Studio Indians: Cartes de visite of Native People in British Columbia, 1862-1872

by MARGARET B. BLACKMAN

In the 1860s and 1870s small, mostly studio setting, photographs known as cartes de visite were extremely popular in Europe and North America. Relatively inexpensive to produce and purchase, cartes of family, friends, celebrities, circus performers, and exotic subjects such as Indians were collected and kept in albums specially made for their display. In the frontier city of Victoria, cartes de visite of Indians were made over about a ten-year period beginning in 1862 and represent, by a few years, the earliest photographs of British Columbia's native population. While it is doubtful that these cartes were purchased by the Indian subjects of the images, they were sought by local colonists and particularly by visitors to Victoria. Cartes of Victoria's Indians have found their way to places as far away as New York City and New Zealand. Living almost at the photographers' doorsteps, the Indian subjects of these images range from children to the elderly and include street peddlars, warriors, chiefs, artists, and prostitutes. Their dress, pose, presentation before the camera, and the props portrayed with them speak to both the urban Indian culture of Victoria and the non-native's conception of Indians.

The British Columbia Provincial Museum and the Provincial Archives of British Columbia hold 143 cartes de visite (or copy images of cartes) of Indians made in Victoria studios. Further research in other archives suggests that these images represent virtually all of the surviving cartes of Indians made in Victoria, though only a portion of the total output of Indian cartes by Victoria photographers.

Each image was studied for data on the studio setting, the photographer's identity (if not otherwise evident), the dress and adornment of subjects, pose, use of props, and information on the age, sex, and ethnic identity of subjects. Auxiliary sources — newspapers, directories, journals, photo albums, and ethnographic literature — were consulted.

* I would like to thank the following archivists at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and the British Columbia Provincial Museum without whose generous assistance this paper and the larger project of which it is a part would not have been completed: Leslie Mobbs, David Mattison, Elizabeth Virolainen, and Dan Savard. I would also like to thank Sandy Kielland for her help with initial research into the Maynard collection of photographs. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1983 Canadian Ethnology Society meetings.

1 Alan Thomas notes that customers for cartes were local colonists, adventurers, and other visitors and that Indians who posed in Western dress may have been purchasers of their own images; see his "Photography and the Indian: Concept and Practice on the Northwest Coast," B.C. Studies 52 (1982), p. 65.
to flesh out the informational content of the photographs. The resulting data were compiled and organized on a microcomputer database programme.

Analysis of the computed photo records reveals a number of characteristics of the cartes and their subjects. Although the results are the substance of a separate paper, they can be summarized as follows. Studio images of the 1860s, regardless of subject, are not generally considered to be particularly informative; however, they do indicate that the photographic conventions for the depiction of native subjects differed from conventions that applied to non-natives. In most of the 143 images the background is plain, and the props employed are not the popular balustrade and urn, but items that belonged to the natives and bespeak their occupations: a bundle of firewood, fish, buckets of potatoes or clams, burden baskets, and small trinket baskets for sale. At least one photographer positioned native and white subjects in different areas of the studio, and in 20 per cent of the images natives, unlike whites, sit or squat on the studio floor. Only thirteen of the ninety-eight natives depicted in the cartes are shown dressed exclusively in fashionable EuroCanadian clothing, while some articles of EuroCanadian work clothing — probably castoff from previous owners — are worn by most. The majority of subjects is barefoot, a few men are pantless, and many of both sexes are wrapped in blankets; unlike the whites who appear before the photographer's lens, the natives are not outfitted in their "choicest finery." Given the nature of the poses, the facial expressions, the relative quickness with which carte images could be made, and evidence that suggests the natives were paid to pose for the pictures, the interaction between photographer and native subject was likely minimal.

Eight ethnic groups (plus "half-breeds") are represented in the cartes. Not surprisingly, more than half of the natives were from tribes in the southern part of Vancouver Island (various Salish and Westcoast [Nootka] groups). Some individuals are identified by name, and the occupation and social standing of more than a third of them are ascertainable. Most of these Indians, regardless of their status in native society, were pedlars who sold crabs, potatoes, firewood, and baskets on Victoria's streets.

