fact probably due to travelling conditions - winter had set in and they had to jettison their boats for toboggan and dogs. What date they reached Fort St. James is unclear. Horetzky's caption date on the photo of the Fort is December 1st; but Macoun, in his diary of the trip, mentions that their arrival date at Fort St. James was December 14th. <sup>76</sup>

Judging from the rest of the photos in S.F. 8, Horetzky, having split with Macoun and already near to the coast, continued on to the Skeena River, the site of the two outposts of Hazelton and Fort Simpson; (PA-9162) and (PA-9137) respectively.

Using Hazelton as a base, Horetzky skirted the surrounding territory. He concluded that the Skeena area was unsuitable for a railroad. From there he travelled to the Nass River and Salmon River, Fort Simpson and finally Victoria.

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76. Ibid., pg. 80, 81

His proposals were that Bute Inlet appeared to be suitable point on the mainland for a terminus, also advocating the Peace River route instead of Tête Jaune Cache, or Yellowhead.

D. 1874

BRITISH COLUMBIA

PORTFOLIO S.F. 19 BOX T2737

C. HORETZKY

Horetzky spent 2 years on the prairie in the search of agricultural fertile belts; he had traversed various mountain passes to find the one feasible route through the mountains. Now, closely paralleling the issues that cropped up from year to year, Horetzky became involved in the new issue of the terminals.

In the spring of 1873 John A. Macdonald's deadline for the two year survey was very near. Two years had passed since British Columbia joined Canada, and it was July, almost to the day, that construction must be started. Macdonald was now pushed to reach a final decision on the route. The route from Lake Superior to the Rockies posed no headaches for him; the bone of contention was still through the mountains, but this time there was the added thorn in the side of a terminal on the coast. There were 2 possibilities -

1. A route from Victoria, up Vancouver Island and across 77 to Bute Inlet which would guarantee the survival of the dying gold industries of Vancouver Island.
2. The route from Fraser River to Burrard Inlet (Vancouver) would put Vancouver on the map.

Caught between protestations from the citizens of Vancouver and Victoria (Esquimalt), John A. Macdonald chose Victoria. The engineers of the CPR obviously thought differently and by the end of 1873 they were independently trying to reach a consensus of their

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77. For further information on these passes and routes see Marshall Sprague The Great Gates: The Story of the Rocky Mountain Passes. (Little, Brown & Co., 1964)

own. Fleming was faced with seven possible routes to the coast, six passes through the Rockies and innumerable water inlets.

Among the 7 routes was the Gardner, Dean and Douglas combination, three inlets on the mainland to the north of Vancouver Island. Fleming wanted these assessed and he arranged with Alfred Selwyn for Horetzky to accompany a Geological survey to examine them; 50 photographs exist of this trip in Portfolio S.F. 19, 13 of which are duplicated in Portfolio S.F. 3.

Horetzky's photographs give us an indication of not only where he went but also how he travelled. His mode of transportation, a sail-boat called the "Triumph" (PA-9159) probably provided a refreshing change from the prairie red-river carts. The relaxed travelling conditions of 1874 may have been conducive to more time being spent on picture-taking.

On June 8th, 1874, Horetzky, along with Marcus Smith,<sup>78</sup> joined James Richardson of the Geological Surveys on board the sloop "Triumph" (PA-9159) in the Gardner Canal. The photographs are excellent, but the high humidity, the salt and mists of the B.C. coastal areas must have had some affect on the photographic emulsions.

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78. Canada, Geological Survey of Canada: Report of Progress 1874-75, (Ottawa, 1876) by Alfred Selwyn. See Report of Mr. James Richardson on Explorations in British Columbia 1874-75, pg. 71

However, Horetzky did have the services of two assistants.<sup>79</sup>

From the Dean Canal, Horetzky explored around the Kitimat Region and then an inland excursion up the Dean Channel. As it turned out, Richardson departed from Horetzky, who was left with the boat to do his own explorations. Horetzky also examined, along with Robert McLaughlin, the valley of the Kimano River (PA-9290) "a distance estimated by Mr. Horetzky at about twenty-five miles from the sea".<sup>80</sup>

By August, Horetzky had seen the Kimano River, the Douglas Channel, the Kitimat and was back in the Dean Canal (PA-9243) because there is a photo taken at 5 p.m. the 14th August.

