Masquerade and Modernity in the Cypress Hills: Performing Prairie Photography in the late 1870s

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ABSTRACT

Both Aboriginal people and settlers of European descent participated in the construction of a series of curious tintypes set in the late-1870s Cypress Hills. The portraits perform complex and fluid cultural identities and they represent the particular conditions of modernity experienced by those present during the last years of shared land and resource use on the Canadian Prairies. As one-of-a-kind private mementos or souvenir objects, tintype photographs anticipate intimate viewing and limited circulation. Well over a century since their construction, the tintypes have all been reproduced, they have entered into large photograph archives, and they have been used in different, and in some cases incongruous, forms of discourse pertaining to the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement in Western Canada. With this thesis I look closely at the details of the works and I consider how the images continue to complicate and challenge the stereotypes and frontier narratives that they have been used to illustrate.

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INTRODUCTION

"Every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably."
Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History"[1]

A remarkable moment of recognition helped me to realize what this thesis is about. While thumbing through the *S.T. Wood Album: Volume 1,* a photocopied scrapbook at the Library and Archives of Canada in Ottawa, a familiar *mise en scène* caught my attention.[2] The setting, the attire, and the faces that peered out from an image on page 73 of the album were identical to a copied tintype that I had encountered many months before, and thousands of kilometres away, at the Glenbow Museum Archive in Calgary, Alberta. The same group of men assembled in front of the same backdrop for both of the works—yet the two images are not duplicates (fig. 1 and fig. 2). Both images appear to be reproductions of original tintype photographs. Each was lent to an archive in the 1960s to be copied, and the whereabouts of the originals are unknown.[3] The details are far easier to discern in the Glenbow Museum's crisp photographic reproduction of *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan 1879* than in the photocopied page in the *S.T. Wood Album.* The two related portraits appear to have been taken from slightly different angles, and the arrangement of the sitters changes slightly from one image to the other. In each, the men form a compressed cluster on the ground. They sit, crouch and recline closely together in front of a log structure. Their shared space is busied by the myriad textures of their clothing. One of the men is dressed in a North West Mounted Police constable's uniform, two others pose in buckskin suits adorned with tassels and

floral beading, and the fourth man is clothed in informal attire commonly worn by Plains men in the later decades of the nineteenth century.[4] In both photographs, the sitters clutch objects—rifles, a riding crop, and a bow and set of arrows. Peculiarly, even though the two men in buckskins appear to have switched positions between the two images, the direction of each sitter's gaze remains consistent.

A conspicuous discrepancy between the two similar works, in addition to the variance in image quality, is their conflicting captions. The hand-written note below the image in the *S.T. Wood Album* reads "(N.W.M.P.) Reg. No. 389, Cst. Wurtele, J.W. Fort Pelly, 1879," whereas the archival record connected to the image at the Glenbow locates its site of production in Fort Walsh during the same year. There is over 700 kilometres of prairie land between Fort Pelly and Fort Walsh, which are both located in present-day Saskatchewan. I propose in the following pages that the Cypress Hills—the vicinity of Fort Walsh—is the more plausible location for this particular photographic event to have taken place, however verifying past interpretations of images is one of my lesser concerns. As I realized while closely examining the details in the image in the *S.T. Wood Album*, a single photograph may perform multiple functions and inhabit varied meanings. While this thesis investigates the conditions that made it possible for a specific series of photographic works to have been created in late-1870s Western Canada, in a broader sense, it is also about how images of the past continue to generate meaning in the present.

UNSETTLE THE SCORE

The distinctive setting and attire in *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan 1879* and the related image in the *S.T. Wood Album* are also visible in a set of original tintypes and a stereograph card from the late-1870s. The two tintypes—*Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879* and *Constable Fred Young, left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879*—are part of the Jukes Family Fond, a collection of visual and textual materials that was donated to the Glenbow Museum Archive by descendants of Augustus Jukes between 1958 and 1979 (fig. 3 and fig. 4).[5] The stereograph card *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* is part of a set of seven stereograph and cabinet cards that was donated to the R.C.M.P Historical Division in 1953 (fig. 5). According to archival notes, the set of images was once in the possession of a resident of Fort Walsh.[6]

Beyond the specific visual details in the setting and attire, the five images addressed in this thesis share a number of other formal and conceptual similarities. Where form is concerned, the most salient connections between all of the images is that they appear to have been initially created as tintypes, they use comparable stylistic photographic conventions, and they were created at the same, or an uncannily similar, place and time. With the exception of the image in the *S.T. Wood Album*, archival notes associated with all of the works locate their site of production in late-1870s Cypress Hills, in present-day southern Saskatchewan. In terms of content, the images addressed portray both settler colonizers and Aboriginal people sharing the same space and moment

of time.[7] I chose to focus my analysis on these specific photographic works because of their exceptional capacity to represent the complex cultural fluidity and modernity experienced by the Aboriginal people and settler colonizers who inhabited the Cypress Hills in the late 1870s.

Since their creation, each of the images under analysis has made its way from a private collection into a large public repository. Photographs are complex visual and historical objects which become all the more complicated when considered within larger arrangements and systems of collecting. In "Unsettling Acts: Photography as Decolonizing Testimony in Centennial Memory," Lynne Bell encourages scholars to think critically about how archival images have arrived, and can be activated, in the present. Bell uses the term "colonial photographic archive" to account for the vast body of images created since the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement, which now reside in public and government archives, museums, universities, libraries, heritage societies, religious institutions, private collections, and family albums.[8] Bell asserts that in order to understand visual culture in the colonial archive, the normative discourse associated with these collections must be interrogated. She asks: "For whom were the photographic images made? How does the photograph produce the event that it records? Who is represented with an honorific gaze in this archive? Who is subjected to an instrumental gaze involving specific practices of surveillance, regulation, and coercion?"[9]

These questions are germane to the photographic works that I consider in this thesis. The intended audience for the series of images is not documented or readily apparent. The five works have each entered into some system of collecting, where they

have been ordered through the particular worldview of whoever arranged it.[10] For example, the hand of the collector-historian is palpable in the *S.T. Wood Album*. The compendium is one of two volumes comprised of visual works created in Western Canada in the late 1870s–1900s. Many of the images depict the activities of members of the North West Mounted Police and also the inhabitants of areas near police forts. The album was in the possession of Stuart Taylor Wood, who was the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's ninth Commissioner from 1938 to 1951. It is possible that some of the images from the late nineteenth century may have originally belonged to Wood's father, Zachary Taylor Wood, who served with the North West Mounted Police from 1885 to 1915, occupying the position of commissioner during his later career.[11] A series of letters from the mid-1940s between S.T. Wood and F.H. Schofield, the son of a member of the North West Mounted Police who served in Fort Walsh, indicates that during that time S.T. Wood was actively collecting and reproducing photographs of late-1870s Cypress Hills.[12] Perhaps some of these images were included in the *S.T. Wood Album,* which appears to have been pulled together over time. Sometimes inconsistent in its assembly, it reads as a personal photograph collection that aspires to be an official record. Accompanied by both handwritten and typed text, the images in the album are sometimes ordered chronologically, sometimes thematically, and sometimes in a manner that is indecipherable. Similarly, and on a grand scale, the "colonial photographic archive" is also the product of the belief systems and ordering strategies of the individuals and groups of individuals who have engaged with arranging, interpreting and disseminating images of the past.

The works under analysis have each charted a particular course through the colonial photographic archive. Although only a handful of authors and historians have considered the photographic works themselves, the images have been used in different, and in some cases incongruous, forms of discourse that pertains to the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement in Western Canada.[13] The two tintypes depicting Young and Moffatt, for instance, were published in a popular history book about non-Aboriginal settlement in the West called *The Canadians* (1977).[14] A single image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* appeared next to a nostalgic, untitled poem by George Shepherd about the Cypress Hills in a Regina newspaper in 1933.[15] *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan 1879* and the image in the *S.T. Wood Album*—two nearly identical works—have also been utilized in very different historical projects. The *S.T. Wood Album* is an account of the arrival of the first members of the North West Mounted Police in the West that is uncritical, if not celebratory. *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan 1879*, on the other hand, is included in *The Cypress Hills: An Island By Itself* by Walter Hildebrandt and Brian Hubner (2007)—a book that I reference throughout this thesis—which is critical of the directives of the North West Mounted Police, the policies of the Canadian government toward Aboriginal people, and the impact of non-Aboriginal settlement on the inhabitants of the Cypress Hills.[16] That images from the same photographic encounter are able to support divergent and incompatible interpretations of history demonstrates the facility for photographic works to inhabit multiple sites of meaning.

For the most part, the *S.T. Wood Album* is arranged in a manner that separates images of non-Aboriginal newcomers from images of Aboriginal people. Photographs that portray the activities of the police, survey parties, and early settlers span the scrapbook using what appears to be an attempt at chronological ordering. Representations of Aboriginal people have not been interwoven into the constructed chronology. Instead they are grouped together in isolation onto individual or consecutive pages. By segregating the images, the dominant narrative belongs to the progression of the settler colonizers as they moved west and created permanent agricultural settlements and communities. The experiences of Aboriginal people are shown as something separate and incompatible with the story of the creation of modern Euro-Canadian settler society in the West. The tendency to pose Indigenous people as pre-modern, disordered and "disappearing," while portraying non-Aboriginal newcomers as the purveyors of natural and inevitable modern progress, social order, and the development of permanent communities is prevalent in settler discourse.[17] This precise narrative, for example, is palpable in both *The Canadians* and Shepherd's untitled poem.

The photographic works under analysis in this thesis have been embedded in the settler colonial archive. However, these complex images are also replete with multiple narratives that are able to challenge the normative discourse that they are used to illustrate. For instance, the casually posed portrait on page 73 of the *S.T. Wood Album,* with its inclusion of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sitters in the same frame, immediately disrupts the pattern of separation that dominates the scrapbook.[18] As a visual representation of a moment of shared time and space, the image is incompatible with

narratives of segregation. This interruption in the arrangement of the *S.T. Wood Album* is obvious at a glance, but further and more complex expressions of cultural fluidity and modernity become visible with close and persistent analysis of the photographs. By focussing first on the details of particular photographic acts, rather than the systems of organization or textual narratives that they are caught up in, photographic works may offer powerful, nuanced, and unexpected counter narratives. As Elizabeth Edwards posits, a discussion of content, ethnographic appearance, and the obvious characteristics of photographs, is easy. "Instead, one should concentrate on detail. It is more revealing, not merely in the detail of the content but the whole performative quality of the image."[19]

My approach to visual culture owes tremendously to historians and theorists who closely analyze photographic works and consider images to be active producers of meaning rather than documentation. The photography studies that I draw from rebuke the idea that photographs are static, unmediated, scientific or historic data. Scholars from across disciplines—such as Edwards, who studies anthropological images, visual cultural theorist Ariella Azoulay, and Canadian photography historian Joan Schwartz—posit photographs as performative objects, culturally circumscribed by the relevant ideas of a given time and context.[20] These scholars accord photographs an agency, as social actors, in the making of history and social relations. According to Edwards, the "social biography" of a photograph is made up of the complex layers of meaning that images accrue as they encounter people's lives, are viewed in different contexts, and are used for different purposes.[21] Photographs "perform" in that they deliberately set out to represent, they focus seeing and attention in a certain way, they portray another time and place, and

they generate meaning each time they are viewed.[22] In accord with the compelling scholars who posit photographs as complex performative events, contemporary artists also examine and exploit the capacity for visual culture to generate various, nuanced and unforeseen meanings. Lori Blondeau, Adrian Stimson and Terrance Houle are just a few of the Canadian artists who have interrogated the normative narratives associated with the colonial archive in order to unsettle persistent stereotypes and offer alternate readings for images. With this thesis, I also seek to contribute to the reconceptualizing of visual culture in the Canadian settler colonial archive.

CASES OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Photographs, according to Edwards, are visual objects engaged with "social space and real time."[23] What follows is a case study in two parts, which focuses first on the representation of space in photographic works of late-1870s Cypress Hills and secondly with the representation of time in these images. I argue that the five related photographic works challenge spatial and temporal stereotypes related to non-Aboriginal settlement in Western Canada. I focus a particular intensity on examining how the images under analysis complicate and contest "frontier" narratives that posit Canada as a once-vacant wilderness, which was enriched, improved and civilized by European structures of society and material progress.

Frontier discourse is neither specific to the images in this thesis nor to the Canadian West—it is one of the hallmarks of the formation of modern settler colonial states. During the Western modern epoch, European settler colonizers envisioned the landscapes of other continents as vacant, acquirable and exploitable, despite the presence

of Indigenous inhabitants.[24] Frontier stories always include stable male figures of European descent.[25] These men are the celebrated pioneers, missionaries, soldiers, and diplomats of settler nations, who purportedly initiated progress and order in otherwise unfilled and unruly lands. According to Homi Bhabha, the formation of a "fixed" identity is always accompanied by the formation of "otherness" in the discourse of colonialism.[26] The ideological construction of "order" always connotes "disorder."[27] In the imagined frontier of Western Canada, the fixed and idealized "Canadian Mountie" is a settler identity that continues to function as the archetypical purveyor of social order, civility and modernity. As Daniel Francis asserts, it was the fate of the Aboriginal people of Western Canada to occupy the position of disordered and disappearing "other."[28]

Through the later decades of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries, authors of popular histories, news media and entertainment contributed enormously to mythologizing the North West Mounted Police. The *S.T. Wood Album*, *The Canadians*, and Shepherd's poem are examples of narratives created in the twentieth century that pay homage to heroic Mounted men. But the iconic status of the Mountie was not an afterthought. Even during its formative years, the North West Mounted Police assumed the sign of modern progress, stability and justice for settlers, particularly those of British heritage. In "Riders of the Plains," a poem that appeared in the Saskatchewan *Herald* in 1878, the Mounted Police are tantamount to the order of Western society while Aboriginal people are posed as an obstacle and a menacing force to be controlled:

> Our mission is to plant the reign, of Britain's freedom here;
> Restrain the lawless savage and protect the pioneer.
> And 'tis a proud and daring trust, to hold these vast domains,
> With but three hundred mounted men, The Riders of the Plains.[29]

Allegedly, the poem's author was a constable, known only as "W.S. NWMP," who was one of the first members of the force to "March West" from Eastern Canada in 1874.[30] W.S.'s verse aligns the Canadian Mountie with civilization and Canadian nationhood, while tasking Aboriginal people with representing chaos and threat. Carol Williams notes a similar binary in photography from the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement. She argues that nineteenth-century newcomers with cameras bolstered frontier fictions by producing images of Western Canada that segregated settler culture from Aboriginal society or "savage environments."[31] The curious photographic works that are the focus of this study, however, portray a much closer and more complicated relationship between settlers and Aboriginal people during the late 1870s. According to their archival descriptions, the images under analysis were all created within a year of "The Riders of the Plains." Yet, rather than portraying the rigid and polarized frontier stereotypes such as those articulated by W.S., the works emphasize the mobile and unfixed nature of identity construction. With close observation, the images under analysis reveal the modern "heroic Mountie" and his foil the "lawless savage" to be trite, mistaken identities, incongruous with the complexity of cultural contact and modern life in late-1870s Western Canada. If, as Francis suggests, "Mounties came to stand for the very essence of our national character," then to understand these men as culturally fluid figures living under the complex conditions of plurality and modernity, offers an alternative way to understand national identity.[32]

The men pictured in the images under analysis were either inhabitants of the Cypress Hills, travellers passing through the area, or members of the North West

Mounted Police stationed in Fort Walsh.[33] I posit all of the individuals who participated in the construction of the photographic works as protean subjects, with fluid identities and complex responses to cultural exchange and modernity. By approaching selfhood as a product of complicated social relationships and behaviours, I am indebted to a host of contemporary scholars from diverse fields. Bhabha's discussions of race and colonialism, Judith Butler's theorization of gender, and Stephen Greenblatt's study of Renaissance literature are just a few examples of recent scholarship that posit identity as unstable, mimicked and performed.[34] Like representations of identity, representations of modernity are constructed and unfixed.[35] Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar describes modernity as an ongoing, complex condition of responding to and "questioning the present moment."[36] My approach draws from Goankar and other critical studies, including the work of Mary Louise Pratt, that posit modernity not as a past epoch that occurred in European society, but as an expanding term that spans time periods, describes a multitude of local and global experiences, and continues to take on new meanings and forms of expression.[37]

In the pages that follow, I consider the social milieu of the Cypress Hills in the 1870s and prior decades, in order to better understand the modern conditions that influenced and sustained the mobile identities of its inhabitants. The Cypress Hills functioned as a community, a meeting place and a trading nucleus long before the arrival of the North West Mounted Police.[38] With the arrival of the force, the area became even more populated and diverse. An established, yet changing social space, the Cypress Hills of the 1870s is incompatible with simplistic notions of the Canadian West as a once empty frontier. Furthermore, the fluid identities, the sharing of physical space, and the

modern conditions represented in the images under analysis are inconsistent with rigid stereotypes that separate the experiences of Aboriginal people and settler colonizers.

The visual culture of settler discourse employs numerous tactics of segregation. One such trope involves associating European settlers with culture while linking Aboriginal people with nature. Marylin McKay describes this strategy in her analysis of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Canadian history murals, which include representations of both Native people and newcomers of European ancestry. The European figures in these narratives are shown energetically engaging in exploration, agriculture, construction and commercial transactions while Native people are represented as detached, awestruck observers who are elements of the landscape.[39] These particular visual strategies separate Indigenous people and settlers spatially, while other forms of imagery separate cultures temporally. Particularly pervasive in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photography, are forms of portraiture that place Indigenous people outside of contemporary time. Nostalgic imagery of "dying cultures" or "vanishing races," emerged to accompany a widely held belief in Western society that Indigenous people of colonized countries could not survive the "encroachment of Western civilization" in the modern era.[40] At that time, displays of racial difference, influenced by scientific—anthropological and ethnographic—studies of human bodies and lifestyles, became increasingly visible in textbooks, popular magazines, consumer photographs, and the live displays of colonized people that were featured in exhibitions and fairs.[41]

During the 1880s and 1890s, the gestures of anthropology and popular entertainment became entangled in highly romanticized portraits of Aboriginal people in

Western Canada. Brock Silversides asserts in *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians 1871–1939* that Prairie photographers of this period "developed the urge to capture a record of the 'famous' Indian leaders for posterity and 'representative' Indians for anthropological purposes."[42] The majority of the photographs included in Silversides' chapter on "dying race" imagery are portraits set in front of painted studio backgrounds, which are dramatically lit and include props like animal skins, weapons, and formal and ceremonial elements of Native attire. While the space of the photographer's studio is indeed a phenomenon of nineteenth-century modernity, the contrived visual environments in these images imply that the individuals pictured exist elsewhere, in some imagined past, rather than the same contemporary moment as the photographer. By contrast, the series of images discussed in this thesis, created only a few years before some of the photographs included in Silversides' chapter on "A Dying Race," portray both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sitters sharing the same physical and temporal space. The images show members of the North West Mounted Police and Aboriginal people similarly inhabiting and responding to modernity in Western Canada.

As a condition of responding to the present moment, modernity is apparent in the improvised nature of the images under analysis. All of the works feel ad hoc. In each of the portraits, the sitters have arranged themselves and their props spontaneously atop a patch of ground that is strewn with pebbles and debris. The men take peculiar poses—seemingly spur-of-the-moment physical arrangements that draw from the conventions of both military and studio portraiture. A motion blur is visible where one of the sitters made an impromptu movement during the process. The photographer seems to have

worked quickly, structuring the portraits with the materials at hand. All of the images depend on available outdoor light. Some are taken at a slight angle, which suggests that the photographer overlooked the uneven ground beneath the tripod. Also some of the works are framed imprecisely, perhaps in haste, resulting in the missing limbs of certain sitters. The crudely clipped corners of the tintypes' blackened iron backings are visible in most of the images. There is a befitting synchronicity between the form and content of the series of tintypes. The adjectives used to describe tintype photography—improvised, slapdash, rough-and-ready—can also be used to describe the Cypress Hills of the late 1870s.

MAKESHIFT MEMENTOS FROM A MAKESHIFT MILIEU

In "Snippets of History: The Tintype and Prairie Canada," Philippe Maurice explains that unlike well-appointed nineteenth-century studio photographs, which carefully posed, lit and flattered their well-to-do subjects, the humble tintype was a cheap, fast and impromptu affair.[43] Tintypes, which were exposed on-site, shaped with metal shears, and delivered to patrons within minutes, became immensely popular in North America. The process was offered in photography studios and also by itinerant tintypists who provided on-the-spot outdoor portraits. While tintype photography became an increasingly popular commodity offered in the studios and on the streets of nineteenth-century urban centres, mobile tintypists travelled to more remote locales across North America.[44] During the Civil War in the United States, for example, roving photographers with darkroom wagons visited military encampments. It was common for soldiers to send tintype portraits of themselves in uniform through the mail to their loved ones back home.[45]

Historians of Canadian Prairie photography propose that two photographers created images of the Cypress Hills in the late 1870s. W.E. Hook, a photographer from Wisconsin, travelled through Montana and Western Canada in 1878 and 1879.[46] During those years Hook visited a number of North West Mounted Police outposts, including Fort Walsh in the Cypress Hills. It is certainly possible that Hook was equipped to create tintypes, however his name is not mentioned in the archival data connected to the images discussed in this thesis. It is more likely that a photographer named Thomas George Naylor Anderton was involved in the creation of the five tintypes. Between the late 1870s and the mid 1890s Anderton operated photography studios, either on his own or with partners, in Fort Walsh, Fort Benton (Montana), Fort Macleod, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge.[47] Anderton was a constable with the North West Mounted Police stationed at Fort Walsh from 1876 until 1879.[48] Maurice, Silversides and historian Hugh Dempsey have all suggested that following Anderton's discharge from the force in 1879, he immediately returned to the Fort Walsh townsite to operate a short-lived photography business.[49] The images that Anderton created in the Cypress Hills were some of the earliest works of his on-again-off-again photography career.

A number of portraits from the 1880s are embossed with the names of Anderton's photography companies. It seems that, like the photographers included in Silversides' "A Dying Race," Anderton also made an effort to photograph Aboriginal people in his studio. However, unlike the highly controlled lighting and props in Silversides' examples, Anderton's studio images are brightly lit and include a melange of contemporary objects, interior furnishings, fabrics and clothing. The improvised, make-do aesthetic that

characterizes the series of tintypes from the late 1870s is appreciable in some of the later works that are attributed to Anderton, particularly the portraiture. However, the intimate, unofficial groupings of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sitters are unique to the series of tintypes created in late-1870s Cypress Hills.

Silversides argues that the earliest images of non-Aborginal settlement—the works created before the existence of permanent communities in Western Canada—are most closely aligned with the practice of documentary photography. In Silversides' estimation the first photographers were certainly biased about what they were recording. But, for the most part these early cameramen—who travelled with survey parties or the North West Mounted Police in the late 1860s and 1870s—did not approach the job with the same self-conscious, artistic intent as the professional photographers who became established in the later decades. Silversides identifies a distinct shift in the "ambience" of Canadian Prairie photography in the later decades of the nineteenth century.[50] While Western Canadian photographers of the 1880s and 1890s produced an abundance of highly composed studio portraits of Aboriginal people, these romantic images were not prevalent in the 1870s. "Unlike later periods, the photographer went to the subjects rather than vice-versa, and photographed whatever they were doing, not what he wanted them to do. The portrait sessions were not arranged, but were done on the spur of the moment."[51] The photographer involved in the production of the series of tintypes under analysis, while aspiring to studio portraiture, still has one foot in Silversides' "documentary" period. The spur-of-the-moment images express the plural and modern conditions of late-1870s Cypress Hills.