The lifespan of these images was considerably longer than the Victorian fascination with cartes de visite of exotic subject matter. By the 1880s the carte de visite was passé, but at least one Victoria photographer continued to market the images of natives depicted in cartes by cutting them out, pasting them onto images of Indian villages in British Columbia and rephotographing them. With the advent of the postcard in the 1890s, many carte images were re-issued in that form, occasionally even handcoloured.

Preliminary to analysis of the image content and the socio-cultural context of the photographs is the tedious work of documentation. Where and when were these cartes de visite taken and by whom? How does one identify the subjects of the images, and how can the informational content of visual images be organized and used? The sources consulted and methods used in documenting these 143 images are the subjects of this paper.

My interest in the cartes was stimulated while perusing several boxes of glass plate negatives in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia labelled "Indians" which were in the collection created by Victoria photographers Richard and Hannah Maynard. A

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2 The broader study on which this article is based is my "Tzum Seeowist ('Face Pictures'): British Columbia Natives in Early Victoria Studios," a paper prepared for the conference on "The Photograph and the American Indian," Princeton University, 18-21 September, 1985.
number of the sixty glass plates is not represented in the archives’ print files, so in the interest of documenting these newly discovered images comparisons were made with the body of extant nineteenth-century studio images held by the archives and museum. This comparative study eventually yielded eighty-three additional images of Indians in the same genre.

The Photographers

By the mid-1860s there were five photographic establishments in Victoria whose owner/operators made landscape photos of local scenes and documented mining ventures and Indian villages in addition to making carte and cabinet portraits of local townspeople, itinerant miners, Royal Navy sailors, and the province’s Indians. The earliest of the Victoria photographers of Indians was George Fardon who arrived from San Francisco in 1858, but was not, as far as is known, in business until 1861-62. In addition to the two images attributed (on the basis of studio setting) to Fardon, he entered two “portraits of Indians” in the London International Exhibition of 1862. These latter photos have not been located. During his photographic career in Victoria, which ended with his retirement in the early 1870s, Fardon worked out of two successive studios; his Indian images date from the period of his first studio, 1861-63.

Charles Gentile, who arrived in Victoria in 1862, owned and operated two photography studios during his four-year residence in the colonial capital. He opened the first studio in 1863, then left two years later on an expedition to photograph gold mining in northern British Columbia. Returning to Victoria, he opened a second studio in May 1866. Three of the 143 cartes were made by Gentile — two in his first studio, six in the second, and four whose location could not be determined. Advertisements for Gentile’s cartes suggest that he probably made more than twelve images of natives. In 1867 Gentile left the colony permanently for San Francisco, after hiring Noah Shakespeare to manage his studio. No Indian cartes were attributable to Shakespeare. At least three of Gentile’s carte negatives were later purchased by photographers Richard and Hannah Maynard.

The studio in three of the 143 cartes could be identified but not the photographer who made the image (one of several who owned this studio during the span of time from which the carte collection dates). The Theatre Photographic Gallery (located, as the name suggests, above a theatre), was owned and operated between 1863 and 1872 by John Vaughan, George Robinson, Augustus Craigg, and Stephen A. Spencer, respectively.

The most prolific photographers of Indian cartes were Hannah Maynard and Frederick Dally. The Maynards arrived in Victoria in 1862, and Hannah, who had learned photography while living in Bowmanville, Ontario, promptly set up a photography business. Richard Maynard travelled to the Stikine gold fields and, upon returning to Victoria, opened a shoe store, learned photography from his wife, and occupied himself taking landscape photographs. The Maynards owned three Victoria photographic galleries during the more than forty years they were in business. All the cartes of Indians were taken in their first gallery, which they occupied until 1874. Although two of the forty-two Maynard cartes were marketed under the separate imprints of both Richard and Hannah

Maynard, it was Hannah who was the studio photographer; so likely all forty-two studio images were made by her.

Frederick Dally was the most productive as well as the most skilful of these carte-makers. Dally came to Victoria from England in 1862 and opened a photography studio in June 1866 from which he produced seventy-seven (possibly seventy-eight) cartes of Indians between 1867 and 1870. Like Gentile, Dally undertook photographic expeditions to the gold fields and to some Indian villages. He left the colony permanently in 1870, disposing of his business at auction. At least eighteen glass negatives of Dally’s Indian cartes were later purchased by the Maynards.