At Kitimat, there was a summer Indian village where a mountain was named "Photograph Mountain" by C. Horetzky. Late August, September and October, saw Horetzky in the region of the Tsatsquot River, Beaver Lake and Tochquonyala. By November he had reached Bellabella and by January he was sailing to Vancouver Island.

Conclusions reached were that this exploration, covering seven degrees of latitude, uncovered the possible existence of gold-bearing rocks.

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79. Ibid, pg. 72

80. Ibid, pg. 79

As far as Horetzky's photos are concerned, it is probable that he did not print out his final series - they are all accredited to a C. Horetzki, not an unusual spelling mistake but certainly not creditable to Horetzky himself. It is interesting that Fleming, however, referred to him as Horetski (See letter 5th Dec., 1872, Fleming to Desbarats, MG 29 A 9 Vol. 63).<sup>81</sup> Alexander Henderson, a friend and colleague of Horetzky's, did the printing and mounting of certain photographs from CPR assignments, such as Portfolio S.F. 8, CPR III. By 1891, Henderson may still have been making prints for both CPR & GSC as A.R.C. Selwyn was writing to Henderson in April 71 requesting back the G.S. negatives.

Horetzky's photos reveal the distinctive trace of our ice ages. In this way Horetzky's photos are good documentation of the conspicuous ice-grooving and scratching formed by the ice, from mere scratches to Channels, often several feet in width.

"Often they can be distinctly see with the naked eye... They run in more or less parallel lines and are not always horizontal... Sometimes the rocky surface resembles that of a field covered with narrow ridges. Where two valleys meet, the upward deviation is always well marked on the side of the smaller valley. A good example of this occurs at the junction of the Kamino Valley with that of the Gardner Channel."<sup>82</sup>

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81. PAC MC 29 A8 Vol. 63  
5th Dec., 1872, S. Fleming to Desbarats, Montreal

82. Reports of Progress 1874-5, op. cit., pg. 82



E. 1876

CPR IV

PORTFOLIO S.F. 9 BOX T2961

C. HORETZKY

By 1876, Horetzky was again fast falling from favour. Being a political appointee (through the Conservatives C. Tupper and Mackenzie) as were most employees of the railway in British Columbia. He probably overlooked some of the more genteel habits that a self-appointed employee would have adopted. Essentially, he was an independent thinker who felt responsible to only a few individuals. Despite protestations from his superiors, Horetzky could be stubborn. Purposely delaying his Homathco trip of 1875, for example, to get more supplies at Camp 18 Horetzky became a source of discomfort for H.J. Cambie who complained to Marcus Smith that Horetzky had stayed for 10 extra days giving "as an excuse for delay that he wants to take same views" <sup>83</sup>

During this time, Marcus Smith who was acting engineer in place of Fleming (on leave in England) took it upon himself to conduct surveys in the Pine Pass region, an area he personally favoured instead of Fleming's choice of the more northerly Yellowhead Pass, Alexander Mackenzie became frantic at Smith's overbearing forcefulness but before Fleming could be recalled in early 1878, many surveys had already been completed.

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83. File 46-47, PAC MG 29 A8 Vol. 7, No. 4 H.J. Cambie to S. Fleming, September 5, 1875.

Among them were C. Horetzky's expedition to the region between the French River (Lake Huron) and the Pic River (Lake Superior).

There are 20 photos in S.F. 9 of the Nipigon and Algoma region, six of which were taken by R.H. Meade, the rest by Horetzky.

Pages 366 and 367 in the Report on the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys and Preliminary Operations of 1877 by Sandford Fleming, deal with Charles Horetzky, who was in charge of the Central Division explorations. The eastern division was to explore up Georgian Bay and the western to concentrate on the Pic River to Lake Winnebagon.

Horetzky evidently reached Lake Winnebagon on July 22nd 1876 but from there he makes no mention of other dates or exact places that he visited. In this case, the photographs serve as a satisfactory account of his itinerary. He travelled from Winnebagon to the Mississagua River and Beacon Hill where he seems to have spent some part of September (PA-22564) of 1876. From there, he reached the Epinette River and by October he had travelled onto River aux Sables (PA-22572), reporting on the elevation. He stated that a small proportion of the section between the River Mississaugua and Berk Lake will require heavy works for the railway.

