

The Eastman Kodak Co. and the Canadian Kodak  
Co. Ltd: Re-structuring the Canadian photographic  
industry, c.1885-1910

Shannon Perry

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
De Montfort University  
Leicester

March 2016

## **Abstract**

Within the accepted historiography of photography, the importance of George Eastman and the Eastman Kodak Company (EKC) has become unassailable. They have been placed as the key, and often sole, agent in “revolutionizing” the amateur photography market in the late nineteenth century. While the photographic landscape and market of 1885-1914 was indeed radically altered, the historiographical dominance of what can be identified as the “Kodak story” has obscured the means through which EKC’s successful re-structuring of the existing manufacturing and distribution networks of photographic materials occurred. I argue that the changes effected by Eastman and the EKC began not with imaging desires, but with their acknowledgment, and profound understanding of the existing and competing interests within the photographic industry.

This thesis focuses on the EKC’s re-structuring of the extant and evolving communities involved in the manufacturing and distribution of photographic materials in Canada between 1885-1910. Focusing particularly on the period immediately surrounding the establishment of the Canadian Kodak Co. Limited in 1899, I demonstrate the re-structuring processes at work, including: market and financial diversification; governmental lobbying; purchase and mergers; and other business and marketing-based strategies.

I frame my theoretical positions and analysis of network re-structuring through the experiences of Ottawa professional photographer and photographic business owner William James Topley (active 1868-1907), and CKCoLtd manager John Garrison Palmer (active 1886-1921). Topley and Garrison’s professional experiences and interactions with expanded communities of photographic consumers and industry participants provide an opportunity for specific and detailed findings which challenge understandings of the evolution of the practice of photography during this transitional period. In doing so, I provide evidence of the primary role network re-structuring played in the EKC’s ability to shape the wider international photographic industry to their advantage in the early twentieth century.

## Contents

Abstract.....	2
Contents.....	3
Figures.....	5
Acknowledgments.....	7
Preface.....	9
Introduction.....	11
Defining the parameters.....	12
Why Canada?.....	14
Defining the term “Industry”.....	21
Micro-histories: Putting the EKC under the microscope.....	33
The EKC in Canada: micro-history of macro issues.....	35
Structure of the thesis .....	41
Chapter One: Beginning to untangling the source of Kodak’s power .....	45
George Eastman, the EKC, and the “Kodak Story” .....	53
Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a method of inquiry and examination.....	67
Archival source materials.....	79
Applying ANT to the Canadian photographic network and the EKC / CKCoLtd.....	85
Using ANT to untangle the “Kodak Story”.....	88
1888 Kodak Camera .....	89
John Garrison Palmer .....	91
Defining “community” and “imagined community” .....	97
The role of photographic identity .....	101
Photographic periodicals and imagined photographic communities .....	104
Chapter Two: The Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry, 1885-1897 .....	113
Sources.....	116
Mixed trading and its problems of identification .....	120
Canada: a branch plant economy .....	124
“Jobbing” photographic goods in Canada before the CKCoLtd .....	130
The protective import tariff begins to take a toll .....	132
Photographic manufacturers in Canada prior to 1899 .....	138
Hamilton: The Farmer Bros. ....	140
Wentworth / Montreal: The Stanley Dry Plate Company (SDPC) .....	143
The Photographic Association of Canada (PAC).....	145

The PAC conventions as organizing sites for anti-tariff protests .....	148
The photographic community make their grievances public .....	150
The PAC as lobbyist .....	156
<b>Chapter Three: The establishment of the Canadian Kodak Company .....</b>	<b>176</b>
The EKC’s presence in Canada pre-1899.....	178
Drawing upon local connections: Establishing the CKCoLtd .....	181
Creating value in the Canadian photographic market.....	184
Corporate structure and control in the CKCoLtd .....	189
Incorporation: a two-way relationship between the EKC and the CKCoLtd.....	191
<b>Chapter Four: The CKCoLtd and the local competition, 1901-1905 .....</b>	<b>200</b>
The EKC’s acquisition strategy in Canada.....	202
Legal-based re-structuring: Monopolies and patent control.....	205
Growing a “Canadian” business .....	210
Vertical integration in action: The Canadian Card Company .....	215
Strategic acquisitions by the CKCoLtd: Three examples.....	223
Groves & Bell.....	224
The Stanley Dry Plate Company of Montreal (SDPC).....	232
Ramsey and Hogg .....	240
Conclusion.....	254
<b>Chapter Five: William Topley and the Ottawa photographic community - and evolving relationship .....</b>	<b>261</b>
Photographic community as business cluster.....	265
Building a photographic business cluster in Ottawa 1867 – 1899.....	271
The early years: 1867 - 1878 .....	272
1880s and 1890s.....	275
Diversifying the local photographic community .....	281
The Ottawa Camera Club: Connecting Topley to a larger community .....	290
Topley as part of the EKC network .....	301
Imagined meets local: Topley and the EKC’s use of periodicals .....	309
The <i>Kodak Company Trade Circular</i> and the local dealer.....	317
Conclusion.....	326
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>329</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>336</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>343</b>



## Figures

- Figure 0-1 : Historical Map of the Dominion of Canada, 1895. *Canadian Geographic*.  
[http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/mapping/historical\\_maps/1895.asp](http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/mapping/historical_maps/1895.asp) accessed April 10, 2014. 8
- Figure 2.1 : Value of imported photographic dry plates from Great Britain and the United States for the years 1888 to 1899. *Sessional Papers*, Number 3 (Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1888 volume XXI), 155-156. *Sessional Papers*, Number 1 (Third Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1889 volume XXII), 162-163. *Sessional Papers*, Number 4 (First Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1891 volume XXIV), 312-313; 615. *Sessional Papers*, Number 4 (Fifth Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1895 volume XXVII), 187. *Sessional Papers*, Number 5 (Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1891 volume XXXIV), 82-83; 372-373. 137
- Figure 2.2 : Number of Photographic manufacturers according to the 1891 federal census. *1891 Census*, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1891). 138
- Figure 4.1 : Advertisements for CKCoLtd-owned Ramsey (left) and Hogg (left) stock houses, which advertised products from EKC / CKCoLtd- owned Seed, Royal and Stanley dry plates and Canadian Card Co. Advertisements in *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*, 1-1 (March 1909), 26; 30. 256
- Figure 5.1 : Map of the immediate area surrounding Topley’s studio and photographic supply shop. “Insurance plan of the city of Ottawa, Canada, and adjoining suburbs and lumber districts, January 1888, revised January 1901.” Section 33, Ontario, Charles E. Goad Company Fonds R6990, Library and Archives Canada. 260
- Figure 5.2 : Topley’s studio and photographic supply shop at 132 Sparks Street, Ottawa. “W.J. Topley Store, 132 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ont.” May, 1911. Credit: PA-042707 Library and Archives Canada / Topley Fonds. 277
- Figure 5.3 : “Photographers” listing in the *Ottawa Business Directory*, 1898. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography Library, Library and Archives Canada. 278
- Figure 5.4 : The Topley Company “Topco Prints Price List for Developing, Printing and Enlarging” sales brochure, c. 1900. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography library, Library and Archives Canada. 280
- Figure 5.5 : “Advertisements” *Ottawa Naturalist*, 10-1 (April 1896). “Topley, 132 Sparks Street. Come in and see latest photos. Kodaks to rent.” Early Canadiana Online, Early Canadian Periodicals, <http://eco.canadiana.ca/> accessed April 11, 2012. 285
- Figure 5.6 : Toronto Camera Club announcement in *Amateur Photographer*, 26 March 1886. 295
- Figure 5.7 : Advertisement for Toronto department store, with large space for amateur photography, “Canada’s Greatest Store – The T. Eaton Co., Toronto, Ontario”. *The Globe*, 15 May 1899. Added emphasis due to poor quality of microfiche. 305

Figure 5.8 : Advertisement, for WM S Topley [error by printer], which was published in 1876, shortly after Topley left the Notman studio to establish his own studio. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography library, Library and Archives Canada. 313

Figure 5.9 : Advertisement, “Topley Studio and Photo Supplies for Amateurs”, *The Canadian Men & Women of the Times* [Ottawa], 1898. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography library, Library and Archives Canada. 314

Figure 5.10 : (left) *Canadian Kodak Trade Circular*, 1-9 (December 1904); (right) CKCoLtd advertisement, c. 1923 with text “At your dealer’s”. “All out-doors invites your Kodak” Canadian Kodak Co., Limited – Toronto: 1923. 2005.001.1.1.116, Kodak Canada Corporate Archives and Heritage Collection, Ryerson University. 321

## Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisors Elizabeth Edwards and Kelley Wilder for their endless patience, advice, guidance and feedback. I could not have asked for a better supervisory team.

I would like to acknowledge the friendship, advice and commiseration offered by the doctoral students and historians I have met at the various conferences I have attended during my time at DMU. As I drifted outside of my disciplinary comfort zone, the conferences provided a wonderful testing ground for new ideas. In particular, the Research Society of Victorian Periodicals and the Harvard Business School's working seminar series were invaluable in helping me work through several issues. Also, I couldn't have done without the wonderful networking opportunities which occurred at DMU's PHRC annual conference dinners. Amazing conversations are the best remedy for writing. A special thank you to Juliet Baillie, Leigh Gleason and Casey Riley for continuing the conversations over the years.

Thanks are in order for the archivists who facilitated the best part of this thesis – the hunt for information. Katherine Short at DMU Special Collections; John Falconer at the British Library for granting me access to the Kodak Ltd archive; Cathy Conner and Jesse Peers at the George Eastman Museum's Legacy collection for weeks worth of visits; Nancy Martin and Lori Birrell for extending me "special" peer-to-peer privileges in the research room; Susan Patrick for access to the Ryerson University Special Collection's Canadian Kodak Company archive at short notice; Bob Lansdale at the Photographic Historical Society of Canada for continued interest and support in my research; Amy Vena at Bausch & Lomb; and James Merrick at the Stanley Museum.

I would also like to thank my employer, Library and Archives Canada for offering me support in the form of funds and time. A special thank you to my colleagues for their moral support and advice, and to the managers that I have had the pleasure of working for during the duration of this thesis project: Jim Burant, Bruno Lemay, Pascal LeBlond, Sandy Ramos, Amy Tector, and Lisa Tremblay-Goodyer.

Finally, a huge thank you to my friends and family for their patience and support. Especially to my husband and true partner in life, Justin. Big hugs and kisses to my kids: my daughter Georgia for her endless patience while I worked; and my two thesis babies, Andrew (June 2012) and Audrey (October 2015) for being excellent sleepers, and freeing up my evenings when I really needed them the most.

**Figure 0-1: Historical Map of the Dominion of Canada, 1895.** *Canadian Geographic*.  
[http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/mapping/historical\\_maps/1895.asp](http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/mapping/historical_maps/1895.asp) accessed April 10, 2014.



## Key

- 1: Toronto, Ontario – Location of Canadian Kodak Co. Ltd; Ramsey stock house; Groves & Bell.
- 2: Ottawa, Ontario – Nation’s Capital; Location of Topley Studio.
- 3: Hamilton, Ontario – Location of Farmer Bros.
- 4: Montreal, Quebec – Location of Stanley Dry Plate Co.; Hogg stock house; Notman.
- 5: Rochester, NY – Home of George Eastman; Initial location of Eastman Kodak Co.

## Preface

In 1905, Ottawa portrait photographer and photographic supplies retailer William James Topley attended a Bausch and Lomb dealers convention in Rochester N.Y. Part of the convention included an invitation by George Eastman to tour the manufacturing facilities at Kodak Park, also located in Rochester.<sup>1</sup> As one of over seventy-five dealers in attendance, the 1905 trip was a chance for Topley to associate with a growing community of businessmen who shared and participated in a network borne from their connection to the Eastman Kodak Company (EKC) and other related industry participants, including Bausch and Lomb.<sup>2</sup>

In this thesis I explore the questions as to how the EKC formed, shaped, altered or re-structured the community of related photographic industry participants in Canada between 1885 and 1910, and what it meant for local dealers such as Topley to be a part of both the local, and wider national and increasingly international community of EKC connected actors. I argue that Topley in all likelihood secured his position as the Canadian agent for Bausch and Lomb based upon the industry connections developed as a local dealer for the EKC beginning in the late 1880s.

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter from E. Bausch to George Eastman, 21 February 1905, incoming correspondences January – August 1905, manuscript collection, George Eastman Legacy collection, George Eastman Museum (GEM).

<sup>2</sup> The Eastman Kodak Company (EKC) was not the only name attributed to the Kodak brand during its early existence, but I will use this term throughout to provide a consistent terminology for a company that changed names and incarnations frequently through its early expansion period 1889-1910. Company names, including Eastman Dry Plate Company, Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company, Kodak Ltd, Eastman Kodak Company, Canadian Kodak Company Ltd, Eastman Kodak Company of New Jersey, are but a few examples. See Appendix A for a chart/timeline of when and where company names were in use.

By the late 1880s Topley had begun to transition his studio practice (initiated in the 1860s) from the existing predominant method of photographic manufacturing and industry (portraits and album views) to the distribution and sales of the emerging industry of mass-produced photographic materials and related services. As part of the larger focus of the thesis, I am interested in questions such as: How did this transition happen? How did Topley translate a seemingly local distribution and production network of photographic production, to inclusion in a corporate structure which placed him as a vital part of national and international distribution system?

To begin answering this line of inquiry, it was clear that it was necessary to take an analytical step back and trace the large industry-level changes that were occurring in Canada during this period. By attempting to control the photographic market from processing of raw materials through to distribution and advertising, Eastman and the EKC (through the establishment of the Canadian Kodak Co., Ltd.), were eschewing the existing model of “niche” production within the photographic industry. They moved away from a manufacturing model, which focused solely on a regional and/or specific segment of a market, such as dry-plates, albumen papers or specialty lenses. The EKC employed modern business practices such as professional management, merger and acquisition, vertical integration and government supported tax exemptions or relief to make photography an economically and globally viable industry. These practices form central strands of the account that follows.

## Introduction

This thesis documents and examines the corporate strategy and community engagement that the EKC developed to harness the power of the existing social and professional photographic networks in Canada. It constitutes the baseline of my research which investigates how the EKC accomplished the larger actions of cultural and economic incorporation. It is framed as a large micro-history of photographic manufacturing and distribution in Canada. The theoretical positions and analysis of the re-structuring of the Canadian manufacturing and distribution industry are examined through the experiences of Ottawa professional photographer and photographic business owner William James Topley (active 1868-1907), EKC / CKCoLtd employee John Garrison Palmer (active 1886-1921) and the creation of the CKCoLtd itself as a legally recognized corporate body in 1899.

I ask three primary questions: Why did the EKC enter the Canadian photographic manufacturing industry? Upon entrance, how did the EKC re-structure the existing Canadian manufacturing and distribution networks? What impact did this EKC restructuring have on the Canadian industrial landscape and community of users, both professional and amateur? In answering these questions I examine how the company's success in Canada also lies in the cultural processes the EKC enlisted to make themselves meaningful.

I examine at the social, economic and political actors, processes and controversies that facilitated the sale and promotion of American-led consumerism,

embracing goods, ideas and services, outside of the United States of America between 1885 and 1914. I also include the EKC's work in Canada as part of a larger successful global incorporation of the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry that seemingly favoured the EKC. In assessing the EKC's impact on the photographic industry in Canada specifically, an analysis of photographic participants reveals how the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials and services evolved in a dispersed and foreign market. I describe the connections which were necessary for the materials and services to successfully extend from the corporate based "industry" into the local community-based consumer market. In doing so, I begin to disrupt the accepted notion that the EKC alone altered the existing market and industry for photography, by introducing the Kodak camera, beginning in 1888. I argue that the process of change took several decades, and encompassed a wide range of necessary industry and peripheral industry connections to accomplish, and the EKC's most successful accomplishment was the re-organization of the existing "photographic industry" connections.