Only five images could not be assigned to any photographer or studio.

The Sources

Documentation of the cartes proceeded slightly differently in the archives and museum. In the Provincial Archives, images can be researched by photographer, by subject [e.g. Indians], by geographical location, and by collection, while at the Provincial Museum, photographs of natives are catalogued only by tribe. The organization of visual materials in the two institutions is complementary. In the archives one can view the range of images produced by a given photographer regardless of subject matter, noting, for example, how Hannah Maynard or Frederick Dally photographed white subjects compared to native ones. On the other hand, the organization of visual materials in the Ethnology Division of the museum lends itself to a search of the photo files for all the studio images of Indians of a particular tribe. Despite the possibility for cross-checking certain images offered by the cataloguing systems of these institutions, valuable information has been lost from the archives’ collections. Several years ago, a former museum curator extracted from the archives — without notation — visual materials of “ethnographic value” to deposit in the museum’s Ethnology Division. Recently, the archives has attempted to locate and inventory all photos held by the museum which originated in the archives’ collections. Thirty of the 143 carte images of Indians were found in both the archives and museum.

Documentation of the carte de visite images of Indians depended heavily on research by staff archivists. Initial research on the photographers was begun in the early 1960s by Wilson Duff, who located newspaper articles on early Victoria photographers and compiled brief biographical sketches of several of them for the archives’ files. More recently, photo historian David Mattison has compiled extensive files on two Victoria studios owned and operated by a series of photographers between the 1860s and 1880s and has amassed a considerable body of data on Victoria photographers Richard and Hannah Maynard. Mattison’s research files, made available at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, cut many days from the research.

Albums

Albums in the Provincial Archives collection containing Indian cartes were useful for securing additional documentation on the photographs as well as for understanding how

cartes were displayed and by whom. Sixty-six of the cartes were located in these albums. Albums were not just put together by the collector; Frederick Dally, for example, made a point of using them to exhibit his sale photos. Joan Schwartz and Lilly Koltun comment, “Dally ... displayed prints in his gallery where the public could examine the samples and place orders for copies for their album or carte-de-visite collections. He ... [had] leather bound albums and cardboard mounts specially made and imprinted with his name for the presentation of large and small prints.” The Provincial Archives has seven of these leather albums, two of which contain cartes of Indians. One of them, gold-embossed “1867-1870” on the cover provided the only information on the dates of its constituent cartes (figure 1). In addition, the archives holds two large display posters of Dally's Indian cartes which contain information about the subject of each image penned below it in Dally's handwriting; these were probably displayed in his photo gallery. Almost all of the seventy-seven Dally cartes appear either in the two albums or on the posters.

Four other albums, either owned by the Provincial Archives or made available on loan, contain cartes of natives; Joan Schwartz of the Public Archives of Canada called my attention to two additional albums containing Dally cartes in other institutions. Doubtless there are scores of albums displaying one or more cartes of Indians made by Victoria photographers of the 1860s, but whether they would provide additional information on already documented images is doubtful.

Four of the 143 cartes appear only in an album which had been loaned to the archives. Photo albums were thus a source of new images, a means of dating cartes already in the archives' collection, and, in the case of Dally, a source of information on the photographer. Albums proved useful in yet another respect. They indicate who collected images and the ways in which these individuals arranged in their albums the images they purchased.

**Written Documentation**

Various written materials external to the cartes were consulted to document them. In order to market images of natives, particularly to tourists and other visitors, photographers had to provide at least minimal documentation of subject matter. Frederick Dally, judging from the extant material, went farther than any of his colleagues in providing information on the subjects of his images. On the posters of cartes, below each image, Dally included information that presumably was important to customers who might order Indian cartes, such as ethnic identity and rank of the subject. In seventy-two of Dally's seventy-seven cartes, the subject's tribe is given, and in twenty-three the social standing or occupation of individuals are acknowledged. Personal names of natives, however, were less frequently noted (thirteen of Dally's images), probably because photographers did not bother to learn them, and they were undoubtedly less important to purchasers than the ethnic identity of the subject.