Horetzky concluded that the "whole route from Lake Winnebagon to the River aux Sables appears to offer a feasible line for the railway, with very favourable gradients, and an average of medium work throughout." <sup>84</sup> Evidently, the lateness of the season put a stop to an examination of the country to the last of this region. Some of the Horetzky photos (e.g. PA9241) appear in the Topley negative series (BOX P1010.)

R.H. MEADE

R.H. Meade of Peterborough, Ont. took the six remaining photos in this portfolio. They are of the Nipigon River in the Thunder Bay area. It appears that the Horetzky and Meade photographs were amalgamated in this portfolio because of their similar subject matter. Both sets of photos touch on the Lake Superior area of CPR Construction.

Meade was a personal friend of Fleming's probably making his acquaintance in Peterborough, where Fleming spent some years. The photos may have been sent by Meade to Fleming to portray the terrain around the Nipigon River. No doubt Meade took an interest in the progress of the CP railway and in one letter to Fleming in 1877 he thanks him for a copy of his Report on the Canadian Railway. <sup>85</sup>

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84. Sandford Fleming, Report on Surveys and Preliminary Operations on the Canadian Pacific Railway up to January 1877 (MacLean, Roger & Co. 1877) pg. 367

85. MG 29A8 Vol.34 17/?/77. R.H. Meade to S. Fleming.

F. 1879  
CPR V  
PORTFOLIO S.F. 10  
C. HORETZKY

The final Horetzky exploration depicted in the Fleming collection is the 1879 summer tour of the Skeena, Tatla, and Yale districts recorded in S.F. 10 (T2961) (23 photos). The recorded dates on the photographs extend from June (June 13th is the first) to October of 1879. In the first month Horetzky was in the vicinity of Hazelton and by June 20 he was staying in this tiny hamlet of Hazelton (PA-22559).

Why was Horetzky sent out again? By 1879, Fleming had packed up and departed for England, still advocating the Yellowhead Pass. Marcus Smith, acting Engineer-in-Chief, took it upon himself to extend explorations and wished to use Horetzky's services to champion his proposals for the Pine Pass - Bute Inlet route. Horetzky was therefore to explore the interior of British Columbia between the Omenica and Skeena Rivers, his main purpose being to concentrate on the Pine River Pass to the Bute Inlet. He was, however, to report on the Geological Surveys on the rocks to be found in the Skeena & Babine areas. In particular cretaceous rocks.

G. 1881

CPR II YALE TO BOSTON BAR

PORTFOLIO S.F. 4

R. MAYNARD

The roughly 400 miles up the Fraser River from Yale to Boston Bar was the toughest section of construction along the whole of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1881, after 12 months of blasting and drilling out of Yale, the railway crew working day and night had managed to lay only one mile of track.

Of the numerous west coast photographers who undertook the treacherous job of photographing the various stages of construction one was Richard Maynard of the husband and wife team from Victoria, B.C. In 1881, Maynard journeyed up the Fraser, taking a series of photos, 19 of which are in the Fleming collection.

Although not signed, and not given proper identification, the mounted prints (7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " X 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ") are by Maynard.<sup>86</sup> H.J. Cambie in a letter to S. Fleming dated Feb. 3, 1882,<sup>87</sup> refers to a package of photographs of the "Railway works in progress between Yale and Boston Bar" that he had posted to his brother, Alex. "They are very good considering that the 'artist' is an old shoemaker lately transformed into a photographer".<sup>88</sup> The artist referred to was Maynard who was originally a shoemaker when he went to Victoria.

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86. Another PAC Collection (1963-9) contains duplicates, signed by Maynard.

87. MG 29 A8 Vol. 7 File #46-47 H.J. Cambie to S. Fleming Feb. 3, 1882.

88. Ibid.

Shoemaker or not Maynard's photos are excellent documentaries of the hellish type of work being carried on along the Fraser. As Cambie points out to Fleming, the photos serve to illustrate "the more difficult portions in the work in such an advanced state". The work, indeed, was difficult. When Maynard arrived at Yale in 1881 it had already been a year since the American engineer in charge of construction, Andrew Onderdonk, had started his construction and the progress, as Marcus Smith had predicted was slow:

The works generally on this section will be very heavy, the excavation chiefly in rock, including 14 tunnels varying from 200 to 3,900 feet in length. 89

The photographs, then, depict the rough terrain through which these tunnels and tracks were being pushed. The photos, however, have a greater significance. They were personally important to Fleming. Although ousted from his position as Chief Engineer in 1880, Fleming still held a vested interest in the Fraser Valley Construction; in particular, he was understandably interested in the corruption surrounding Onderdonk's appointment and the Macdonald government's suicidal attempts at cost-cutting. H.J. Cambie had received word from Charles Tupper, then Minister of Railway, to "locate the cheapest, possible line". This direction would mean, among other things, resorting to the use of the "reverse double curve", a nightmare to any conscientious engineer. This S-shaped curve, hugging the sides of deep river gorges, would not allow for any straight track in the curve. As a result, a tremendous amount of wear and tear was placed on the train wheels and rails; far more important was the potential hazard of an accident.