### **Defining the parameters**

The period 1885 to 1910 is one of transition in the Canadian photographic industry, from an industry defined by loosely connected industrial based networks of small-scale manufacturers, to a largely corporate-based industry dominated by a foreign large-scale manufacturer. Supported by the Canadian federal government as an economic and political strategy, the expanding and increasingly cohesive network of domestic



photographers and industry participants in Canada provided an opportunity for development by foreign manufacturers in the late 1880s and 1890s.

In moving away from a system that primarily serviced regional based communities in the late 1880s to one increasingly incorporated by a foreign company, the Canadian photographic communities were often able to strengthen their ties to national and international photographic communities. The two foreign photographic companies which had the largest impact in shaping the emerging Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution networks and which figure as a major part of this thesis are the Stanley Dry Plate Company (SDPC) and the EKC.

Within five years of establishing an independent corporate form in 1899 (the CKCoLtd), the EKC acquired control of the Canadian manufacturers who were the largest threat of competition, and/or whose manufacturing facilities, techniques, patents or personnel could enhance the continued growth of the EKC. They disrupted the existing distribution network, directly impacting how photographic materials were sold in Canada. They accomplished this by re-structuring how the participants in the domestic photographic industry interacted with itself and with the wider international communities.

Drawing upon actor-network theory in my analysis, I approach the networked photographic communities in Canada as an evolving series of connections and/or conflicts between two or more actants.<sup>3</sup> Each connection links the actant to a larger network of photographic manufacturers, distributors, consumers and other related

---

<sup>3</sup> The term “actant” is selected as it applies to human and non-human participants, as identified by Bruno Latour for use in actor-network theory methodology. The use of the term will be explored in further detail in Chapter Two, as part of the larger discussion of Actor-Network Theory.

participants inside and outside of Canada. Approaching the communities in this manner enables an analysis of how the EKC's modern American-centric business practices altered the existing photographic industry in the early 1900s. It is also reflective of larger trends in the manufacturing and distribution sector, and the photographic industry specifically.

## **Why Canada?**

During the period being examined, the EKC were expanding their manufacturing and distribution efforts into multiple foreign countries (see Appendix A). Focusing on Canada helps to better isolate the regional and political contexts of the EKC's expansion as a multi-national corporation. In doing so, I answer questions including why did the EKC seek to establish a separate Canadian branch? Why did they not continue to export directly to Canadian distributors from its American and British factories? How did the Canadian company fit into the larger and increasingly international EKC corporation? What did it mean for local dealers of photographic materials such as Topley to be a part of a wider national and international community of EKC connected participants?

Canada is a former British colony and also a geographical neighbour and close trade partner to the United States. As such, this study of the Canadian photographic industry provides an opportunity to examine how the American industrial model of manufacturing and distribution replaced the older British model during the late nineteenth century, in a market that was closely tied to both nations. I address these

questions, mindful of Alexandra Palmer's study of the Canadian fashion industry.<sup>4</sup>

Palmer argues that Canada is sympathetic to, and reliant upon the United States, while simultaneously allied to Europe and a colonial past – a situation that has rarely been discussed in Canada in academic terms, for fashion, or any other consumer industry.<sup>5</sup> By recognizing and examining Canadian industrial histories, future scholars will be better able to set Canadian photographic and manufacturing history within an international context.

I argue that an analysis of the EKC's economic and cultural incorporation of the Canadian photographic industry by the early 1900s, and its effects on the transition of professional photographers from a role largely defined as *producer*, to that of *retailer*, may be applied to a larger global re-appraisal of the historic and contemporary market shifts within the photographic industry, and consumer studies in general. The study presented here may be used to examine the histories of photography in geographical areas currently under-examined. It provides a model for interpretation of how the EKC entered and eventually controlled a foreign market in areas which may or may not have had a domestic industry prior to the EKC's introduction.

Again, the focus must return to *how* the EKC / CKCoLtd accomplished this feat in a sparsely populated country such as Canada. In the following chapters, I argue that by entering the Canadian market with a firm corporate plan to re-structure the existing manufacturing and distribution network of photographic materials in Canada, the EKC /

---

<sup>4</sup> Alexandra Palmer, ed., *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

CKCoLtd was able to make the domestic photographic industry reliant on the corporation.

This thesis is not intended to provide a Canadian perspective of the photographic industry, but rather use Canada as a model of examination which may be applied to other under-represented locations or communities. However, it adds to a small body of work that has attempted to place Canada in a wider context of photography's development and history. While much has been written about Topley's mentor William Notman, comparatively little has been published about William Topley, and the nineteenth century Canadian photographic market in general, with as little understanding of how Topley fits into the accepted historiography of photography, Canadian or otherwise.<sup>6</sup>

Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard introduced their 2011 edited *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* with a reference to Topley, situating his work as part of a larger body of resources available for research in the collections of the national repository for public and private records, Library and Archives Canada.<sup>7</sup> In acknowledging the Topley archive, they argue that his work (and that of the remainder

---

<sup>6</sup> Ralph Willsey, "Lord of the Lens: William Topley's works from the cornerstone of the pictorial history of Canada," *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 2, 2000. Willsey wrote "His [William Topley's] works seem to appear in every book on Canada's history ever printed. He dominated his field to a greater extent than even Yousuf Karsh, but, like most photographers, he gets the back seat and writes the front...it takes considerable effort to find out anything about the photographer beyond a single paragraph in the Canadian Encyclopaedia. Andrew Rodger, "William Topley: Reflections on a Capital Photographer", *Photography*, Library and Archives Canada (archived) website: <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/topley/index-e.html> accessed November 13, 2011. Regarding Notman, see: Stanley Triggs, "The Notman Photographic Archives." in *History of Photography*, 20, 2 (1996), 180-185; Stanley Triggs, *William Notman, The Stamp of a Studio* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach house Press, 1985); Gordon Dodds, Stanley Triggs and Roger Hall, *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens* (Toronto: David Godine Publishing, 1993).

<sup>7</sup> Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, eds., *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

of the greater library and archive) suggests a number of far-reaching concerns in the study of the photograph in Canada. I address one of the concerns on which Payne and Kunard do not elaborate, but which I argue exists – the recognition and study of the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials in Canada, and the EKC’s re-organization of the existing system/ industry in the late nineteenth century. Although it is outside the immediate scope of this thesis, I further argue that the work I accomplish in tracing the industry will assist future scholars in understanding how the re-structured industrial network affected the production and reception of photographic images in Canada.

Payne and Kunard state that the Canadian photographic historiography is a nascent field and a rare subject of consolidated scholarly analyses.<sup>8</sup> They argue that the first effort to produce a narrative history of photography in Canada, historian Ralph Greenhill’s 1965 *Early Photography in Canada*, marked photography’s entrance into the art museum, school curriculum and marketplace in Canada, and initiated an increasing body of scholarly work.<sup>9</sup> Payne and Kunard link Greenhill’s work to the broader photographic historiography by comparing it to Newhall’s *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present*. They argue that like Newhall, the organization of Greenhill’s text is structured around photographic technological advancements, and while not a format unique to Newhall, has been widely adopted by scholars attempting to tell a narrative history of the medium.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 3; 232.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*. Ralph Greenhill, *Early Photography in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

<sup>10</sup> Payne and Kunard, *Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, 232.

Greenhill's text established a canon of Canadian photography centered on particular photographers and images, which became the standard referenced text for commentators of the early history of the use of photography in Canada.<sup>11</sup> However, the vast majority of the work produced after Greenhill's text focuses on the image created, and often, its role in creating a Canadian cultural identity. Payne and Kunard address this predominantly cultural work of photography in Canada by including essays that question the essentialist conceptualization of Canadian nationhood and discuss issues of citizenship, class, race, geographical belonging and cultural memory which have been visually promoted through the creation and dissemination of photographs.

Payne and Kunard's volume includes the work of Joan Schwartz, whose examination of photography's role in the geographical imagining of Canada is recognizably part of Schwartz's larger focus on Canadian identity and nineteenth century photography.<sup>12</sup> Schwartz's work in the imagined geographies of Canada and the broader reception of Canadian photographic production by European photographers, complements the arguments I have formulated in my research. For example, I argue that the transatlantic periodical industry enabled Canadian photographers and photographic

---

<sup>11</sup> Also relevant to the 1979 updated co-edited volume with Andrew Birrell. Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920* (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979).

<sup>12</sup> Schwartz's scholarly work is too numerous to critique in this thesis, however, a select reference of recent titles she has produced provide an overview of her direction of study. They include: "Felix Man's 'Canada': Imagined Geographies and Pre-Texts of Looking," in Payne and Kunard (eds), *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, 3-22; *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003); "The Archival Garden: Photographic Plantings, Interpretive Choices, and Alternative Narratives," in Terry Cook (ed.) *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions: Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels* (Society of American Archivists, 2011), 69-110; "Complicating the Picture: Place and Memory between Representation and Reflection," in James Opp and John Walsh (eds), *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 292-312; "Overlapping Ambiguities, Disciplinary Perspectives, and Metaphors of Looking: Reflections on a Landscape Photograph," in Stephen Daniels, Dydia DeLyser, J Nicholas Entrikin, and Douglas Richardson (eds), *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds Geography and the Humanities* (London: Routledge, 2011), 227-236.

distributors to participate in a community beyond their immediate geographical borders, and conversely, for foreign photographic manufacturers and distributors to place themselves in close proximity to a Canadian audience. Both were an integral part of forming connections between existing and newly forming communities, which eventually lead to a reconfiguration of how the photographic industry is structured. By recognizing that what is being studied (the periodical supported communities) is largely “imagined”, it is possible to extract meaning of what it means to identify photographic industry participants as “Canadian”, and how it relates to broader geographical and industrial concerns.<sup>13</sup>

In documenting the history of photographic production in Canada in the nineteenth century, the majority of scholarly work has focused on the female worker, through a gender studies lens. Historian Colleen Skidmore’s examination of the female worker in the Notman studio revealed the gendered division of labour in the studio system of the 1850s – 1870s, providing information on Notman’s studio practice and the studio environment through which Topley entered the photographic market.<sup>14</sup> Carol Williams presents the efforts of Hannah Maynard in British Columbia as part of her larger exploration of photography and aboriginal studies in Western Canada.<sup>15</sup> As part of her work in gender studies Williams situates Maynard’s connection with, and regular

---

<sup>13</sup> Benedict Anderson’s concept of “Imagined community” will be explored in Chapter Two. In relation to a Canadian “imagined community”, see Sarah Stacy’s essay “The Economic Nationalism of *Weekend Magazine*” in Payne and Kunard (eds), *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, 136-152.

<sup>14</sup> Colleen Skidmore, “Women in Photography at the Notman Studio, Montreal, 1856-1881” (unpublished PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1999); “Women Workers in Notman’s Studio.” In *History of Photography* 20-2 (1996), 122-128.

<sup>15</sup> Carol Williams, *Framing the West, Gender and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); “Economic Necessity, Political Incentive, and International Entrepreneurialism: The “Frontier” Photography of Hannah Maynard.” in Payne and Kunard (eds), *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, 23-42.

correspondence to, the female editor of the photographic periodical *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, and in the process provides information about the photographic industry during this period upon which I am able to build.<sup>16</sup> Williams ties Maynard's participation in the periodical press to a "global merchandising" of her studio work, and points to the global success and demand for "Indian" photographs, real or imagined, as part of Maynard's success.<sup>17</sup> Williams extends the connections Maynard and her photographic work established in Canadian and American photographic communities, and provides links to wider professional areas including tourism, anthropology and museums.<sup>18</sup>

It is in the work of these scholars which I initially situate my research, seeking to establish connections to communities beyond the defined and recognized Canadian border, as in the work of Schwartz and Williams. I draw upon an interdisciplinary approach that ties the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials to the cultural work of photography as recognized by Payne and Kunard, and in the process, further expose the possibilities of photographic study in Canada. However, unlike the work of my predecessors, I draw attention to the Canadian photographic communities as part of the larger industrial re-structuring that the EKC was conducting on a global scale beginning in the late nineteenth century.

---

<sup>16</sup> Williams, "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive, and International Entrepreneurialism", 24-28.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 24; 28.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 31.



In this manner, my work is also grounded in Reese Jenkins' *Images and Enterprise*, which will be discussed further in this chapter.<sup>19</sup> My work bridges the two approaches together, bringing the business-centric approach of Jenkins to the cultural work of contemporary scholars of Canadian photographic history. In doing so, the work adds to the existing scholarship about Canadian photographic practice, and also provides a means for future scholarship in the area of photographic production by exposing new areas of research.

### **Defining the term “Industry”**

Defining “industry” is of proven difficulty for business and economic historians, as there are temptations to draw the boundaries too widely - to accommodate those in industries where anti-trust accusations are likely, or too narrowly (to enable small businesses attempting to ward off the big corporations).<sup>20</sup> At its most basic, industry can be defined as “a distinct group of productive or profit-making enterprises”.<sup>21</sup>

Economic historian Luis Cabral suggests that when considering specific industries (as with the photographic industry), the term “industrial organization” is a better suited terminology, as it includes, in its definition, how markets operate and how firms compete with each other, through highlighting microeconomic concerns such as

---

<sup>19</sup> Reese Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry 1839-1925* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975).

<sup>20</sup> Anita McGahan, *How Industries Evolve: Principles for Achieving and Sustaining Superior Performance* (Cambridge: Harvard Business Press, 2004), 95-96; Luis Cabral, *Introduction to Industrial Organization* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> "Industry," Definition 2(c) *Merriam-Webster.com*. Merriam-Webster, accessed September 4, 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/industry>.

advertising, price competition, product positioning and research and development.<sup>22</sup>

However, for the sake of clarity throughout this thesis, I apply the accepted, if imperfect, term “photographic industry” to denote, and comprise the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials intended for the production of image making, and not inclusionary of the resulting images themselves.

As I explain in greater detail in Chapter Two, the boundaries of where the “photographic industry” start and stop is fluid and changes over time, as participants roles change and peripheral and/or related businesses and industries (such as publishing) are connected to corporations centered in photographic production and consumption. The commanding corporation, in this case the EKC, alter the boundaries of the industry.

Similar to there being differing ideas and uses of the term industry in business studies, the term as applied to photography appears in various forms in the existing historiography of photography. I am interested in the idea of photographic industry as a definable entity in the classical economic sense, as in an automotive, film or music industry.<sup>23</sup> In this sense, “industry” refers to a group of companies that are related in

---

<sup>22</sup> Cabral, *Introduction to Industrial Organization*, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Industry as defined in key business texts concerning investment, and more recently from the field of industrial organization: Philip A. Fisher, *Common Stocks and Uncommon Profits and Other Writings*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Hoboken: Wiley, 2003); John Burr Williams, *The Theory of Investment Value* (Burlington: Fraser Publishing Co, 1997); Benjamin Graham, *The Intelligent Investor: The Definitive Book on Value Investing* (New York: Harper Business, 2006). For industrial organization, see for example: E. T. Grether, "Industrial Organization: Past History and Future Problems", *American Economic Review*, 60 (1970): 83-89; Paul Belleflamme and Martin Peitz, *Industrial Organization: Markets and Strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Cabral, *Introduction to Industrial Organization*, 3-4; William Shepherd, *The Economics of Industrial Organization*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2004); Oz Shy, *Industrial Organization: Theory and Applications* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995). For examples of the study of other cultural based industries such as music, see: Patrik Wikström, *The Music Industry: Music in the Cloud* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2014); David Suisman *Selling Sound: The Commercial Revolution in American Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

terms of their primary business activities.<sup>24</sup> Included in the definition is manufacturing of a saleable product, which is also tied to distribution that in turn, includes aspects of sales and marketing.