Rarely did a photographer provide more than minimal details about his Indian subjects. One exception is noteworthy. Frederick Dally kept a journal in which he recorded occasional anecdotes about events and people in Victoria. In an account entitled, “An Honest Indian,” Dally describes a Haida carver who had been commissioned to design iron railings for a Victoria bank building. This carver, who is never identified by name, was also, in Dally's words, “renowned for his beautiful carved work in the making of

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Figure 1: Album page of carte de visite images by Frederick Dally, 1867-70. The album was displayed in his photo gallery for customers to use in placing orders; the album incorporates information on each of the subjects. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
Figure 2: "Medicine Man's Wife — B.C. Indian." Photograph by Frederick Dally, retouched by Hannah Maynard and marketed under her imprint. Courtesy: British Columbia Provincial Museum, PN 10547.
Figure 3: Haida washerwoman, Mary, photographed by Hannah Maynard, 1865-66. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, PN 5310.
Figure 4: Haida Mary, from the studio image shown in figure 3, depicted against the backdrop of a Haida village, from a photograph by Richard Maynard, 1884. Courtesy: British Columbia Provincial Museum, PN 5311.
Figure 5: Tsimshian chief. Stereo image made in the Maynard's second or third studio, 1890s. There is some question regarding the identity of this chief. Handwriting on the glass plate negative identifies him as Clah, while a recent notation on the copy print in the British Columbia Provincial Museum's files suggests he may be a different Tsimshian chief. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, PN 94549.
Figure 6: Albert Maynard, on right, in his mother Hannah Maynard's studio, ca. 1865. Note “balcony” in background. Photo by Hannah Maynard. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, PN 94510.
Figure 7: "George and Catherine Stelly, taken about 1869 or 70." Photo by Hannah Maynard. Note the "balcony" in the background. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Catalogue no. 18346.
Figure 8: Native pedlars photographed by Hannah Maynard, ca 1869-70. Note the placement of subjects relative to the "balcony" backdrop. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
Figure 9: Lillie Maynard, photographed in her mother Hannah Maynard’s studio, ca. 1872. Photo by Hannah Maynard. Courtesy: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Catalogue no. 93386.
Figure 10: Salish Pedlar, ca. 1872. Photograph by Hannah Maynard. Like the image of Haida Mary shown in figure 4, this man's image was rephotographed against a Haida village photograph taken by Richard Maynard in 1884. Also of interest is the fact that this man appears in two carte images made by Frederick Dally. Courtesy: British Columbia Provincial Museum, PN 5321-A.
silver bracelets." Dally ordered and eventually received from him a pair of silver bracelets displaying the American eagle. The photographer added, "His portrait may be seen in one of the albums, lower lefthand corner, a ring through the septum of his nose."

Victoria newspapers were an important source of information on the locations, dates of operation, and renovations of photographers' studios. In the 18 May 1866 issue of the British Colonist, for example, Charles Gentile advertised that his photographic gallery had removed to Government Street and that it was "constructed on the latest Italian system." An article in the same issue of the paper noted, "Mr. C. Gentile has opened a new and neatly fitted up Gallery on Government Street, adjoining the Theatre Building. The gallery contains a waiting room and dressing rooms, and the light is admirably managed, producing excellent pictures..." Only rarely did a newspaper article note the making of a particular carte de visite of a native. Again Gentile's studio was mentioned by the press. On 1 February 1864, a Songees Salish chief and his wife trudged into Gentile's studio to pose for their portraits. The event was written up the following day with the note that the pair requested and received a dollar for posing.

**Imprints**

Like other photographers of the time, Victoria's image makers marked their products with individual imprints on the reverse side of the cardboard mount. Imprints proved a mixed blessing in the documentation of images. In most cases it can be assumed that the photographer's imprint correctly identifies the maker of the image (though there are exceptions, as noted below), and imprinted photos can accordingly be attributed to their makers. Imprints can also be used in some instances to date photographs, particularly when a photographer has used different imprints over a period of time. In addition to these functions, an imprint might carry other information important to the documentation of image, such as studio location and the types of photographic work the photographer performed. Frederick Dally's imprints, as an example, read along the bottom: "A large selection of Photographic Views of British Columbia, Vancouver Island, Puget Sound, and of Indians may be had at the Gallery."