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89. Trials Locations Survey 1874 by M. Smith  
In Report of C.P.R. 1877 pg. 130, pg. 258.

The result of all this substandard work was an 1888 board of arbitration set up to investigate this particular contract. Tupper was forced to agree that the Onderdonk line should have been re-built. Fleming, no doubt, would have agreed.

At any rate, Cambie, being a loyal friend to Fleming and wishing to assist Fleming on his side of the argument, sent the photographs, commenting that:

... you will be able to see that the difficult portions are past the doubtful stage and that we can now estimate the cost as easily as that of any other heavy piece of work.

... Knowing the interest you always took in this piece of work and that you are aware of the many doubts thrown on our estimates I have a great deal of pride in sending the views and at the same time telling you privately that I have sent a revised bill of works to the Chief Engineer showing a reduction in the work, amounting to \$500,000.

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It is interesting to note that Maynard's photographs do not reveal the presence of coolie labour, certainly an important factor in being able to complete the western portions of the CPR. "Between 1880 and 1884 at their lower rate of pay, the coolies saved [Onderdonk] between three and five million dollars",<sup>91</sup> as well as saving him from bankruptcy. Manpower (i.e. Chinese workers) in the first months of construction in 1880 was important because the heavy machinery ordinarily used for clearing, drilling etc. could not be brought upstream via the Fraser. The river was simply too rough.

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90. MG 29 A8, Vol. 7 File #46-47, op. cit.

91. Ibid.

1882-1885

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY LAKE SUPERIOR

1974-219

P 3254

In line with the fights that brewed over the Yale to Boston Bar construction, the Lake Superior district of Ontario likewise generated political animosities and threatened CPR bankruptcy. "This was the section that almost everybody...had once said should not be built." <sup>92</sup>. It was completed, however, primarily in the furor over 1885 events, mainly the Riel Rebellion.

The photographer unfortunately is nowhere indicated. His photos, however, invoke some of the intriguing stories connected with this last section of the railway. For instance, the grain elevators are reminiscent of Van Horne's foresightedness - he was not impressed with the flat warehouses that were used to store grain for the railway. He was convinced that modern elevators, with a capacity of one million bushels, would contribute to the success of farming and saw to it that many were built. [See Neg. 63 CPR Elevator-For William- Capacity 1,000,000 bushels"]

The real of this patchwork line (there were 4 gaps totalling eighty-six miles) was to transport 400 men, A & B batteries, from Quebec and Kingston, the only permanent military force in Canada. Many of the photographs coincide with the railway gaps where the troops heading for the Red River were hustled out of the railway cars and onto sleighs, which, often in the middle of the night, followed the tote road beside the tracks. There are such names as Red Rock [no. 38 & 39], Jackfish Bay [C-7834], Port Munro, to McKellars Harbour, near Little Pic River [C-21980; C-21989].



The photographer could possibly be John F. Cooke of Port Arthur, Ontario. Cooke, is listed in Lovell's Business and Professional Directory in 1896<sup>93</sup> and his work appears in the Canadian Courier with the caption;

"Opening of navigation - Lake boats entering<sup>94</sup>  
Port Arthur, May 2, 1907"

The clue to Cooke was found in a new accession that I handled from the Burn household in Ottawa [1974-153 Sir George Burn Collection]. Four new Cooke photos were donated to the Archives from this collection and fortunately these were credited to J.F. Cooke. The style of photography, the subject matter and, most important, the printed caption and negative number system would almost conclusively link these Burn collection photos to those in the CPR Album of the Fleming Collection. [See also C-14114 from the Burton Collection 1951-8 of CPR construction-Port Arthur, by J.F. Cooke]

The album was dedicated to Sir Sandford Fleming in April of 1886. It is possible that Fleming and Cooke were acquaintances, although there is no correspondence between the two in the Fleming papers (MG 29 A8).