The tintypes, like the timber structure that is visible in their backgrounds, were constructed in the 1870s on terrain that had been used as a seasonal trading post during the prior decade and had been inhabited by Aboriginal people for millennia.[52] The North West Mounted Police was established through an act of parliament in May of 1873. The paramilitary force was modelled after the Royal Irish Constabulary and it was tasked with border control, suppressing the whiskey trade, and enforcing and administering the law in Western Canada.[53] The Cypress Hills Massacre, a brutal incident that took place on June 1, 1873, contributed to the sense of urgency around the establishment of Canadian authority in the area.[54] The violent encounter involved a group of wolfers (wolf hunters) from the United States who attacked a camp of Nakoda people located in the Cypress Hills. At least twenty Nakoda people were killed and four women were sexually assaulted during the attack.[55] By 1875, under the direction of Major James Morrow Walsh, the North West Mounted Police had completed the construction of a stockade in the Cypress Hills. Fort Walsh became the headquarters for the entire force in 1878.[56] A stream of new recruits arrived at the fort to receive their basic training—up to 250 men could muster at a time.[57]

The images under analysis were created as the last of the buffalo herds were depleted on the Canadian Prairies. The men pictured would have experienced the conditions of the appalling food crisis that resulted. In an effort to assuage the escalating famine, First Nations living in the vicinity of the Cypress Hills actively negotiated and signed adhesions to Treaty 4 (1877) and Treaty 6 (1879) in Fort Walsh.[58] In return for land titles, the Canadian government promised to pay annuities to individual band

members and allocated reserve territory and farming supplies to Aboriginal groups with the expectation that people would transition from subsistence hunting to an agricultural livelihood.[59] Individuals with recently negotiated treaty rights were drawn to Fort Walsh to collect the food rations, supplies, and annuity payments promised in agreements. Deer and antelope in the Cypress Hills provided an alternative game source, which attracted Aboriginal people from far-flung regions of the prairies as well.[60] Additionally, approximately 4000 Sioux / Lakota, fleeing the United States military after the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876, crossed the border to take refuge in the Cypress Hills.[61] In the final years of the 1870s the Cypress Hills had become a place of sustained interaction between Aboriginal people, police, traders, merchants, and drifters.[62] Cross-cultural and transnational exchanges were a constant reality for those who lived in and travelled to the region. The flux of activity and people in the area constituted, in the words of Mary Louise Pratt, a cultural "contact zone," where a multitude of verbal and visual languages were negotiated.[63] However, only a few years after the tintypes were created, the composition of cultural contact in the Cypress Hills was abruptly and drastically altered and the relationship between First Nations and the North West Mounted Police had deteriorated. In 1882 the force moved its operations closer to the recently completed Canadian Pacific Railway line located in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan. With the dismantling of the police headquarters, the once booming shantytown on the periphery of Fort Walsh was rapidly abandoned. During the same year, the Canadian government's Department of Indian Affairs withdrew reserve land in the Cypress Hills from the Nakoda/Assiniboine people and ordered the North West Mounted Police to vacate the

Cypress Hills of all of its Aboriginal residents. Large numbers of people were compelled to relocate to areas located far from the hills. Those who remained were denied rations and some were removed by force.[64]

The changes that occurred in the Cypress Hills in the 1880s reflect, on a small scale, the dramatic social and physical transformation that swept through Western Canada in the late nineteenth century. The onslaught of non-Aboriginal settlement affected not only changes to the Prairie landscape through agriculture, transportation networks and infrastructure related to settlement communities, it also brought with it extremely rigid attitudes about race and nation building.[65] Spaces of cultural fluidity where Aboriginal people and settlers had lived in close proximity, such as the Cypress Hill, soon disappeared. By the mid 1880s, the Canadian government had designated the boundaries of First Nation reserve lands and implemented laws restricting the movement of Aboriginal people—effectively segregating Aboriginal people from non-Aboriginal settler colonizers in Western Canada.

Before the mid-1880s the sprinkling of trading posts and police forts in Western Canada were spaces of complex contact and exchange. Inhabitants of late-1870s Cypress Hills, including members of the North West Mounted Police, were obliged to find ways to communicate with and accommodate one another. The cross-cultural negotiations that occurred in late-1870s Cypress Hills were preceded by decades of contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans who were connected to the fur trade in North America. Among other expressions, cultural fluidity took shape in the development of Creole trade languages—Nehipwat, Métchif and Bungee—in Western Canada,[66] certain ceremonial

practices related to trade and diplomacy,[67] and also intermarriage.[68] Many scholars of colonial history have theorized specific configurations of social and geographical space where European newcomers and Indigenous people were obliged to interact and accommodate aspects of one other's culture to some degree, often to facilitate the exchange of goods. For example Pratt's "contact zones," Richard White's "middle ground," and Greg Dennings "beach," all describe spaces where transgressions of cultural boundaries occurred during encounters between Indigenous people and colonizers.[69] In Nakoda language the Cypress Hills is described as "an island by itself."[70] "Island" is a fitting social, as well as topographic portrayal of the place. Until the 1880s the Cypress Hills was an island of cultural encounter and exchange, afloat in a much larger Aboriginal world. The composition of this world contradicts settler colonial discourse that imagines the Canadian West as an uninhabited frontier prior to European settlement. The rich history of cultural accommodation and transformation on the "island" of the Cypress Hills suggests that its inhabitants were responding to their present long before the North West Mounted Police supposedly brought modernity to the West.

In the following pages I look closely at how the selection of tintypes under analysis perform the cultural fluidity and modernity of late-1870s Cypress Hills. In the first chapter I consider the representation of space in the images. Pratt describes contact zones as spaces of encounter in which people establish ongoing relations, often involving conditions of coercion, inequality and conflict.[71] Conflicts between Aboriginal people and newcomers took place in the area—the Cypress Hills Massacre is an example of violent conflict. Also, in 1879, a North West Mounted Police constable named

Marmaduke Graburn was murdered in the Cypress Hills and a Kainai man named Starchild was accused and eventually acquitted of the crime.[72] But the sustained encounter between Aboriginal people and settler colonizers in the shared space of the Cypress Hills involved far more complex cultural negotiations, which tended toward hybridity rather than overt confrontation and segregation among its inhabitants. Paradoxically, despite its cultural fluidity, late-1870s Cypress Hills became an oft-used backdrop for the simplistic identity stereotypes underpinning historic narratives and popular fictions about the formation of Canada.[73] The separation of "heroic Mounties" from "dying races" in *The Canadians*, for example, betrays little of the complex and sustained relationships experienced by the inhabitants of the Cypress Hills. I argue that the transient and plural social conditions of late-1870s Cypress Hills supported unfixed, ambiguous and interconnected expressions of class, race and gender. To better understand the nature of identity construction, I look closely at the self-fashioning practices or *masquerade* performed in the set of tintypes *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* and *Constable Fred Young, left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan.* The unique qualities of tintype photography allowed for the performative event, which resulted in the set of works, to take place. The humble progeny of the daguerreotype, inexpensive tintypes provided people from a wide spectrum of income levels and backgrounds with unprecedented access to photography during the later decades of the nineteenth century.[74] Because of its mobility, affordability and immediacy, tintype production was perfectly suited to represent the conditions of late-1870s Cypress Hills.

Unlike mass-produced stereographs, which I touch on in chapter two, tintypes are singular, one-of-a-kind items that were not intended for reproduction. As one-offs, these curious objects functioned as complicated forms of private portraiture, communicative mementos or souvenirs, and they anticipated far more intimate and controlled circulation and spectatorship than reproduced photographic works.[75]

While the first chapter of this thesis centres upon space and identity, the second is concerned with time and modernity. In chapter two I approach the Cypress Hills of the late 1870s as a temporal period. I consider the particular modernities that contributed to the production of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills,* a stereograph card that was fashioned from an original tintype. Pace Gaonkar, I argue that the modernity of late-1870s Cypress Hills was site specific, and not simply the inevitable outcome of the societal structure and worldview that European settlers brought with them to Western Canada—typified by instrumental rationality, capitalism, individualism and a doctrine of progress. I examine the ways that modernity is represented in the details of the stereograph, and I attempt to untangle *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* from frontier tropes that temporally segregate modern "progressive" settlers from pre-modern "disappearing" Aboriginal people. The individuals who contributed to the construction of the image obviously existed at the same time. Regardless of their divergent motives for participating in the performative event, they all responded to their present moment and were agents of their own experiences of modernity. The stereograph, along with all of the photographic works under analysis, clearly defies simplistic

settlement narratives that seek to temporally separate “primitive” and “modern” identities. Yet, absurdly, these images have been used to illustrate these stereotypes.

The selection of photographic works under analysis function within and also challenge the colonial archive. As singular objects, the original tintypes may have initially been destined for a specific viewer or group of viewers. However the works found their way into public archival sites, they have been reproduced, and they have inhabited varied sites of meaning. As complex performative acts, these tintypes have generated diverse interpretations, which span three centuries. These photographs continue to accrue meaning in the present. To conclude this thesis, I acknowledge that by engaging with these complex images and closely analyzing their details, I too have played a part in the performative photographic event.

CHAPTER 1

"You do not stand in one place to watch a masquerade."
An Igbo saying[76]

During the late 1870s in the Cypress Hills, at least four men played a part in a performative event.[77] The likenesses of three of these individuals, and the space that they closely shared, are inscribed onto the surfaces of a set of tintypes dated from 1879. The fourth person certain to be involved in the masquerade—the photographer—is discernible only through the remains of his production. Archival records identify the sitters in the two images as North West Mounted Police Corporal George Buchanan Moffatt, Constable Frederick Trevor Young and "unknown Blood man."[78] All three men appear in *Constable Fred Young and Constable G.B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879* (fig. 3).[79] Moffatt stretches out on his side across the pebble-strewn earth in the foreground of the image, propped up on one elbow of a heavily tasselled jacket. Young, wearing an exquisite beaded buckskin suit, is seated on a stool with his legs casually splayed apart and his arms folded across his knees. In the centre of the image, the purported "unknown Blood man" stands clutching a rifle. The other tintype, *Constable Fred Young, left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan,* includes only Moffatt and Young (fig. 4). Dressed in their uniforms, the two Mounties take far more rigid positions. In both images, the sitters calmly hold their poses, however a flurry of activity is implied between the two identity performances—changes to attire, the movement of objects and the repositioning of bodies in space.

The sharing of space and the active constructions of identity portrayed in this diptych are the focus of this chapter. I argue that the physical closeness of the sitters and the hybrid cultural materials that are visible in the details of the portraits are inconsistent with the stereotypes of Western Canadian settlement discourse that seek to spatially separate stable European pioneer figures from instable or "vanishing" Aboriginal Others. I propose that the unfixed and ambiguous performances of race, class and gender in the set of tintypes were made possible by the complex social conditions of late-1870s Cypress Hills. The region experienced catastrophic change in the early 1880s, however when the two tintypes were created a few years earlier, the Cypress Hills was still a shared space that tended toward cultural accommodation rather than segregation or overt conflict among its inhabitants.

Almost 100 years after the two tintypes were created, they were printed side by side in a history book written for the popular press called *The Canadians* (1977). Although the archival information related to the two tintypes provides no clues about which of the portraits may have been created first or whether the set was intended to be read in a particular order, *The Canadians* places the images into a sequence. The caption suggests that the two works resulted from a "quick-change act" performed by a pair of Mounties "to amuse the folks back home…having their photograph taken first in uniform and then, with an Indian to provide added color, in fancy buckskins."[80] I return to *The Canadians* often in this chapter. Fortuitously, the book includes reproductions of the images under analysis. What is more, *The Canadians* is filled with examples of the specific form of settlement discourse that the tintypes challenge. The book's narrative

seeks to spatially segregate the experiences of Indigenous people and settler colonizers in nineteenth-century Western Canada. I argue that close examination of the images proves this segregation false.

The Canadians is part of a series published by Time Life Books. The embossed, faux leather-bound, 28-volume collection centres upon the topic of "The Old West," with titles such as *The Cowboys, The Indians, The Pioneers* and *The Frontiersmen.* Within the first few pages, the author Ogden Tanner introduces the storyline of *The Canadians*. It is the tale of how "the vast Canadian wilderness, which stretched from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean, yielded with great reluctance to the French and British."[81] The North West Mounted Police force's "March West" in the spring of 1874, is just one of the historic westward journeys—by canoe, horseback, dog sled, and foot—chronicled in Tanner's book.[82] Aboriginal people in *The Canadians* inhabit wild environments and are presented as examples of the innumerable threats that were encountered and overcome by "westbound pioneers and frontiersmen."[83] The scarlet-coated troopers in the story occupy isolated outposts. These Mounties, who were "British to the core" and "won their triumphs by their presence and persuasion rather than their force," are proposed as the source of civil society on the Western Canadian Plains.[84] When settler figures do inhabit the same space as Aboriginal people in *The Canadians*, the storyline often concerns an Aboriginal population that wholly embraced the trappings of European society.[85]

The story of *The Canadians* is not unique. It is in line with frontier narratives that emerged with the formation of settler colonial states and continue to persist today. "Settler indigeneity," which is as absurd as it is prevalent, is the desire of settler

colonizers, to assume the status of native.[86] In order to erase prior indigenous claims to land, settler invaders invent historical narratives and engage in forms of culture that locate their origins in the new country, rather than the nation that they came from.[87] This complex form of mimicry is palpable in Canadian histories and forms of visual culture that associate Aboriginal people with unruly and uncultivated space, while extolling the accomplishments of European figures, who are purported to be responsible for civilizing an otherwise unfulfilled landscape. According to *The Canadians*, until the westward movement of non-Aboriginal settlement brought material progress to the Canadian West, it was vacant of social structures. Although the set of tintypes under analysis are printed alongside this account, the details of the images suggest a counter narrative—that the works were created in an established space of cultural accommodation and hybridity.

Throughout this chapter I rely heavily on the terms "common ground" and "masquerade" to describe the physical and social space of late-1870s Cypress Hills. Common ground refers to the shared land and natural resources in the region. Economic historian Irene Spry put this term to use in her study of the nature of land use on the Canadian Prairies prior to the onslaught of non-Aboriginal settlement.[88] Masquerade is a particularly useful and malleable term. Butler, among others, uses masquerade to theorize the formation of identity, which is constructed from the repetition of social behaviours experienced over time.[89] As a verb, to masquerade is to perform certain markers of selfhood, such as class, race, nationality and gender. As a noun, a masquerade is a space where acts of self-fashioning and expressions of identity can occur. The short-lived midnight masquerades of eighteenth-century London, for example, were spaces where

masked Britons could transgress social conventions by donning the attire of a different class or gender.[90] As the epigraph at the beginning of the chapter implies, the Igbo masquerades of today, which involve performances of spiritual and ancestral identities, are complex social environments that must be moved with and experienced from multiple positions.[91]

Viewing photographic works as performative events similarly involves movement and repositioning. Using Azoulay's terminology, examining photographs involves "watching" the images and moving with them from their sites of production to their multiple sites of meaning.[92] In this chapter I move with the set of tintypes through three stages. First I examine the place where the images were created—the plural and shared space of 1870s Cypress Hills. I then discuss the practice and formal qualities of tintype photography. I explore the ways in which this medium is particularly suited to represent the nuances of cultural contact and identity mobility that characterized the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement in Western Canada. Finally, I suggest some possible meanings that the masquerade may inhabit. I also consider how the intended phenomenological engagement with tintype objects may have influenced the way that these particular images were circulated and received.

ON COMMON GROUND

In the 1970s, when the two tintypes were published in *The Canadians,* the vestiges of Fort Walsh were still being promoted by Parks Canada as a "paradigmatically 'western' frontier site."[93] Alison Wylie, one of the archaeologists who participated in the first

excavation of the Cypress Hills, recalls a "highly romanticized" newspaper advertisement for Fort Walsh from the mid 1970s, which was "truly the stuff of the 'brave (old) West' nostalgia industry."[94] The headline read "100 Police . . . 5,000 Indians," and it "conjured up the vision of an isolated garrison of brave Northwest Mounted Police, facing down hordes of unruly and unprincipled American whisky traders, and several thousand battle-hardened, angry, and dangerous Sioux."[95] The archaeologists working in the Cypress Hills at the time were mandated to locate the remains of said "isolated garrison."[96] But, rather than providing evidence of the stable male figures who allegedly single-handedly civilized the Canadian Prairies, the terrain and materials unearthed in the Cypress Hills told a very different story.[97]

Countering the image of Fort Walsh as a segregated outpost on a vacant frontier, lithic scatters and tepee rings near the fort testified to the Native presence in the Cypress Hills.[98] Long before the arrival of the North West Mounted Police in the area, Cree, Nakoda, Saulteaux, Blackfoot and Métis people had established habitation sites and travel routes in the Hills.[99] Beyond the fort, archaeologists located a core of permanent residences and domestic materials, such as ornaments, jewellery, kitchen items and children's toys, which revealed that women and children lived in the townsite.[100] What became clear through the excavation, according to Wylie, is that the Cypress Hills was once a complex shared space. Despite extant accounts, the "'frontier' was by no means the exclusive domain of single, adult, white/Anglo men."[101]

The sharing of space in late-1870s Cypress Hills evokes the expansive history of land and resource use on the Prairies. Spry's scholarship seeks to account for the

transition from the ethos of "common property resources, to open access resources, and finally to private property" in Western Canada.[102] Prior to the Canadian government's acquisition of the territory that would become the Western Provinces in 1870, land and resources—wood, game, grassland, water, vegetation, fish, etc.—were considered the shared property of all who had the skill and wherewithal to access them.[103] Although Aboriginal residents of the Prairie commons claimed territories for harvesting and habitation, these borders were complicated, fluid and changeable.[104] Competitors for certain resources were not always prevented from entering asserted territories, and affable groups, travellers and traders could be tolerated or even welcomed to share space.[105] According to Spry, the transformation of the Prairies from a space of common land use to a space of private land ownership, reserves, and an economy based on the purchase and sale of property rights, involved "a disastrous and destructive interlude of open access to natural riches."[106] During these transitional years of "open access," the population of Western Canada began to swell and put increasing pressure on natural resources. From the mid-nineteenth century, a growing number of outsiders began to arrive in the West. Among the inflow were missionaries, surveyors, traders, explorers, gold-seekers, and settlers. Beginning in 1870, scores of public servants arrived on the Prairies, most notably the men of the North West Mounted Police.[107] The tintypes under analysis were created during this period of incursion in the Cypress Hills. The individuals who contributed to the construction of the images experienced not only the plural conditions of the region, but they also felt the impact of "open access" on the Prairies.

The Cypress Hills in the late 1870s, Wylie contends, had "never been so cosmopolitan."[108] Following the construction of Fort Walsh in 1875, the existing settlement, which was just a stone's throw from the stockade walls, grew rapidly to accommodate the demands of the North West Mounted Police. It also increased population, travel and trade in the area. At its most expansive the townsite was comprised of two permanent trading establishments (both were branches of Ft. Benton, Montana-based outfits, I. G. Baker and T. C. Powers), several other stores, at least one restaurant, two hotels, several pool halls, a laundry, a barber shop, a tailor, a blacksmith, halls that were used for various purposes including church services when a clergyman was in town, and numerous other services and suppliers, including a photography studio.[109] At its most robust, the civilian population connected to the various business establishments in the Fort Walsh townsite included 4,000 "multiethnic, multiracial, and multinational inhabitants," including Métis families, people of Asian and African descent, Anglo-Canadians, Anglo-Americans and Native North Americans from at least half a dozen different regions.[110] Moffatt arrived in the Cypress Hills in June of 1878, the same year that Fort Walsh became the headquarters for the North West Mounted Police and the training grounds for new recruits.[111] Young arrived the following year.[112]

Primary sources from the early years of the North West Mounted Police indicate that socializing between members of the force and the Aboriginal residents living near police forts was commonplace.[113] For instance, Mounties attended dances and events put on by local bands, and Aboriginal women in particular were welcome to attend parties put on by the police.[114] In *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in*

Canada's Prairie West, Sarah Carter argues that although the subject is generally overlooked in analyses of settler-Aboriginal relations, police recruits of the 1870s and early 1880s commonly formed relationships with Aboriginal women, as did a great many immigrants through those years.[115] However, as growing numbers of non-Aboriginal women arrived in the West through the 1880s, interracial marriages began to take on a stigma, and representations of Aboriginal women became increasingly negative.[116] The new stereotypes, which associated Native women with immorality and licentiousness, were detrimental to many of the unions and families that had formed during the prior decade. Carter presents a number of cases where non-Aboriginal men abandoned their marriages and children in response to the taboos that developed in later decades.[117] Notwithstanding the formation of destructive stereotypes, there were interracial couples that remained together for life. Thomas Aspdin, who may be one of the sitters in *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan 1879* (fig. 1), married Mary Blackmoon, a Lakota woman from Sitting Bull's band. The couple met in Wood Mountain in the early 1880s and lived together to old age and death.[118] The photographer, Anderton, may have also engaged in an interracial marriage. The archival notes that accompany an image attributed to Anderton, dated from 1888 with the title *Blood Children and Women at Sun Dance,* indicate that one of the women pictured is named "Mrs. T. George Anderton" (fig. 7).[119] Correspondingly, Census of Alberta reports show the photographer living in the community of Stand Off, which is located within the Kainai (Blood) First Nation reserve in southern Alberta in the early 1900s.[120]

The existence of long term cross-cultural personal relationships, particularly those that resulted in families, is another feature of the social milieu of late-1870s Cypress Hills that contradicts stereotypes that separate Indigenous people and newcomers. From Wylie's assessment of Fort Walsh, it is fortuitous that hybridity and cultural accommodation prevailed over segregation and overt conflict among the inhabitants of the Cypress Hills, because during the first excavation of the area it became clear that the fort was never a defensible military operation.[121] The palisade was a poorly constructed "shabby affair" that was "open to assault at any number of points and incapable of supporting a firing platform."[122] The force at Fort Walsh mainly fulfilled functions of diplomacy: "the settling of Indian treaties, peacekeeping between American and Canadian tribal groups, and the distribution of rations in times of famine."[123] The diplomatic activities of the North West Mounted Police offer further examples of cultural contact and close interactions between settlers and Aboriginal people in late-1870s Cypress Hills.

By the early 1880s, the relationships that had been established between the force and First Nations in the region began to quickly deteriorate when Aboriginal people were compelled to leave the Cypress Hills.[124] Government policies to aggressively implement a reserve system resulted in the actual physical and spatial separation of Aboriginal people from the settler society that developed through the 1880s and 1890s in Western Canada. Carter notes an extreme shift in the attitudes of non-Aboriginal people toward Aboriginal people during those decades.[125] In Spry's estimation, by the end of the nineteenth century the shared space of the Prairie commons had been eradicated and

replaced by segregation and property rights. Land that had once been considered shared property was parcelled off into privately owned lots that were predominantly occupied by non-Aboriginal settlers.[126] Spry notes that Canadian First Nations were excluded from the private property stratagem, and they struggled with the coercive policies of the Indian Act, which not only sought to limit their land and resource use beyond the boundaries of assigned reservations, but also endeavoured to restrict movement and aspects of lifestyle.[127]

Spry's seminal essay, "The Great Transformation: The Disappearance of the Commons in Western Canada", was published in 1976, just a year before the pair of tintypes was reproduced in *The Canadians*. In Spry's text, the era of open access, the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement, and the eventual decline of common resource use on the Prairies are presented as unmitigated catastrophes in Canadian history. In the pages surrounding the set of tintypes in *The Canadians,* Tanner describes the same geographical space and time period as a great success in the establishment of non-Aboriginal agricultural settlement, the development of Canadian civil society, and nationhood. While Spry laments that "the frontier of private property moved westward, transforming the untamed wilderness into identifiable land lots held as exclusive private property," Tanner's exultant narrative progresses toward an inevitable time in the future of Western Canada when "the great wild land can be truly declared tame."[128] That the transformation of the landscape of the Canadian West can be simultaneously interpreted as tragedy and triumph is suggestive of the spectrum of possible interpretations that may emerge from the study of a particular place and time, and also of the multifarious

experiences of those who actually occupied those spaces and lived through the events. Similarly, visual representations of the space of the West may inhabit multiple and varied meanings.