The problems created by imprints are more noteworthy than their positive attributes. One difficulty in using imprints to document images stems from the practice of a photographer buying another's collection of negatives and subsequently marketing them under his own imprint. Eighteen carte negatives made by Dally and three by Charles Gentile turned up in the Maynard collection of glass plates. Hannah Maynard marketed some of these under her own imprint. Well known for her experiments with multiple images and visual puns,8 Hannah Maynard not so skilfully retouched a Dally carte of a Coast Salish man and marketed it under the caption, "Medicine Man's Wife" (figure 2). A retouched companion image, "Medicine Man," may also have been a Dally original.

It is not always possible to attribute images marketed under two different imprints to the proper photographer. A carte of a native woman wearing a Hudson's Bay blanket turned up in the Provincial Museum's files under the imprints of Hannah Maynard and a little known contemporary photographer named Charles Edward Vieusseux. The studio setting — if it is a studio proper — cannot be positively identified as the Maynard's, and

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7 Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Frederick Dally Manuscript, E/B/D 16.
we have no comparative images of Vieusseux's studio. Actually, Vieusseux may not have had a studio, for he is not listed as a professional photographer. Further, the pose adopted by the subject is generic enough that the images could have been made by Mrs. Maynard or just about anyone else. Finally, we know that Mrs. Maynard marketed others' images under her own imprint, but at the same time we have no evidence that Vieusseux did not do the same. Thus, the attribution of this image remains undetermined.

Another difficulty with imprints arises from the not uncommon practice of marketing a given image over several years. A photographer might have changed imprints from time to time, particularly if he or she moved to a new studio. Marketing of old images under the new imprint could eventually confuse the researcher who may try to date an image by its imprints. Hannah Maynard's photograph of a Haida washerwoman, Mary, provides a case in point (figure 3). The studio setting indicates that this photograph was made in the Maynard's first studio on Johnson Street; it bears an imprint from the second studio located on Douglas Street, which the Maynards did not occupy until 1874. The same image was marketed at least ten years later, cut out and rephotographed against the backdrop of a Haida village which had been photographed in 1884 by Richard Maynard (figure 4). The cartes of natives, more than those of whites, are likely to present this problem simply because non-natives were the consumers of their own images and natives were not. As representative illustrations of the native population, images of Indians were re-issued year after year, eventually in new forms. Non-native members of society, desirous of having up-to-date images of themselves and their families, were more inclined to have their images remade every few years.

Internal Evidence: The Photographer's Studio

Some of the most important documentary data comes from the images themselves. Studio flooring, backdrops, woodwork, and props provide means for sorting images by photographer. Even though the studios of the several Victoria photographers were similar, they were sufficiently distinct to be recognizable in most of the images. The use of studio interiors in conjunction with other types of data to document cartes de visite of natives can be illustrated in the images produced by the Maynards over several years.

Thirty-three of the Maynard cartes were produced in three different settings within the same studio, the first of three Victoria establishments owned by Richard and Hannah Maynard. (Although none of the Indian cartes were dated, evidence suggests that the images were most likely made between the years 1865 and 1872.) No Maynard cartes of natives have been found that date from the period of their second studio (1874-1892), though the carte de visite was still in use during the earlier part of this period of time. In the 1870s and 1880s both Richard and Hannah Maynard travelled to native villages in British Columbia and Alaska. The sale of photographs of natives taken there may well have supplanted the sterile studio-posed Indian images. The several composite images they produced of studio Indians superimposed on village backgrounds suggest a customer preference for images of Indians in a native setting. By the 1890s the Maynards were still photographing the occasional native in their studio as figure 5, a stereo image of a Tsimshian chief, indicates.