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93. Lovell's Business and Professional Directory,  
(Montreal, 1896), pg. 915

94. The Canadian Courier 18 May 1907, pg. 11

NOTE: This album has now been accessioned under the  
CPR LAKE SUPERIOR COLLECTION  
1974-219

Box P 3254

It was, however, included in this report because of  
its initial existence in the Fleming Collection.

CHAPTER III

GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

A. DR. ROBERT BELL 1878

NORWAY HOUSE TO FORT YORK

B. GEORGE M. DAWSON 1878-1879

SKEENA AND CARIBOO DISTRICT

As discussed in the previous chapter, the functions of the Geological Surveys were briefly outlined, primarily in conjunction with the Canadian Pacific Exploratory Surveys.

In this chapter, the surveys represent expeditions chiefly sponsored by the Geological Surveys themselves, although G.M. Dawson's 1879 trip was conducted in conjunction with the CPRS.

One might speculate on the uses of the camera for the Geological Surveys but it is obvious that at this stage the use of photograph was for illustrative purposes as an adjunct to the written reports of explorations. It was not until the late 1880's that the camera was really introduced as an aid to ~~sophisticated~~ photo-topography.

As for the provenance of these photos, Fleming no doubt would have requested copies of those photographs which depicted the terrain through which, the CPR was to run. In the case of Bell's 1878 photographs of the Hudson's Bay District, they may have been sent by A. Selwyn to Fleming in hopes of interesting him in the scheme of a northern highway from England through this region.

A. 1878

GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS - Robert Bell

NORWAY HOUSE TO FORT YORK:

Portfolio 11 Geological Survey

Robert Bell's photographs are among the best taken in the 1870's and 1880's by the staff of the Geological Surveys. His mastery of the wet and dry plate was almost unmatched; but his uniqueness lay with his skillful use of cloud negatives. These cloud negatives, as Ralph Greenhill points out, more than compensated for the washed out appearance often caused by the "blue sensitive plates" of that time.<sup>95</sup>

Bell's 1878 survey was undertaken a year after the aims of the Geological Surveys, now under the Department of the Interior, were more definitely defined. Not only to be connected with the basic sciences, the surveys would now include other branches of Natural History and other "points of interest". Accordingly, Bell was sent by A. Selwyn to the Hudson's Bay district to:

report on this hitherto wholly unexplored region to show that it is by no means so inhospitable and barren. <sup>96</sup>

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95. Ralph Greenhill, Early Photography in Canada...op. cit. plate 94

96. Canada. Geological Survey of Canada. Reports of Explorations and Surveys 1877-1878 (Montreal, Dawson Bros., May 5, 1879) pg.

Actually, Bell was probably sent for other motives. Bells conclusions about this inhospitable territory would either support or refute Selwyn's pet theory that a northern route via Hudsons Bay would be the most "natural and shortest highway from Europe".<sup>97</sup> As he reiterated "There can be no doubt that Hudsons Bay is destined, at no very distant date, to become of very great importance in connection with the development and opening up of the magnificent Territories of the Dominion of the North-West."<sup>98</sup>

Selwyn so far had submitted his ideas in report form to the Ministers of Finance and Interior in 1877. Aside from this, it looked like the fate of Selwyn's ideas would rest with Bell. In fact, in his report of May 5, 1879 submitted to Alfred Selwyn, Bell took up 32 pages describing his tract survey from Norway House to York Factory, by way of Oxford House and the Knee Lakes, a distance of 301 miles as the crow flies. Thirty photographs were taken "illustrating the character of the country".<sup>99</sup> It is not hard to deduce from the photos that Bell logged most of his miles through water routes, and not surprisingly, over many portages. One particular scene "Hauling a York Boat over the Robinson Portage" [C-796Q], points out the unwieldy and cumbersome mode of travel. Over some portages, the loads were never even removed from the boats.

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97. IBID pg. 5

98. IBID

99. IBID pg. 2cc

There are no dates in Bell's report of his trip but he does include a fairly comprehensive itinerary. It is known that he travelled to Oxford House [PA-39921], situated on Haley Lake, named after a conical hole on the north side of the lake. From there, he passed Swampy Lake and Brassey Hill, the "only hill known to exist in the whole region".<sup>100</sup> Bell amusingly refers to it as "a remarkable isolated mound of gravelly earth; 392 feet in height".<sup>101</sup> There are 4 photos of the Nelson River and more of Norway House, which he used temporarily as his home base.