I do not include direct study of the consumption or use of the manufactured products (such as use of EKC goods in professional or amateur practice), as this lies outside the immediate scope of my research, and is another thesis in its own right. I also differ in a definition of “industry” from the existing work of scholars such as Anne McCauley.<sup>25</sup> In *Industrial Madness*, her work defining a photographic industry in Paris in the 1860s and 1870s focused on the identification of a photographic industry of marketable materials, which created and enabled the consumption of photographic images, in the form of the *carte de visite*. In contrast, I am interested in the manufacture of the materials that enabled the creation of images, not the images themselves or the cultural reception of the manufactured images.

The economic-based definition I have adopted is in opposition to the predominant method of applying “industry” in the study of photography, which relates to its use *in* industry. In terms of the study of photography *in* industry, the work of Elspeth Brown in *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929*, and David Nye’s *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930* stand as example of the type of work I am *not* pursuing. Brown for instance, examines the cultural production of photography and its uses by

---

<sup>24</sup> In modern economies, there are dozens of different industry classifications, which are typically grouped into larger categories called sectors. See for example Harvey Krahn and Graham Lowe, *Work, Industry, and Canadian Society* (Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1993), xii, 430.

<sup>25</sup> Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

examining how photography began to be adopted in the corporate landscape to rationalize the mechanization of labour and its processes, the evolving uses of applied psychology, and the promotion of consumer products.<sup>26</sup> Nye examined the use of photographs in the shaping of corporate identity and image.<sup>27</sup>

This study will be of use to historians of photography and visual culture. However I am also interested in examining the photographic industry as an intersection between the public actions of corporations, in this instance the EKC, and the personal or local connection between the local distributor/dealer and consumers, and how the connections were altered. It is through the tracing of the connections between participants in the purely economic exchange of materials that defines what I identify as the photographic manufacturing industry in Canada between 1885 and 1910.

Identifying “industry” participants, direct and peripheral, through the connections they established or experienced with other industry and non-industry between 1885 and 1910 is essential to framing further examinations of how the photographic industry changed during this period, and how the changes affected the existing industry participants and consumers. Unlike the film industry for example, which served as conduits for invention by concentrating internally on sales and distribution and externally for inventions and innovation, the EKC manipulated the existing industry connections to direct their energies and power outward to external

---

<sup>26</sup> Elspeth Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005); Julie Brown, “Book review : The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929”, *Technology and Culture*, 47 (June 2006), 648-649.

<sup>27</sup> David Nye, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985).

connections for sales and distribution, and internally for invention.<sup>28</sup> Focusing on the American photographic and film industry between 1839 and 1925, Reese Jenkins is one of the few historians to have examined the photographic manufacturing industry through an application of microeconomic detail into understanding how the market operates. His *Images and Enterprise* included a study of mergers and acquisitions for example, as a means to explain how the industry (as producer of materials) changed over time.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to Jenkins, there is a small but growing body of scholarship which expands upon the existing definition of a photographic industry and its participants. In *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*, François Brunet discusses the lack of acknowledgement of the separation between “artist” and “amateur photographer”, and the role of the EKC in the development or popularization of each.<sup>30</sup> He further argues that the popularization of amateur photography has been kept as an aside in the study of photographic history.<sup>31</sup>

According to Jenkins, it was the strategic decision to change focus and create a new market for his products that made Eastman / EKC revolutionary, however Brunet draws attention to Eastman’s initial failed or flawed strategy to target professional photographers, and how the launch of a new product (film based system) did not create

---

<sup>28</sup> Vanessa Schwartz, *It's so French!: Hollywood, Paris, and the making of cosmopolitan film culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>29</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*. As will be discussed further in Chapter One, several historians have examined identified aspects of photographic industries, including Anne McCauley, Nancy Martha West, Steve Edwards, Maki Fukuoka, Michael Pritchard, Jordan Bear, Tanya Sheehan and Kerry Ross. Each has analysed a specific component of the manufacture, distribution, advertising, and consumption of photographic materials and products.

<sup>30</sup> François Brunet, *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2000).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 215.

converts out of existing consumers.<sup>32</sup> Brunet also notes that the popularity of the EKC is the result of a specific context but is not solely responsible for the increasing popularity and mass-market appeal of photography amongst consumers.<sup>33</sup> He reasons that there appears to be a conscious refusal to give consideration to the EKC, often leading to a paralysis in historical deliberation, which is a particular point I address.<sup>34</sup>

I argue that to move beyond the existing stilted historical acknowledgement of the EKC's role in shaping the photographic industry, a broader interdisciplinary approach to studying the photographic industry at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century is required. To do so, I draw upon business and economic history, as well as social science, consumer studies and advertising theory. For example in Chapter Two, I include a closer examination of how terms such as "community" and more specifically "imagined community" apply to the development of the industry that supported the popularization of amateur photography during this period. Doing so assists in analysing how identities of "artist", "professional" and "amateur" photographer often co-existed in communities.

Academic studies of parallel culture/commodity based industries such as fashion and design provided a model for this study. They established methodologies for understanding how the changes in the photographic industry during the period 1885-1910 reflected the larger economic, consumer and cultural trends, and are reflected in my examination of international trade, import tariffs and the creation of branch plants (Chapter Two). To aid in understanding the EKC's approach in corporate organization

---

<sup>32</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*; Brunet, *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*, 229-232.

<sup>33</sup> Brunet, *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*, 232-233.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

and mergers and acquisitions (Chapter Three and Four), and the navigation of business clusters (Chapter Five) I also draw on scholarship in economic studies, business organization, and business history.

In Alexandra Palmer's edited volume *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, she included essays that focus on the production of "everyday" fashion and accessories, along with the creation of fashion "districts" in Toronto and Montreal. Much of the work drew upon federal census data and documented business mergers and acquisitions to analyse the evolving fashion manufacturing industry in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> Palmer and the volumes authors move away from a traditional focus of history of fashion as a history of dress, to examine how (and by whom) the items were made, and how they were marketed and sold. In her essay "Shop and Factory: The Ontario Millinery Trade in Transition, 1870-1930" historian Christina Bates discusses the production and retailing of women's hats in Ontario 1870-1930. Her study captures the wider industrial transition from locally produced and custom-made goods (niche) to factory assembled and imported products marketed and sold in large department stores.<sup>36</sup>

The work of Regina Blaszczyk also provides a model of how to approach the study of creative or cultural-based industries. Blaszczyk has published several studies that examine the intersection between design and commerce, seeking to understand the

---

<sup>35</sup> Alexandra Palmer, ed., *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Includes essays such as: Elaine Mackay, "Three Thousand Stitches: The Development of the Clothing Industry in Nineteenth-Century Halifax," 166-181; Elizabeth Sifton, "Montreal's Fashion Mile: St. Catherine Street, 1890-1930," 203-228.

<sup>36</sup> Christina Bates, "Shop and Factory: The Ontario Millinery Trade in Transition, 1870-1930," in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. Alexandra Palmer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 113-138.

connections among enterprises, society, and culture.<sup>37</sup> Blaszczyk specifically draws attention to the importance of recognizing the depth and breadth of participants who are necessary to make an industry function, and more importantly, evolve. Although she does not specifically identify her analysis as “networked”, the networked model of thinking is at its basis in that success centres on establishing connections between actants (human and non-human) to disseminate products, ideas and capital.<sup>38</sup>

Blaszczyk’s work has proved highly influential in forming my thinking regarding how the manufacturing industry traditionally interacted with distributors and retailers. She writes about the historical knowledge and perspective of the fashion industry in the introduction to her 2011 edited volume *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture and Consumers*:

To date, cultural historians of fashion have collected many of the pieces and assembled them to reveal a portrait of an elegant couple attired in haute couture, poised to promenade through the luxurious shops of the Champ Elysees, New Bond Street, or Fifth Avenue. Yet much is missing from the picture: the people on the side streets, dressed in ready-to-wear apparel or home sewn clothes they believed were stylish; the distant lofts where the clothing was designed; the garment factories where it was made; the stores where it was sold; and the advertising executives, retail managers, market researchers, design –school instructors, magazine editors, and other ingenious entrepreneurs who worked behind the scene to produce fashion.<sup>39</sup>

Her insight regarding the gaps in historians and scholars’ understandings of the fashion industry directly parallel the gaps I identified in my own survey of the photographic

---

<sup>37</sup> Regina Blaszczyk’s work includes: *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgewood to Corning* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2000); *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture and Consumers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); *The Color Revolution* (Boston: MIT Press, 2012).

<sup>38</sup> See specifically Blaszczyk’s introduction in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture and Consumers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); 17-19.

<sup>39</sup> Blaszczyk, *Producing Fashion*, 18.



manufacturing industry from the late nineteenth century onwards. In this survey, I am able to begin identifying the manufacturers and distributors who orchestrated and participated in the changing photographic industry during the end of the nineteenth century.

In Blaszczyk's *Imagining Consumers*, she traces the design, manufacture and distribution of goods, providing a detailed history and understanding of the housewares industry, and also informing our understanding of the nature and evolution of consumerism and retailing between the late eighteenth and early twentieth century in England and the United States. In addition to establishing a model for historical analysis, the information she provides regarding the "jobber" (wholesaler) and drummer (salesmen) trades greatly informed my understanding of the late nineteenth century distributor and retail history.<sup>40</sup>

Also pertinent to my research, is Kjetil Fallan's exploration of the state of design historiography. Similar to art history, and by extension photography, design history has traditionally focused much more on individual production than mass manufacturing, distribution and consumption.<sup>41</sup> Fallan draws our attention to design historian Alain Findeli, who proposes a more nuanced approach to design history based on a fuller understanding of the philosophy of history.<sup>42</sup> Findeli is essentially arguing for an examination of how consumers of industry at specific times responded to particular

---

<sup>40</sup> Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers*, 90-96.

<sup>41</sup> Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 17-18.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 32-33.

products, by embracing all (or at least as many as possible) of the many distinct and equally relevant ways of telling the story.<sup>43</sup>

Findeli's model supports the inclusion in this study of economic, political and organizational studies structures, as doing so reveal many different trajectories in photographic history that remain unexplained. Citing John Heskett, Fallan continues that design history must also broaden its horizons when regarding the spheres of production.<sup>44</sup> Fallan asserts a wider range of investigation that brings together production and consumption is required to rise above the mere connoisseurship represented by the artists and oeuvres approach.<sup>45</sup> The wider range of investigation may involve "business structures, professional and industrial organizations, economic and political policy, social influence and impact."<sup>46</sup> A broader range of study which brings together commercial production and consumption, as Heskett suggests, and which Fallan continues to endorse, is increasingly used in design history, and in a few instances in photographic history, as in the work of Steve Edwards, Anne McCauley, François Brunet, Thierry Gervais, and most recently, in Elizabeth Edwards' *The Camera as Historian*.<sup>47</sup>

Advertising and marketing history and theory also informs my analysis, particularly in Chapters Four and Five, where I draw upon the work of Susan Strasser,

---

<sup>43</sup> Alain Findeli, "Design History and Design Studies: Methodological, Epistemological and Pedagogical Inquiry" *Design Issues*, 11, 1 (1995), 43-65.

<sup>44</sup>Fallan, *Design History*, 18. John Heskett, "Industrial Design", in Conway, ed., *Design History: A Student's Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1987).

<sup>45</sup> Fallan, *Design History*, 18.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 18; Heskett, "Industrial Design", 125.

<sup>47</sup> In a review for *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris 1848-1871*, David Green draws parallels between the history of photography and the history of design. David Green, "Reviewed Work: *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris 1848-1871* by Elizabeth Anne McCauley" in *Journal of Design History* 8/ 2 (1995), 147-149.

Pamela Walker Laird, Jackson Lears, William Leach and Roland Marchand.<sup>48</sup> The EKC rarely figures within the histories and theory of advertising and marketing scholarship as a case for study, aside from brief mentions of the Kodak name and select advertising campaigns.<sup>49</sup> Rather, scholarship aids this study in developing an understanding of how the connections between the high level marketing efforts of the EKC and the community based efforts of the local dealer benefitted both parties and aided the EKC's re-organization of the existing photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in Canada.

Another source of scholarship regarding the EKC which lies outside of art history and which I draw upon in my study, is in legal history, in particular James Brock's examination of the anti-trust actions of the EKC in the twentieth century.<sup>50</sup> Written from the perspective of the economic effects of weak legal prosecution of corporations in violation of anti-trust law, Brock's research provides access to court documents that yielded valuable sources of information for my research, in conjunction with appropriate context of the legal consequences of such action.

Although outside the immediate scope of this thesis, accusations of monopoly building behaviour against the EKC, also often referred to in the contemporary

---

<sup>48</sup> Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1989); Pamela Walker Laird *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998); Walker Laird *Pull: Networking and Success since Benjamin Franklin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); William Leach *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994); and Roland Marchand *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>49</sup> Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 46-47 and 102-106; Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 33, 251 and 346.

<sup>50</sup> James Brock "Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust: The Durability of Kodak's Market Power", *University of Toledo Law Review* 14 (1982-1983), 653-698.

periodical press as a combine, cartel or trust, were a major concern in the photographic community in the early 1900s, particularly with independent dealers and manufacturers who were resisting the rapid growth of the EKC, yet this issue is rarely mentioned in the accepted historiography of photography.<sup>51</sup> Brock and Eastman biographers Ackerman and Brayer serve as the primary texts in this respect.

Additional business history texts which focus on the United States, such as C. Northcote Parkinson's *The Rise of Big Business: From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day*, and Alfred D. Chandler Jr.'s *The Visible Hand*, have incorporated a cursory survey of the EKC's business strategies in the context of mass production, mergers and acquisitions and marketing.<sup>52</sup> They both cite Jenkins in relation to the EKC's actions in the mass-production and managerial reform measures, as Eastman's actions have considerable educational value for business leaders. As such, their texts serve as a way in which to place the EKC in broader business and economic developments, and will be examined in the context of the discussion most relevant, in the main text of this thesis.

---

<sup>51</sup> Reese Jenkins (*Images & Enterprise*), and Eastman biographers George Ackerman and Elizabeth Brayer cite anti-trust accusations throughout their work, however, the intense and often violent overtones of the accusations levelled against the EKC are largely downplayed. Brock would appear to be anti-EKC, however, further investigation to strike a balance between the accounts is outside of the scope of this thesis.

<sup>52</sup> Alfred J. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press / Belknap, 1977); C. Northcote Parkinson, *The Rise of Big Business: From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day*, (Faraday: Littlehampton Book Services, 1977). In Chandler, the photographic industry, and the EKC in particular are included in a framework which examined the photographic manufacturing industry defined as follows: Daguerreotypes / glass plate negative, mass produced in Liverpool 1878 / celluloid (Eastman) 1889 replacing glass / Kodak camera in 1888 bringing photography in reach of the amateur.

## Micro-histories: Putting the EKC under the microscope

Elizabeth Edwards notes in *The Camera as Historian* that by the late nineteenth century the effects of various interlocking dynamics were so complex, fragmented, amorphous, localised, and contradictory that generalisations obscure as much as they reveal.<sup>53</sup> She argues that there is a need to shift away from a “homogenising, macroscopic perspective to the complex negotiations of the microscopic.”<sup>54</sup> The use of smaller, niche accounts to explore larger ideas has precedent in other historical-based disciplines. For example, Peter Galison’s approach to the history of science involves the exploration of micro-histories that concentrate on a deep understanding of a particular scientific community in order to develop a comprehensive interpretation of more general currents.<sup>55</sup>

I find value in using a micro-historical approach in my research as it affords the opportunity to follow and trace individual queries that yield new avenues for analysis. I shift away from the “homogenising, macroscopic perspective” of the EKC in existing scholarship as Edwards suggests, revealing the complexity of an industry in transition, which in turn can read as reflective of the larger developments in consumer culture.<sup>56</sup> Applying a singular participant’s experience in an examination of a larger photographic industrial landscape (as with Topley and Palmer) also provides an opportunity to bring the connections forged in, and maintained by, the photographic industry to a personal

---

<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 2-3.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Peter Galison, “Ten Problems in History of Philosophy and Science.” *Focus – ISIS* 99-1 (2008), 120. Microhistory is a well established method in historical studies. It allows scholars to ask “large questions in small spaces” Charles Joyner, *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture*, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1999), 1. Also see work of Carlos Ginzburg, such as “Microhistory, Two or Three Things That I Know about It”, in *Threads and Traces*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 193-214.