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9 Mattison, Camera Workers, V-3.
10 The other nine photographs were not distinct enough to ascertain studio setting.
It was not unusual for photographers to have different settings within the same studio; a British photographic gallery of the period, an extreme example, boasted three rooms, one of which contained twenty-six different backgrounds! Fortunately, none of the Victoria studios of the 1860s appears to have been as complex. The Maynard cartes of natives are divisible into three categories based on the geometric patterns in linoleum-like carpeting that covered the studio floor. Although the flooring was not permanently affixed and thus removable, and although the studio may have been large enough to display three different floor patterns, it is tempting to see these differences in a temporal sequence. The data, discussed below, support such a conclusion.

The first floor pattern, apparent in thirteen images of natives (see figure 3), was in use at least by 1865. Albert Maynard, the photographers' second son, born in 1857, appears in two images with this floor pattern, one of which bears Mrs. Maynard's imprint. In both images he is about seven or eight years of age. A light-coloured backdrop with a painted balcony was used with this flooring as well as with the other two linoleum floors (figure 6).

The second floor pattern appears in seven images of natives and was in use in 1869-70 as is evident in a carte of a non-native Victoria couple (figure 7). Acceptance of this date relies on the handwritten notation on the carte back, presumably written by a family member: "George and Catherine Stelly taken about 1869 or 70." The imprint on this carte does not identify the location of the studio, but given the date, one can assume it was the Maynards' first gallery. The painted balcony behind the couple figures as an important backdrop in numerous images of whites.11 Natives, on the other hand, were positioned to the far right of the balcony, thus effectively omitting it from the final cropped carte image (figure 8).

A photographic study of the Maynard's daughter, Lillie, born in 1867, is evidence that the third floor pattern was in use in 1872 as Lillie appears to be about five years old in the photo (figure 9). Thirteen cartes of natives were made in this third studio interior (figure 10).

Image Management: The Database Programme

Study of some 140 historical photographs required a means of recording and systematically retrieving information about the significant features of the images. DB Master for the Apple MacIntosh, a database programme, was selected as the most appropriate means for information storage and retrieval of the photo data. Photo information was initially written up by hand on a form I designed which included not only documentation, but also the justification for both the date of a photograph and its assignment to a particular photographer. A photocopy of the image was attached to each data sheet. From this form I designed a format in DB Master comprising twenty-four alpha-numeric fields. Some of the categories on the original form were split so they could be handled by the computer, the photo caption and the attribution justifications were omitted, and a few additional categories were added. DB Master allows lengthy fields (up to 3000 characters — approximately 700 words), an advantage for a project containing mostly descriptive entries; the longer the entry, however, the more time-consuming the data search. (The longest field in my form was only forty-seven characters.) Key fields, which determine how the records are stored, can also be indicated in DB Master. For this project,

11 This backdrop appears with both this and the preceding linoleum pattern.
one key field — photo catalogue number, the first entry — was selected. The retrieval of data is relatively simple; one fills out a search screen identical to the data form. Up to twenty fields or entries can be searched at once and the results counted, and printed as a “report” either on screen, or in hard copy.

In addition to printing hard copies of all 143 records, a number of “sorts” were performed that laid the groundwork for analysis of the image. For example, photos (indicated by archives or museum catalogue numbers) were sorted and tabulated by photographer; different types of photographs (full views versus portraits) were tabulated by photographer; photos with props were sorted by photographer and by ethnic identity of subjects; the subjects of the images were sorted by ethnic identity and type of dress; male and female subjects were sorted separately by photographer and ethnic identity, and so forth. Although none were used in this study, DB Master allows numeric fields which can then be computed in various ways.

**Conclusion**

The images described here have been researched using standard historical methods. Documentation of cartes de visite of Indians focused on identifying the maker of the image, the date of its production, the identity of its subject, and the nature of its content. Almost all the resources employed in this task were located in the archives yielding the images. The results of this documentation, put to service in a broader study still in progress and summarized in the introduction to this paper, discuss the historical value of the images — what they tell of native society in mid-nineteenth-century Victoria, of specific native individuals identified by name or occupation, of the photographer/native relationship, and the public’s view of Indians. Computerization of the data from these images enhances tremendously their collective historical value and demonstrates one way of successfully mining the information in such visual materials.