The observations that Bell made are of interest to the layman as well as the geologist. There are of course the inevitable remarks on the "Laurentian shield features", the deposits of clay, the "steatitic schist" and "silicious mica-schist"; but one of the more mundane statements was that concerning the receding waters of the Hudsons Bay. Bell claimed that the waters of the Bay were receding at such a rate that an island, opposite York Factory, known to the preceding generation as being totally submerged was at Bell's time, completely dry.<sup>102</sup>

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100. Ibid, pg. 7cc

101. Ibid, pg. 7cc

102. Ibid, pg. 25cc

Bell's report was no doubt of great service to Selwyn. The conclusive reports on the climate, the zoology, botany and the geology and the 30 photographs would have been appealing to anyone seeking confirmation of a usable agricultural land.

Four of the Bell photos were used in the report. In the Reports of Explorations and Surveys 1879-80, by the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada (1881), dated 1880:

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1) Oxford House looking S.E.,                                       | opposite pg. 1C  |
| 2) Ten-schilling creek, near York Factory,                          | opposite pg. 2C  |
| 3) View at York Factory, Looking out to sea,                        | opposite pg. 16C |
| 4) Ruins of Fort Prince of Wales Looking<br>N.E. - Churchill River  | opposite pg. 30C |
| 5) Ruins of Fort Prince of Wales from<br>the West - Churchill River | pg. 30C          |

None of these reproductions appear in original form in the S.F. Portfolio 11.

For additional Bell photos, see Geological Surveys P 2094.



B. 1878-1879  
G.M. DAWSON  
Portfolio 12  
Geological Survey

- 1) 1878: 3 photos of Port Simpson & Metlakatla, Skeena River  
(extension of Queen Charlotte Islands) British Columbia
- 2) 1879: 45 photos of Cariboo District & Peace River Country  
of British Columbia

The 3 1878 photographs and the 45 1879 photos taken by Dawson are interesting for two reasons. First of all, they reveal Dawson's participation in the joint CPRS - Geological Survey efforts to find a Pacific terminus. Secondly, they illustrate Dawson's experimentation with the collodio-bromide and Bennett plates. Dawson was using the collodian dry plate, for 63 photos on his 1878 Queen Charlotte Island trip 2nd his 1877 travels but was obviously not impressed, referring to the "defects of the prepared dry plate".<sup>103</sup> There is, however, a marked difference in quality between the 3 1878 photographs and the 1879 series, probably due to his change to the faster Bennett plate.<sup>104</sup> It is interesting that less than a year after the 1878 announcement of the Bennett plates in Europe, Dawson was already making use of them in Canada.

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103.

104. See Inventory on S.F. 12, All those photos marked by A "B".

2) PEACE RIVER

George Mercer Dawson, in 1879, was again called upon to take part in a "reconnaissance" survey for the Canadian Pacific Railway. His main objective was to determine to what extent this territory offered "advantages for the passage" of the line of the CPR. His trip, embracing a region of 130,000 square miles, was undertaken, in Dr. Selwyn's words:

In order to obtain more information as to the capabilities of this northern part of British Columbia, its soil, climate and minerals, the Assistant Director of the Geological Survey, Dr. G.M. Dawson co-operated with the Railway staff in the examination...

105

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105. Report Geological Survey of Canada  
Report of Progress 1879-80  
Dawson Bros. 1881  
pg. 1B

Again, it represented a joint effort with Sandford Fleming providing manpower for which Selwyn was "indebted for the facilities<sup>106</sup> afforded to us in connection with his surveying parties". Accompanied by H.J. Cambie and H.A.F. MacLeod, Dawson spent 7 months from 6th May to 9th December in the field, for which Dawson wrote a detailed report illustrated with 5 reproductions of his photographs, from Geological Survey of Canada, Reports of Explorations and Surveys 1879-80, Dawson Bros. 1881,

pg. 80B 6M.D. Sept. 26, 1879, plate 6  
"Athabaska River at Drift Pile Camp, looking down."

pg. 56B Aug. 26, 1879, plate 5  
View of Smoky River near Trail Crossing".

pg. 52B Aug. 31, 1879, plate 4  
"Looking up Peace River Valley from Hill behind Dunevegan".

pg. 38B July 28, 1879, plate 3  
"Looking down Upper Pine River Valley from The Precipice.

pg. 36B July 27, 1879, plate 2  
"Summit Lake and Limestone Mountain Pine Pass".