<sup>56</sup> Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*, 2-3.

and practical level. Doing so identifies where and when communities influence the evolving photographic industry.

Emma Rothschild argues in *The Inner Life of Empires*, that her micro-historical examination provides a layered and multi-faceted account of a family's history, which is of use in its specific details as much as the broader themes the results touch upon, such as slavery, information networks and economics.<sup>57</sup> She frames her study as an exploration of new ways of connecting the micro-histories of individuals and families to important or "macro-historical" inquiries and to the larger scene of which they were a part.<sup>58</sup> In this manner, I examine Topley and Palmer's professional experiences and interactions with expanded communities of photographic consumers and industry participants as a prism through which to study larger themes such as the rise of the modern multi-national corporation and the economic politics and social/ cultural influence and development in Canada post-Confederation.<sup>59</sup> Analysing Eastman and the EKC related actors actions in relation to the existing industry and community participants is fundamental to understanding why and more importantly, *how* "Kodak" would dominate the photographic marketplace in North America in the twentieth century.

Through micro-historical investigation I argue that the EKC's ability to identify, navigate and/or foster networked relationships between the existing economic, political

---

<sup>57</sup> Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 3. According to Rothschild, her study of the Johnstones' family history of the eighteenth-century is as much a history of how individuals make money by use of information as it is a history of the institution of slavery.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

<sup>59</sup> "Post-Confederation" specifically refers to events which occur after the Dominion of Canada was formed on July 1, 1867 when four British colonies united in an effort for self-governance.

and social-based communities largely contributed to the level of success they would achieve in Canada by the early twentieth century. The EKC (through the CKCoLtd) was able to construct a cohesive photographic network that was at once understood as “Canadian”, yet also readable as part of the EKC brand. They accomplished this by engaging with existing communities such as professional and amateur photographer associations and camera clubs, and coordinating efforts with local sellers and the periodical press. In doing so, the research presented within this thesis questions the EKC’s incorporating affect within the global photographic industry, looking beyond the existing largely singular American and English narratives.

### **The EKC in Canada: micro-history of macro issues**

When the CKCoLtd was established in November 1899, the EKC had been marketing and selling their goods to Canadians for over a decade. Discussing the Canadian market in an 1899 corporate correspondence, Eastman wrote “There is not a very large field in Canada but it is one which we think ought to be occupied by us”.<sup>60</sup> I am interested in the existing industry pre-CKCoLtd, and how Eastman and the EKC set about “occupying” it. My archival research makes it clear that by 1885 there was a small, yet emerging

---

<sup>60</sup> Dec 6 1899, Eastman to George Davison; Eastman Kodak Archive #003, file LB 3 P.428, UofR; “Canadian Co.” For purposes of doing business in Canada a company with \$150,000 capital, \$50,000 in preference and \$100,000 in common shares has been incorporated; premises have been rented and are being fitted up. The manager is to be J.G. Palmer, formerly of Palmer & Coughton, one of the concerns that we bought out. There is not a very large field in Canada but it is one which we think ought to be occupied by us. The capital stock will be issued to the Eastman Kodak Co as the purchase price for its right to use the trademarks of the company and in consideration of a certain amount of cash which the law compels the company to have. This cash will be paid back to the EKC for goods... so that the whole thing amounts merely to our establishing a small branch in Canada and stocking it with goods.”

photographic manufacturing industry in Canada, with several photographic dry plate factories in operation, including an American branch plant of the Stanley Dry Plate Company (SDPC) of Massachusetts, located outside of Montreal. It is from this point which I began my analyses, with evidence of an industrialized photographic industry, and existing ties to manufacturers outside of Canada. This beginning point of foreign industrial ties is an essential component in understanding how the EKC re-shaped the existing photographic manufacturing and distribution landscape in Canada by 1905. It provides evidence that the EKC was actively re-structuring an existing industry, rather than simply entering an empty or non-existent market.

Towards the end of 1899, George Eastman and his senior managers decided to convert their existing business relationships with the Canadian photographic industry into an official EKC branded factory and distribution center. The decision came during a period when “occupying” a foreign industry was becoming part of the overall plan in the company for international branding in the late 1890s and early 1900s.<sup>61</sup> In Canada, it resolved the issue of high import fees and taxes that the EKC was paying to sell material in the Canadian market. To successfully enter the Canadian photographic manufacturing industry in 1899 as a domestic manufacturer, Eastman and the senior managers at EKC and EKC-held subsidiaries drew upon the aggressive business tactics and corporate

---

<sup>61</sup> Various correspondences between George Davidson, Samuel Mora and Eastman, August – December 1899; manuscript series, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Samuel H. Mora was the manager of Solio paper division, and George Davidson, was an amateur of photographer of some renown whom Eastman appointed as the manager of Kodak Ltd. For more details on the new role of executives within late 19<sup>th</sup> century business see: Clark Davis, *White-Collar Life & Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).



imaging which was being employed in other industries in the United States, such as the oil, gas, electric and railroad industries.<sup>62</sup>

In discussing companies moving into foreign territory, Richard Naylor argues that international monopoly requires a national (originating territory) monopoly first, secured through control of industrial techniques protected by patent law and other economic and political measures.<sup>63</sup> In these broader histories of American industrial progress, Eastman occasionally receives a mention in the context of larger themes, such as patent control. However, the accounts are largely singular in their references, in that they point to Jenkins as the validating source of Eastman's / the EKC's importance, rather than questioning how the company's success was achieved.

I am not disputing the fact that the EKC was successful in establishing and maintaining a clear dominance in the amateur photographic market by the early twentieth century. However, I contend that the largely accepted ties between Eastman, the EKC and mass-commercialization of an amateur photographic market was accomplished to the detriment of the acknowledgment of the community of participants and other actants which contributed to the evolving idea of what it meant to participate in the photographic industry.

As Bruno Latour argues, older social relations, in this case amateur photography and the Kodak cameras impact on the photographic industry, have been packaged in

---

<sup>62</sup> See: Leonard DeGraaf, *Edison and the Rise of Innovation* (New York: Stirling Signature, 2013); Ernest Freeberg, *The Age of Edison: Electric Light and the Invention of Modern America* (New York: Penguin Press, 2013); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America : Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007); David Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994); R.T. Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1997); Chandler, *The Visible Hand*.

<sup>63</sup> Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, II-38.

such a way as to seem to provide a ready explanation for many unresolved subjects and queries.<sup>64</sup> However, Latour continues to assert that the time has come to have a much closer look at the types of aggregates thus assembled and the ways they connect.<sup>65</sup> I posit that applying a micro level examination to macro level queries is one way to begin this questioning of existing explanations.

The transformation of Canada's photographic industry from a network of small and often regionally focused communities of manufacturers and consumers to an industry that allowed for, and encouraged, consolidation and inclusion into a multi-national industry was but one advantage of the EKC's increasing economic and political power in the early twentieth century. In the American federal government anti-trust lawsuit brought against the EKC in 1915, Brock notes "the power that the firm [EKC] subsequently amassed was neither normal, nor neutral. It was strategically aimed, assiduously pursued, and successfully executed to eliminate competition throughout the industry."<sup>66</sup> In eliminating their competition the EKC was able to re-construct the industry to its own advantage. They were able to directly impact what kinds of photographic materials were produced and how and where they were distributed.

The EKC / CKCoLtd's control of the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials and services in Canada required a successful re-structuring in how the existing industry participants functioned and interacted with themselves, and other segments of the related photographic communities. To encourage consumption the

---

<sup>64</sup> Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 22.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Brock, "Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust", 655.

EKC also needed to capture or otherwise engage the existing cultural-based photographic communities. This included professional and amateur photographers, as well as the local related agents that supported the domestic photographic industry, such as the periodical press and federal government. The EKC's successful growth into these areas in Canada required an understanding of the existing political, economic and cultural networks as a primary entry or access points into the Canadian market.

As noted earlier, in 1899 Eastman referred to the Canadian photographic field as "not very large".<sup>67</sup> As evidence of the small size of the Canadian photographic market compared to the United States, in a letter dated December 5, 1901, Eastman wrote to his friend and business partner Henry Strong in Rochester that Canadian sales accounted for only 1.2% of the overall growth of Eastman Kodak sales in United States and Canada.<sup>68</sup> At \$2,000 in sales for the month of December, the Canadian sales were clearly miniscule in comparison to the revenue generated by American sales (\$161,735.91), yet upon further analysis of the companies' financial reports, information regarding the Canadian branch figures revealed details which enable an examination of why the EKC would be interested in a market that appeared to contribute little to the overall financial accrual and development of the company.

Looking forward, in the statistics from a 1920-1922 Kodak Ltd shareholders report, photographic sales in Canada were \$606,857.<sup>69</sup> Compared to the United States

---

<sup>67</sup> Dec 6 1899, Eastman to George Davison; Eastman Kodak Archive #003, file LB 3 P.428, UofR.

<sup>68</sup> "Sales for December, including Canada, were \$163,735.91 as against \$134,980.73 for 1900. The sales are: ... Canada \$2000." George Eastman Legacy collection, manuscript series, General Business Correspondences Jan 1, 1901 to Jan 1, 1902 #4 2012:0275, GEM.

<sup>69</sup> These types of sales reports presented to shareholders were not consistent done prior to the 1920s. Based on sales for 9 months. Exact number: \$6,959,494. Kodak Corporate Archive, box 1, file A1091, British Library (BL).

figure of close to seven million dollars, again this figure appears insignificant, but when the population for Canada is factored in, with 9 million in contrast to 105.7 million in the United States, it reveals a surprising statistic. It provides an average of 6.7 sales per 100 people in Canada, compared to 6.5 in the United States or 3.4 in the United Kingdom. When viewed from another angle, although small in actual number of dollars invested in photography, Canada was actually the largest consumer of Kodak products *per capita* in the world by the 1920s.

Early in the EKC's expansion into Canada, the *overall* growth and EKC's market share in the Canadian photographic market was statistically higher than any other Kodak-controlled property. In another letter from Eastman to Strong dated April 4, 1904, Eastman reported: "The Canadian Kodak ... are the only ones that show a big increase, amounting to nearly 50% for the first three months."<sup>70</sup> Eastman compares this figure with the figures from the United States, which ceased to gain, and Kodak Ltd. (managing everywhere but North America), which only showed a 4% increase. Therefore, although the increase in sales to the overall EKC market share was small (reflective of the 1901 1.2% overall increase in sales), the increase in sales solely within the Canadian market was higher than any other location, suggesting a growth in the domestic sales, and a growing dominance of the EKC brand in Canada.

As will be discussed in the following chapters, the benefits of incorporating the existing Canadian manufacturing and distribution networks of photographic goods into the EKC's expanding corporation included: introduction of modernized manufacturing

---

<sup>70</sup> Eastman to Strong, 4 April 1904, outgoing correspondence files – 1904, 0693, manuscript series, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM (img 3436 authors collection).

methods; access to expanded networks of suppliers and skilled personnel; access to an expanded consumer base; and the opportunity for contributors to identify with an increasingly active and international community of amateur photographers and industry participants. This was largely due to the economic and political benefits arranged by the EKC, such as high amounts of available capital from the parent company, preferential tax rates as a domestic manufacturer, and legal or contractual manoeuvring due to corporate resources.

I argue that these benefits were not unique to the EKC, but a familiar situation for many American branch companies in Canada during this time period. The increased influence of the EKC on the Canadian industry also altered or diminished how professional photographers were able to effect change within their political and social networks. Although this was not solely an issue of the Canadian photographic market, the analysis of this particular issue in Canada speaks to the value the EKC/ CKCoLtd would place on the cultural incorporation of the EKC brand in foreign markets, and how the Canadian photographic community is situated in the larger industrial and consumer based communities.

### **Structure of the thesis**

Beginning with a decentering of the EKC is an essential step if I am to discuss how the EKC was able to re-shape the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry. Chapter One establishes how Actor Network Theory (ANT) is a powerful tool in decentering the EKC from current photographic historiography, and clearly delineates

key terms used in this thesis, including community / imagined community and photographic industry identification (amateur, professional, etc.). In utilizing ANT, I need to remove existing assumptions, follow the traces of connection between actants and re-assemble the relationships into a description that I am able to analyse as a “network”.

I begin this work by reviewing the existing historiography of the EKC in photographic history, before explaining the usefulness of ANT. I follow with an analysis of the creation and purpose of the “Kodak Story”, as a means to understand how certain beliefs in the historiography of amateur photography became “truths”, an important step in ANT. I apply ANT as a tool, in a demonstration of how approaching aspects of the EKC network (John Garrison Palmer and the 1888 Kodak camera) reveals new avenues for research and analysis, and an example of the thinking that follows throughout the remainder of the thesis.

To understand how and why the EKC came to dominate the Canadian photographic market by the close of 1905, it is first necessary to learn what the existing photographic industrial landscape in Canada looked like prior to the establishment of the EKC’s Canadian branch plant in 1899. Therefore Chapter Two identifies the key actants which shaped what I describe as the political economy of photographic manufacturing and distribution in Canada in the 1880s and 1890s. I focus on the import tariff on dry plates; the Photographic Association of Canada; manufacturers of photographic dry plates in Canada; the federal Ministry of Customs; and the periodical press.

The examination in Chapter Two draws out the existing network and provide a measure for comparison when I discuss the changes wrought by the EKC / CKCoLtd in

the 1900s in Chapter Four and Five. The consequence of the interactions discussed in Chapter Two were a weakened domestic market, with the power shifting away from the community driven efforts of the PAC towards the manufacturers with direct connections to the federal government. Protectionist import tariffs and the establishment of foreign branches lead eventually to the rejection of domestically owned and operated manufacturers, in favour of foreign branches in Canada offering American formulated or designed materials to Canadians at domestic prices, and sold through familiar domestic distributors. They also contributed to the encouragement of the EKC to establish a foreign branch in the Canada (the CKCoLtd) in 1899, as discussed in Chapter Three. The “branch plant economy” and the benefits of foreign operations in Canada during this period fit within the EKC’s larger aspirations of global expansion, and the benefits the EKC received as a result are analysed.

In Chapter Four an examination of the evolving Canadian photographic industry is continued through an analysis of how and why the EKC / CKCoLtd was able to re-structure the existing industry through acquisition. The analyses presented in this chapter situates the re-shaping of the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution within the larger trends of corporate control exhibited by the EKC and other modern multi-national corporations, including patent control, horizontal and vertical integration, and mergers and acquisition.

The relationship between George Eastman and his network of executives, including John Garrison Palmer are also explored, to provide a micro-study of the importance of communication and modern management practices. By gaining control of, and re-structuring the existing methods of manufacture and distribution in the domestic

manufacturing industry to suit their own needs, the EKC/ CKCoLtd ultimately was able to instil corporate control over what photographic materials entered the hands of consumers, and where they obtained them, establishing a dominance in the photographic industry which the company would maintain for decades.

Chapter Five considers another side of the EKC's incorporation and control in the Canadian photographic industry, through an examination of the transition of a local community leader, William Topley. Through Topley's own publishing efforts, the EKC's attention to advertising and marketing strategies are examined, as is the importance of including local community leaders as key actors in the new EKC-structured distribution networks.