NOT ON YOUR TINTYPE! [129]

In his 1872 text *The Ferrotype, How to Make It,* Edward M. Estabrook marvelled at the enormous popularity of the tintype in America during the second half of the nineteenth century: "It is impossible to compute the number of quantities which have been made and sold since 1860…I suppose it would exceed that of all other pictures put together."[130] The tintype's name is a misnomer, as the process does not involve tin.[131] Also known as ferrotypes, these photographic objects were rapidly printed onto thin sheets of "japanned" (blackened) iron.[132] The black lacquer used in the process is visible around the perimeters of the two works under analysis. Tintypes derive from the same direct-positive photographic process as the Daguerreotype, which produced a single precious object. However, unlike the costly Daguerreotype, the inexpensive materials involved in tintype construction made this form of portraiture available to even those with meagre income levels.

The tintype process is most closely aligned with the common or lower economic classes of nineteenth-century North America. One advertisement from 1868 offers a set of five one-inch tintypes for twenty-five cents.[133] These objects were not only inexpensive to purchase, but also extremely durable and light enough to send through the mail. Where more costly and prestigious forms of studio photography may have attested

to a sitter's status through luxurious props and careful poses, the unassuming tintype was hastily constructed using impromptu poses and materials at hand. Vacationers at the beach or Sunday strollers on urban streets might have, on a whim, sat for rapidly generated tintype portraits, which were kept as mementos of the excursion.[134] Mobile tintypists, were equipped to provide on-site, rapid, photographic works to even more remote locales. The photographers who travelled to and inhabited Western Canada in the late 1870s provided settlers and Aboriginal residents with unprecedented opportunities to engage with photography.[135] These commonplace nineteenth-century souvenir objects are some of the few remaining visual works created during the waning years of sustained cultural contact and shared resource use on the Canadian Prairies.

The popular expression "not on your tintype!" was used interchangeably with "not on your life!" during the later decades of the nineteenth century. This word play, and the synonymous connection between "tintype" and "life," is fitting because tintypes were able to provide visual proof of good health and safety.[136] Maurice notes that a series of outbreaks of disease plagued the Cypress Hills through the late 1870s. He suggests that, like the itinerant Civil War photographers, who provided U.S. soldiers with portraiture, it is not inconceivable that a tintypist might have realized a business opportunity in the Cypress Hills "and rushed to exploit it; the tintypes could be sent as reassuring news to family back home."[137] Exactly what prompted Hook to travel to the area and Anderton to set up shop in the Fort Walsh townsite can only be speculated upon, however the simple fact that photographers were present in the area is suggestive of the complex shared space that existed in the Cypress Hills in 1879. Looking through the various archived images

that were taken in the region, the tintypes from the late 1870s stand out. They are among only a few images that depict informal groupings of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the Cypress Hills. Of that handful of images that represent both settlers and Aboriginal people in the Cypress Hills, most are dated from the late 1870s—during the last gasps of cultural accommodation on the Prairies.

Tintypes rarely bear the names of their makers. Geoffrey Batchen, refers to tintypistry as "the most anonymous of all photographic process," and he asserts that this commonplace photographic practice "had no masters and generated no masterpieces."[138] The photographer involved in the production of the two tintypes is not documented, but evidence suggests that Anderton is likely the author of the images. Nonetheless, the two portraits are by no means the sole product of whoever was behind the camera when the works were created. The sitters share authorship of the images, as each of the men crafted his representation through pose, expression and sartorial choices. Additionally, because of the hasty, improvised and make-do nature of the tintype photographic process, these images include indiscriminate details of the surrounding physical environment, which were not consciously selected or influenced by either the photographer or sitters.

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly where in the Cypress Hills the tintypes were created. In both portraits, the sitters are cropped so tightly against the horizontal lines of the timber backdrop that very little of the surrounding environment is perceptible. What is visible of the chinked log structure resembles the style of buildings that were common throughout the Cypress Hills at the time.[139] The individuals in the tintypes could be posed in front of any number of log buildings in the police stockade, the townsite, nearby

settlements, or even at one of the outlying subsidiary posts.[140] For instance, similar log construction is visible in an image dated from 1879 that was taken at East End Post (fig. 8 and fig. 9). These types of structures were part of established Métis *hivernant* villages, which existed in the Cypress Hills prior to the arrival of the North West Mounted Police.[141] The large Métis population living in the area influenced the common building style and also the layout of the townsite of Fort Walsh.[142] The rapid construction of the police facilities at Fort Walsh was made possible not only by the abundance of lodgepole pine in the Cypress Hills but also by the labour and hands-on guidance of experienced local Métis builders who were essential to the completion of the original stockade.[143] The background timber structure in the tintypes is just one of the many details in the works that evoke the close relationships that emerged from cultural contact and the sharing of space in the Cypress Hills.

The tintypes were improvised outdoors, yet they are shot at the distance and vantage point used in common studio portraiture of the time. The postures taken by Young and Moffatt in uniform also reference the conventions of studio portraiture. Moffatt stands, Young sits upright in a chair and both subjects address the camera. The image of the trio, unlike the double portrait, references the informal positions taken by the British officers in Roger Fenton's well-known mid-1850s photographs of the Crimean War (see fig. 10 and fig. 11).[144] Young sits, the "Blood man" takes a contrapposto stance, and Moffatt lies across the earth in a languid pose that seems peculiar, even feminized, by today's standards. Apart from the formal portrait of Moffatt and Young in uniform, all of the other images under analysis portray casually posed men. Like the body of work that

Fenton produced in Crimea, the tintypes include weapons and groups of men in a variety of seemingly familiar arrangements. The influence of the military traditions of Great Britain on members of the North West Mounted Police certainly extended beyond pose preference. The entire organization of the force was based on the structure and ranking system of the British army.[145] Members of the North West Mounted Police who also served in Crimea, would have felt an even deeper connection to British military conventions. At least one member of the force in late-1870s Cypress Hills purported to be a veteran of the Crimean War. Sergeant Major Joseph Francis claimed to have participated in the "Charge of the Light Brigade," during the Battle of Balaclava, which inspired Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem of the same name.[146] According to one account, Francis wore his Crimean War medals and incorporated the sash of the Hussars into his Mountie uniform.[147]

Attire, one of the most obvious markers of identity, figures prominently in the two tintypes. In the double portrait, Constable Young is dressed in a formal North West Mounted Police tunic, which upon close inspection, is embroidered with a simple Austrian knot in dark thread at each cuff.[148] Corporal Moffatt sports his "undress" or working uniform, discernable from the formal Mountie attire by its lack of embroidery.[149] He stands at a slight diagonal allowing the two chevrons on his upper arm, which signifies his higher rank, to be visible. Like Young, Moffatt clutches his leather gloves in one hand and his riding crop in the other. Pillbox-shaped forage caps sit at jaunty angles atop each Mountie's head.

In the triple portrait, tassels drip from the shoulders of Young and Moffatt, who are suited up in elaborate buckskin suits. A concentration of beads and brass tack draws attention to the neck and shoulder of the "unknown Blood man" who stands behind Moffatt. Corresponding attire in other images created in late-1870s Cypress Hills suggests that the photographer may have supplied certain costume elements or accoutrements. It was not uncommon for studio photographers to have costumes and props on hand for their clientele, and buckskins were popular with nineteenth-century men. The men in *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* seem to be dressed in similar, if not the same, attire as the sitters in *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh Saskatchewan 1879* and the related image from the *S.T. Wood Album* (fig. 3, fig. 1 and fig. 2). The three images show different men dressed in identical ornate jackets. Also, the tasselled shirt and string of beads worn by the "Blood man" in *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* are strikingly similar to those worn in *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh Saskatchewan 1879* by the sitter who is referred to in the archival note as "unknown First Nation's man."[150]

In the late 1870s, members of the North West Mounted Police wore practical attire in addition to their uniforms. When working out of uniform, members of the force wore a sturdy hide jacket, a bandana to protect the neck and a lightweight felt slouch hat to provide shade.[151] The elaborate buckskins worn by the sitters in the tintypes under analysis have far more decoration and embellishment than the standard issue durable hybrid jackets issued by the force (fig. 12). The jackets worn in the tintypes are an

amalgam of Aboriginal handiwork and beadwork, and European influenced tailoring. Ruth Phillips argues that Victorian floral iconography akin to the decoration on Young's jacket asserted a great influence on material culture in Canada throughout the nineteenth century. She proposes that the incorporation of European patterns into Aboriginal artistic practices emerged through a "process of hybridization… characteristic of contact zones" and social spaces where cultures met and negotiated.[152] By the 1870s floral motifs were widespread in Western Canadian Aboriginal beadwork. The flower patterns on the breast of Young's jacket are common to Saulteaux (Ojibwa) and Sioux beading practices.[153] The patterns comprised of heart-shaped petals, visible on Young's shoulders, are prevalent in Saulteaux, Cree and Métis work.[154] It is certainly possible that local Saulteaux, Cree, Sioux or Métis people created the hybrid buckskins. It is also possible that these suits were acquired from further away, through the trade route leading to Fort Benton or one of the other posts.[155] Regardless of the specific provenance of the ornate attire in the series of tintypes, hybrid clothing was a part of the everyday lives of members of the force living in the Cypress Hills. According to archaeological findings, remnants of beadwork were found embedded in the original earthen floor of Fort Walsh, which suggests that from the first winter that the North West Mounted Police spent in the stockade, the attire of Mounties was supplemented and modified using the practices of local Aboriginal people.[156]

Like the hybrid dress worn by Moffatt and Young, the attire worn by the "unknown Blood man" is made up of a mixture of garments and ornament. A studded vest is visible on one of the young man's shoulders. A wool blanket covers his other

shoulder, and his neck is draped with strings of light coloured beads. The wool, brass tack and glass or plastic beads in the image are some of the myriad goods that would have passed from the hands of non-Aboriginal traders to members of local Cree and Assiniboine communities—who acted as middlemen in Western Canada—to neighbouring Plains groups, including the Blackfoot confederacy.[157]

In *Colonialism on the Prairies: Blackfoot Settlement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1970*, Blanca Tovias points out that dress transformations within Aboriginal communities over time can be related to social and political change.[158] Certain materials and practices emerged from encounters between Europeans and Indigenous people during the colonization period, such as Victorian floral motifs, but non-Aboriginal newcomers were not the exclusive agents of change in the West. The sharing of elements of attire was not only the product of trade; periods of alliance among bands and familial and marital ties also encouraged the exchange of dress practices and materials.[159] The tassels visible on the shoulder and around the wrist of the "Blood man's" shirt are an example of a dress rudiment that was not accessed through European trade, but was culturally mobile throughout the Plains nonetheless. The use of fringe was the dominant decorative feature on clothing made on the Southern Plains, while in the Northern Plains, fringe was only one of the many elaborate methods—along with beading, quill embroidery, the use of fur, feathers, and human and animal hair—used to adorn clothing.[160] According to Morgan Baillargeon, Curator of Plains Ethnology at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, outside of formal attire and items of clothing with distinctive beadwork, the everyday attire worn by Plains men in the 1870s was generic.[161]

Apart from the text accompanying the tintype, there are no distinctive sartorial or visual clues that confirm that the "Blood man" was in fact a member of the Kainai Nation; Saulteaux and Cree men also wore blankets, studded vests and a combination of dress rudiments acquired through cultural contact.[162]

Out of all of the details in the set of tintypes, the Winchester carbine repeater rifle in the three-man portrait commands the most attention.[163] The rifle—or inattention to it—is also the detail that seems most at odds with the narrative proposed in *The Canadians*. In the caption that accompanies the tintypes in *The Canadians*, Tanner suggests that during their "quick change act" the Mounties in the portrait had their picture taken "with an Indian to provide added color."[164] He fails to mention that the third man in the portrait occupies a central, superior position in the frame and happens to be firmly grasping a firearm. According to *The Canadians,* during the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement in Western Canada, Indigenous people were part of a wild landscape, while settler colonizers lived in and developed separate communities. It seems inappropriate to illustrate this narrative of segregation with a complicated image that includes examples of sustained cultural accommodation (i.e. hybrid attire and Métis building practices) and shows Aboriginal people and settlers closely sharing space. Tanner's description of the set of tintypes omits prominent details that clearly articulate the plural conditions and sharing of space in late-1870s Cypress Hills. By choosing to place this complex set of works into a simplistic frontier narrative, *The Canadians* anticipates a viewer who will overlook visual details as well.

The rifle also alludes to another instance of close cross-cultural relations in the Cypress Hills. First available in 1878, the repeater rifle became the standard firearm issued to men in the service of the North West Mounted Police.[165] Although there are many possible explanations as to why the young man in the image is clutching the gun—the weapon could belong to any of the sitters, the photographer, or another individual who was somehow connected to the creation of the works—the placement of the weapon in the hands of the "Blood man" in the images is a reminder that service with the force in late-1870s Cypress Hills was not the exclusive occupation of non-Aboriginal people. By 1879, the North West Mounted Police Act had been amended to include a specific provision for appointing special or "supernary" constables. Out of the three hundred constables on strength at Fort Walsh, the Commissioner was sanctioned to appoint twenty Aboriginal men to work as guides and interpreters.[166]

While it could be possible that the men in the portrait encountered one another merely to participate in a brief photographic event, it is also conceivable that the masquerade emerged from sustained relationships. The nature of the encounter between the photographer and sitters likely involved an economic transaction—tintypes were inexpensive enough for low-ranked policemen to afford, and also their cheap materials ensured that the photographer would turn a profit. But, beyond commercial exchange, other relationships and interactions might have contributed to the production of the works. The photographer may have already known some or all of the sitters. Anderton opened his studio in the townsite after spending three years with the force at Fort Walsh.

One of the apparent differences between the images addressed in this thesis and Fenton's Crimea photographs is the portrayal of the common class—or the lack thereof, in the case of Fenton. Fenton's works portray the privileged lifestyles of British elite officers. When inferior soldiers appear in his series, they are never the focus; they function as unnamed supporting characters who are used to demonstrate activities, to model articles of dress or to display weapons.[167] Akin to the tintypists who visited the encampments of the U.S. Civil War, the photographer who created the set of portraits in the Cypress Hills framed common men and provided the populace with access to the "first truly democratic form of portraiture."[168] The broader output of nineteenth-century American tintype photography includes myriad forms of expression, from family and individual studio portraits to scientific and medical documents to theatrical and humorous tableaux.[169] However, the informal group pose is a phenomenon far more prevalent in the visual culture of British military subjects than in tintype images of U.S. military subjects.[170] The static poses in *Constable Fred Young, left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* evoke the formal, full-length views of Civil War soldiers in uniform. *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh* is a hybrid work that combines an American invention, the tintype process, with the established pose conventions of Victorian Britain. The men who participated in the creation of the two tintypes were likely familiar with both the representational strategies of the metropole—Great Britain—and the cultural products of their close neighbours to the south.

Tintypes, like identities, in the Cypress Hills were improvised from intersections between convention and cultural exchange. Because of their accessibility to patrons, both geographically and economically, tintypes were ideally suited to make the remote locales and common classes of nineteenth-century Western Canada visible. The sitters and the individual who was behind the camera during the creation of the tintypes under analysis produced some of the few visual representations of identity expression and shared lived experience on the common grounds of late-1870s Cypress Hills.

AIDE-MÉMOIRE

The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives two definitions for the term aide-mémoire: "something that helps one remember" and "an informal diplomatic message."[171] This dual meaning can be applied to the set of images under analysis. In one sense, the two tintypes function as complex personal mementos or keepsakes. In the other sense, the masquerade performed in the two images can be seen as tentative propositions, or messages to an intended viewer or group of viewers. As one-of-a-kind objects, the circulation of tintypes was limited and controlled. Tintypes were often destined for the albums or the boxes of mementos belonging to particular loved ones, or the sitters themselves. Unlike the mass-produced commercial photographs of the time, tintypes, and the negotiations of class, race, gender and national identities that they represent, anticipated a specific audience. Unfixed identities in the shared space of 1870s Cypress Hills are visibly negotiated in the images, however, because of the intimate and private

nature of engaging with tintype objects, the hybridity represented in the work was not widely seen.

The terms "viewership" or "spectatorship" do not properly articulate the kind of phenomenological engagement that tintype objects require. Portable and durable, tintypes are best experienced through close observation and handling—they are touched as much as they are seen.[172] Because tintypes are printed on a blackened surface, there are no true whites in their tonal range and their surfaces seem dull from afar. However, despite the muted contrast, when closely examined, the clarity of detail in original tintypes is tremendous.[173] In the nineteenth century, tintypes were treated as precious keepsakes rather than images on display. They were commonly housed in small cases or kept in albums. They also often became parts of jewellery and elaborately framed votive items.[174] Batchen distinguishes tintypes from other forms of photography because they invite "a physical intimacy denied by other kinds of imagery."[175] In *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*, he discusses the tintype as the base of a largely overlooked art form. The beautifully compiled survey includes tintype objects that were painted over, fitted into ornate cases, and framed with precious and personal materials—including human hair. Although none of the works under analysis in this thesis have been augmented with paint or human hair, there are indications that such practices took place in the region around the same time. A tintype portrait of Constable William Hill Metzler from the early 1880s, for example, has been painted. The image is one of two works that have a strong visual connection to the set under analysis (fig. 12 and fig 13). In the set, one of the portraits features Metzler dressed in his formal uniform and the other depicts

him wearing his practical work wear. Upon close examination of the works, it appears that the buttons of the Mountie's formal garb have been painted gold. The tintype must be observed closely in order to perceive the gold decoration.

Photography, described as "the mirror with a memory" by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1859, has been associated with the act of remembrance since its early iterations.[176] Tintypes enact memory through complimentary visual and tactile engagement.[177] Akin to souvenirs, these objects function less as detailed records of appearance and more as contemplative items associated with the extended act of remembrance, or a "state of reverie."[178] While nineteenth-century tintypes were often sent through the mail to provide evidence of the wellbeing and safety of an absent loved one, these images could also communicate additional information about the experiences of the sender. Along with supplying proof of life, patrons may have used portrait sittings to articulate their status and accomplishments to the intended viewer.

The mobility of class is one of the identity propositions visible in the set of tintypes. The chevrons on the arm of Moffatt's police uniform show that within a year of his enlistment he had been promoted. In the years that followed, he quickly moved up through the ranks, eventually taking the position of Superintendent in the 1890s.[179] In an interview that Moffatt gave in 1949, just after his 95th birthday, he was asked how he was able to ascend from constable to Superintendent in just over a decade. He answered: "because there was nobody else to promote."[180] Moffatt's wry response pertains to one of the two ways that the North West Mounted Police provided young recruits with opportunities for upward mobility.[181] Men from modest social standing, including former

sailors, farmers, tradesmen and new immigrants, could utilize their enlistment with the force to either work their way up to a career position with the police or use their years of service to acquire property.[182] Upon discharge, any member of the force in good standing could apply for a grant of 160 acres of prairie land.[183] It is not inconceivable that an upwardly mobile man from humble beginnings would want to express his newly acquired status to the recipient of the image, or to keep the portrait as a memento.

Interconnected negotiations of race, gender and national identities are also proposed through the masquerade in the set of tintypes. The stereotype proposed in *The Canadians*, which places Mountie figures in isolated outposts that are separate from and also threatened by the wilderness and its Native inhabitants, is irreconcilable with the shared space represented in the set of tintypes. However, more nuanced stereotypes are visible in the images. For example, buckskin attire is one of many Aboriginal cultural items that were co-opted by settler colonizers in North America and became symbols of masculinity.[184] Buckskins were aligned with romantic ideas about the self-reliance, stamina and courage of Native hunters and warriors.[185] According to John Tosh, a very similar construct of manhood was attributed to nineteenth-century British emigrants to the colonies who were envisioned as courageous and resolute.[186] Also, the archetypical heroic Canadian Mountie stereotype aligns with the constructed identities of both the determined and courageous British émigré and the strong and self-reliant Native hunter. The "unknown Blood man," who is both a formidable and a central presence in *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh,* could certainly be read as a warrior figure. It is possible that through the diptych

and their cultural cross-dressing, Moffatt and Young may have intended to propose a link between their identities and the romanticized manhood of Aboriginal men. In the same way that upwardly mobile constables may have wanted to express their status in the force, new arrivals to the West may have wanted to express a particular form of masculinity to an intended audience. The constructions of gender identity that can be read in the images draw from existing stereotypes, but they do not articulate the specific narrative of spatial segregation proposed in *The Canadians.* The masquerades in the tintypes are improvised, temporary and unfixed. These identity performances take place in a provisional setting. They feature myriad hybrid cultural items and closely shared space, which are incompatible with simplistic frontier myths of segregation.

Engagement with original tintypes is limited to those who have access to the object in its material form. While the tintype medium had an enormous audience through the later decades of the nineteenth century, the audience for individual tintypes was very small, especially when compared to the broad reach of reproduced photographs. Until they were printed in *The Canadians*, the set of works would have been experienced as tintypes are intended—intimately, as forms of private portraiture or souvenirs.[187] The reproduced version of the set of tintypes seems out of place in *The Canadians.* The details in the works conflict with and complicate the simplistic frontier narrative of segregation that they are meant to illustrate. Perhaps the two images were used indiscriminately because the visual accompaniments in popular history books do not encourage the kind of close looking that a hand held visual object does. Like the image on page 73 of the *S.T. Wood Album*, the set of tintypes disrupts the narrative in *The*

Canadians. Rather than supporting the discourse of spatial segregation, the two commonplace nineteenth-century souvenir objects propose fluid identities inhabiting the established plural society of late-1870s Cypress Hills. Viewers of the set of works were, and are, able to grasp hold of and closely examine the details of a fascinating masquerade. Like all of the works under analysis, the pair of tintypes is among the few remaining visual representations of the final years of shared habitation and cultural accommodation on the commons of the Canadian Prairies.

CHAPTER 2

"Modernity is not one but many, modernity is not new but old and familiar; modernity is incomplete and necessarily so."
Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities* [188]

The photographer and the two men pictured in *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* clearly and visibly occupy the same moment in time (fig. 5). In the duplicate images of the stereograph card, the Chief dressed in formal nineteenth-century Sioux apparel and the buckskin-clad policeman sitting next to him are compressed together against a rough-hewn log structure. The two men make close contact at the centre of the image. Their elbows and knees seem to dissolve into one another amidst the textures and patterns of their attire.[189] The light grey tassels that drip from Wills' shoulder fade into the dense, beaded sleeve of the Chief's poncho. The blades of the Sioux gunstock club occupy the forefront of the physical connection between the men.[190] The constable subtly leans away from the weapon, while the Chief seems to broaden into the shared space of the frame. An ethereal blur beneath Wills' firearm indicates that a restless movement occurred during the release of the shutter. At the moment of inscription, both men acknowledge the camera. The constable peeks out from under his hat, while the Chief calmly returns the photographer's gaze.

Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills, like all of the works under analysis, is a visual trace of a photographic event that occurred during the waning years of cultural accommodation in the Canadian West. In the previous chapter I argue that the images under analysis challenge frontier narratives that seek to spatially

segregate Indigenous figures from pioneer stereotypes in Western Canada. In this chapter I propose that these works also contest settler discourse predicated on temporal separation. Images of encounters between Aboriginal people and the North West Mounted Police emerged from and express the plurality, hybrid identities and shared *space* of the Prairies during the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement. These images also portray and were made possible by the shared *time* of the particular modernities experienced by those present in late-1870s Cypress Hills.

In the following pages I return often to the question of what it means to be modern. Edwards posits photographs as active agents of social history that deliberately set out to represent fragments of real time. As "visual incisions through time and space," photographs perform the "little narratives" of individual lived experiences, yet they are constituted by and constitutive of "grand or at least larger narratives."[191] This approach to photographic events is also a useful analogy for thinking through the notion of modernity, which is experienced in particular localized fragments that are enmeshed in and expressive of larger conditions.[192] Until recent decades, the concept of modernity largely centred upon the experiences and perspectives of European societies. A diverse body of ideologies, theories, and historic narratives ascribe the origin and centre of modernity to Western metropolitan society and its social and cultural transformations through the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[193] During this era, certain social structures, including market economies, bureaucratic states, popular governments, legal systems and mass media, developed in increasingly urbanized, industrialized, mobile and literate European societies.[194] The Western modern epoch is also characterized by a

cognitive shift toward scientific modes of inquiry, instrumental rationality, secularism, and cosmopolitan ideals of democracy, freedom and individualism.[195] Cultural transformations, including the emergence of new forms of art, literature, visual culture and mass media, are also hallmarks of the period.[196] But modernity is neither limited to, nor the direct result of, changes in European society or past centuries. Modernity is a fluid and expanding term that spans time periods, describes a multitude of local and global experiences and relationships, encompasses contradictions and asymmetries, and continues to take on new meanings.[197] In the words of Gaonkar, "alternative modernities" have surfaced in opportunistic fragments across the globe through past centuries, and they continue to emerge and persist today.[198]

The interconnected modernities that I refer to throughout this chapter are threefold. *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills,* along with the other images under analysis, was produced during the modern epoch experienced by European society, as per Western discourse on modernity. More specifically, these photographic encounters occurred during the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement in Western Canada. In settler discourse this period is celebrated as the induction of modernization in the West, however critical histories, including the work of Spry, posit these years as a disastrous era of unabated resource extraction on the Prairies that resulted in dire scarcity.[199] Even more specifically, these photographic works emerged from the particular modernity of late-1870s Cypress Hills, which was experienced in a multitude of ways by the individuals present.

Images of a remote community in Western Canada seem tremendously distant, both geographically and visually, from the culture of European urban centres. However, corollaries of the Western modern epoch made the creation of photographic works possible in late-1870s Cypress Hills. Imperialism and the practice of photography—both modern European developments—are of crucial import to the production and reception of the stereograph. While I refer to specific events and processes that align with the geographical and epochal idea of Western modernity in this chapter, I am mindful of the problems associated with the dominance and naturalization of this variant. Pratt, echoing Bhabha and Enrique Dussel, posits Western modernity as a real historical process on the one hand, and the identity discourse of Europe "as it assumed global dominance," on the other.[200] European modern discourse locates both the genesis and the centre of modernity in Western society, while constructing fixed Others and alterity on the periphery. Stereotypes that pose non-European and non-urban people as traditional, backward, tribal, feudal, primitive or part of a "dying race" are vital to encoding the periphery as outside of modernity.[201]

"Eurocentric" accounts of the modern epoch are present in settler narratives about the "modernization" of Western Canada.[202] Bell suggests that the act of viewing early photographs of the Canadian West involves untangling these images from frontier tropes that selectively focus on notions of "progress, development, and modernity" and sweep "the landscape clean of meaning prior to the arrival of the settlers and erasing, or marginalizing, the histories and cultures of Indigenous and Métis peoples of the territory."[203] A fitting example of this entanglement can be found in the June 1933 issue

of the *Leader-Post,* a newspaper published in Regina.[204] A single image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* is printed next to an untitled poem written by George Shepherd on the subject of the "valiant" men of "Old Fort Walsh in the Cypress Hills."[205] Shepherd's rhyming couplets tell a familiar story, analogous with frontier narratives such as *The Canadians.* The poem begins when the buffalo were the "lords of the range" and the human inhabitants of the Cypress Hills were as "wild and untamed as the herds." The region is posited as the oft-used battleground for "foray[s] between the Cree and Blackfoot" and the Sioux and savage Saulteaux."[206] Inevitably, the "wild" era came to a close and "from his noble and high state, the Indian met his untimely fate."[207] The downfall of Plains culture, according to the verses, was initiated by contact with Western modern society. The narrative suggests that certain elements of European settler culture—among them trade, guns and whisky—were dangerous to the original inhabitants of the West, who were unable to cope with rapid technological and social progress. But all was not lost; with the arrival of the heroic personalities of the North West Mounted Police, the remaining, doomed, Aboriginal figures were offered care and protection under "the laws of the great white mother."[208]

There is a disconnect between Shepherd's text and the accompanying image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills*. Both the poem and the image are set in roughly the same time period—the photographic encounter took place in the late 1870s and the narrative addresses the years that the North West Mounted Police occupied Fort Walsh. However, like *The Canadians,* the poem makes no mention of the years of sustained cultural contact, hybridity and accommodation both prior to and after

the arrival of the North West Mounted Police in the Cypress Hills, even though the accompanying image portrays a moment from that milieu. In Shepherd's poem, "heroic Mountie" and "dying race" stereotypes embody opposite ends of the binary of "modern" and "Other." The Mountie figures not only thrive in, but also initiate modern progress. The Plains people, who abound in a chaotic past, become a "dying race" when faced with modernity. These tropes support ideologies of cultural progress that allow settler invaders to rationalize the displacement and "civilizing" of Aboriginal people in the Canadian West.[209] Stereotypes that segregate the temporal experiences of settlers and Aboriginal people existed when the photographic work was created, during the years that the North West Mounted Police occupied the Cypress Hills. However, *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills*, like the other images addressed in this thesis, does not portray any simple binary or fixed identities. Each of the individuals who participated in the creation of the works under analysis, indeed all of the inhabitants of late-1870s Cypress Hills, responded to their modern present.

In the first part of this chapter I look closely at the particular modernities performed in the image. The work emerged from the complex conditions of cultural contact and accommodation in late-1870s Cypress Hills, during the early years of Non-Aboriginal settlement in the Canadian West, and more broadly, from the Western modern epoch. In the second section I consider how modernity is represented in the details of the stereograph, and I attempt to untangle *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* from frontier tropes that differentiate "disappearing" Aboriginal people from "progressive" settlers. I conclude my analysis of the work by considering how it is

possible that the image, which clearly portrays individuals sharing and responding to the same modern moment, came to represent the temporal segregation of settler colonizers and Aboriginal people of the Prairies.

A TIME AND A PLACE

A complex nexus of modern conditions contributed to the production of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills*. While the image emerged from a very specific moment of inscription that took place during an encounter in late-1870s Cypress Hills, it is also a product of the "modernizing" Canadian West and the Western modern epoch. Susan Stanford Friedman proposes that to begin to comprehend the vast experiences of modernities in the past, the present and across the globe involves going beyond the dominant discourse of Western modernity, or "leaving the comfort zone for the contact zone."[210] The contact zone that existed in late-1870s Cypress Hills was a shared social and physical space as well as a modern temporal period. While the conditions of cultural exchange and accommodation were established in the Cypress Hills long before the arrival of the Mounties in 1875, the abrupt termination of the established contact zone was very much linked to the actions of the North West Mounted Police. During the year of 1881 to 1882, the force decommissioned Fort Walsh and relocated their operations to a site near the Canada Pacific Railway route in the community of Maple Creek.[211] In the years that the Mounties occupied the Cypress Hills, local business had grown to meet the demands of the force and also the commerce generated by the dispersal of annuity payments and food rations to Aboriginal people at the fort.[212] With

the relocation of police operations, the economy of the Fort Walsh townsite collapsed and the population dwindled. Around the same time, members of the North West Mounted Police began to implement the Department of Indian Affairs' directive to remove all Aboriginal people from the area, including the Cree and Nakoda communities who had established working farms in the Cypress Hills and had been promised the territory as reserve land in oral and written treaty agreements.[213] A common explanation for the expulsion, and the failure to honour treaty agreements, is that government officials from the period feared conflict between U.S. and Canadian Aboriginal peoples and wanted to discourage international incidents.[214] More recent and critical interpretations, however, propose that Canadian authorities were nervous about the concentration of Aboriginal people on contiguous reserves in the Cypress Hills, which could have created an Aboriginal territory that was difficult to control.[215]

Archives, museums, and commercial dealers variously date *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* from 1876 to 1879, placing the photographic event in the few years before the forced evacuation of the Hills. The versions of the image that remain, including the stereograph card, have been attributed to Anderton. If the attribution dates are correct, then Anderton would have still been a constable when the original portraits were constructed.[216] According to the proprietors' stamp on the verso of the stereograph card, it was printed during Anderton's brief business partnership with William Culver in 1880 (fig. 6). For less than a year the pair were based out of a tent studio in Fort Benton, Montana.[217] Notes accompanying copies of the image, in different archives, offer clues that confirm the identities of the sitters. Chief Long Dog (also

written Shanka Hoska), a Hunkpapa Chief of the Teton Sioux was among the first, in a steady stream of Sioux /Lakota people, to cross the United States / Canadian border in order to evade the U.S. cavalry following the death of Colonel George Armstrong Custer in the Battle of Little Big Horn of 1876.[218] A hand-written annotation on the back of the stereograph identifies the other sitter as George Wills who served with the B. Troop stationed in Fort Walsh from 1876 to 1881 (fig. 6).[219]

Anderton, Chief Long Dog and Wills all arrived in the vicinity of the Cypress Hills near the outset of years in which the North West Mounted Police operated out of Fort Walsh. None of the men stayed in the area past the early 1880s. Although the Sioux / Lakota people were eager to remain in Canada and attempted to prove ties to Great Britain through their historic involvement in the War of 1812, the Canadian government would not allow the refugees to take up permanent residency.[220] After years of hardship, starvation and sickness, the last of the refugees led by Sitting Bull finally capitulated and returned to the United States in the winter of 1880–1881.[221] 1881 was also the year that Wills took discharge from the North West Mounted Police.[222] Even if Wills had stayed on with the force, he would have been relocated when operations ceased in Fort Walsh later that year. Anderton operated a photography studio in Fort Walsh in 1881, but by the spring of 1883 he had relocated to Medicine Hat.[223]

The years that the men spent in the Cypress Hills belong to the purported early stages of Western Canadian "modernization." Modernization is a murky term that is used in the discourse of the Western modern epoch, and also in frontier narratives, to describe the establishment of European society in spaces shared with other cultures.[224] In 1870s

Western Canada, modernization involved a federal government policy that sought to encourage agricultural settlement in the newly acquired North-West Territories by building a rail route across the country, creating a police force to regulate the new territory, and offering "free" land to people of European descent.[225] The United States' settlement policy shared a similar focus on opening up the West to agricultural development, however, the U.S. relationship with Aboriginal people differed from the Canadian approach.[226] Dispossession of Aboriginal people south of the border was coloured by conflict and violent encounters, such as the events that lead the Sioux / Lakota refugees to the vicinity of the Cypress Hills in the late 1870s. What the U.S. army chose to do by force, through "Indian Wars" that literally cleared the land for settler colonizers, Canadians hoped to achieve through treaty agreements.[227] The process, but not the goal, differed.

The flipside to strategies of "modernization" was that the individuals who already inhabited the West were expected to relinquish land and resources and adjust their lives to fit with the constructs of Western society. One of the goals of the Indian Act of 1876 was to assimilate Native people to the point of "enfranchisement," which meant that Aboriginal people could eventually give up legal and treaty rights, receive a portion of reserve lands and funds and cease to be an "Indian" in the eyes of the law.[228] Not surprisingly very few people took the opportunity to shed their Native identity.[229] To quote Brian Dippie, assimilation was "a gift more appreciated by the donor than the recipient."[230] Still, most non-Aboriginal Canadians, until well into the twentieth century, regarded assimilation to Euro-Canadian culture and Christianity as a generous offer of

material progress and an enactment of social reform.[231] This attitude contributed to a belief in the moral entitlement of new Canadians to possess land and extract resources from it.[232]

According to Millar, what most strongly distinguished the diverse Indigenous cultures across North America from European settler society was the incongruence between their perceptions of the natural world. Pace Spry, Millar asserts that newcomers from Europe felt a sense of superiority and dominance over, and an entitlement to, the natural world, while Aboriginal residents considered land and resources to be open to common use by those who had the means to access them.[233] Settler colonizers subscribed to an ethos of private land and resource ownership, and they valued the social and economic structures that they were already familiar with.[234] The formation of the North West Mounted Police was essential to the replication of European society in Western Canada.[235] The officer class of the North West Mounted Police, who occupied a position of broad authority on the Prairies in the late 1870s (i.e. providing infrastructure, law enforcement, a judicial system, acting as a military force and aiding in the implementation of the Canadian Indian Policy), was made up of powerful elites from Eastern Canada with rigid opinions and attitudes about the nature of civil society and social progress.[236] The first officers were mostly British émigrés who had established themselves in the urban centres of Eastern Canada. They had families, were Roman Catholic or Anglican in religion, educated, and politically connected. [237] They arrived in the Canadian West "determined to mould it according to their image of what Canadian society should be."[238] Gerald Friesen asserts that unlike the egalitarian U.S. frontier, the

Canadian West was not purported to be classless.[239] Borrowing from the traditions and stereotypes of European social and military hierarchies, North West Mounted Police officers were assumed to be gentlemen, while the constabulary was recruited from the "lower order."[240] The officer-gentleman, rather than the constabulary, underpins "heroic Mountie" stereotypes. The romantic Mountie icon, which embodies social stability and modern progress, contributed to the reproduction of the conditions that already existed in Western societies on the Prairies.[241]

Recreating the customs and institutions of the old country in a new landscape is not necessarily modern or progressive. In Pratt's study of modernities, she notes a number of historical situations where the "modernizing" programs of settler colonizers "had the effect of reinforcing existing social structures and *preventing* 'progress'."[242] By many accounts, the impact of European agriculture and methods of harvesting resources exhausted and damaged, rather than modernized, the Prairie landscape. During the early years of non-Aboriginal settlement—"the open-access" period as per Spry—increasing pressure was put on resources such as game, water and timber across the Prairies.[243] By the end of the 1870s, even the Cypress Hills were completely depleted of buffalo and other game sources and the inhabitants of the area suffered a horrendous food crisis.[244] When applied to a time period marked by widespread starvation and dispossession, frontier claims of "betterment," "advancement," and "civilization" seem ludicrous.

The visual culture of the Western modern epoch was also utilized to support absurd claims. Imperialism and myths about racial hierarchy existed well before Nicéphore Niépce made his first photographic exposure in 1825. But, from its early

beginnings, photography played a crucial role in the envisioning of other peoples and continents in the nineteenth-century Western European imagination.[245] During the Western modern epoch, photography was employed to document, categorize, classify and organize all aspects of the rapidly transforming social and physical world. By providing a means to observe people and places from a safe distance, photography became a valuable instrument for standardizing visual information.[246] A common mode of collecting data on human beings came in the form of portrait photography referred to as a "type."[247] The method of categorizing human features through photographs was crucial to the comparative studies used in a variety of scientific disciplines including evolution, medicine, psychiatry and criminology.[248] These studies were of interest to the urban middle classes of Europe and North America who could rely on generalizations about physical appearance to quickly assess the character of the strangers who inhabited the crowds associated with new forms of public space and social encounters.[249] Beyond the urban metropoles, typological photographic studies of race and geography were crucial to the documentation of empire and the imposition of colonial rule.[250] The developing fields of anthropology and ethnography eagerly embraced the perceived objectivity of photography and its capacity to collect and quantify the cultures of other continents.

Of course, nineteenth-century photographic practices were not limited to European imperial expansion and purported scientific ends. Photography was an immensely popular consumer item and also a debated form of modern art. Images of exotic and presumed uncivilized terrain and people were common, as were images of urban life and technology. Commercial photographers, to their economic benefit,

responded to and maintained the demand for distinct representations of the "modern" and "primitive," as well as visual portrayals of "types."[251] Anderton may have attempted to create images that fit into the category of "type" photography. A number of stereograph and cabinet cards printed by his Fort Walsh photography business portray Aboriginal people set in a crude indoor studio, accompanied by captions that identify the sitters as Aboriginal—"*Two Native People, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan*" and "*Assiniboine Women, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan,*" for example (fig. 14 and fig. 16).[252] But Anderton's portraits from that period, whether they depict Aboriginal people or settler colonizers, are all composed in a similar manner and set in the same sparse improvised interior. His portraits have none of the slick lighting, romantic backdrops or props that became common devices in nostalgic "dying race" imagery of the Prairies in later decades.[253]

Commercial photography studios grew in number on the Canadian Prairies through the 1880s. Late-1870s Cypress Hills, however, was still the domain of itinerant photographers.[254] In Silversides' estimation, the images created by the first travelling photographers seem less calculated and more experimental than the highly composed images sold by the photographic enterprises established in permanent settler communities during later decades.[255] According toe Silversides, the early photographers who depicted the activities of survey parties and the North West Mounted Police, were aware of stereotypes of temporal segregation, however their subject matter was ultimately determined by the capricious circumstances of journeys to unfamiliar locales. The settings and experiences that they found themselves in were so new and unpredictable

that the men could not approach their job with the same self-conscious commercial intent as the studios of later decades.[256]

The body of work that has been attributed to Anderton is fascinating because it provides examples of images that embody the spontaneous spirit of the early itinerant photographers, and also some of the first iterations of permanent studio photography in the West. *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills,* and the other images discussed in this thesis, seem to straddle both of these styles. They appear casually posed, on the spur-of-the-moment, in the outdoors, but they also suggest some degree of preparation and include certain contrivances of studio portraiture. These complex images do not include any easily read binaries. While frontier histories may attempt to divide late-1870s Cypress Hills into the segregated experiences of "modern settlers" and "dying races," images of that period, including *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills,* provide a contradictory and more nuanced view of that particular moment of time. The modernity expressed in the photographic works is a heterogeneous experience that was shaped and shared by all of those present; it does not derive from or exclude specific individuals.

THE SUN SHINES FOR ONE AND ALL

The stereograph card of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* is the only image of those under analysis that includes a proprietor's stamp. "Auderton [*sic*] & Culver Portrait and Landscape Photographer North-West Territories and Canada" is ornately inscribed on the back of the card (fig. 6). Among the ivy, crown and beaver that

accessorize the maker's mark, is a motto that, unabridged, reads: "Le Soleil Oui Me Se At. Luit Pour Tous."[257] The phrase uses language that is quite similar, apart from what seem to be typographical errors, to lines from the *Le Ballet Royal de la Nuit* (1653), in which France's "Sun God" Louis XIV is told that the sun which shines on him, shines for all: "Le Soleil qui me suit, c'est le jeune Louis... Luit pour Tout."[258] The sentiments are also comparable to sayings in French and Latin: "Le soleil luit pour tout le monde" or "Sol lucet omnibus," which translate idiomatically as "the sun shines for one and all." Above the proprietor's engraving, in lovely penmanship, is the note: "Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog)." In a different style of handwriting, just below the first note, is written: "& George Wills." On the front of the stereograph card, two identical black and white photographs are mounted on orange card stock—the colour of paper used in all of the stereoviews in the series at the R.C.M.P. Historical Unit. Apart from the card stock, the construction of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* differs from the other works in the set (fig. 8). It has rounded corners, while the others have square edges. It has high contrast and excellent clarity, while the others are faded and in sepia tone. Also, when viewed through stereoscope, *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* provides an atypical experience.

In an article from 1859, American doctor and photography enthusiast Oliver Wendell Holmes described the experience of contemplating stereographs through a stereoscopic viewer as a "profoundly real" effect, "so heightened as to produce an appearance of reality which cheats the senses with its seeming truth."[259] Ironically when viewed through a stereoscope, rather than seeming "profoundly real," *Sioux Chief*

"Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills appears to be fake. Although stereographs look as if they are comprised of two identical images, they are actually made up of separate photographs taken simultaneously through lenses approximately three inches apart. This difference of vantage points is visible in the few additional millimetres on the outside edges of each image.[260] By directing the eyes to their respective images on the card, the stereoscopic viewing apparatus simulates the binocular disparity of human vision, producing a three-dimensional effect and allowing the two slightly different photographs to appear as one.[261] Rosalind Krauss compares the experience of viewing a stereograph with "tunnel vision." She suggests that micro-muscular visual movements accompany the illusory effect, giving viewers the sensation of refocusing the eyes as they scan the image.[262] Despite the abundance of obtrusive elements in the image that could warrant optical effect, when *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* is viewed through a stereoscope it does not produce the exaggerated sensation of depth described by Holmes and Krauss. The two figures remain static, firmly fixed in front of the horizontal lines of the background.

Duplicate images posing as stereograph cards were not entirely uncommon in the nineteenth century. These concoctions were sometimes manipulated to simulate dimensionality through creative cropping or by printing one image in a slightly lighter tone.[263] *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* seems to be comprised of copies of the same photograph. Certain visual clues, like the similarities in setting, composition, style, and attire found in both the stereograph image and the other works under analysis in this thesis, suggest that the card was made by reproducing an

original tintype. From the 1850s until the early decades of the twentieth century, stereoscopic viewing was a major mode of experiencing photography. As was the case with tintype photography, stereography was an enormously popular consumer item. With the potential for stereographs to generate profit, it is plausible that Anderton and Culver might have constructed a work that could be viewed in that mode out of an existing tintype.

Of the tintypes addressed in this thesis, *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* appears to be the only one that was reproduced as a stereograph. At least one other copy of the stereograph card currently exists in a private collection, but the breadth of the stereograph card's circulation is unknown.[264] Anderton and Culver may have repurposed the tintype as a mass-consumer item in order to capitalize on current events in Western Canada at the time. Popular fascination with the newly formed North West Mounted Police and the Sioux / Lakota flight into Canada might have attracted patronage, despite the card's lacklustre 3-D effect. In the late 1870s Chief Long Dog was one of the leaders of a victorious group of warriors who had outfought, outrun, and continued to resist the U.S. cavalry. Wills, by contrast, was unknown and of the lowest rank in the police force. They seem like unlikely candidates to represent "the disappearing Native" and "the heroic Mountie," yet, by 1933, according to the *Leader-Post*, the image had become fully enmeshed in mythic frontier discourse.

If the stereograph were to actually illustrate the narrative of the poem that it accompanied in 1933, then Constable Wills should represent the brave, refined and progressive Canadian Mountie, and Chief Long Dog ought to appear to be part of a

"dying race," living outside of time, and incapable of grasping the modern moment. However these descriptors are at odds with the details in the image. The most apparent and simple contradiction is that the two men are pictured together in real time rather than inhabiting the separate abstract temporal realms of premodern and modern. Not only are the sitters clearly present at the same moment, but also they each respond to the photographic event. Apart from the slight motion blur beneath Wills' rifle, the pair for the most part has suspended their movements during the release of the shutter. They also both acknowledged the direction of the photographer, which implies that they are equally aware of the routine of picture taking.