The first recorded date of the photographs in 1879 is for July 7th, taken near Fort St. James (PA-51124). Dawson's camera equipment, along with the other supplies for the rest of the journey unfortunately had not arrived at Fort St. James until the day before their departure from there on July 8th. Undoubtedly, Dawson rushed out that first day with his equipment to take some pictures.

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106 Report of Progress, Geological Surveys, Op. cit., pg. 1B

Their next stop was Carp Lake [July 11th, C-9503], an area marked with "peculiar depressions", "potholes" and "ridges" see [C-6919]. To Fort McLeod, July 14th [PA-51137,] G.M. Dawson and party, also C-18100 and Minisinchina [C-9502], where the party split up, with the railway surveyors descending the Parnsip River while Dawson headed out overland to their rendezvous at Dunvegan. If the place names are familiar, it is because Horetzky passed through these areas on his 1872 Peace River trip. Joseph Hunter also explored the Pine Pass for "railway purposes" in 1877.

Dawson himself reached the Pine Pass in late July, staying there till August 10th. [PA-51134]<sup>107</sup>

On August 14th Dawson was back in Dunvegan [C-39963] where he hired a packer, 3 Indians and a half-breed to help him canoe down the Smokey River. [neg. no. 40, C-9504]. It was on to the Peace River [C-39965] for him and then circling back to Dunvegan once more [C-9501].

His objective was now the Athabaska River. This meant travelling over land previously swept by forest fires. The names of Brulé [C-23293] and Drift Pile Camp [11] bring to mind Dawson's descriptions of "burnt woods" and "windfalls", both a result of fires.

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107 Ibid.

Dawson evidently was a determined traveller. He had a notion to use the Athabaska River as a waterroute. While most seasoned woodsmen would have been discouraged by the lack of cottonwood trees, (the normal construction material for a canoe), Dawson was undaunted; he improvised, and miraculously produced a canoe of cariboo skins and blanket wrappings, painted with bacon fat and spruce green for water-tightness!

They must have done the river in good time. They were in Fort Edmonton on October 23rd /PA-51145/ and 3 days later were at Fort Saskatchewan [C-1692; duplicate C-3437]. There is no mention of Fort Ellice [PA-51147; no. 44] or Touchwood Hills [C-23064] in Dawson's notes. The last recorded date of Dawson's photo in November 25th taken at Fort Ellice.

Dawson's conclusions may have been instrumental in influencing Fleming's decision because Dawson reported that the character of the Pine Pass "in regard to railway construction  
108  
appears to be very favourable". [PA-51134]

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108 Possibly in Canadian Pacific Railway Report for 1880

CHAPTER IV  
MISCELLANEOUS

The remainder of the Fleming collection depicts the personal life of Sandford Fleming and some of the highlights of his career.

Fleming not only spent about twenty years of his life as an engineer. He also devoted his time to philanthropic and social questions. For instance, it was due to Fleming's insistence that 24 hour standard time be adopted in Canada (this meant that if it was 12:00 in Toronto it would no longer be a quarter to 12:00 in Montreal). Then there was the Pacific telegraph cable hook-up between Canada and Australia that he oversaw. He was director of the CPR and Hudson's Bay Company and Chancellor of Queen's University (1880-1915). He created the Royal Society, received the C.M.G. and the K.C.M.G. and designed the first Canadian postage stamp.

It is not suprising, therefore, to find scattered among the photographs, mementoes of Flemings life, such as prints of Mt. Sir Sandford in British Columbia, the Cabot Memorial Tower, tree-planting ceremonies, at Queen's University et al.

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In the case of all portfolios listed below, a detailed list of every photo can be found in the attached inventory of the collection.

A.     ROSS-McTAVISH-FLEMING  
          PORTFOLIO S.F. 40 T2735

The 29 photographs in this portfolio, although not all signed, probably represent the attempts of amateur photography by 2 men connected with the Hudsons Bay Co. The views of Moose Factory, Ontario, and of Rupert's House were taken by Bernard Rogan Ross, (1827-1874) F.R.G.S., a clergyman stationed with the Church of England in Canada and an eminent Canadian naturalist.