Topley was an active participant in the Canadian photographic network prior to the establishment of the EKC and the CKCoLtd, and continued to be so after the EKC led industry re-structuring, however, the wider changes occurring in the photographic industry's restructuring are mirrored in Topley's re-positioning in his own community, as he transitioned from a portrait and commercial photographer, to photographic retailer and community cultural leader. The final chapter provides summary arguments and proposals for future avenues for research and analyses.



## **Chapter One: Beginning to untangle the source of Kodak's power**

To effectively analyse how the EKC was able to re-structure the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry, it is necessary to understand the parallels between the photographic industry and the larger economic, political and social changes in the industrialized economy at the end of the nineteenth century in North America. As outlined earlier, it is important to note how particular aspects of the EKC's corporate history has been positioned in the wider history of photography as a social, cultural and artistic practice. With few exceptions, primarily Jenkins and Brunet, these social, cultural and artistic histories have obfuscated the importance of economic, political, and business practices in the EKC's success and adoption into consumer society.

While a complete examination of all possible sources of discourse related to George Eastman and the EKC are too extensive to include in this thesis, a selective overview of how the EKC has been positioned in the history of photography specifically, serves as an introduction and basis for further analysis. Included is a sense of how and why specific historical tropes surrounding Eastman and the EKC emerged in the photographic historical cannon.

In critically examining what I have labelled the "Kodak Story", scholars may begin to ask questions such as: why have Eastman and the EKC become condensed to their most minimal contributions or functions? Why has the EKC's impact on the

creation of a global supported photographic industry (supported by photographers and industry participants) not been featured as a layered aspect when discussing the adoption and spread of “amateur” photography? When the EKC is discussed in the context of photography as a practice, rather than as a technical footnote in the mediums development, it is aligned firmly with the “snap-shooter” or what is often mistakenly referenced today as the “amateur” photographer.

However, as I will examine, the term “amateur” has evolved and held different meanings in the photographic industry in the late nineteenth century than it does for us today. The “Kodak Story” has become inseparable from the term “snap-shooter”, yet the impact of the EKC extends far beyond a single class of photographer. To understand or begin to answer these questions, an overview of how Eastman and the “Kodak Story” emerged needs to be briefly examined.

In 1884, shortly after producing his first commercially manufactured and distributed dry plate negative, George Eastman proclaimed that the ultimate aim of the EKC was to be the largest manufacturer of photographic materials in the world.<sup>71</sup> By the following year, Eastman had established a sales office in London, generally considered at the time to be the centre of the photographic manufacturing industry.<sup>72</sup> In the late 1890s and early 1900s the EKC began actively building the company as a global corporation.

In addition to establishing new distribution and production spaces in foreign economic and cultural city centers the EKC began diverting the majority of the

---

<sup>71</sup> Carl Ackerman, *George Eastman*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 109.

<sup>72</sup> See: Michael Pritchard, “The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914” (unpublished PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2010).

company's profits to purchasing competing and complementary producers and distributors of photographic plates, papers, cameras and other photographic goods. As evidenced in this thesis the EKC often used their acquisition of foreign companies to anchor their existing expansion efforts within the local and national communities of foreign markets. By 1914, the EKC was composed of over thirty-five previously independent manufacturers and distributors, and EKC distribution outlets and manufacturing facilities existed in the United States, Canada, Mexico, England, France, Germany, Italy, and other European countries, Australia, and parts of the Middle East, Africa and Asia.<sup>73</sup>

Owing to the corporate and cultural impact of the EKC on photographic practice and consumption beginning in the late 1880s, it is understandable that there are multiple forums in which the company's history has been discussed. I consider the "Kodak Story" to be the truncated story regarding the EKC's early success. It has become highly polished (and rarely questioned) through the regular citations by scholars across disciplines as a means to explain the complex and often predatory methods of corporate expansion exhibited by the EKC.

Contributing sources include the official corporate history, originally created for shareholders and to provide a sense of legitimacy to the company in its early days, and which has become an official part of the Eastman legacy. It is closely tied to the often reduced role the EKC plays in popular photographic history.

The introduction and enablement of the "snap-shooter" as image producer (facilitated by the Kodak camera in 1888 as well as with the Brownie in 1900) is often presented as a

---

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix "A" for list of foreign locations, and dates of operation.

fulcrum in the medium's paradigm shift.<sup>74</sup> This stream largely ignores the industry impact of the EKC in favour of its relation to the recognition of photography as an art form – a trend traceable to Beaumont Newhall, as will be examined shortly.

Lastly, there are historians who acknowledge the blend of business and consumer culture studies necessary to examine the larger impact the EKC had on the existing photographic industries from the late 1880s onwards. Photographic historians such as Reese Jenkins, Nancy Martha West, Brian Coe, and Michael Pritchard largely focus on the EKC's corporate activities in the national borders of the United States and Britain, although work by scholars such as François Brunet and Kerry Ross have begun to examine the role of the EKC in other markets, such as France and Japan.<sup>75</sup> I add to this body of literature regarding the EKC's expansion by examining Canada's reception of the EKC prior to the First World War.

Jenkins, West and Pritchard place the emphasis of their analysis on Eastman's role as business innovator, rather than that of inventor as assigned in the majority of scholarly text is important, however it is not the only explanation for his company's

---

<sup>74</sup> Sources citing the Eastman Kodak cameras as a key component in the changing photographic landscape include, but are not limited to: Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, photography and the mid-Victorian imagination*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006); Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 98-99; Martha Sandweiss, *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991) 259; Michael Peres (ed.), *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007), 347; Roy Flukinger, *The Formative Decades: Photography in Great Britain 1839-1920* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 117.

<sup>75</sup> Reese Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*; Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville : University Press of Virginia, 2000); Brian Coe and Paul Gates. *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977); Coe, *George Eastman and the Early Photographers*. London: PRIORY Press Ltd., 1973); and Michael Pritchard, "The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914"; François Brunet, *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*; Kerry Ross, *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Camera and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).

success. I argue that in Canada, the EKC relied on key community actors to integrate the EKC's ideas regarding photography at the local or ground level. When combined with the industry re-structuring and national or international marketing and advertising efforts (approaching the photographic market at the micro / macro level), the EKC was able to shape the photographic industry to their advantage in the early twentieth century and concretely impact how photographic materials entered the hands of consumers.

In writing of the popularization of photography in Japan in the early twentieth century, Ross writes that historians of photography have rarely paid attention to the role of the typical middle-class consumer in photographic practice. However, it is precisely the interaction between the ordinary middle class photographers and the leading camera brands, such as the EKC, that is critical to understanding how the practice of photography became popular.<sup>76</sup> Ross' theory coincides with my larger argument even though she is focused on the integration of photography by the middle-class consumer into their everyday life. She argues that historians need to broaden the field of inquiry, as I propose as well, to include the production and sales of cameras and film, the circulation of knowledge and information about photography and the use of these products in everyday life.<sup>77</sup>

In *Images and Enterprise* Jenkins, wrote one of the few texts that attempts to historically situate the EKC as part of a larger manufacturing industry of photographic materials, rather than as the sole contributor, capturing the creation and evolution of the photographic (and film) manufacturing industry between 1839 and 1925 in the United

---

<sup>76</sup> Ross, *Photography for Everyone*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

States.<sup>78</sup> Published, significantly, as part of the “History of Technology” series by John Hopkins, *Images and Enterprise* tells the story of photography as an evolving technical-based industry in the United States in the nineteenth century, and references the technological advancements, business strategies and economics of the American photographic and film industry.

Whereas Beaumont Newhall is perhaps responsible for positioning photography as a subject for art historical study, Jenkins is responsible for defining the technological and strategic business innovations that changed the photographic industry beginning in the late nineteenth century. He argues that the technical developments in the photographic industry were accompanied by “major upheavals that altered the modes of production, the methods of distribution and marketing and the business conceptions and assumptions of the participants in the industry”.<sup>79</sup>

His accounts regarding the development of the American photographic industry remain the singular source for historians across disciplines to cite when discussing the EKC’s placement within the larger American photographic industry. From a business history perspective, the work of Jenkins has provided ample evidence of how the EKC applied modern business strategies such as mergers and vertical integration into their business strategy, however the translation of such strategies into everyday practice and the effects such practices had on the existing photographic industry and professional / amateur community has been overlooked in his work.

---

<sup>78</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

Although producing more information and a larger and more credible set of empirical evidence than any other scholar in the context of Eastman and the EKC as part of the larger American photographic manufacturing landscape, Jenkins still adheres to, and perpetuates the “Kodak Story”. He does not formally identify any kind of network or other social aspects as part of the cited upheavals. In his account, the upheavals remain grounded primarily in technological disruption and economic consolidation or bankruptcy. He situates Eastman and the EKC as the modern business enterprise that altered the American photographic industry, yet he does not extend it further. He does not push or follow the idea that the model Eastman established in the United States set the tone for how the photographic industry spread internationally in the twentieth century, if this is indeed the case. Until now, few scholars have pursued this particular line of research and sought to place the EKC and its industry-disrupting effects in a context outside of the United States, with the primary examples being again Brunet and Pritchard.<sup>80</sup>

In *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, West analyses the EKC’s powerful advertising strategies and their role in the construction of modern memory.<sup>81</sup> Yet, in doing so, she also follows the “Kodak Story”, by overlooking how the advertising strategies translated into actions of consumption as made possible by focused corporate expansion. Neither Jenkins nor West consider that each issue requires an examination of how the economic, social and political actions by a corporation (primarily the EKC) relied on an existing network of actants to effectively re-shape the industry to their

---

<sup>80</sup> Pritchard “The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914”; Brunet, *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*.

<sup>81</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.

financially driven aims. They fail to satisfactorily explain how “globalization” of the EKC as a corporate brand actually worked in the concrete realm of culture and its related production and consumption.

In his doctoral thesis “The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914” Pritchard argues that while much has been written about the aesthetics of the photograph, the industry of photography has generally been ignored or at best covered superficially.<sup>82</sup> Pritchard cites W. Jerome Harrison in 1888, William Shepperley in 1929, Beaumont Newhall in 1937, Josef M. Eder in 1945 through to Helmut and Alison Gernsheim’s classic photographic history of 1955, in which the photographic industry was generally ignored or superficially addressed by quoting a statistic to illustrate the number of carte-de-visite being published or reviewing the position of the EKC to illustrate the growth of popular photography.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to supplying a comprehensive history of the photographic industry in England between 1839 and 1914, Pritchard applies contemporary studies of innovation to assist in describing how new products and ideas evolve and become mainstream within English consumer society, such as evaluating the effects of technological change, and the role of the leisure and the mass-market. For example, when Pritchard cites Eric von Hippel’s ideas of how innovations are democratized in society, he argues Hippel’s theory can be used to explain, in part, how photography evolved through the efforts of individuals who may subsequently make their work freely available.<sup>84</sup> However, in

---

<sup>82</sup> See also Ross, *Photography for Everyone*, xiii.

<sup>83</sup> Pritchard, “The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914”, 19; 31-37.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 34-44.



focusing on the English photographic industry from a largely techno-centric approach, Pritchard does not address the way in which the EKC's economic and political incorporation of the industry exploited the existing networks of manufacturers, distributors and consumer communities by re-structuring the industry as part of a globally viable commodity, with increasing social, economic and political power.

### **George Eastman, the EKC, and the “Kodak Story”**

Beaumont Newhall's *History of Photography* established a modernist art-historical based model for examining the complicated and nuanced history of the photographic medium.<sup>85</sup> His art historical narrative adopted a recognizable framework that situated the relatively new medium in the context of fine art museums and galleries. It also provided an academic grounding on which to teach the history of photography as part of an art historical curriculum in post-secondary institutions.<sup>86</sup>

In attempting to tell a singular story of photography, history of photography texts that followed Newhall such as Naomi Rosenblum's *A World History of Photography*, Mary Warner Marien's, *Photography: A Cultural History* or Michel Frizot's *A New History of Photography*, have largely situated discussions relating to the photographic industry or business as part of the major technical advancements in photography. For example, the achievements of Eastman and the EKC are often reduced to two primary

---

<sup>85</sup> Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (5th ed), (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2002). First published in 1937.

<sup>86</sup> Glen Willumson, “Making meaning: displaced materiality in the library and art museum,” in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2004), 74-75.

actions: the creation of an affordable, easy-to-use camera, and/ or to his creation of the photo-processing industry; with Eastman's famous marketing slogan "You push the button, we do the rest" therefore serving as a summation for both arguments.<sup>87</sup>

A recent example of how this oversimplification is still prevalent is evident in the 2012 edited volume *Photography: The Whole Story*. Included in the entry "Popular Photography":

In 1888 ... a camera appeared that was to revolutionize the medium. The Kodak camera was the invention of U.S. entrepreneur George Eastman... the introduction of the Brownie camera finally removed the financial and technical constraints that had delayed the popularization of photography. For the first time, photography became truly accessible to millions of people...<sup>88</sup>

This familiar narrative is one that has been repeated in photography's received historiography for decades, with credit being assigned to Eastman for removing the technical and financial barriers that had prevented the mass adoption of photography as a popular pastime. This narrative is precisely what is being challenged in this thesis.

---

<sup>87</sup> Sources citing the camera aspect of the Eastman Kodak Co. as revolutionary include, but are not limited to: Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920*, (Toronto: Coach House Press 1979), 61; Gisele Freund, *Photography & Society*, (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980), 86; David Kenyon, *Inside Amateur Photography*, (London: Batsford, 1992), 16; Martha Sandweiss, *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 259; Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (3rd ed.), (London: Laurence King, 2010), 163. Sources citing the photo processing aspect of the Eastman Kodak Co. as revolutionary include, but are not limited to: Brian Coe, *George Eastman and the Early Photographers*, (London: Priory Press, 1973), 10, 62, 67; Brian Coe and Peter Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939*, (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), 17; Roy Flukinger, *The Formative Decades: Photography in Great Britain 1839-1920*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 117; Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (5th ed), (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 129; Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 99; Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (4th ed.), (New York: Abbeville Press, 2007), 259; Risto Sarvas and David Fröhlich, *From Snapshots to Social Media - The Changing Picture of Domestic Photography*, (New York : Springer, 2011), 47. Gary Cross and Robert Proctor, *Packaged Pleasures: How Technology and Marketing Revolutionized Desire*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 184.

<sup>88</sup> Colin Harding, "Popular Photography," in *Photography: The Whole Story*, ed. Juliet Hacking (New York: Prestel, 2012), 156-159.

Mention of Eastman and the EKC are framed almost exclusively towards the impact of “Kodak” on the American or British “amateur” photographer. In attempting to construct a largely single narrative that focuses on the *image* produced, an overly simplified explanation of how the EKC entered the photographic market is understandable.

However, overgeneralizations have limited historians questioning the breadth of impact Eastman’s actions had in how, where and when personal photography was adopted, especially in areas outside of urban centers in the United States and Britain. Largely overlooked is how the existing photographic industry and supporting or related communities adapted to the introduction of the EKC and the effect the EKC’s economic and culturally incorporating actions had in the international photographic marketplace.

The manufacturing of new products for both new and existing consumers, in addition to purchasing existing businesses, allowed the EKC to grow the company’s share in the overall market for manufactured photographic goods and services. For example, by 1920 Kodak controlled as much as 96 percent of the film and camera market in the United States and Canada.<sup>89</sup> As late as 1976, Kodak commanded 90 percent of film sales, and 85 percent of camera sales in the U.S.<sup>90</sup> Although statistics such as these provide evidence that the EKC was clearly the dominant force in the American commercial amateur photographic market, they only describe a single facet of the photographic industry – that of amateur consumers.

According to the corporate correspondences found in the company’s archives, it is clear that Eastman relied upon the growing corporate network of EKC branch offices

---

<sup>89</sup> Kodak Ltd archive, Box 1 file A1091 – sales figures for Canada based on sales for 9 months 1920-1921; BL.