Brian Dippie notes that "dying race" stereotypes are often expressed through tableaux of "real Indians" engaging in traditional activities "in their own setting" or through nostalgic portrayals of solitary Aboriginal figures in ceremonial clothing.[265] *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* does not fit into either genre. The image is certainly not a tableau of "real Indians…in their own setting." Both sitters had only recently arrived in the Cypress Hills, and aside from the time-honoured practice of sitting with another person, neither man is performing a "traditional" activity. Additionally, with the exception of the Chief's formal Sioux attire, the image lacks the typical elements of the nostalgic "dying race" portrait. Rather than featuring a dramatically lit, singular figure, the photograph includes two men, outdoors, under available light. Instead of a studio interior composed to signify a distant past, the sitters are pictured in front of the unkempt exterior of a modern structure.

The men are side by side on a crude bench in front of a log structure—typical of

the contemporaneous style of construction used in the vicinity of the Cypress Hills—the likes of which comprises the backdrops in all of the works under analysis. To Wills' left, a third figure has been severed from the frame, leaving only the crook of a tasselled arm and part of a buckskinned knee in view. The two main figures lean gently towards their left, creating a subtle angle that is repeated in other linear elements within the composition. The edge of the light geometric pattern on the Chief's leggings and his long white hair ornament suggest a diagonal line that extends from his foot to his ear. Parallel, slightly oblique lines are also visible in the centre of the Chief's breastplate and the vertical seams on Wills' jacket. The men both wear moccasins and their jackets are made of animal skin, but Wills' coat has the defined sleeves and front closures used in European tailoring. Unlike the young "Blood man" in the pair of tintypes analyzed in the first chapter, the Chief is not wearing informal everyday wear. He is proudly dressed in a Sioux / Dakota poncho, which is distinguished by the broad geometric pattern of bead or quill on his sleeves and the hanging pieces of hide visible across his knees.[266] He confidently appears with these specifically Sioux accoutrements in the modern setting of the photograph, culturally and physically part of the present rather than fading away in a distant past.

It makes sense that Long Dog would wear his finest while in proximity to Fort Walsh. Nineteenth-century Plains men wore formal clothing to ceremonies and gatherings, to important meetings, and to engage in trade.[267] Fort Walsh was the site of a number of meetings between the Sioux Leaders and Canadian and U.S. military officials. For example, Major James Morrow Walsh arranged for a meeting between the "Terry

Commission," which included General A.H. Terry, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. military, and Dakota representatives Sitting Bull, Spotted Eagle, and The-Man-that-Scatters-the-Bear, at Fort Walsh in 1877.[268] During that meeting the Chiefs asserted that they had no intention of crossing the border, even though Terry promised immunity if the Sioux / Lakota returned to the US.[269] Long Dog, a Hunkpapa Chief, is not named as one of the attendees at the Terry Commission meeting, however his name surfaces in relation to other diplomatic assemblies. He was a part of one of the first meetings between the Sioux Chiefs and Santee Chief White Eagle during the winter of 1876-1877.[270] Following this meeting, White Eagle negotiated the terms of the refugees' occupation of the Cypress Hills and Wood Mountain with Major Walsh. Both of the areas that the Hunkpapa refugees chose to inhabit—the Cypress Hills and Wood Mountain, to the east—were part of the region patrolled by the members of the North West Mounted Police stationed at Fort Walsh.[271] Major Walsh reportedly conferred in person with the Hunkpapa chiefs from both camps, including Long Dog, during their first months of occupation.[272] It was months later, in May of 1877, that the first meeting between Walsh and Chief Sitting Bull, the most well known of the Hunkpapa chiefs, took place.[273]

Chief Long Dog has not been written about to the same degree as Chief Sitting Bull, but his name surfaces in popular histories as Sitting Bull's "war chief."[274] Ian Anderson, a Mountie fiction novelist and a biographer of Walsh, describes Long Dog as a "ferocious-looking warrior covered with bullet and knife wounds, yet with a twinkle of humour in his eyes."[275] The scars and ferocity are not readily obvious in the stereograph image, however the Chief's gunstock club functions as a formidable presence in the

image and a reference to battle. Long Dog is pictured with this war club, or one seemingly identical to it, in a number of portraits made during his later life, including some romantic images that articulate stereotypes of "the dying race."[276] But despite its inclusion in "dying race" imagery, the club is not a good example of a "traditional" object of a waning culture. A "particularly dangerous weapon at close quarters in the hands of a resolute man" the gunstock club—named for its comparable shape to a European gunstock—was modified repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century.[277] The three-knife version of this weapon, which hovers over Wills' leg, was particularly popular with the Plains Sioux between 1860-1880.[278] Certain European materials, including brass tack and steel blades, transformed the weapon over time, making it an excellent example of how certain products brought by settler colonizers were incorporated into Aboriginal cultural practices. As such, the club is an expression of the particular modernity that was experienced in the contact zones of Plains. The weapon is a response to the conditions of the transforming present, rather than a static object from a distant past.

A myth perpetuated by the inexorable logic of Western modernity and also frontier narratives, poses modern European society as the source and driving force behind all cultural change.[279] In the first decades of the twentieth century, Clark Wissler's study of Plains culture pointed to flaws in this logic. In "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plain's Culture," Wissler countered the commonly held notion that Plains culture developed from contact with the reintroduction of horses in North America in the mid sixteenth century by Europeans.[280] Wissler argued that apart from materials and practices specific to horse travel (such as saddles and hunting from horseback),

significant aspects of Plains culture, such as migration, trade and features of warfare, already existed prior to the availability of horses.[281] The travois—a form of sled that was commonly used to transport heavy loads—for example, did not emerge after the arrival of horses; it was a practice hitherto used with dogs that was modified to fit horses.[282] Thus, the horse did not cause dramatic cultural change; it was adapted into existing cultural practices on the Plains. Change on the Plains did not radiate from the arrival and activities of settler colonizers. Social and cultural transformation occurred continually in North America long before the appearance of Europeans.[283] Aboriginal people responded to European society, culture, materials and technology on their own terms. They adapted certain practices into their personal and social lives, but they did so in ways that were compatible with established values.[284] The gunstock club and the travois are just two examples of the vast material culture that emerged from selective adaptation.[285]

The practice of photography also provides an example of this complex engagement; for it is possible that Chief Long Dog donned his formal attire specifically for the purposes of having his image taken. Opportunities to engage with photography were still fairly limited in the late 1870s when the image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* was created. Also, according to Silversides, some Prairie Aboriginal people regarded the first cameras, or "face-pullers" with "a mixture of curiosity, fear and hostility."[286] But through the 1880s and following decades, many Aboriginal people engaged with photography for various reasons. Photographers that were far more illustrious than Anderton would work with Chief Long Dog later in his life. In the early 1880s Long Dog, Sitting Bull and other Sioux leaders sat for American

photographers David Francis Barry, George W. Scott and Orlando Scott Goff.[287] Long Dog also participated with renowned photographer Edward Sheriff Curtis in the creation of a portrait in the early 1900s.[288]

Chief Sitting Bull is an example of an individual who benefited directly from participating in the creation of nostalgic commercial portraits.[289] Joy Kassen argues that following Sitting Bull's return to the United States in the early 1880s, he became aware that he was of interest to the public. While imprisoned for his role in the Battle of Little Big Horn, he gave interviews to journalists, sat for paintings and formal photographs, and created autobiographical pictographs. He discovered that he could sell his possessions and autograph and began to exert control over his self-representation. Sitting Bull went on to participate in parades and events, such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, where he was on display as a celebrity. He retained the right to sell his own photographs and autographs.[290] The circumstances behind Chief Long Dog's participation in the production of the image in late-1870s Cypress Hills are unclear. Given that the encounter took place during the progressing food crisis on the Plains, it is certainly possible that some individuals may have appeared in photographs for financial gain. But, economic benefit was not the sole motivation behind Aboriginal engagement with photography in the nineteenth century.

While photographic portraiture has been crucial to practices that objectify and dehumanize human beings, it also has the capacity to act as a vehicle for self-expression and provide sitters with agency. There is a growing body of scholarship and contemporary art practice that centres upon reconsidering the agency of photographic

subjects.[291] Ruth Phillips for example argues that representations that depict Native populations must be interrogated not only by locating sites of Native action and participation but also by problematizing Native peoples' apparent complicity in aspects of Primitive discourse," such as "dying race" stereotypes.[292] It would be difficult to surmise exactly what motivated Chief Long Dog's sartorial choices on the particular day that the image was constructed—trade, political negotiations, participation with the practice of photography, or perhaps a combination. In any case, these are the activities of an individual who is actively engaging with the modern present, not a stereotype who only exists in a fictitious past.

Wills' outfit also suggests that he dressed to have his image taken. His ornate buckskin suit, or one very similar to it, is worn in four of the five images under analysis.[293] The attire and setting in the stereograph card connect Wills to the men in the other tintypes, some of whom can be identified as members of the force.[294] It seems likely that the men in the various images are wearing suits that travelled with and were the property of the photographer. A combination of European tailoring and Aboriginal beading and fringe, the suit is another example of material culture that emerged from cultural contact and exchange. Although hybrid buckskins were part of the complex identity construction and forms of masquerade engaged in by the inhabitants of late-1870s Cypress Hills, including members of the force, they were not exclusively worn by Mounties. Upon close inspection, Wills appears to be clutching a repeater rifle—the standard firearm used by the force.[295] But apart from sharing a costume with other Mounties, the weapon (which was also available to civilians), and the hand written

caption that identifies Wills as a member of the North West Mounted Police, there are very few visual elements that immediately signify Wills as a Mountie, let alone a heroic one. Absent from Wills' person is the most easily identifiable marker of the mythic modern Mountie—his trademark red coat.

It is difficult to find a popular history of the North West Mounted Police that does not make reference to the uniform worn by the "Redcoats." In Shepherd's verses he refers to members of the force as "men in scarlet tunics." Red Serge is still used today to describe Royal Canadian Mounted Police while on duty at Parliament Hill, in Canada's capital. A female character in Harwood Steele's 1923 novel, *Spirit of Iron,* delivers one of the more humorous references to the bright red uniform*:*

> You're the first real *man* I've ever met. Oh, it isn't just that nice red coat though that goes to my head like champagne... Every girl has dreams, too. "Someday," I dreamt, "I'll meet a real, real, man - brave, strong, chivalrous, with great, yes, great ideals..."[296]

The *Spirit of Iron* lists some of the qualities, signified by the red coat, that characterize the mythic Mountie—bravery, strength and chivalry. But these "great ideals" conflict with Wills' actual personnel records, which unremittingly deem his behaviour during his years of service as "bad."[297]

During the time that Wills served with the B. Troop stationed in Fort Walsh, he was demoted from constable to sub-constable. He was charged with a variety of offences ranging from refusing to obey orders and using insolent and abusive language to being drunk in barracks and breaking out of barracks while under arrest. His punishment included fines ($10.00), confinement to barracks and imprisonment with hard labour.[298]

Other sources from the 1870s demonstrate that the behaviour described in Wills' personnel records was not out of the ordinary amongst the constabulary. Excerpts from the diary of bugler Frederick Augustus Bagley, for example, recount his experiences with the North West Mounted Police in the late 1870s and early 1880s:

> July 4th. (Sat.) [1880]
> Reveille at 5 A.M. Stables 5:30. Breakfast at 8 of dry bread only. As all the cooks are drunk there is no tea.
>
> November. [1880]
> Had pleasant trip until we reached "Three Creeks"… Here some whisky was procured, and put into a partially empty molasses keg. The mixture proved so potent that Hardy promptly got blind drunk, fell on my violin case, and smashed both it and the violin… At about 12 midnight my troubles were increased ten fold when Hardy and Tom Smith, both roaring drunk, arrived from town. Their quarrelsome conversation and actions aroused the murderous ire of Felix, whom I had some trouble in pacifying. It was nearly daylight before things quieted down, by which time the rest of the escort had returned to camp. A hectic night for me![299]

Along with written accounts, physical evidence of debauchery was unearthed in archaeological surveys of the Cypress Hills. Official accounts of the formation of the North West Mounted Police posit that the courageous lawmakers faced off against a host of illicit whisky traders in the 1870s and single-handedly curtailed the "villainous American" whisky business.[300] However, the first archaeological excavation unearthed evidence of widespread alcohol use in the barracks and officers quarters. Wylie recalls being struck by "the sheer volume of beer, whisky, wine, champagne, and other alcoholic beverages these fellows must have been consuming as they mopped up the illegal whisky trade coming in from the South."[301]

Wills' service record also states that he was discharged for almost a year, between 1877 and 1878, because he was "unfit to perform duty" due to a "debilitating" case of syphilis "contracted in this country."[302] By the 1880s it was rumoured that over 45 percent of the police force had been treated for venereal disease.[303] Charges of lack of discipline, immorality, inefficiency, high desertion rates and low morale within the police force were the topic of debate both in the press and in the House of Commons in the late 1870s.[304] In 1878 David Laird, lieutenant-governor of the North West Territories, alerted Commissioner James Macleod that reports about the immoral conduct of members of the force were in circulation. In a letter to Macleod in 1878, Laird wrote:

> I fear from what reports are brought me, that some of your officers at Fort Walsh are making rather free with the women around there. It is to be hoped that the good name of the Force will not be hurt through too open indulgence of that kind. And I sincerely hope that Indian women will not be treated in a way that hereafter may give trouble.[305]

The discomfiture surrounding the conduct of the North West Mounted Police and Aboriginal women went beyond mere "indulgence" in physical relationships. In "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the 'Indian Woman' in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," Sarah Carter considers numerous accounts of physical and sexual violence against Aboriginal women committed by men of the North West Mounted Police. To make matters worse, these allegations went largely undisciplined, as it was customary for the North West Mounted Police to conduct their own investigations into the behaviour of its members.[306]

Wills falls short of representing modern respectability both in his service records and his image. His list of transgressions implies that he was incapable of conducting

himself in the manner expected of him as a member of the North West Mounted Police. Similarly, in the stereograph, Wills' bodily comportment suggests that he was also not entirely sure how to conduct himself in front of the camera. Both of the sitters share a similar pose—inclined to their left, each outstretching their right front foot into the foreground. But, Wills tilts towards the edge of the frame, while the Chief appears to occupy a more established, central location. The fidget captured in the blur beneath Wills' rifle, along with his furrowed brow, hints at agitation or discomfort. The Chief, by contrast, seems more at ease in front of the camera. His body is secure, his facial expression is neutral, and with his steady gaze, he directly addresses the photographer.

It is impossible to reconcile ongoing reports of drunkenness, criminal behaviour, and violence toward women with the "ideals" of chivalry and civility associated with the "heroic Mountie" figure. Similarly, it seems absurd to describe a recently victorious military leader, playing an active role in an international diplomatic incident, as a "disappearing Native." It would be easy to take stereotypes of temporal segregation and simply reverse them. In the aftermath of The Battle of Little Big Horn, the triumphant Sioux Chief could be posed as the courageous modern hero. Meanwhile Wills, who so quickly succumbed to drink and disease in the West, could be presented as part of a rapidly declining culture. But, swapping binaries is not my intention. The men in the stereographs equally inhabit and perform their complex modern moment. However unseemly Wills' actions may have been perceived to be, he energetically participated in the culture of late-1870s Cypress Hills. Those who adhere to certain codes of civility are no more modern subjects than those who transgress. The Chief was not only embroiled in

the modern political events of the 1870s, he was a leader who gained some degree of popular celebrity. Of the two, he appears more comfortable with the modern practice of photographic portraiture. Yet, his participation in the construction of the image is entwined with forms of self-expression and display that stem from his established value system. He responds to the modern present while wholly engaged in cultural and spiritual practices that are not the consequence of European society. Despite narratives that seek to segregate these two activities, they are not mutually exclusive.

The motto on Anderton & Culver's card stock literally connotes the universal experience of the sun. "Le soleil luit pour tout le monde" it is a common phrase used on sundials and is particularly appropriate in reference to photographic processes or "the doings of the sun beam."[307] Through metaphor, the idiom suggests concepts of egalitarianism, equality and shared human experience. The sentiments behind "the sun shines for one and all," can easily be applied to the multifarious conditions of modernity, which configure in fragments of space and time rather than in the activities and ideologies of specific social groups or individuals. Photographic works have the unique ability to articulate multiple experiences through their details, as well as through their capacity to perform and generate meaning in the present. However, as Bell cautions, images of settler Indigenous encounters are interwoven with racial stereotypes and frontier narratives. In order for counter narratives to appear, photographs must be closely analyzed and contemplated.

A LONG HARD LOOK

Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills is not just a poor example of "dying race" and "heroic Mountie" narratives; it clearly contradicts settler discourse. Nonethless, by June of 1933, when Shepherd's poem was printed in the *Leader-Post*, Chief Long Dog and George Wills had come to represent the temporal segregation of "modern" and "other" in the Cypress Hills. Shepherd was a resident of West Plains Saskatchewan, which is located in the Cypress Hills, about forty kilometres from the site of Fort Walsh. He sent his poem and the image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* to the *Leader-Post* in celebration of the 58th anniversary of the construction of the police stockade in the Cypress Hills. According to a by-line, Shepherd had only recently composed the elegy; however the poem's theme is based on a far-reaching and deeply rooted trope. The notion that Indigenous people were vanishing and "doomed to perish" when faced with European modern society, spans continents and centuries.[308] Dying race hypotheses are steeped in imperialist ideology and entangled with the Western European colonial expansion that took place during the modern epoch. Kathryn Hight links "dying race" sentiments to a broader "quasi-scientific European theory that viewed man's earthly tenure as a progression."[309] Since the eighteenth-century, the classification of cultural and racial groups—underpinned by a belief in the superiority of white Europeans—emerged in various forms.[310] Myths of temporal progress and racial hierarchy claimed that Indigenous Others were morally and physically inferior to the Caucasian people of Western society because they inhabited an earlier stage in the evolutionary history of man and were therefore incapable of coping with

contemporary modernity and civilization.[311] Paul Kane was one of the foremost artists to travel the fur trade routes in North America in order to paint Aboriginal people. His nostalgic portraits contributed to the construction of the archetype of the "disappearing Native" in Canada.[312] Kane was strongly influenced by the "ethnographic" paintings of American artist George Catlin, who stated that his objective in painting the Aboriginal people of North America was to:

> fly to their rescue, not of their lives or their race (for they are doomed and must perish) but to the rescue of their looks and their modes, at which the acquisitive world may hurl their poison and every besom of destruction, and trample them down and crush them to death; yet phoenix like they may rise from the stain on a painters palette and live again upon the canvass [*sic*], and stand forth centuries yet to come, the living in the first half of the nineteenth century.[313]

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, studio portraiture could be composed with cameras rather than on easels, and the field sketches of venturesome artists like Kane and Catlin could be created with in-situ photographs of North American "Indian life."[314] Although the image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* does not portray Aboriginal people who are "doomed to perish," these sentiments certainly existed at the time that the stereograph was constructed. Through the 1880s, "dying races" became an increasingly common subject in commercial photographs of Western Canada.[315] This imagery went beyond popular entertainment to play a specific role in settlement ideology and the creation of national identity.[316] Settler discourse concerning the years that the Sioux / Lakota spent in Canada, for example, often plays off the supposed restraint and justness of the North West Mounted Police against the hostility of the U.S. cavalry.[317] Francis asserts that the Sioux occupation of the Cypress Hills in

the late1870s and early 1880s "has given Canadians an opportunity to feel superior to the Americans ever since."[318] Drawing from Richard Slotkin, Maureen Ryan suggests that national identity in the United States was forged through a historic narrative of conflict, while Canada's identity emerged from a history of alliances. Settlement discourse in Canada is not as straightforward as U.S. frontier narratives that pose Native Americans as savages, barbarians, and menaces to civilization and progress. In the annals of Canadian history, Aboriginal groups played important supportive roles—the aid of Native people was essential to the defence of Britain's early colonies.[319] Canadian settlement discourse is concerned less with the threat posed by Canadian Indigenous people than for their need for civilization and protection. "Dying race" imagery is an expression of this paternalistic settlement ideology because it links Aboriginal displacement—the reserve system—to a progressive humanitarian effort, on the part of settler colonizers, to civilize and save the vanishing race.[320]

Through the later decades of the nineteenth century, according to Williams, commercial studios of settler colonizers deliberately omitted scenes of sustained interaction in the Canadian West and instead represented the segregation of newcomers and Aboriginal people.[321] In addition to the production and distribution of images that featured "dying race" stereotypes, settlers also crafted and dispatched images of their developing regional infrastructure and portraits of themselves, which reflected their "shifting fortune in the New World."[322] Photographs of segregated, imagined, cohesive settler communities, engaged in the project of modernizing the Canadian West, were widely distributed through immigration campaigns in the later decades of the nineteenth

century and would have been "attractive to other like-minded and racially similar 'preferred' immigrants."[323] By placing settlers in a progressing modern present that is separate from Aboriginal people who "symbolically embody the pre-modern, the cultural exception, and the outsider," frontier photographs inscribed boundaries and difference.[324]

The marketing strategies that Anderton used for his various photographic enterprises suggest that by the mid 1880s he was conscious of a consumer demand for images that define and divide the experiences of settlers and Aboriginal people on the Prairies. "Indian Groups" and "Ranch Views" are among the distinct genres offered in an 1885 advertisement for Anderton's Fort Macleod photography studio.[325] In 1880, when the stereograph card version of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* was constructed, the partnership of Anderton and Culver marketed only generic photographic services. An advertisement in the *Benton Record* from June 4th of that year lists "Cartes de Visites, Cabinet Stereoscopic Views, Copies, Enlargements, Etc. Also Landscape, Local and other views."[326] No distinct genres or types are mentioned in that 1880 advertisement, perhaps because the consumer demand for representations of "primitives" and "moderns" had not yet concretized into the specific visual conventions that became popular in later years.

The details in *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* challenge the temporal segregation suggested by frontier discourse. However, the stereograph version of the image was concocted around the time that physical segregation had started to become palpable on the Prairies. From the early 1880s the North West Mounted Police, under the directive of the Department of Indian Affairs, attempted to

compel and eventually forced Aboriginal people to relocate to reserve lands.[327] Even though the stereograph challenges rather than articulates "dying race" and "heroic Mountie" stereotypes, it was created at a time when those narratives were gaining popularity and were being bandied about in popular culture and current events.[328] *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* did not emerge from an atmosphere of rigid temporal segregation. Yet, by the later decades of the nineteenth century, and apparently in 1933, these associations were so firmly fixed in the popular imaginary, that the complexity and counter narratives in the details of the image could be overlooked.

The material and formal properties of the stereograph card itself offer some clues to how this visual slight of hand is possible. With close observation, the stereotypes of temporal segregation that have been applied to the image fail to concur with the details in the work. Additionally, when looked at through a stereoscopic viewer, the stereographic illusion expected from the card fails. It is as if the producer of the card anticipated a viewer who would be as undiscriminating about content as optical effects—someone who would not spend time with the work or look closely at its details. The maker provided aligned pairs of photographs, with the assumption that duplicates would be enough to convince viewers that they were seeing optical effect. Likewise, the maker reproduced an image that included an Aboriginal person and a settler, with the assumption that the viewer would immediately understand the image to represent popular "dying race" and "heroic Mountie" tropes. But, in spite of assumptions, lazy spectatorship, and years of shallow interpretation, the details of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and*

George Wills, and the other images under analysis, continue to perform the complex modern masquerade of late-1870s Cypress Hills. Simplistic narratives that temporally segregate settlers and Aboriginal people are not present in the photographic works under analysis, because those myths are incompatible with the complicated lived experiences of those who shared that moment in time. Close observation and patient contemplation allow the details in photographic works to counter and complicate the stereotypes that surround them.