The remainder are attributed to George Simpson McTavish believed to be connected with the Church Missionary Society and a Chief Factor with the Hudson Bay Co., 1873 to 1874. Born in Ireland in 1827 he came to Canada and taught school at Cornwall. He then joined forces with the Hudsons Bay Company and while with it served at many posts including Norway House, York Factory, Fort Simpson (1858-62) Moose Factory and Ruperts House.

It may have been while he was at Moose Factory that Ross first learned photography, possibly in the same amateur photography club that Horetzky belonged to when he was at Moose Factory. Both Horetzky and Ross were there at the same time - there is a photo of the Ross and his assistant M. Broughton (probably the same as Chief Factor William Kelk Broughton 1893-1902) standing proudly in front of their Moose Factory Church and the photo was taken by C. Horetzky. See (Miscellaneous collection; accession 1968-1 C-6412 )

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<sup>109</sup> Massey, Arthur & Chapman Moose Factory 1673 to 1973, 1949 University of Toronto Press



While Ross's notoriety is in the field of natural history he contributed to the scientific knowledge of the Northwest. However, his photos of Moose Factory remain a good documentary source of architectural features of Moose Factory in the late 1860's.

The following 5 photos show varying aspects of the post:

1. "Old Factory" 1968, signed B.R. Ross C-1181
2. "Moose Factory"- from a distance 1868 C-1171  
signed B.R. Ross, print size 6 3/4" x 9 1/4"
3. "Moose Factory from Flagstaff" C-1167  
- a common vantage point, used by Horetzky  
and J.L. Cotter, print size 6 3/4" x 9 1/4"  
-see also the Fort Garry to Jasper House  
album T2502
4. "Old Factory" - 150 years old" C-1721
5. "Church" at Moose Factory C-1722
6. "Moose Factory" C-1719  
See also T281 for Ross Photos

Although not mentioned in biographical notes on Ross, there is evidence obtained from the photographs that Ross was serving in 1865 as a clergy member of the Church of England while at Moose Factory. His signature on these photographs links his name to a letter to William Logan in 1861 while he was stationed at Fort Simpson. A check of the Manuscript Group, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel replaced no trace of a B.R. Ross.

Ross's signature bears striking resemblance to the photograph signatures. However, it should be noted that there were two B.R. Ross's who established a reputation in the northwest. There is reference to a Bernard R. Ross in the Royal Geographical Society in London, Ross was proposed for membership in the RGS Feb. 1864 by John Arrowsmith. His address at that time was c/o Hudson's Bay Company, Dublin. His death date was 1874.

Ross was using a Dallmeyer triplet and he records for on photograph - "open aperture/no stop/time 3 seconds".

Ross and McTavish were obviously acquaintances. On the back of the photo of Rupert's House 1869, taken by B.R. Ross, is the inscription  
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"G.S. McTavish with kind regards of B.R. Ross." Information on McTavish is scant mainly because it does not appear that he achieved the same notoriety as Ross. However, it is apparent that he lived in Colbourne, Ontario at same time because a relation by the name of Mrs. G.S. McTavish (his wife?) was receiving his mail in Colbourne. (A check of the Colbourne directories of this time period revealed nothing). And that he was employed by the Hudson's Bay Co. He was chief factor at Moose Factory in 1873 to 1874.

The actual photos attributable to G.S. McTavish are few. A group photo labelled simply "Eskimos" at Little Whale River, Hudson's Bay no. 2 , a dwelling house at Little Whale River Hudson's Bay no. 3, and a Reindeer at Manitounick Sound, between Great and Little Whale River are definitely attributable to him.

Another no. 16 at Little Whale River of a native eskimo and a native with whales C-8160. Some of the remaining photos are not signed but one might deduce that they were taken by McTavish. A group of Little Whale River natives is shown in the winter no. 7 . A "white porpoise, esquimaux, kyak and seak skin'daw' or buoy" is shown in C-22942. No. 10 is a group shot of the Eskimos. No. 12 depicts two igloos. The Little Whale Eskimos are shown in no. 14 playing their natural game of ball. (Negative with the inscription U 2933). No. 1 and no. 11 again show the Little Whale Eskimo.

No. 19 and n. 17 of Rupert's House are possibly by B.R. Ross.  
No. 6 of the Crees may also be a Ross photograph, although not signed.

C-3118 of the Northern Cedar Canoe at Bellabella is by  
Horetzky.

For those Portfolios and Albums not  
discussed in the Guide to the Collection  
see the following index for detailed  
information.

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