<sup>90</sup> Eastman Kodak Corporate Archive, #003, Annual EKC shareholder reports, various years; UofR.

and factories, travelling salesmen and demonstrators.<sup>91</sup> He used this network to grow and promote the brand, and to remain alert to possible candidates for acquisition, new inventions or materials, and general information on the current state of the photographic marketplace and industry. The company also relied upon the regional dealers, to be the local face and voice of Kodak. Many of these dealers were professional photographers selling photographic supplies as a sideline business and created bridges between the old and new photographic industry networks. Topley serves as an example of this bridging action in this thesis. And while the photographic landscape and market post-EKC was radically altered, the historiographical dominance of the “Kodak Story” has obscured the means through which EKC’s successful organizational re-structuring strategies regarding the existing industry operated.

In addition to the inclusion of the “Kodak Story” in select academic applications, the historiographical reduction of the role the EKC in accepted historical canons of art history, business and consumer/advertising studies must also be traced back to the EKC itself and its earliest corporate writing of the early twentieth century. In 1906, for instance, one of the earliest corporate scripted histories of the EKC was produced for Kodak stockholders. The report is the beginning of the global synthesizing of the EKC’s corporate story, which would be repeated in corporate literature and filtered into

---

<sup>91</sup> The corporate archive for the EKC is held at the Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. The London-based Kodak Ltd corporate archive (global locations excluding North America), are located at the British Library, London, England. Additional corporate –related correspondences are also found within the George Eastman Legacy collection at the George Eastman Museum, Rochester, New York, as well as company related materials donated by the company to archives at De Montfort University (Kodak Ltd), Leicester England, and Ryerson University (Kodak Canada), Toronto Canada. Additional Kodak related archives exist in other international locations, such as the Kodak Heritage Collection (Kodak Australasia) at Museum Victoria in Australia.

academic accounts for over a century. The text begins by establishing the international locations of the recently and rapidly expanding Kodak empire, and finishes with:

The extent of the Kodak business to-day is not due to the work of the selling force, not to the advertising, not to the trade policy, but to the fact that in every manufacturing department the controlling idea is: ‘Make the goods better than anyone else can make them.’ In the carrying out of this idea, enormous manufacturing properties have been built and acquired in Rochester, St. Louis, in Jamestown, in Toronto, in Harrow, and in Ashted.<sup>92</sup>

In this telling the key to the EKC’s success is the quality of goods produced and the expansion of its manufacturing facilities, which included the CKCoLtd in Toronto.

Hidden are the realities of how the company had secured its position of strength through the efforts of those tasked with selling the materials, the targeted advertising of the brand, and preferential foreign trade policies. In doing so, the story shifts attention away from the individual social interactions and political relationships that fed off of the existing networks. It moves towards a wholly EKC crafted explanation for success, pushing the idea that what makes the company great is its own quality work and initiative.

The EKC itself is building a rhetoric from which reductive histories could emerge, each supporting the other in creating a singular vision of the EKC’s role in shaping how consumers participated in taking their own photographs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is important to note that the corporate history was written during a period when accusations of monopoly building activity were

---

<sup>92</sup> Eastman Kodak Company, *The Kodak Properties*, February 1906, box 17, Kodak Ltd archive, BL. Preceding content which speaks to the international scope of message: “there is one word common to every tongue. In whatever parts of the earth the English speaking people have pushed their way – there it has been adopted ... In London, Paris, in New York, in the heart of Asia, and in the wastes of Africa, along the mighty Amazon, and in the islands of the South Seas, there is one word known in every tongue and dialect – KODAK. ... And so it has come about that the Kodak is not only known the world over, but wherever the photographic art is practiced it is known with confidence.”

building.<sup>93</sup> In actively directing the company image, the EKC sought to portray their increasingly controlling activities in the industry as a benefit for the consumer, rather than as a threat.

In 1922 Canada and the CKCoLtd was provided with its individual corporate history, as part of a series in *The Kodak Magazine* which detailed the various geographical locations of the EKC:

In the short period of two years the original plant was outgrown, ground was purchased and a four-story factory was constructed, with four times the floor space of the first building. This new factory, located on King street, Toronto, was occupied in June 1902. So eager was the staff to get going in the new quarters that it moved in before things were completed, and for a time the only means of reaching the office on the second floor was by way of a plank.<sup>94</sup>

In this text is evidence of the beginning of a corporate story that eliminates any ownership in, or acknowledgement of, the extinguishing or co-opting of a native industry that existed in Canada prior to 1900. Highlighting the rapid growth of the Toronto property, the text suggests that the expansions into Canada were due purely to exceeding demand of the Canadian consumer for EKC goods, rather than the predatory acquisition and re-structuring of the existing Canadian photographic industry, as is examined in Chapter Four.

In 1980 the EKC produced a special booklet “Kodak in Canada”, as part of a series of publications related to the company’s activities internationally. In celebration of the corporation’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary, this text extended the historical account, predating the establishment of the CKCoLtd, with the statement:

---

<sup>93</sup> Brock, “Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust”.

<sup>94</sup> Eastman Kodak Company, *The Kodak Magazine* [Rochester] 2, 11 (April 1922).

During the greater part of the 1890s, the photographic business in Canada received relatively little attention on Kodak's part. True, roadmen regularly called on customers in the major Canadian cities and relayed back to Rochester a moderate volume orders - \$5,000 a year was tops. ... Palmer, a partner in a small photographic paper business just acquired by Eastman, had elected to stay with Kodak in any capacity Eastman might indicate; Canada was his first assignment. As it turned out, it was also his last; for his report convinced Eastman that Canada did indeed have a photographic future.<sup>95</sup>

In this narrative the EKC's dominance in the photographic market is apparently secure and the original threats of monopolizing activities against the company diminished. There is a return to the importance of networked relationships in the company's success, with passing acknowledgement of the "roadmen". However, according to the new text, CKCoLtd manager J.G. Palmer and Eastman's innate ability to gauge a potential market were instrumental to the success of the CKCoLtd, and placing Canada into the larger photographic community / industry. Here the cultural and economic incorporation of the Canadian photographic industry has completed the story established in 1922. The photographic market in Canada owed its existence to the EKC.

According to Roland Marchand, the giant business corporations of the early twentieth century aspired to become institutions, emulating those organizations responsible for education, health, religious practice and cultural enrichment.<sup>96</sup> Accomplishing institutionalization meant rising above mere commercialism and removing the taint of selfishness, and was more than simply acquiring the status of a customary, established entity.<sup>97</sup> Marchand continues:

---

<sup>95</sup> "Kodak in Canada," *Canadian Kodak Company, 1880-1980 - A 100-year start on tomorrow*; CC-E26, Kodak Corporate Archive, #003, Canada file, University of Rochester.

<sup>96</sup> Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 2.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

In classic theory regarding the nature of business within a competitive market... all real power lay in a market, governed by the iron laws of supply and demand; individual corporations, no matter how large, could only respond to its decrees. But as major corporations expanded at a bewildering pace at the end of the nineteenth century, the notion of corporate powerlessness became untenable. Many corporations, through mergers and other forms of vertical integration and horizontal consolidation, so dominated their industries that they now controlled the market as much as they were ruled by it.<sup>98</sup>

The EKC was one such corporation, seeking to dominate the native photographic industry in each market it entered in the early twentieth century. As evidenced in the monopoly and trust accusations experienced by the EKC in the early 1900s, the rapid expansion and domination of the market came at a cost. It was the perceived legitimacy of the corporation by the consumer market. For this reason, the accrual of cultural capital at the local community level is an important element in the EKC's overall success.

As Marchand argues, the corporate quest for social and moral legitimacy spurred an array of public relations initiatives, a trend well documented in the EKC's corporate history.<sup>99</sup> In discussing the increasing role of the corporate executive in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, economic historian Neil Mitchell has observed that in attempting to make sense of their [new] environment during this period, the corporate executives needed to know that their work was of social value.<sup>100</sup> They needed to prove the legitimacy of their power not only to others, but to themselves as well.<sup>101</sup> In

---

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Neil J. Mitchell, *The Generous Corporation: A Political Analysis of Economic Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 110-111

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*



framing the development of the company as part of a larger desire or need for photography, the EKC distanced themselves from the earlier taints of corporate greed which often accompany accusations of monopoly or trust activities against corporations, and repositioned themselves as part of a wider economic and cultural change in consumer society as a service provider.<sup>102</sup>

It is clear from West's interest in EKC's marketing efforts that the EKC was meticulous in their advertising, creating slogans and campaigns such as the "You push the button, We do the rest", the Brownie campaign targeted at children, and the creation of the Kodak girl to attract female consumers.<sup>103</sup> However, as David Nye argues in *Image Worlds*, the new corporate images of the early twentieth century were rarely single images.<sup>104</sup> In examining the corporate imagery created by General Electric between 1890 and 1930, Nye argues that the earliest examples show an awareness of different audiences for the corporation, displaying a slightly different aspect of the corporate profile to each audience.<sup>105</sup> With the EKC, the corporate image was crafted through advertising, but also through the writing of their corporate story as noted earlier. Additionally, the company published a variety of trade circulars and magazines for both the corporate audience as well as the larger consumer society in the early twentieth century.<sup>106</sup>

To date, minimal scholarly attention has been focused upon recognizing and studying those that the EKC served and addressed within their corporate scripting and

---

<sup>102</sup> Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 2-3.

<sup>103</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.

<sup>104</sup> Nye, *Image Worlds*, 5.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>106</sup> EKC trade publications include: *Kodak Trade Circular* [Rochester] in 1900; *Kodakery* (Oct 1913); and *Kodak Salesman* (Jan 1915).

advertising in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. West for example, examines the marketing aspect of the EKC's participation in the emerging consumer society by focusing on the advertising strategies of the EKC through text analysis of the Kodak Girl campaigns, and the creation of a desire or need for the EKC's products and services where one did not necessarily exist before. However, her focus is singularly on the amateur, and does not include professional or EKC community members in any great detail. Nor does she acknowledge the efforts of the local distributors in the advertising campaigns, focusing rather on the national and international levels of advertising in popular periodicals such as *Ladies Home Journal*.<sup>107</sup> As stated previously, the following chapters begin to question and examine how the existing photographic communities and supporting industry participants reacted to and incorporated the EKC marketing literature as part of the re-structured networks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Canada.

In "The Birth of the 'Kodak Moment': Institutional Entrepreneurship and the Adoption of New Technologies" Kamal Munir and Nelson Phillips sought to combine the work of West with technological change and determinism in institutional organizations.<sup>108</sup> However, Munir and Phillips cite the creation of text-based discourse in advertisements as the essential factor in the EKC's success in popularizing photography, a point which I strongly disagree with. As business theorists, they seek to apply the EKC's success in advertising the early Kodak cameras as a case study, in order

---

<sup>107</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 31-37.

<sup>108</sup> Kamal A. Munir and Nelson Phillips, "The birth of the 'Kodak Moment': Institutional Entrepreneurship and the Adoption of New Technologies," *Organizational Studies* vol. 26 no 11 (November 2005): 1665-1687, accessed May 16, 2013, doi: 10.1177/0170840605056395.

to develop an understanding of the strategies available to entrepreneurs seeking to market new technologies. In doing so, they misunderstand the importance of cultural as well as economic incorporation in the photographic industry and supporting communities, attributing the institutionalizing of manufacturing and advertising scripts as explanation for the success of photography. I argue that the EKC's institutionalizing of the manufacturing and distribution of photographic material in Canada in the early 1900s is a component of a larger and complicated process of photography becoming a viable activity for consumers. It required the integration of economic, political and social power to succeed. Isolating single aspects, such as advertising, as a key to success for modern entrepreneurs provides only one aspect and perpetuates the "Kodak Story".

A final point to consider is the historiographical tenacity of the "Kodak Story" in the history of the EKC sponsored museums. The museumization of the "Kodak Story" and Eastman as part of the canonical history of photography is a rich subject, which extends beyond the borders of this thesis, however it is an important point to consider when discussing the publication and dissemination of texts which draw attention to the EKC and Eastman as seminal contributors to amateur photography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The practice has allowed museums to place Eastman and the EKC firmly within the broader history of the medium in a way that coincides with the corporate script and imagery. Scholars who do not question how the EKC attained their corporate power have supported this strategy. For example, *History of Photography* author Beaumont Newhall was the first curator of the George Eastman House Museum of Photography in Rochester, New York in 1948, and was responsible for building the

core collection of photographic images at the institution.<sup>109</sup> His seminal text was initially published prior to his being hired as curator at the George Eastman House (GEH), and under his initial guidance the GEH (as museum) and wide-ranging core collection of photographs become inseparable from the man (Eastman) and company (EKC), as corporate history and cultural institution become one.

In writing about the making of photographic meaning in American museums, Glenn Willumson charts the art historical dominance that began largely with Newhall placing photography in museums. Willumson traces the creation of photo-object from commercial commodity to a confined social meaning and back to commodity on the art-market.<sup>110</sup> I argue that the wedging of the “Kodak Story” into the museum functions as a way to legitimize or monetize the value of amateur photographs, while at the same time providing a clear distinction between the amateur “Kodak” supported image production, and the “fine art” photographs of the canonical masters. Eastman himself becomes a canonical figure, along with Niepce, Daguerre and Talbot, in aiding the mediums discovery in the nineteenth century.

For several renowned photographers, their first “Kodak” camera became the catalyst for their photographic discovery, and part of their history; Henri Cartier-Bresson, for example, recalled his first camera being an EKC Brownie.<sup>111</sup> However, the cameras, the early processing systems, advertising, and even Eastman himself become

---

<sup>109</sup> Newhall also served as the GEM’s director, from 1958 to 1971. The GEM is the world’s oldest museum dedicated to photography and one of the world’s oldest film archives, opened to the public in 1949 in Rochester, New York, USA.

<sup>110</sup> Willumson, “Making Meaning”, 62.

<sup>111</sup> Henri Cartier-Bresson, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952), 1. The book’s opening quote “I, like many another boy, burst into the world of photography with a Box Brownie, which I used for taking holiday snapshots.” Quote was also used in a Kodak planted 1969 *Boy’s Life* article “Photo gifts for Christmas”, 32.

the focus of the canonization. Excluded is the corporation itself, which brought Eastman his fame and fortune and enabled the manufacturing and distribution of the Kodak products.

The quest for materiality has not surpassed the physical object when considering the production required to produce it in its raw or undeveloped form. Our attention has become focused on the finished product, often with limited thought given to how it came into being, aside from the technical methods used to produce the image. As Willumson argues:

Too often this socio-cultural inscription suppresses the materiality of photographs as they are squeezed within the rhetoric of canonical histories of photography and their concomitant spaces of collection and exhibition. Historically, even when attention is paid to the materiality of photographs, as is the case with the fine art print by the master photographer, it is submerged beneath the discourse of aesthetics.<sup>112</sup>

Although he is drawing our attention to how the photograph has been used and handled and eventually transferred and/or displayed during its lifetime in a search for enhanced meaning, I argue that we can stretch this quest for materiality even further. As this study suggests, it is as important to question the meaning attributed to Eastman and the EKC, and seek out the layers of actants and interactions required to make the success of the EKC possible in the early twentieth century. For example, in Chapter Three and Four I examine how the EKC built upon the existing preference for foreign (largely American) photographic materials. The experiences of the extant communities and actants were

---

<sup>112</sup> Willumson, "Making Meaning", 62; Sandra Dudley, *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (London: Routledge, 2009), 6-7.

necessary for the successful interactions between the EKC and the Canadian consumers of photographic materials.