CONCLUSION

The Nakoda description of the Cypress Hills as "an island by itself" is also a befitting depiction of the photographic works that are the focus of this thesis. The images are all immersed in the colonial photographic archive, surrounded by frontier narratives and stereotypes, yet they rise out—they are able to complicate settler discourse and they continue to perform counter narratives. When I first encountered *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* (fig. 1), it surfaced out of a sea of late-nineteenth-century images of Western Canada. I had been rapidly thumbing through a drawer of copy prints at the Glenbow Museum Archive when the remarkable image disrupted the flow of my movements. I had to pause what I was doing and closely examine the portrait. Like the image in the *S.T. Wood Album,* the pair of original tintypes and the stereograph card, the copied tintype is replete with pattern, texture and complex expressions of cultural fluidity and modernity. However, *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* differs from the other works addressed in this thesis in the way that it is

situated in the archives. The other images are all elements in sub-series or fonds within the archive. They are entwined with the visual culture, text and objects that immediately surround them. *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* however, is not grouped with other materials. The image is a copy of a single item that was loaned to the archive by donors, of whom very little is known. Also, the text that accompanies *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan,* seems more hesitant than the text associated with the other works. For example in the archival notes the words "possibl[e]" and "unknown" are used to describe the identities of certain sitters, and there is no information given about provenance.[329] The copied tintype resides in a large public collection, yet it remains somewhat aloof from the other materials, the ordering system and the descriptive process of the archive.

North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan's context within the archive is limited, but its possible meanings are not. As a rogue archival image, the copied tintype seems to be more open to interpretation than the other works, which is perhaps why I spent so much time looking at it and analyzing its particular details. Looking closely at *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* helped me to notice specific visual ties between all of the works addressed in this thesis. For example, it was while contemplating *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan* that I noticed the single planed log, at shoulder height behind the men in the back row, which is also present in the background of the stereograph card *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* (fig. 5). That very precise feature in the backdrop suggests that the two works were not only taken in front of similar structures,

but the same structure. Perhaps the most important thing that I realized from looking closely at this free-floating image—especially in relation to the image in the *S.T. Wood Album,* which appears more deeply entrenched in text and context—is that *all* photographs are open to interpretation and possibility. Regardless of how photographic works have been ordered or used to support discourse in the past, they continue to perform and take on new meanings in the present.

The study of the history of Western Canadian visual culture is challenging because the majority of images and records from the nineteenth century were constructed by males of European descent. The experiences of fur traders, explorers, government officials, clergymen, members of the North West Mounted Police and settlers cannot begin to account for the plurality of lived experiences in the Canadian West. These early observers described events, people and places as they perceived them, through the prevailing cultural beliefs, societal preconceptions and biases of their times.[330] Later interpretations of these primary accounts, for example the narratives proposed by Shepherd in the 1930s, S.T. Wood in the 1940s–1960s and Tanner in the 1970s, were similarly crafted through the particular worldviews of their makers. This active construction of meaning continues to occur in the present—the arguments and approaches presented in this thesis unavoidably stem from my own value-laden position. In poet Adrienne Rich's words, "we cannot help making history because we are made of it, and history is made of people like us, carriers of the behaviour and assumptions of a given time and place."[331] Contemporary scholars and artists are actively seeking new ways to challenge the dominant historic narratives crafted by settler colonizers. Lesser

known accounts of nineteenth-century Western Canada, and hitherto overlooked non-textual sources such as material culture and performance can provide powerful counter histories. Counter narratives also inhabit photographic works, in spite of the ways that they may have been used or arranged in the colonial photographic archive. By simply looking at the details of images, and allowing counter histories to become visible, viewers can play a powerful role in disrupting stereotypes. Under close and patient contemplation, the photographic works addressed in this thesis will continue to perform and generate meanings in the present.

NOTES

[1] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations* edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 255.

[2] *S.T. Wood Album, Volume 1*, page 73, Stuart Taylor Wood Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, photograph accession 1961-058, box 02256.

[3] According to Glenbow Museum Library and Archives archivist Doug Cass, *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan 1879* was the sole item on loan in 1967 from a private donor who did not remain in contact with the archive after the tintype was copied and returned; from e-mail correspondence with author, July 31, 2013; the *S.T. Wood Album* is one of two volumes comprised of images created in Western Canada in the late 1870s–1900s. Many of the images depict the activities of members of the North West Mounted Police and also the inhabitants of areas near police forts. The album was in the possession of Stuart Taylor Wood, who was the RCMP's ninth Commissioner (from 1938 to 1951). The images may have originally belonged to Wood's father, Zachary Taylor Wood, who served with the North West Mounted Police from 1885 to 1915. The album was loaned to the Library and Archives of Canada in 1961 to be copied. "Description Found in Archives: Stuart Taylor Wood Fonds," Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=623382; accessed December 20, 2013,

[4] North West Mounted Police attire of the late 1870s is described in "21 Century Learning Links to Our Collection: The North-West Mounted Police: Policing the West," Glenbow Museum, Library and Archives, Calgary Alberta, https://www.glenbow.org/media/nwmp_full_package.pdf, accessed November 8, 2013; Informal Plains attire was described by Morgan Baillargeon, Curator of Plains Ethnology at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, from e-mail correspondence with author, November 22–25, 2013.

[5] Jukes was a North West Mounted Police surgeon from 1882 to 1893. He spent time in Fort Walsh during his early career with the Force and in 1884 his daughter Katherine married George Buchanan Moffatt, one of the men pictured in the set of tintypes. Glenbow Museum Archives Finding Aids, "Jukes Family Fonds" 1814–1950, Glenbow Museum Library and Archives, Calgary, Alberta http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/jukes.cfm, accessed February 13, 2014; North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, 1873-1904, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, database: "Jukes, Augustus," digitized file, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/nwmp-personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx, accessed February 22, 2014. North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, 1873-1904, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, database: "Moffatt, George Buchanan," digitized file, http://www.bac-

lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/nwmp-personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx, accessed February 22, 2014.

[6] The accession records for the set of images state that the cards were dropped off at the Shaunavon, Saskatchewan RCMP Detachment in July of 1953. The donor indicated that the cards were given to him in 1933 by Horace A. Greeley, but he was unable to give further details about the works apart from the notations shown on the back of the pictures. Accession Records, *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills,* RCMP Historical Collections Unit "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, 1953.20.8a; Greeley was part of the family that owned and operated T.C. Power and Brother, the mercantile company that brought goods from Fort Benton to Fort Walsh in the late 1870s. In the 1880s, he became a cattle rancher in the vicinity of the Cypress Hills, see Henry C. Klassen, "MARSH, DANIEL WEBSTER," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003– http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marsh_daniel_webster_14E.html, accessed July 24, 2014.

[7] *Constable Fred Young, left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879* includes two non-Aboriginal sitters, however, throughout this thesis and particularly in Chapter One, I address this image as part of a diptych, in conversation with *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879*, which involves both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

[8] Lynne Bell, "Unsettling Acts: Photography as Decolonizing Testimony in Centennial Memory," in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* edited by Andrea Kunard, and Carol Payne (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 167–168.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Jean Baudrillard discusses the social function of collecting and the ordering of objects in "The System of Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, edited by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1994), 7–24.

[11] "Description Found in Archives: Stuart Taylor Wood Fonds," Library and Archives Canada, n.pag; An overview of Zachary Taylor Wood's career with the police is available at William Beahen, "WOOD, ZACHARY TAYLOR," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003– http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wood_zachary_taylor_14E.html, accessed July 24, 2014.

[12] According to the letters, Schofield provided S.T. Wood with photographic works so that they could be copied. "Correspondence between S.T. Wood and F.H. Schofield, 1944-1945," History of the Force and Museum—Fort Walsh, RCMP Archives Management Section, Ottawa, Ontario, File G-516-114, 46–58.

[13] Both Hugh Dempsey and Brock Silversides have done extensive research on early photographers of the Prairies, and both have published books and essays that consider some of the images under analysis in this thesis. For example, see Hugh, Dempsey, "T. George Anderton, Photographic Artists," *Alberta History* 25, 4 (Autumn 1977): 18–25; Brock Silversides, "The 'Face-Puller'—George Anderton: A Victorian Photographer on the Northwest Frontier," *The Beaver* 71, 5 (1991): 22-31, and *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994). Also, Dempsey and Silversides have made a large amount of their research materials available at archives in Western Canada. Some of Dempsey's unpublished research materials are in the collection of the Glenbow Museum Library, Calgary, Alberta and Silversides' works are available in the Brock Silversides Fonds, University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections; additionally, tintype historian Phillip Maurice discusses some of the works in "Snippets of History: The Tintype and Prairie Canada," *Material Culture Review North America* 41 (January 1995): 39–57.

[14] Ogden Tanner, *The Canadians* (Alexandria, Va: Time-Life Books, 1977).

[15] George Shepherd, untitled poem *The Leader-Post* (June 7, 1933): 3.

[16] Walter Hildebrandt and Brian Hubner, *The Cypress Hills: An Island by Itself* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2007).

[17] Carol Williams, "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive, and International Entrepreneurialism: The 'Frontier' Photography of Hannah Maynard" in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* edited by Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 29.

[18] A version of a single image of *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills* is also included in the album on page 49. *S.T. Wood Album, Volume 1,* page 49, Stuart Taylor Wood Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, photograph accession 1961-058, box 02256.

[19] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 2.

[20] Edwards, *Raw Histories,* 9; Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008); Joan Schwartz, "We Make Our Tools and Our Tools Make Us," *Archivaria* 40 (1995): 40–74; Leonard Folgarait takes a similar approach in *Seeing Mexico Photographed: The Work of Horne, Casasola, Modotti, and Álvarez Bravo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 207.

[21] Edwards, *Raw Histories*, 14.

[22] Ibid., 17; for an overview of current scholarship on the performativity of photography, see Laura Levin, "The Performative Force of Photography," *Photography and Culture* 2, 3 (November 2009): 327–36.

[23] Edwards, *Raw Histories*, 2.

[24] Art Historian Damian Skinner describes the settler nations of the British Empire, including United States, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, as spaces where– settler colonizers, bound by ethnicity and faith, constructed communities on Indigenous terrain that they persistently defined as virgin or empty land, in "Settler Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," forthcoming manuscript to be published in *Journal of Canadian Art History* (2014): 5, received through e-mail correspondence with author, February 5, 2014. Settler Colonial Studies is a branch of scholarship that explores the particular cultural, political and social structures that underpin settler societies, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999).

[25] Bell, "Unsettling Acts," 166.

[26] Homi K Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," *Screen* 24, 4 (1983): 18.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver, B.C.: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 61.

[29] W.S. NWMP, "The Riders of the Plains," in *Tributes to the Scarlet Riders: An Anthology of Mountie Poems* edited by Colleen Thibaudeau and Edgar A. Kuhn (Nanoose Bay, B.C.: Heritage House, 2003), 12; cited in Francis, *The Imaginary Indian,* 63.

[30] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 63.

[31] Carol Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4.

[32] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 61–62.

[33] The NWMP employed both settlers of European descent and Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Canada "Brief Background and History of the Special Constable in the Force," RCMP Historical Section, 1974. Received from Geoff Ott, RCMP Senior Archives Analyst, RCMP Archives Ottawa on October 25, 2013.

[34] For discussions of identity as performance, see Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (Spring, 1984): 125–33; Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Subordination," in *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories: Gay Theories* edited by Diana Fuss 13–31 (New York: Routledge, 1991); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 257; and Ruth B. Phillips, "Performing the Native Woman: Primitivism and Mimicry in Early Twentieth-Century Visual Culture" in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity* edited by Lynda Jessup, 26–49 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[35] Mary Louise Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," in *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identities, Cultures, and the Challenge of Globalization.* Edited M. Elisabeth Mudimbe-boyi (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002) 1–2.

[36] Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 13.

[37] Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 1–2.

[38] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 17–20.

[39] Marylin McKay devotes a chapter to depictions of the "disappearing Native" in English Canadian mural paintings in *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting 1860s–1930s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 134–156.

[40] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History.* 3rd Ed*,* (Upper Saddle River NJ.: Prentice Hall, 2011), 147–148.

[41] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native People and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 1.

[42] Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 57.

[43] Maurice, "Snippets of History," 47.

[44] Ibid., 40.

[45] Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography Fourth Edition* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2007), 59.

[46] Dempsey, "Catching the Sun Beams: An Inventory of Canadian Prairie Photographers," unpublished manuscript (Calgary, Alta.: Glenbow Museum Library, 1993), 30.

[47] Ibid., 5–7.

[48] North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, 1873-1904, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, database: "Anderton, George Thomas Naylor," digitized file, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/nwmp-personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx, accessed February 22, 2014.

[49] According to Silversides, Anderton operated a photography studio in Fort Walsh following his discharge in 1879. In May of 1880, he relocated to Fort Benton to work with a U.S. photographer named William Culver. The partnership lasted less than a year and by 1881 Anderton had set up another photography studio in Fort Walsh. By May of 1883 he had relocated again, establishing a photography studio in Medicine Hat. Silversides "The 'Face-Puller'," 23; also see Dempsey, "Catching the Sun Beams," 5–7; Maurice, "Snippets of History," 40; Anderton's photography business ventures are also mentioned in Richard Clarke Davis and Richard I. Ruggles, *Rupert's Land: A Cultural Tapestry* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 234.

[50] Brock Silversides, "First Nations Portraiture: Fact or Fiction," unpublished manuscript, University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections, Brock Silversides Fonds (MG 289), Series 2.2, file "UAAC," box 7, 2002, 1–2.

[51] Ibid.," 2.

[52] Until the townsite was constructed near the NWMP stockade, free traders with goods from the United States set up temporary trading operations in the Cypress Hills during the summer months. Fur Trade companies including the North West Company (NWC) and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had trading posts near to but not within the Cypress Hills area. Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 20; 32.

[53] Ibid., 76.

[54] Ibid.

[55] The theft of a group of wolfer's horses by Cree people initiated the chain of events that resulted in the massacre of the group of Nakoda in the Cypress Hills. A group of wolfers, later described as "persons of the worst class" had their horses stolen near Fort Benton. This group amassed a posse to follow the trail of the Cree who had raided their camp. The posse was unable to track the Cree to Fort Whoop-Up, and instead travelled to the Cypress Hills. At least twenty Nakoda were killed during the attack. Four women were captured and Chief Inihan Kinyen was killed and beheaded—his head displayed on a lodge pole.

The captured women were repeatedly sexually assaulted throughout the night by three of the wolfers and a Métis freighter, see Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 71–73.

[56] Parks Canada, "Fort Walsh National Historic Site of Canada," http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/sk/walsh/natcul/histo.aspx. accessed October 28, 2012.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Treaty 4 was signed by Assiniboine leaders in 1877, Treaty 6 was signed by Cree leaders in 1879 and again in 1882, see Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 98; Members of the Blackfoot Confederacy signed Treaty 7 in 1877, discussed in Blanca Tovias, "Navigating Cultural Encounter: Blackfoot Religious Resistance in Canada (c.1870 – 1930)," in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, edited by Moses, A. Dirk, 271–295 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 273.

[59] Environmental conditions, including drought, as well as government regulation and interference made these initial attempts extremely difficult. See Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 89.

[60] Parks Canada, "Fort Walsh National Historic Site of Canada," n.pag.

[61] Over 4000 Sioux / Lakota people, including Sitting Bull, camped in the vicinity of the Cypress Hills until the early 1880s. Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 98–115.

[62] Silversides "The 'Face-Puller'," 23.

[63] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2008), 6.

[64] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 119–138.

[65] Williams, "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive," 29; Sarah Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the 'Indian Woman' in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," *Great Plains Quarterly* (1993)*:* Paper 764. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/greatplainsquarterly/764, accessed November 17, 2012, 157.

[66] Nehipwat is derived from both Cree and Siouan words. Métchif, predominantly used by Métis people, draws Cree verbs and French nouns, Bungee was used by English and Scottish fur traders and their Cree or Ojibway wives. Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 62–63. Also see Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer, S. Brown eds., *The New Peoples: Being and*

Becoming Métis in North America (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Eleanor M Blain, "The Bungee Dialect of the Red River Settlement" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1989).

[67] For example, officials of the Hudson's Bay Company routinely engaged in pipe smoking and gift giving ceremonies (e.g. the presentation of Chief's coats), see Elizabeth Vibert, "Real Men hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders' Narratives," *Gender and History* 8, 1 (April, 1996): 4–21.

[68] Sarah Carter discusses marriage between members of the NWMP and Aboriginal women in the 1870s and 1880s in *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), also see Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion."

[69] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes;* Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774-1880* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980).

[70] This translation appears on the back cover of Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*.

[71] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 6–7.

[72] Starchild was found not guilty of the murder of Marmaduke Graburn. The verdict was based on the lack of evidence to corroborate the charges. In July 1883 Starchild was arrested for bringing stolen horses into Canada from the United States. On this occasion he was convicted and given four years' imprisonment with hard labour,; see S. W. Horrall, "KUKATOSI-POKA," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003 http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kukatosi_poka_11E.html. accessed August 29, 2014; Hugh Dempsey, *The Vengeful Wife and Other Blackfoot Stories* (Norman Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 158.

[73] From the late 1800s, gaining momentum through the first half of the twentieth century, these narratives were very popular in both history texts and fiction. Mountie fiction in dime novels, for example, remained popular until the 1940s. See Francis, *The Imaginary Indian,* 80.

[74] Beaumont Newhall refers to tintypes as the "lowly descendant" of the Daguerreotype in *The History of Photography*. Fifth Edition (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2006), 53.

[75] The function and circulation of tintype photography is discussed in Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004); Floyd Rinhart, Marian Rinhart and Robert W. Wagner, *The American Tintype* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999); Steven Kasher, ed., *America and the Tintype* (New York: International Centre for Photography, 2008).

[76] Igbo masquerades are common spiritual spectacles that accompany a number of cultural events and festivals in south-eastern Nigeria. This quote appears in James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988) 15, 189.

[77] Both George Buchanan Moffatt and Frederick Trevor Young were stationed at Fort Walsh in the late 1870s. North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Moffatt, George Buchanan," digitized file; North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, 1873-1904, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, database: "Young, Frederick Trevor," digitized file, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/nwmp-personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx, accessed February 22, 2014.

[78] Glenbow Museum Archives Finding Aids, "Jukes Family Fonds" 1814–1950, Glenbow Museum Library and Archives, Calgary, Alberta http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/jukes.cfm, accessed February 13, 2014.

[79] Although the title of the image refers to Moffatt as a constable, at the time that the image was taken, he had been promoted to corporal. The chevrons displayed on his uniform show his rank as corporal, North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Moffatt, George Buchanan," digitized file.

[80] Tanner, *The Canadians*, 175.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., 157, 7.

[83] Ibid., 7.

[84] Ibid., 159.

[85] For example, one of the photo spreads in the third chapter features the headline: "From cannibalism to capitalism: the triumph of Reverend Duncan." This section of the book draws on the writing of William Duncan, an English preacher who visited the Nass Valley of British Columbia in the 1850s. According to Duncan's accounts, the Tsimshian people of coastal British Columbia were once a small, yet merciless, group known for

"slaughtering and enslaving their neighbours" and "feasting on human flesh." Based on Duncan's reports, he influenced and witnessed the dramatic transformation of Tsimshian villages from "scenes of murder, rape, thievery, drunkenness and debauchery of every sort," to "thriving industrial towns." *The Canadians* suggests that by 1862, hundreds of people had "forsworn their evil ways" and "the once fearsome Tsimshians were now capitalist entrepreneurs," 102–105; In a later chapter, with reference to the signing of treaty agreements, Plains Aboriginal people are also proposed as the grateful "children of the Crown," who accepted and embraced European approaches to land use and society, 176.

[86] Skinner, "Settler Colonial Art History," 7–8; Chadwick Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2002), 9.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Spry's research projects, which span from the 1930s to the 1990s, have influenced contemporary scholarship on Canadian history, communications and economics. Robert E. Babe, *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 168, 180. See Irene M Spry, *The Palliser Exhibition: The Dramatic Story of Western Canadian Exploration 1857-1860.*(Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 1995); Spry ed. *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857-1860.* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1968); "The Great Transformation: The Disappearance of the Commons in Western Canada" in *Man and Nature on the Prairies,* edited by Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1976), 21–45; and "The Tragedy of Loss of the Commons" in *As Long as the Sun Shines and the River Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies* edited by A.L. Getty and Antoine Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 203–228.

[89] Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Subordination," 18; also see *Gender Trouble Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 47.

[90] Terry Castle, "Eros and Liberty at the Masquerade," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, 2 (Winter, 1983-1984): 159.

[91] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture,* 189–214.

[92] Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography,* 15.

[93] Alison Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts: The Westward Expansion of Myth and History," *Historical Archaeology,* 27, 4 (1993): 1.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid., 2

[97] According to Wylie, at that time the standard view was that the Cypress Hills had been a "no man's land" exploited by a number of neighbouring groups but occupied by none, Ibid., 5.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 20; 32.

[100] Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts," 4.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Spry, "The Tragedy of Loss," 203.

[103] Ibid., 205.

[104] Ibid., 204–205.

[105] For example, the Métis buffalo hunt often entered Sioux territory in search of migrant herds. Ibid., 204–205.

[106] Ibid., 221–222.

[107] Ibid., 208.

[108] Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts," 3.

[109] Ibid., 2.

[110] Ibid.

[111] "North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Moffatt, George Buchanan," digitized file.

[112] "North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Young, Frederick Trevor," digitized file.

[113] Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women,* 171.

[114] Ibid., 174–175.

[115] Ibid., 171.

[116] Ibid,. 174–175; also see Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion," 148.

[117] Ibid.

[118] In addition to dealing with the growing social stigmas about interracial marriage, Blackmoon and Aspdin also had to negotiate citizenship and border-crossing. Once married to Aspdin, Blackmoon—originally from the United States—became a trans-national subject with ties to both sides of the border. Carter, *Capturing Women,* 175.

[119] "Archives Photographs Search Results," Image No: NA-1388-3, Glenbow Museum, http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesPhotosSearch.aspx accessed, February 12, 2014.

[120] "1901 Census: Alberta and Saskatchewan (Districts 202 – 206)," Alberta Genealogical Society, http://www.agsedm.edmonton.ab.ca/ accessed May, 23 2014.

[121] Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts," 3.

[122] Ibid., 2

[123] Ibid.

[124] Fort Walsh was dismantled the same year that the Canadian Pacific Railroad arrived in Maple Creek; see Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 119–138.

[125] Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers,* 13; J.R Miller proposes a similar shift in attitude. He notes that in the late 1800s partnerships between colonizers and Native inhabitants of Western Canada became increasingly "irrelevant" as agricultural settlement replaced exploration activities and the trade of furs as the focus of the Euro-Canadian population in the West. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada Third Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 165.

[126] Spry, "The Tragedy of Loss," 218–219.

[127] Ibid. 222.

[128] Spry, "The Tragedy of Loss," 216; Tanner, *The Canadians*, 7.

[129] This phrase, which was popular in the second half of the nineteenth century, appears in Maurice "Snippets of History," 41; Maurice refers to Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene. A Social History 1839-1889* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 1938), 157.

[130] Edward M. Estabrook, *The Ferrotype and How to Make It* (Cincinnati Ohio: Gatchell and Hyatt, 1872), 53, quoted in Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 64. Although enormously popular in the United States, few European photographers were interested in what they referred to as 'the American process;' see Floyd Rinhart, Marian Rinhart and Robert W. Wagner, *The American Tintype* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 101.

[131] Steven Kasher, *America and the Tintype* (New York: International Centre for Photography, 2008), 79.

[132] Maurice, "Snippets of History," 39.

[133] Rinhart, Rinhart and Wagner, *The American Tintype*, 57; Geoffrey Batchen cites an advertisement that offers a dozen carte-de-visite size tintypes for $1.50 in "The Art of Business" in *America and the Tintype*, 19.

[134] Maurice, "Snippets of History," 40. Rinhart, Rinhart and Wagner, *The American Tintype,* 193–206.

[135] Photographers that accompanied survey parties in the 1870s were often funded through joint agreements between the Canadian government and commercial photography studios. Mobile photographers, including W.E. Hook and T.G.N Anderton, were entrepreneurs who would have purchased their own gear and funded their own travel. Tintype production caters to the patron on site rather than to patrons of commercial studios. Due to its onsite availability and affordability, the tintype process provided those living in remote areas, with limited disposable income, unprecedented access to photography. Mutually beneficial commercial ventures between photography studios and the Canadian Government, including the photographs of the Intercolonial Railway in 1875 and the Geological and Railway surveys of 1871, are discussed in Lynda Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and 'The Business of Becoming a Nation,'" PhD diss., (University of Toronto, 1992) and E. J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff, Alta.: Altitude Publishing, 1983). On mobile tintype photography see Batchen, "The Art of Business," 19; Maurice, "Snippets of History," passim.

[136] Photographs were also referred to as "facsimiles" see Rinhart, Rinhart and Wagner, *The American Tintype,* 81.

[137] Maurice, "Snippets of History," 42. According to the surgeon's report to the Canadian Department of the Interior for 1879–1880, cases of typhoid or "mountain fever" had steadily increased in Fort Walsh since 1876. During an epidemic in 1879, 17 cases of typhoid were treated at Fort Walsh—up from 11 cases the year before. Although there were no fatalities among the members of the force that year, numerous lives were lost among the civilian population of the Cypress Hills. Canada Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year* (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Company, 1879), 28.

[138] Batchen "The Art of Business," 19.

[139] Kimberly Aaron Wutzke, "Fort Walsh Townsite (1875-1883): Early Settlement in the Cypress Hills," MA Thesis (University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon Saskatchewan, 2009), 27–28.

[140] The police at Fort Walsh, served a broad area which included outposts at Eastend, Pinto Horse Butte, Milk River or Kennedy's Crossing, Four Mile Coulee, Six Mile Coulee, Ten Mile Coulee, and Wood Mountain. Wutzke, "Fort Walsh Townsite (1875-1883)," 27–28.

[141] Ibid. ii; passim.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 78–79.

[144] Fenton's images were widely published and seen by British subjects in the decade following the war in Crimea. Jennifer, Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996) 97–144.

[145] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 168–169.

[146] John Finerty recounts Sgt. Major Joseph Francis' recollections of Balaclava in *War-path and Bivouac: or, The Conquest of the Sioux: A Narrative of Stirring Personal Experiences and Adventures in the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876, and in the campaign on the British border, in 1879* (Chicago: Donohue Brothers, 1890). 383–386; North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, 1873-1904, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, database: ""Francis, Joseph," digitized file, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/nwmp-personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx, accessed November 1, 2013.

[147] Ibid.

[148] "21Century Learning Links."

[149] Ibid.

[150] The Glenbow archival record describes the man in this image as "unknown First Nation's man." "Archives Photographs Search Results," Image No: NA-1535-1, Glenbow Museum, http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesPhotosResults.aspx accessed, February 15, 2014.

[151] "21Century Learning Links."

[152] Ruth Phillips, "Making Sense out/of the Visual: Aboriginal Presentations and Representations in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Art History,* 27, 4 (September 2004), 599.

[153] Baillargeon, Curator of Plains Ethnology, Canadian Museum of Civilization, from e-mail correspondence with author, November 22–25, 2013.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts," 4.

[157] Blanca Tovias, *Colonialism on the Prairies: Blackfoot Settlement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1970* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 63.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Frederic H. Douglas, *Indian Leaflet Series No. 24* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1930), 94.

[160] Another iconic example of the sharing of attire between communities is the war bonnet or headdress. The elaborate headpieces which feature beading, feathers and fur, were originally worn by either Sioux or Crow people, but they spread rapidly across the Plains through the nineteenth century. Ronald P. Koch, *Dress Clothing of the Plains Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 3–5.

[161] Baillargeon, Curator of Plains Ethnology, Canadian Museum of Civilization, from e-mail correspondence with author, November 22–25, 2013.

[162] Ibid.

[163] The North West Mounted Police began to use this model of firearm in 1878. Dean K. Boorman, *The History of Winchester Firearms* (New York: Lyons Press, 2001) 46–47.

[164] Tanner, *The Canadians*, 175.

[165] Boorman, *The History of Winchester Firearms*, 46–47; thank you to Duane Mistaken Chief for sharing his research and comments on firearms used in Western Canada in the nineteenth century.

[166] In the 1870s, the "special" constable positions were predominantly filled by Métis men. Jerry Potts, for example is one of the most well known "specials" to work for the force from 1874 until his death in 1896. "Brief Background and History of the Special Constable in the Force," RCMP Historical Section, 1974. Received from Geoff Ott, RCMP Senior Archives Analyst, RCMP Archives Ottawa on October 25, 2013.

[167] Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (London: Routledge, 2002) 147–149.

[168] Willis E. Hartshorn, "Director's Forward" in *America and the Tintype*, 15.

[169] Ibid.; Kasher, *America and the Tintype*, passim.

[170] Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 108.

[171] "aide-mémoire, n." OED Online. March 2014. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/Entry/4312 accessed May 21, 2014. Joan Schwartz refers to photography as a form of aide-mémoire in "'Records of Simple Truth and Precision': Photography, Archives, and the Illusion of Control," *Archivaria: The Journal of the Canadian Association of Archivists* 50 (Fall 2000), 17.

[172] Batchen, "The Art of Business," 19.

[173] Tintypes, as direct positive exposures, printed only once, that have not been enlarged or manipulated, retain great detail.

[174] Batchen, *Forget Me Not,* 14, passim.

[175] Batchen, "The Art of Business," 19.

[176] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph" *The Atlantic Monthly* 3 (June 1859): n.pag, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1859/06/the-stereoscope-and-the-stereograph/303361/ accessed November 12, 2012.

[177] Batchen, "The Art of Business," 19.

[178] Ibid., 14.

[179] North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Moffatt, George Buchanan," digitized file.

[180] "F.G.B. Moffatt, Scrapbook of news clippings" 1884-1930, Glenbow Museum Archive, Jukes Family Fonds, M-607-35.

[181] While Moffatt's service records show a remarkable rise through the ranks, Young's enlistment history is less exemplary. He served more than 21 years with the North West Mounted Police and was never promoted. On several occasions, he tried to advance his career through political influence, but without success. There are clues in Young's personnel records that might explain his inability to advance. On at least three different occasions, Young was fined $10 for being intoxicated while on duty. Also, Young's brother in law, Lord Aylmer, repeatedly implored the North West Mounted Police to further Young's career, however his requests were denied. In a letter dated from 1903, North West Mounted Police Comptroller, Major Perry, wrote that an appointment for Young would be "quite out of the question" and he suggested that Young reenlist as a constable. North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Young, Frederick Trevor," digitized file. Ascension through the ranks would have been even more restricted to Aboriginal people within the North West Mounted Police. If the "unknown Blood man" was a member of the force, then he would have been limited to serve in the positions of supernary constable or scout/interpreter. Jerry Potts, is perhaps the most well known North West Mounted Police guide/interpreter. His name is bandied about in settler discourse as an indispensable aid to the North West Mounted Police who was involved in quelling the whisky trade and furthering negotiations with Sioux refugees. However, despite his eminence, Potts was never given a title among the ranked officers; see "Brief Background and History of the Special Constable in the Force."

[182] Frank C. Turner, *Across the Medicine Line* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 18.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Vibert, "Real Men Hunt Buffalo," 4–21.

[185] The elaborate suits in *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh* are examples of an Aboriginal culture form that was conspicuously co-opted by settlers of British ancestry. Today elements of Aboriginal culture continue to be appropriated by the popular imaginary. Multiple instances of non-Aboriginal people appropriating Aboriginal culture through past centuries are described in

Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," *Folklore* 99 (1988): 30–55; and Francis, *The Imaginary Indian.*

[186] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 178, 173–191.

[187] Newhall, *The History of Photography,* 53.

[188] Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities*, 23.

[189] Clark Wissler, *Costumes of the Plains Indians Together with Structural Basis to the Decoration of Costumes Among the Plains Indians* (New York: AMS Press, 1915), 53.

[190] Sioux gunstock clubs are described in Colin F. Taylor, *Native American Weapons* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 23, 35.

[191] Edwards, *Raw Histories,* 3.

[192] This approach to modernity, as a multidirectional, fluid, recurrent, yet interconnected continual and global phenomenon is taken by Gaonkar in *Alternative Modernities,* 1–2; Susan Stanford Friedman surveys the various approaches to modernity including recent literature that poses modernity as an ongoing "planetary" condition comprised interconnected, particular experiences in "Planetarity: Musing Modernist Studies," *Modernism/Modernity* 17, 3 (2010): 471–499.

[193] Pratt lists a number of proposed "origins" in discourse on Western modernity including the development of the printing press in the 1400s; Descartes' release of *Discourse on Method* in 1637*;* the French Revolution; increased industrialization during the early nineteenth century; and the development of mass society and consumption and related cultural projects in the early twentieth century. See "Modernity and Periphery," 23–24.

[194] Karl Marx, Charles Baudelaire, Freidrich Nietzche and George Simmel are some of the early commentators on the Western modern epoch, which are mentioned in Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities*, 3.

[195] Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 23.

[196] Gaonkar points to expressions of "cultural modernity" in literature and the arts, which emerged out of opposition to the disciplinary structures, capitalism and rationalism of bourgeois modernity in *Alternative Modernities*, 2–3.

[197] Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 1-2.

[198] *Alternative Modernities*, 13, 15.

[199] Tanner celebrates the European "modernization" of the West in *The Canadians*; Spry critiques this period in "The Great Transformation," The Disappearance of the Commons in Western Canada," and "The Tragedy of Loss of the Commons."

[200] Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 28.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Enrique Dussel argues that modernity is constituted by a "eurocentric fallacy" in "Eurocentrism and Modernity: Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures," in *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America*, edited by John Beverley, Jose Oviedo, and Michael Aronna (Durham: Duke University Press 1995), 65; quoted in Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 23.

[203] Bell, "Unsettling Acts," 166.

[204] George Shepherd was the curator of the Saskatchewan Western Development Museum for more than 20 years, starting in 1953; see Western Development Museum, "George Fredrick Shepherd," http://www.wdm.ca/george.htm accessed August 28, 2014. I originally discovered Shepherd's "untitled poem" in a scrapbook in the DaGear Family Fonds, Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary Alberta, M314-27a.

[205] Shepherd, "untitled poem," 3.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Maureen Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape: Colonial Expansion, National Identity, and the Image of a 'Dying Race,'" *RACAR* 17, 2 (1990): 139, 142–143.

[210] Friedman "Planetarity: Musing Modernist Studies," 494, passim.

[211] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 131.

[212] Ibid.

[213] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edgar Dewdney violated oral promises to allow Cree and Nakoda reserves in the Hills. He also violated a written promise of reserve territory in the Cypress Hills, agreed to by Chief Big Bear, from the Treaty Commissions of both 1874 and 1876," Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 144.

[214] Ibid.

[215] Ibid.

[216] I found no indication that Anderton produced photographs in an official capacity while he was a member of the NWMP. However some of the images under analysis are dated from the years that Anderton served with the force.

[217] Silversides explains that upon Anderton's arrival in Fort Benton, Anderton and Culver set up a tent studio. Going into business with another photographer meant that they could purchase twice the amount of supplies at a lower cost. Between them, they could cover a lot of ground—Montana Territory and the North-West Territories. One account gives the team credit for procuring the first views of the Great Falls of the Missouri River. Silversides, "Anderton: Face Puller," 23.

[218] Gontran Laviolette, *The Sioux Indians in Canada* (Regina: The Marian Press, 1944), 91; Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 104.

[219] North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, 1873-1904, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, database: "Wills, George Washington," digitized file, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/nwmp-personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx, accessed February 22, 2014.

[220] Hilderbandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 107–109.

[221] In 1877, during the negotiations arranged by Major Walsh between General A.H. Terry, the commander-in-chief of the US military, and Lakota / Sioux representatives (Sitting Bull, Spotted Eagle, The-Man-that-Scatters-the-Bear) at Fort Walsh, asserted that they had no intention of returning to the US even though Terry promised immunity if the Sioux returned to the US; see Laviolette, *The Sioux Indians*, 91–93. However by 1881 extreme physical duress and the Canadian government's refusal for permanent residence, impelled the remaining refugees to cross the border. Hilderbandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 111–114.

[222] North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—Personnel Records, "Wills, George Washington," digitized file.

[223] Dempsey, "Catching the Sun Beams," 5–7.

[224] Mary Louise Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 36.

[225] The North-West Territories, or Rupert's Land—the terrain that is now known as the Western Provinces—was acquired by the Canadian government from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870. The homestead incentive was modelled on the existing American example. The Canada Pacific Railway was completed in 1885. Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion," 148.

[226] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 98.

[227] The "American Indian Wars" is an umbrella term for the ongoing conflict between early settler colonizers and Aboriginal people that lasted until the late-nineteenth century. In Canada, settlers similarly put pressure on shared resources and displaced indigenous people, however they did so under the auspices of treaty agreements. Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 98.

[228] Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens,* 109–115; Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 201–202.

[229] Francis suggests that Canadian officials expected that in time most Aboriginal people would opt for enfranchisement, which was conceived as a reward for good behaviour. In the sixty-three years between 1857, when enfranchisement was first legislated, and 1920, only 250 individuals became enfranchised. *The Imaginary Indian*, 201–202.

[230] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy,* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 61; cited in Francis, *The Imaginary Indian,* 204.

[231] McKay, *A National Soul,* 135; also see George W. Mitchell, "Saviour of the Nordic Race," *Canadian Magazine* 61 (June 1923): 138–40; Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 80; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 175.

[232] McKay. *A National Soul,* 135; Mitchell, "Saviour of the Nordic Race," 138–40.

[233] According to Miller, despite shared land use and the complex trade economies and networks that developed with settler colonizers through the nineteenth century, the European ethos of capitalism and acquisition was not embraced by Aboriginal societies. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 155–156, 204–205.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 169.

[236] Ibid., 168-71.

[237] Ibid., 168.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Ibid., 169-71.

[240] Higher ranked North West Mounted Police also enjoyed more leisure time and activities than the lower ranking men, including exclusive social events, such as a yearly formal ball. Among the officer class, each inspector was entitled to one servant—a constable—and superintendents were entitled to two. Ibid., 169. Also, at the police forts, officers had special privileges, such as private living quarters and higher quality food. During the first archaeological excavation of Fort Walsh, the force's class hierarchy was reflected not only in the proliferation of rank-specific living quarters, privies, storerooms, etc. but also in the cuts of meat they were eating, and the extent to which they were able to supplement their diets with game; see Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts," 4.

[241] Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 169–71; also see R.C. Macleod, *The North-West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement 1873-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 73–88.

[242] Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery," 36.

[243] Spry, "The Tragedy of Loss," passim, 211–214.

[244] James W. Daschuk discusses the food shortage of 1878-1879 and the government policies relating to Aboriginal people that took advantage food scarcity in *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

[245] The advent of photography coincided with the surfeit of cultural, social, political and conceptual changes that occurred during the modern epoch experienced by Western society. James Ryan explores a number of ways in which photography helped construct visions of colonial peoples and places in the "imaginative geographies" of the British Empire; see *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 79–98.

[246] Schwartz, "Records of Simple Truth," 16.

[247] Michelle Henning, "The Subject Object, Photography and the Human Body," in *Photography a Critical Introduction,* edited by Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2000), 221–222.

[248] Anthropometry, which involved measuring the human body and documenting its features, used most notably by British ethnographer John H Lamprey, is discussed by Christopher Pinney in "Classification and Fantasy in the Photographic Construction of Caste and Tribe, *Visual Anthropology* 3 2-3 (1990): 266 – 288; Elizabeth Edwards discusses anthropometry and the ways that Lamprey, Thomas Huxley and Carl Dammann used photography in comparative studies of racial types in "Photographic "Types": The Pursuit of Method," *Visual Anthropology,* 3, 2-3 (1990): 235. Also, typological studies such as phrenology (the study of the contours of the skull) and physiognomy (the study of facial features to determine human character traits) were conducted by other disciplines, among them medicine, psychiatry and criminology. The use of photography for studies of criminal behaviour and as part of disciplinary regimes, systems of surveillance and record keeping is discussed in Allan Sekula "The Body in the Archive," *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986): 3–64; also see John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 56.

[249] Sekula, "The Body in the Archive," 12–13.

[250] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 148.

[251] Carol Williams, "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive," 28.

[252] Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 18. Most of the indoor images are set on a wood plank floor, in front of a white canvas backdrop that is crudely affixed to the wall. These works sometimes include a chair but are otherwise void of extraneous accoutrements apart from the items that are part of the sitter's person.

[253] Silversides, "First Nations Portraiture," 2.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Ibid.

[257] The line is from the theatrical ballet written for (and performed by) Louise XIV and his court. The ballet featured Louis as the sun god, Apollo. It was first performed in 1653, and written by Isaac de Benserade and Charles de Sercy (Sercy wrote the passage that the quote derives from). Wendy Hilton, and Caroline Gaynor. *Dance of Court & Theater: The*

French Noble Style, 1690-1725. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Book Co, 1981), 7; thank you to Philippe Maurice for suggesting this origin.

[258] Isaac de Benserade and Charles de Sercy, *Ballet royal de la Nuit, divisé en quatre parties, ou quatre veilles: et dansé par Sa Majesté, le 23 février 1653* (Paris: R. Ballard, 1653), act 4 X.

[259] From a description of stereographic viewing from Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," n.pag.

[260] This disparity is visible in fig 8, in the proximity of the figure to the left edge.

[261] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 120.

[262] Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape / View," *Art Journal* 42, 4 (Winter 1982): 314.

[263] Maurice, from email correspondence with author, November 22, 2013.

[264] The image was sold through Cowan's auction in 2008 (for $1610.00). Cowan's Auctions *"Lot 293: Fine Stereoview of Sioux Chief Long Dog & George W. Wells"* http://www.cowanauctions.com/auctions/item.aspx?id=61115 accessed May 24, 2014. I encountered a number of other copies of this image as a singular print, see George Anderton, *Sioux Chief Shanka Haska and Scout Geo. Wells*, 1878–1879. Black and white photographic print. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Legislature Library Program, A18808; T.G.N. Anderton, *"Long Dog," Sioux Chief, and George W. Wells, late of "B" troop at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan.* Photographic print. Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, Alberta, NB-16-564, *S.T. Wood Album, Volume 1*, page 49, Stuart Taylor Wood Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, photograph accession 1961-058, box 02256.

[265] Brian Dippie, "Representing the Other: The North American Indian in *Anthropology and Photography,* edited by Elizabeth Edwards (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1992), 132–133.

[266] Clark Wissler, *Costumes of the Plains*, 53.

[267] Chiefs and warriors, following a long absence, after a buffalo hunters returning home, or upon arrival to a trading fort, would stop and dress in their finest before reaching their destination. Mogan Baillargeon, Curator of Plains Ethnology, Canadian Museum of Civilization, from e-mail correspondence with author, November 22–25, 2013.

[268] Laviolette, *The Sioux Indians*, 91–93.

[269] Hilderbandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 111–114.

[270] Laviolette, *The Sioux Indians*, 87-88.

[271] Hunkpapa Chief Blackmoon established a camp at Wood Mountain, in the summer of 1876. By March of 1877 a Teton/Yankton Sioux camp was established at Cypress Hills, which was lead by Chief Medicine Bear. Laviolette, *The Sioux Indians*, 87-88. Laviolette does not specify which camp Long Dog resided in.

[272] Ibid.

[273] Sitting Bull became a figure of interest in the late-1870s for his involvement in Little Big Horn and as one of the spokesmen for the Sioux in Canada. Later in the 1880s, he travelled with the enormously popular Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, where he took on celebrity status in the entertainment culture of North America and Europe. See Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History (*New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 161–219.

[274] Ian Anderson *Sitting Bull's Boss: Above the Medicine Line with James Morrow Walsh* (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2000), 185.

[275] Ibid., 84.

[276] A number of images of Sioux Chief Long Dog are available through collector's websites and auction houses. See icollector, "George W. Scott: Cabinet Card-Portrait of Long Dog," c 1880, http://www.icollector.com/Cabinet-Card-Portrait-of-Long-Dog-Sioux_i5839308 accessed June 03, 2014; Cowans Auctions, "D.F. Barry: Cabinet Card of Sioux Long Dog," 1880s ww.cowanauctions.com accessed June 03, 2014. A very similar club that was used by Sitting Bull, and collected by General Nelson A. Miles, is now in the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington DC." Taylor, *Native American Weapons*, 24.

[277] Taylor, *Native American Weapons*, 23–24, 35.

[278] Ibid., 23, 35.

[279] Pratt mentions the "diffusionist" character of western modernity, which always centres upon the activities of European society as it interacts with the rest of the world (as periphery) in "Modernity and Periphery," 27–28. Blanca Tovias makes a similar argument in her discussion of the written histories of Western Canada, which focus exclusively on the cultural changes related to the activities and belief systems of people of European ancestry; see *Colonialism on the Prairies,* 63.

[280] Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist* 16, 1 (January / March 1914): 1–25.

[281] Ibid., 11–12.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* 102.

[284] J.R. Miller argues that encounters between settler colonizers and Aboriginal people did not impact First Nation social structures as much as it did their economic base. For example, Miller proposes that well-situated groups of Ojibwa, Cree and Assiniboine emerged as middlemen between more remote groups and British traders. These intermediaries developed a broad and lucrative trade, yet the behaviour was not an adoption of capitalist ethos. The demand for European goods was 'inelastic'—Aboriginal people did not respond to market fluctuations or higher prices by increasing supply. Once a fixed level of need was satisfied, exchange ceased. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens:* 155–156.

[285] Examples of hybrid cultural expression are discussed in Phillips, "Making Sense out/of the Visual" and *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

[286] Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 11.

[287] These images are popularly collected. See icollector, "George W. Scott: Cabinet Card-Portrait of Long Dog"; Cowans Auctions, "D.F. Barry: Cabinet Card of Sioux Long Dog."

[288] The image was never published, but it was part of Curtis's "Dakota People," which is included in the Library of Congress Copyright Office photograph collection of American Indians, 1860s-1930s. Edward S. Curtis, "Long Dog (Shunka Hanksa)," National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland, Photo Lot 59, LOC, Large Mounts, Tribe Id, Dakota, People Id 03489700.

[289] Kasson, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," 173–174.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Kasson argues for the agency of Sitting Bull in "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," 173–174. Also see Phillips "Performing the Native Woman," 26–49.

[292] Phillips, "Performing the Native Woman," 29.

[293] Only the tintype *Constable Fred Young, left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan,* in which the men are dressed in uniform, omits the particular hybrid buckskin jacket with the beaded heart-shaped petals on the cuffs and shoulders. The flower patterns on the breast of the jacket are common to Saulteaux (Ojibwa) and Sioux beading practices. The patterns comprised of heart-shaped petals, visible on Wills' shoulders, are prevalent in Saulteaux, Cree and Métis work. Morgan Baillargeon, Curator of Plains Ethnology, Canadian Museum of Civilization, from e-mail correspondence with author, November 22–25, 2013.