The curator of the Kodak Museum in Harrow, England from 1969-1984, Brian Coe, is another example. He wrote numerous books about photography that include the EKC and its products as the primary focus.<sup>113</sup> In *The Snapshot Photograph* for example, Coe writes “Not only had Eastman the creative genius to devise the new system, but, unlike many other inventors, he had also the business sense and skill in organization which enabled him to manufacture and distribute it throughout the world”. He presents Eastman’s accomplishments in over-generalized declarative statements that draw attention to Eastman as inventor, industrialist and philanthropist, without explanation of how these feats were accomplished within a larger context of the existing photographic industry and community participants.<sup>114</sup>

Similar versions becomes a naturalised and assumed narrative, supported and drawn upon by scholars, in museum text and in corporate public relations programs when needed to explain a complicated process of economic, political and social incorporation. This would appear to be true even if the user is not wholly aware of the required and complicated work of human and non-human actants to accomplish a modicum of success for the EKC as with Munir and Philips for example. By unaware, I

---

<sup>113</sup> Coe’s books include: *The Snapshot Photograph*, which he co-wrote with Paul Gates. *Colour Photography* (1978). *George Eastman and the Early Photographers* (1973), *The Birth of Photography* (1976), and *Movie Photography* (1981). *Cameras: from Daguerreotype to Instant Pictures* (1978). *Kodak Cameras: the First Hundred Years* (1988). Also consider Colin Ford, *The Story of Popular Photography*, (London: Trafalgar Square Pub, 1989). Ford was the curator of photography at the Museum of Photography, Film and Television in Bradford. According to the book jacket, “This is the story of popular photography told in relation to the Kodak Museum within the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television in Bradford. Kodak has donated its entire archive to the NMPFT in Bradford”.

<sup>114</sup> Coe, *George Eastman and the Early Photographers*, 10; Coe and Gates, *Snapshot Photograph*, 52.

do not mean to insinuate that they have no awareness, but rather that there has not been any clear attempt at an active acknowledgement of the existing network of photographers, distributors, import and export tariffs and other economic and political based policy which contributed to the EKC success in the twentieth century.

### **Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a method of inquiry and examination**

The repeated historiographical reduction is indeed a powerful construct to overcome, equally supported for decades by academics *and* the EKC. Largely missing is *how* the EKC was able to place amateur photography into the emerging middle-class consumer society at multiple levels. In framing the introduction of the Kodak and Brownie camera as a cultural action which enabled the mass adoption of photography as a personal hobby, an emphasis on the *results* of the “democratization” of the camera - the amateur created images – have been placed ahead of any acknowledgment of the changes to the manufacturing and distribution systems in the existing photographic industry and communities.

As evidenced in this thesis, in addition to the advertising efforts of the EKC, social capital and power was accrued by amateur and professional photographic associations through the use of the periodical press, both in support of, and against the EKC. In doing so, I focus on how the EKC were able to harness the increased capital from outside the corporation for their own benefit. For this reason, this thesis is situated in the existing scholarship that examines the business and consumer aspect of the photographic industry, and to consumer and business history in general. At the same

time, it also demands a different narrative written out of business history, one which analyses the strength of social capital to effect economic and political change.

Bridging the economic, political and social narrative into a cohesive study requires a strong understanding of how the ideology of amateur photography was shaped by the EKC. To accomplish this task I drew upon Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a sociological tool to trace the re-assembly of the social aspects of the photographic industry during this period of transition. ANT was developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law in the 1980s as a way to trace how scientific facts or knowledge were disseminated. Latour states, “we have to re-shuffle our conception of what was associated together because the previous definition has been made somewhat irrelevant.”<sup>115</sup> In this particular instance, the photographic industry pre-EKC or even dry-plate era, with its reliance on portrait studios, wet-plate technology and regional niche market production bears little resemblance to the industry of the late nineteenth century or the early twentieth century. For this reason, using an actant such as Topley, who existed in the old, pre-1885, model to trace the re-assembly in the new becomes a particularly valuable tool, well suited to this exercise.

ANT becomes useful when an explanation is required to describe a new development and existence, as in the case of the EKC in Canada (CKCoLtd). Clearly not all of the changes in the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry can be traced exclusively to the EKC. However, as a tool of inquiry, ANT enables me to identify the shifting power balance in key relationships by tracing the associations, economic, political and social, between Canadian photographic community actants in

---

<sup>115</sup> Latour, *Re-Assembling the Social*, 5.



the early 1900s. The relationships examined included both those facilitated by the EKC / CKCoLtd's involvement in the Canadian market, and those which were developed prior to (or external of) the EKC / CKCoLtd's direct involvement.

Latour has clearly stated that despite its frequent use, since its development in the 1980s, ANT is not specifically a methodology, rather referring to it as a tool, to be applied where and when needed.<sup>116</sup> As Latour defines it: "Network is a concept, not a thing out there. It is a tool to help *describe* something, not *what* is being described...it is the trace left behind by some moving agent", in other words, "network" is a metaphor to examine the gaps and knots, the work of the "net", in any community or group of actors.<sup>117</sup> As Latour further explains:

In its simplest but also in its deepest sense, the notion of network is of use whenever action is to be redistributed. Take an object: at first, it looks contained in itself with well-delineated edges and limits; then something happens, a strike, an accident, a catastrophe, and suddenly discover swarms of entities that seem to have been there all along but were not visible before and that appear in retrospect necessary for sustenance.<sup>118</sup>

The term network is not to be confused with a physical network, such as a sewer or telephone network, or a social-based network such as letter correspondences between friends / colleagues or Facebook, although these types of networks may be included as actant in ANT defined networks.<sup>119</sup> Latour states that his theory of ANT is:

A purely conceptual term that means that whenever you wish to define entity (an agents, an actor) you have to deploy its attributes, that is, its network. It is in this complete reversibility – an actor is nothing but a network, except that a network

---

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, 141-156; Latour, "On actor-network theory: A few clarifications." *Soziale Welt*, 47, 4 (1996): 369-381.

<sup>117</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 131-132.

<sup>118</sup> Bruno Latour, "Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor-Network Theorist," *International Journal of Communication*, 5 (2011), 797.

<sup>119</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 129.

is nothing but actors – that resides the main originality of this theory. Here again, network is the concept that helps you redistribute and reallocate action.<sup>120</sup>

ANT acknowledges as one of its main arguments that human and non-humans require equal evaluation or identification as actants. Actants cannot exist in isolation. There must be a transaction or interaction with another actant, which results in some kind of tension, for their existence to be sustained. They must make a difference in some other actant.<sup>121</sup>

An actant is what is made to act by many others, and is a moving target of a vast array of others moving towards it.<sup>122</sup> For an actant to be labelled as such, the qualities or attributes that define it must be identified. Part of this definition means identifying their physical and geographical limits. For example, humans have limited lifespans or influence, and they may be a relevant actor in the network for a relatively short period of time. Technology and other non-human or object actants such as economic depressions or government policies interact with and change how actants interact with each other, but each can, and does, change over time, shifting actants prominence or position in the community.

ANT argues that artefacts are a result of interactions (or tensions) between these human and/or non-human actants. True value (information and/or knowledge) is derived

---

<sup>120</sup> Latour, “Networks, Societies, Spheres”, 800. John Law, *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4. “Actor-Network theory insists that social agents are never located in bodies alone, but rather that an actor is a patterned network of heterogeneous relations, or an effect produced by such a network. The argument is that thinking, writing, acting, loving, earning – all the attributes that we normally ascribe to human beings, are generated in networks that pass through and ramify both in and beyond the body. Hence the term, actor-network – an actor is also, always, a network”.

<sup>121</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 71.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, 46.

from the nodes where two or more actants intersect. As the EKC gained economic strength in the 1890s, it pushed out or absorbed existing (and often superior) technology and businesses through a variety of methods, including mergers and acquisitions, patent litigation and preferential tax rates from federal governments. ANT allows for the acknowledgement of these mechanisms as actants themselves, rather than as the *result* of an existing relationship. In turn, this allows for a deepened understanding of how these mechanisms have impacted the photographic industry, as facilitators of change in their own right. ANT allows scholars to re-assemble the “social”.

In traditional sociological terms “social” is defined as something that is already assembled together. ANT does not take for granted the assemblage, with Latour suggesting that far from being the context in which everything is framed, society should be constructed as one of the many connecting elements circulating inside network.<sup>123</sup> He argues that those following ANT claim to resume the work of connection and collection that was abruptly interrupted by the traditional sociological approach. Rather than beginning with society or other social aggregates, you end with them in ANT, through re-assembly.<sup>124</sup> In the thirty years since its first introduction, Latour has also considered the term “actor-network theory” to be a confusing and/or misleading name for the theory. He including in his 2005 *Re-assembling the Social* the statement that “sociology of associations” is what he sees as the closest descriptor for the theory behind ANT.<sup>125</sup> In contrast to social theorists (who begin their research inquiries by establishing at the

---

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, 4-5.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, 9. Terms Latour considers to be more accurate include: sociology of translations; actant-rhizome ontology; and sociology of innovation.

start which kind of group and level of analysis they will focus on) Latour argues that ANT follows the actants own ways, tracing the results left behind by their activity of forming, and dismantling groups/ associations.<sup>126</sup>

Although originally designed as a way to study how scientists produced and disseminated scientific facts, and used heavily in the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS), ANT has been adopted for use in a wide range of disciplines, including film studies, business management, and design history. Kjetil Fallan proposed ANT could be of use in design history as a “sort of mental corrective and conceptual backdrop” and theoretical framework, which is capable of facilitating new and dynamic ways of thinking about design.<sup>127</sup>

Tony Bennett has argued for the use of ANT by scholars of cultural studies to assist in understanding “cultural studies as a specific form of public organization of heterogeneous elements.”<sup>128</sup> He continues by reasoning that ANT provides useful models for the development of forms of cultural analysis that displaces assumptions and pre-occupations in cultural studies.<sup>129</sup> Bennett’s argument for utilizing ANT supports my own use of it, as I am challenging the assumptions regarding the often over-simplified impact of the EKC on the existing photographic industries, specifically Canada, by tracing the complexities of the interactions required to support such actions of change.

---

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*, 23-29.

<sup>127</sup> Fallan, *Design History*, 69-71.

<sup>128</sup> Tony Bennett, “Making Culture, Changing Society”, in *Cultural Studies*, 21, 4-5 (2007), 610. Accessed May 20, 2014, DOI: 10.1080/09502380701278988

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, 611. Often referred to as “making knowledge” in STS studies. For further information, see: *Science and Democracy: Making Knowledge and Making Power in the Biosciences and Beyond*, edited by Stephen Hilgartner, Clark Miller, Rob Hagendijk, (New York: Routledge, 2015); *Knowing Nature: Conversations at the Intersection of Political Ecology and Science Studies*, edited by Mara Goldman, Paul Nadasdy, Matthew Turner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Bennett adopts Latour and Law's ideas regarding the "social" and applies it to "culture". He argues that culture, as with social, is made up not of a distinct kind of "cultural stuff" (for example – representations) but as a provisional assembly of all kinds of "bits and pieces" that are fashioned into durable networks whose interactions provide culture as specific kinds of public organization of people and things.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, it is possible to recognize a photographic network in Canada not as a cultural representation, but as an assemblage of heterogeneous components (human and non-human) which interact (causing action) and form an organization through which culture is the consequence, and not the cause of its formation, and in the process, challenging exiting ideas of how the EKC transformed consumer culture in relation to amateur photographic production and consumption.

Sara Malou Strandvad applied ANT in her work to aid in understanding the production of culture through the Danish film industry.<sup>131</sup> Unlike Bennett, who examines the social factors in cultural production, Strandvad investigates how evolving objects (ideas for films) form an active part of its making (via collaboration).<sup>132</sup> For her, it is the process in which ideas for films become material in the Danish film industry. She cites her interest as stemming from the recent socio-material turn in cultural studies and the

---

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, 612. See also Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 1-4; Law, *Organizing Modernity*, 102-105.

<sup>131</sup> Sara Malou Strandvad, "Materializing ideas: A socio-material perspective on the organizing of cultural production," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 14,3 (2011), 283-297.

<sup>132</sup> For additional studies which examine the object as an evolving actant, see John Shiga "Translations: Artifacts from an Actor-Network Perspective" in *Artifact*, 1,1 (2007), which examines the ipod, mp3 and file sharing networks as actants in selecting, sequencing and rediscovering forgotten sound recordings. Accessed May 20, 2014, DOI: 10.1080/17493460600658318

sociology of art, in which there is a growing interest in attributing agency to material objects, which can be traced back to developments in STS (largely ANT).<sup>133</sup>

As Strandvad argues, traditionally sociological analyses of cultural production of film (and this can be extended to study of photographs) identify the social factors that influence it, for example, the rise in the middle class and cheaper costs of photographic materials to explain the rise in amateur numbers.<sup>134</sup> She continues, arguing that revelations concerning social constructions in cultural production have been useful in challenging the myth of the creative genius, but they leave the object created unexplored.<sup>135</sup> Echoing Bennett, Strandvad identifies that within cultural studies, Latour has served as a source of inspiration for discussing how the spheres of culture may be understood as an assemblage of materially heterogeneous elements.<sup>136</sup> She continues to argue that the ANT's position about potential agency of objects entail a methodological challenge when investigating how tasks are delegated to non-humans and how they come to prescribe behaviour, or in other words, shifting from "what causes what" to "how things happen".<sup>137</sup> This of course, is central to my thesis of how the existing photographic network was re-structured to accommodate the EKC's larger global

---

<sup>133</sup> Strandvad, "Materializing ideas", 284. See also Georgina Born, "The Social and the Aesthetic: Methodological principles in the study of cultural production," in Jeffery Alexander and Isaac Reed, eds. *Theory, Meaning, and Method: The Cultural Approach to Sociology*. (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009), 77-116 ; Eduardo de la Fuente "In Defence of Theoretical and Methodological Pluralism in the Sociology of Art: A critique of Georgina Born's programmatic essay" in *Cultural Sociology*, 4, 2(2010): 217-230; Paul Du Gay and Michael Pryke, *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life* (London: Sage, 2002); Dick Pels, Kevin Hetherington and Frederic Vandenberghe, "The status of the object: Performances, mediations and techniques." *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 5-6 (2002): 1-22.

<sup>134</sup> Strandvad, "Materializing ideas", 284.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* For Myth of the Genius, see: Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius. Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Keith Negus and Michael Pickering, *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value*, (London: Sage, 2004).

<sup>136</sup> Strandvad, "Materializing ideas", 285

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

corporate expansion, by asking questions which begin with “how”, rather than seeking archival confirmation of a pre-conceived idea of what happened.

ANT has been applied to the study of photography previously, in James Hevia’s 2009 study on the use of photography in the Boxer rebellion in China 1900-1901.<sup>138</sup> Citing Oliver Wendell Holmes’s “mirror with a memory”, Hevia expresses scepticism regarding photography. He argues that attention regarding photography tends to focus on the photograph itself and its effects, rather than on the process of production and reproduction.<sup>139</sup> This argument is not entirely sustainable, as recently scholars focusing on the reproduction of photographs in the printed press and periodicals include Thierry Gervais and Vanessa Schwartz offer evidence to the contrary.<sup>140</sup> I agree however, that there is certainly a privilege for the agency of the image and its effects. It also works in the reverse, in which privilege favours technology, as in the work of Sarvas and Frohlich, and Jenkins.<sup>141</sup>

Like Hevia, I find that ANT provides room for multiple agencies to co-exist in analyses. Hevia argues that in using ANT, photography becomes more like a heading under which a range of agencies is clustered. Again, the heterogeneous argument identified by other scholars cited previously is identified.<sup>142</sup> Photography moves beyond the usual divisions of photographer / camera / photograph and the photograph is thus

---

<sup>138</sup> James Hevia, “The Photography Complex : Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900-1901), Making Civilization”. In Rosalind Morris (ed) *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in the East and Southeast Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 79-119.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, 79-80.