[294] For example there are a number of other images of Moffatt in the Glenbow Museum Archive, "Jukes Family Fonds" 1814–1950.

[295] Boorman, *The History of Winchester,* 46–47.

[296] Quoted in Michael Dawson, "'That Nice Red Coat Goes to My Head Like Champagne': Gender, Antimodernism and the Mountie Image, 1880-1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 32, 3 (Fall 1997), 126.

[297] North West Mounted Police, "Wills, George Washington," digitized file.

[298] Ibid.

[299] Bagley, Frederick Augustus. "Diary (copy) of Frederick Augustus Bagley, 1874–1881, 1884," Fred Bagley Fonds Glenbow Museum Archive, Calgary AB (M 44) https://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/extras/bagley/m-44.pdf accessed June 21, 2014.

[300] Wylie, "Invented Lands/Discovered Pasts," 2.

[301] Ibid.

[302] North West Mounted Police, "Wills, George Washington," digitized file.

[303] Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion," 150.

[304] Ibid., 150-151.

[305] Ibid., 151.

[306] Ibid.

[307] Alfred Gatty, H. K. F. Eden, Eleanor Lloyd, and Lewis Evans. *The Book of Sun-Dials; Originally Compiled by the Late Mrs. Alfred Gatty; Re-Edited by H.K.F. Eden and Eleanor Lloyd*. (London: G. Bell, 1900), 313; Oliver Wendell Holmes refers to photography as the "Doings of the Sunbeam" in the title of his essay in *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1863): 1–15.

[308] Maureen Ryan, in "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape," draws from a number of sources in her discussion of "dying race" imagery in Canadian visual culture in the later decades of the nineteenth century.

[309] Kathryn S. Hight, "'Doomed to Perish': George Catlin's Depictions of the Mandan," *Art Journal* 49, 2 (Summer 1990): 119–124.

[310] Ryan "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape," 141–142.

[311] Hight, "'Doomed to Perish,'" 120-121; also see Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 82–88, and Bruce G. Trigger, "The Historian's Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," *Canadian Historical Review* 67, 3 (1986): 315–342.

[312] Kane and Catlin were some of the first artists in North America to use the "dying race" theme as their subject matter. Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 16–43.

[313] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 1: 16; quoted in Hight, "'Doomed to Perish'," 120.

[314] Dippie, "Representing the Other," 133; Williams, "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive," 28.

[315] Silversides, "First Nations Portraiture," 2–3.

[316] Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape," 139.

[317] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 84–85.

[318] Ibid., 84.

[319] Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape," 139.

[320] Ibid., 142–143.

[321] Williams, *Framing the West*, 4.

[322] Williams, "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive," 27.

[323] Ibid., 29.

[324] Ibid., 27 and 29.

[325] *McLeod Gazette*, (January 16, 1885); cited in Dempsey, "Catching the Sun Beams," 6.

[326] *Benton Record* (June 4, 1880); cited in Dempsey, "Catching the Sun Beams," 5–6.

[327] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 129–131.

[328] Carter, Miller, and Hildebrandt and Hubner all share the contention that a dramatic shift in attitudes, concurrent with the onslaught of non-Aboriginal settlers, occurred in Western Canada in the 1880s. See Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers,* 13; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 165; and Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 119–138.

[329] For example, the notes that accompany the image at the Glenbow Museum Archive propose the two men in the front row as "Staff Sergeant George Harper or Corporal T. Aspdin," and "unknown First Nations Man;" see "Archives Photographs Search Results," image no: NA-1535-1, Glenbow Museum, http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesPhotosSearch.aspx accessed, February 12, 2014.

[330] Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers*, 7.

[331] Adrienne Rich, "Resisting Amnesia: History and Personal Life," in *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose, 1979-1985* (New York: Norton, 1986), 144.

FIGURES

Figure 1 Photographer unknown [George Anderton], *North-West Mounted Police at Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879,* 1879. Photographic reproduction from an original tintype photograph, 10 x 8 cm. Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, Alberta, NA-1535-1. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.

Figure 2 Photographer unknown [George Anderton], *S.T. Wood Photo Album 1, page 73.* Photocopy of a page from the album, 9 x 7 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Stuart Taylor Wood Fonds, Photograph accession, 1961-058, box 02256. Photograph taken by author.

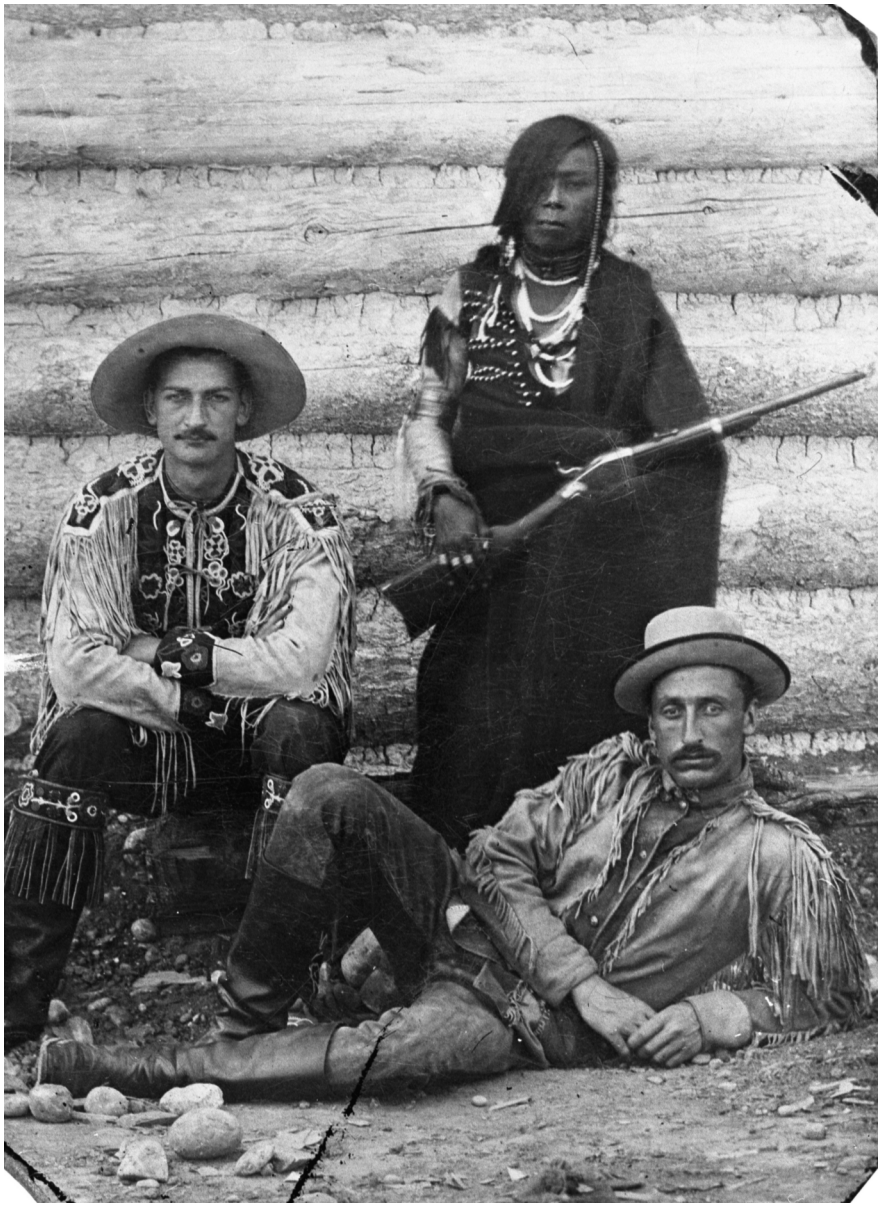

Figure 3 Photographer unknown [George Anderton], *Constable Fred Young and Constable G. B. Moffatt with Unknown Blood Man, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan, 1879*, 1879. Tintype photograph, 10.2 x 7.6 cm. Glenbow Museum Library and Archives, Calgary, Alberta, Jukes Family Fonds, NA-136-2. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.

Figure 4 Photographer unknown [George Anderton], *Constable Fred Young, Left and Constable G. B. Moffatt, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan*, *1879*, 1879. Tintype photograph, 10.2 x 7.6 cm. Glenbow Museum Library and Archives, Calgary, Alberta, Jukes Family Fonds, NA-136-1. Photograph taken by author.

Figure 5 Auderton & Culver, *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills.* Stereograph card, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. RCMP Historical Collections Unit "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, 1953.20.8a. Photograph courtesy of RCMP Historical Collections Unit.

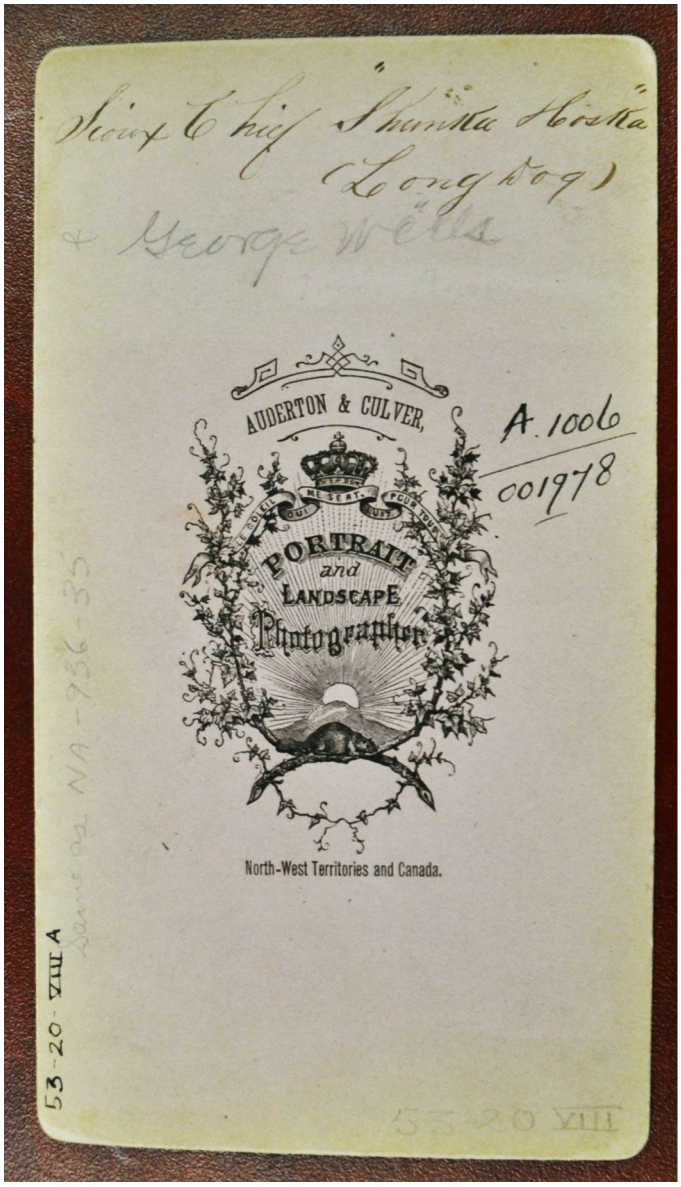

Figure 6 Auderton & Culver, *Sioux Chief "Shunka Hoska" (Long Dog) and George Wills.* Stereograph card verso, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. RCMP Historical Collections Unit "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, 1953.20.8a. Photograph courtesy of RCMP Historical Collections Unit.

Figure 7 T. G. N. Anderton. *Blood Children and Women at Sun Dance*, 1888. Cabinet card, 10.2 x 16.5 cm. Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary Alberta, George First Rider Oral History Project collection, NA-1388-3. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.

Figure 8 Photographer unknown. *East End Cypress,* 1879. Stereograph card, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. RCMP Historical Collections Unit "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, 5320-IV. Photograph taken by author.

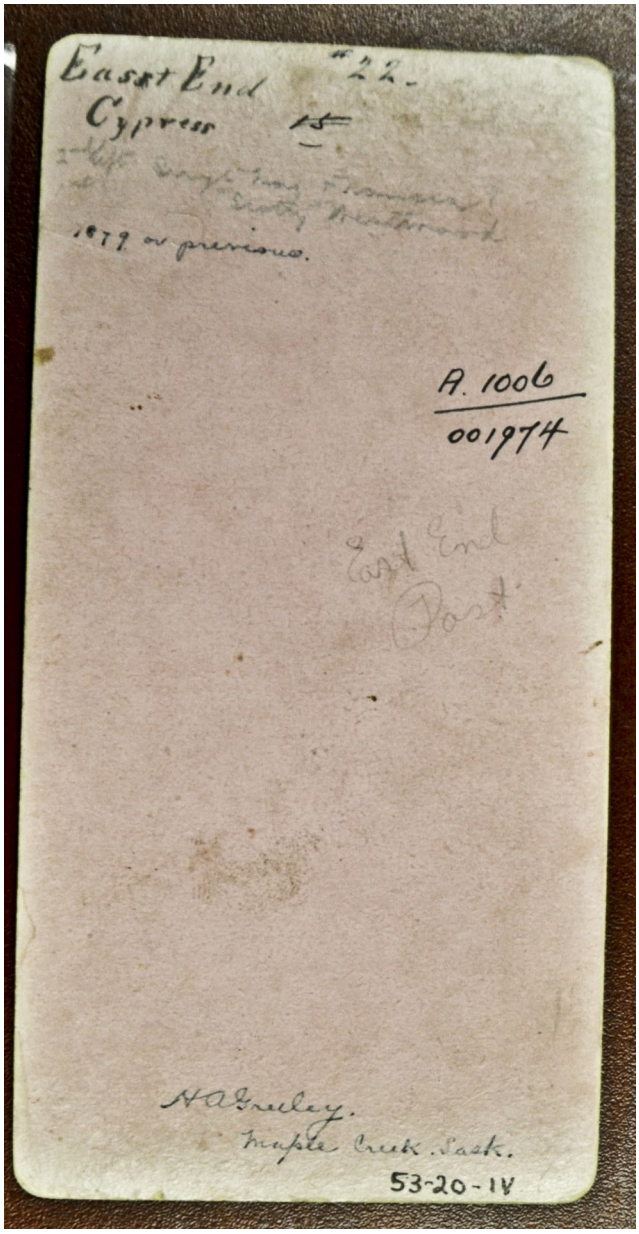

Figure 9 Photographer unknown. *East End Cypress,* 1879. Stereograph card verso, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. RCMP Historical Collections Unit "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, 5320-IV. Photograph taken by author.

Figure 10 Roger Fenton. *Officers of the 68th Regiment,* 1855. Photographic print on salted paper, 18 x 17 cm. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., Roger Fenton Crimean War photograph collection. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001697666/

Figure 11 Roger Fenton, *Officers of the 89th Regiment at Cathcart's Hill, in winter dress, Captain Skynner, Lieutenant Knatchbull, Captain Conyers, Lieutenant Longfield, Captain Hawley,* 1855. Photographic print on salted paper, 17 x 20 cm. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., Roger Fenton Crimean War photograph collection. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001697666/

Figure 12 Photographer unknown. *NWMP Constable William Metzler in Prairie Dress*, ca. 1881. Tintype photograph, 10.2 x 7.6 cm. Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, Alberta, NA-2252-2, Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.

Figure 13 Photographer unknown. *North-West Mounted Police Constable William Hill Metzler*, ca. 1881. Tintype photograph, 10.2 x 7.6 cm. Glenbow Museum Library and Archives, Calgary, Alberta, NA-2252-1, Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.

Figure 14 T. George N. Anderton. *Two Native People, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan.* 1878–1879. Stereograph card, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. R-A5047. Photograph taken by author.

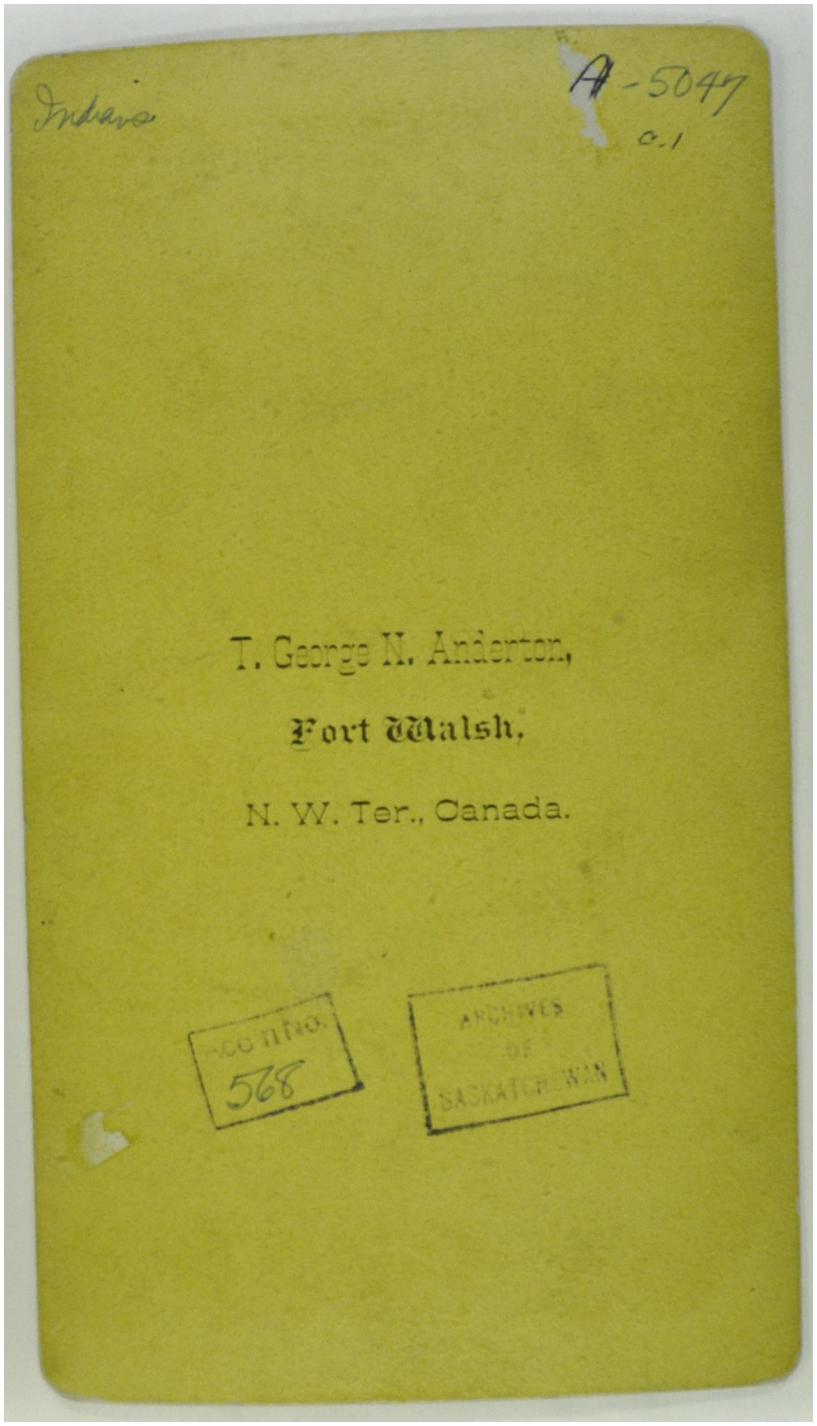

Figure 15 T. George N. Anderton. *Two Native People, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan.* 1878–1879. Stereograph card verso, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, R-A5047. Photograph taken by author.

Figure 16 T. George N. Anderton. *Assiniboine Women, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan.* 1878–1879. Stereograph card, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, R-A5046. Photograph taken by author.

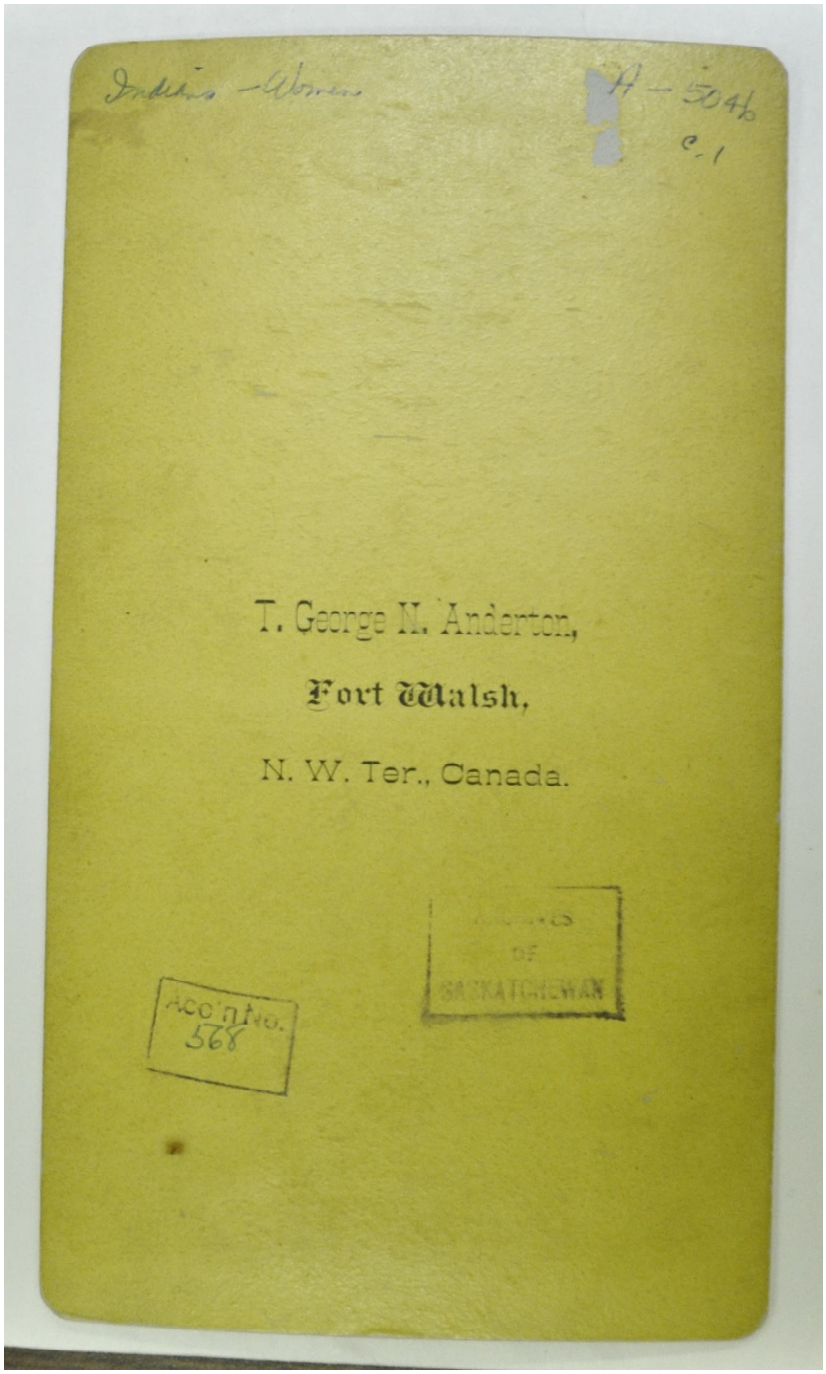

Figure 17 T. George N. Anderton. *Assiniboine Women, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan.* 1878–1879. Stereograph card verso, 8.89 x 17.8 cm. Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, R-A5046. Photograph taken by author.

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