<sup>140</sup> See Thierry Gervais (with Gaëlle Morel), *La photographie: Histoire, technique, presse, art* (Paris: Larousse, 2008); Vanessa Schwartz and Jason Hill (editors), *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

<sup>141</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*; Sarvas and Frohlich, *From Snapshots to Social Media*.

<sup>142</sup> Hevia, “The Photography Complex”, 81.

“neither reflection nor representation of the real, but a kind of metonymic sign of the photography complex in action”.<sup>143</sup>

As a “tool of Empire”, Hevia explores photography as a photographic complex and some of the “novel realities” it generated in the early decades of its global development to understand how older realities could be incorporated to create the illusion of an almost seamless fit between past and present.<sup>144</sup> He accomplishes this by drawing attention, through an ANT-directed analysis, to the making of the image and considering the staged nature of the events photographed, which therefore “push us out of the frame and into the process and technologies through which the photographs were produced, circulated and saved”.<sup>145</sup>

In doing so, he places the photographs within a broader context of imperial practice and demonstrates how the complex structure of photographic production contributed to Euro-American imperial hegemony in the early twentieth century.<sup>146</sup>

Elizabeth Edwards also references the photographic complex defined by Hevia, and cites Latour’s concept of network to describe the conditions of communicating and preserving photographs in her study of English survey photography between 1885 and 1918.<sup>147</sup>

Edwards identifies that “amateur photography was based in a series of values articulated through social practices, networks, and complexes that constituted in a Latourian sense, a mesh of connections between human photographers and non-human objects”, a concept which I adopt in this thesis, shifting the focus towards the human and non-

---

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 81; 109; 114.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 81; 109.

<sup>147</sup> Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*, 24-25.



human actants which participated in or otherwise impacted the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials.<sup>148</sup>

Similar to Hevia's rejections of photographer / camera / photograph division, Ilana Gershon and Joshua Malitsky reject the sharp distinction between documentary production, distribution and reception and instead view all aspects as central to how documentary films function as actants and representatives.<sup>149</sup> They argue that scholars who find ANT useful often share concerns with documentary scholars (and by extension the STS scholars who the theory was originally intended for) about how people construct truths and facts.<sup>150</sup> Gershon and Malitsky continue by arguing that ANT allows scholars to refuse one of the major principles of capitalism – commodity fetishism – by refusing to take objects as commodities without histories of production and distribution.<sup>151</sup> For Gershon and Malitsky, taking ANT seriously involves recognizing that a documentary's true value emerges from all the actants and interactions in the films creation.<sup>152</sup>

ANT has been subject to critique, as acknowledged by Latour and Law in several publications of their own, as well as in the work of other scholars.<sup>153</sup> Scholars whose interests lie in studies of gender, class and race, such as Donna Haraway, criticise ANT

---

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>149</sup> Ilana Gershon and Joshua Malitsky, "Actor-network theory and documentary studies" in *Studies in Documentary Film*, 4 1 (2010), 65-78. Accessed Aug 28, 2014, doi: 10.1386/sdf.4.1.65

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, 66.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, 73.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, 75.

<sup>153</sup> See: John Law and John Hassard, eds, *Actor Network Theory and After*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), which contains Bruno Latour's essay "On Recalling Actor-Network Theory", 15-25; John Law, ed. *A Sociology of Monsters: Power, Technology and the Modern World*, (London: Routledge, 1991), which also contains Susan Leigh Star's essay "Power, Technology and the Phenomenology of Conventions: On Being Allergic to Onions", 26-56;

for how power and asymmetrical balances of power between actants is addressed.<sup>154</sup>

Asymmetries exist, but where do they come from? What are they made out of?<sup>155</sup>

Latour has answered the critiques over the years, primarily in *Reassembling the Social*, and he counters that power and domination (as witnessed through the EKC for example) has to be produced, made up and composed, and therefore can be explored through ANT, rather than dismissed as “excluded”, or reduced to an actant. He argues that power, like society, is the final result of a process and not a reservoir, a stock or a capital that will automatically provide an explanation.<sup>156</sup>

However, as power can lead to asymmetry in the network, it has drawn criticism from scholars including Marilyn Strathern in regards to how networks are cut. Strathern argues that networks are cut or stopped for external reasons that reveal how power is distributed and enacted, and that disconnections often reveal the relationships of power shaping the network.<sup>157</sup> I recognize that what should also be asked when tracing connections and tensions between actants is who or what is being excluded, but I also argue that this criticism can be answered by Hevia’s belief that ANT can “push us out of the frame and into the process and technologies through which the photographs were produced, circulated and saved”.<sup>158</sup> In doing so, I am able to see who or what is being cut from the network in Canada as the EKC re-shapes it, and recognize the privilege that

---

<sup>154</sup> Donna Haraway, *Modest\_Witness@Second\_Millennium.FemaleMan\_Meets\_OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience*, (London: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>155</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 63-64.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, 64.

<sup>157</sup> Marilyn Strathern, “Cutting the Network”, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2 (1996), 517-535. See also Emily Martin, *Flexible Bodies*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994); Ilana Gershon, “Bruno Latour” in *Agamben to Zizek: Contemporary Critical Theorists*, ed. Jon Simons. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 161-176.

<sup>158</sup> Hevia, “The Photography Complex”, 97.

the economic and political power the corporation was amassing in the 1890s and early 1900s provide them in this re-shaping.

### **Archival source materials**

Archival research has been the primary means of gathering information for this thesis. In applying ANT as a tool to trace the shifting power dynamics in the Canadian manufacturing and distribution cycle, and the EKC/ CKCoLtd's expanding role as industry leader, it was essential that I not make assumptions about any connection, either previously recorded or newly discovered. Rather, as ANT indicates, it was necessary to allow the connections established through archival research to provide the descriptions necessary and illuminate the path for further examination.

As scholars such as Kaori O'Conner, Regina Blaszczyk, David Nye and Alison Clarke have clearly demonstrated, gaining access to corporate materials is essential when attempting a research project which investigates the intersection of business and its multi-faceted influences on society and industry.<sup>159</sup> The vast majority of my research material was located in EKC corporate archives. The University of Rochester holds the Kodak Historical Collection, which contains the EKC's corporate records, and historical and advertising collection. The material was previously housed and maintained by the corporate archivist for the EKC, and donated to the University when the company

---

<sup>159</sup> Lindsey Feitz, "Democratizing Beauty: Avon's Global Beauty Ambassadors and the Transnational Marketing of Femininity, 1954-2010" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2010), 1. Kaori O'Conner, "The Body and the Brand: How Lycra shaped America" in *Producing Fashion*, 207-230; David Nye, *Image Worlds*; Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers*.

archives closed its doors in 2004.<sup>160</sup> I also drew material from the George Eastman Legacy collection, currently housed in the George Eastman Archive and Study Centre at the GEH (also in Rochester, NY).

The archival material gathered largely comprises corporate correspondences and provides a means to retrace connections between Eastman and his network of employees and industry contacts. I also conducted work in the Kodak Ltd. Corporate archives, housed at the British Library in London, and the Kodak Ltd.'s former research library at De Montfort University in Leicester, and the Canadian Kodak Company Archive and heritage collection at Ryerson University, in Toronto, Canada. Access to these corporate records enabled me to gain an extensive reading of the corporate archive as whole, and locate and trace the connections along what Anne Stoler has referenced as the “archival grain”.<sup>161</sup>

In approaching the archive as a subject itself, I was able to set aside assumptions previously made about the EKC, and approach the material with a fresh perspective. This is in contrast to reading the archive “against the grain”, which Stoler argues feeds the scholars preconceived ideas by allowing them to “cherry-pick” the required facts to suit their argument. Doing so overlooks the true nature of the archive as a site of complexity.<sup>162</sup> The corporation shaped the corporate archives, to present a certain version of the companies creation, and that reality must be acknowledged when using

---

<sup>160</sup> “Kodak's Archives, Photographs Given to University of Rochester,” University of Rochester, accessed October 20, 2012, <http://www.rochester.edu/news/show.php?id=1767>.

<sup>161</sup> Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.* Elizabeth Engel “Reviewed Work,” review of *Along the Archival Grain* by Ann Stoler, *Archival Issues* 32 (2010), 136-138. Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory”, *Archival Science*, 2 (2002): 1-19. Accessed October 13, 2014. <https://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/methods/schwartz.pdf>.

the material. For example, the exclusion of purchased companies which did not play a continuing role in the company were excluded from the “official” record and searchable in the corporate files, such as the Groves and Bell in Toronto. To find the connection between the recognized actors (EKC, CKCoLtd, and other “official” companies) and the smaller and often neglected actors, a deep reading of the existing archive was required to tease out the hidden actors and connections which supported the EKC/ CKCoLtd’s restructuring of the Canadian industrial landscape.

With the exception of the correspondences housed at the George Eastman House Archive and Study Centre, the corporate archive material were all recent transfers to their current locations. As such, their construction by the corporate archivist has largely remained intact. Recalling Michael Foucault’s concept of archives as “repository of knowledge”, I benefited from what others may have seen as a negative, which is the absence of an archivist deeply familiar with the material.<sup>163</sup> I was left with an ANT-centric approach to trace the linkages as they appeared along the archival grain, revealing a network which recognized the complexity of the corporation and the archive as actants themselves, and trace the associations between actants which created what I have been able to describe as the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in Canada between 1885 and 1910.

In addition to the archival research conducted in the corporate archives, the use of primary source materials in the form of Canadian and foreign periodicals was also a major resource for my research. Focusing on material published between approximately, 1885 to 1914, the information was originally printed in a variety of formats, including:

---

<sup>163</sup> Feitz, *Democratizing Beauty*, 10.

newspapers; journals; magazines; government reports; trade circulars and sales catalogues. In the timeframe being reviewed, periodical culture in Canada experienced a growth in the consumer market for increasingly specialized, or targeted sources of information, parallel with that in the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>164</sup>

The photographic periodical press is an accurate reflection of this growth, with British periodicals targeted specifically to the photographic community increasing from four titles in 1860 to over fifteen titles by 1898, and over forty photographic specific periodical titles being published in the United States by 1910.<sup>165</sup> This increase in photographic-related content was not only indicative of the changes within the photographic industry itself at this time, but reflective of the wider changes within the rapidly expanding and evolving periodical industry as well.

Although the study of periodicals and the ties between publishers and community participants is of growing interest in academic areas such as English literature and American Studies focusing on the long nineteenth century, there isn't a strong parallel in the area of photographic studies.<sup>166</sup> Pritchard, in his doctoral study, positioned the

---

<sup>164</sup> James Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 34. The American Postal Act of 1879 granted very favourable mailing rates and privileges to journals and magazines primarily in recognition of their educational value. Beginning in 1886, R. Hoe & Co built a cheaper and quicker to use rotary press, to replace the older and slower flat-bed press.

<sup>165</sup> Pritchard, "The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914", 269-273. "American Photographic Journals", *British Journal of Photography*, April 8, 1910.

<sup>166</sup> Book history and print culture is a deep and well defined field, far too extensive to adequately outline in this thesis. However, there are several sources which proved useful in considering the use of periodicals in the photographic industry, such as James Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Vol. III 1865-1885 and Vol IV 1885-1905* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938; 1957); Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell, eds. *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Also see the work of academic societies such as the Network of American Periodical Studies and The Research Society of Victorian

British photographic periodical press as a tool for the photographic industry to promote itself, paying particular attention to the periodicals directed at the trade. Periodicals do receive mention in John Hannavy's edited *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, however, the information is parsed throughout other entries, without specific detailed attention to the photographic periodical press as its own identity.<sup>167</sup>

Sarah Greenough discussed the periodical press in her "Of Charming Glens, Graceful Glade and Frowning Cliffs: The Economic Incentives, Social Inducements and Aesthetic Issues of American Pictorial Photography 1880-1902" in Martha Sandweiss' *Photography in Nineteenth Century America*.<sup>168</sup> She used the increasing numbers of photographic related periodicals to support her assertions that photography was a growing profession, twinning periodicals growth with the rise in popularity of photographic clubs.

In a specifically Canadian context, the history of photography's relationship with the periodical press in Canada provides few additional accounts to add to this small list of scholarly examination of the periodical industry. Geoff Miles pointed to this omission in Greenhill's seminal Canadian photography text, and positions the 1892-1897 *Canadian Photographic Journal (CPJ)* as a figured "absence" in Canadian photographic historical discourse.<sup>169</sup> In the 1996 Canadian special issue of *History of Photography*

---

Periodicals which publishes a peer-reviewed quarterly journal *Victorian Periodical Review* and hosts an annual international conference.

<sup>167</sup> For example, Canadian photographic periodicals are mentioned in Andrea Kunards section "Canada" 259-267 and David Mattison's "Societies, Groups, Institutions and Exhibitions in Canada", 1289-1293.

<sup>168</sup> Sarah Greenough, "Of Charming Glens, Graceful Glade and Frowning Cliffs: The Economic Incentives, Social Inducements and Aesthetic Issues of American Pictorial Photography 1880-1902" in *Photography in Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Martha Sandweiss (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991).

<sup>169</sup> Geoff Miles, "An Absent Historical Condition: The Canadian Photographic Journal" *Vanguard* 12, 3 (1986), 10-13.

historian Tiit Kõdar published his essay “The Canadian Photographic Periodical Press”, which touched on Miles earlier claims, and placed the *CPJ* in a larger, although not exhaustive, history of the photographic periodicals published in Canada, particularly focusing on those from the twentieth century.<sup>170</sup>

Periodicals and other primary and secondary sources provide much information regarding the EKC and its corporate and cultural history. The question quickly became, how to wade through the existing information and separate out what was drafted through the lens of corporate dominance, and what value does the corporate-based history have for cultural historians seeking to establish evidence of how corporations shape cultural practice such as photography? To accomplish this is clearly a huge task, and therefore a measured approach to literature review is required. I chose to concentrate on how the EKC has been written about from a business / economic perspective, which also extends to include advertising/marketing and design history theory, to evaluate how the presented and accepted ideas regarding how the EKC came to dominate the field of photographic manufacturing measured against the archival evidence regarding the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry between 1885 and 1910.

I also drew upon discourse analysis to provide support to the theoretical framework established through ANT. I define “discourse” as an interrelated set of text that bring an object into being, along with the related practices of text production, dissemination and reception.<sup>171</sup> According to Van Dijk, discourse analysis includes

---

<sup>170</sup> Tiit Kõdar, “The Canadian Photographic Periodical Press” in *History of Photography* 20, (Summer 1996), 138-145.

<sup>171</sup> Munir and Phillip, “The Birth of the Kodak Moment”, 1666; Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy, *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction* (London: SAGE, 2002), 4-5; J.K.



tracing the production, dissemination and consumption of text to explore the relationship between discourses, actors and the production of a social reality.<sup>172</sup> As Munir and Phillip argue in the context of EKC related periodicals, it is important to point out that text are not meaningful individually - it is their links to other text, the way in which they draw on different discourses, how and to whom they are disseminated, the methods of their production and the manner in which they are received and consumed that make them meaningful.<sup>173</sup> It is for this reason that ANT becomes a useful tool in distilling meaning from the texts. It is the information revealed through the ANT tracing and re-assembly (report as network) that provides new areas for further examination.

### **Applying ANT to the Canadian photographic network and the EKC / CKCoLtd**

In the particular instance of photographic studies, ANT requires that I place an emphasis on the interaction between actants that facilitated and/or ensured that the structural changes instigated or orchestrated by the EKC were adopted at the community or consumer level. Without this bridging of evidence and analysis of how high level actions, such as the breadth of industry change claimed by the EKC, affected actual consumer and existing industry participants, theory relating to amateur photographers and photographic consumption in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is built primarily on conjecture and acceptance of the “Kodak Story”. Again it ends in a “re-

---

Chalaby, “Beyond the Prison-House of Language: *Discourse* as a Sociological Concept”, in *British Journal of Sociology* 47-4 (1996), 684–698.

<sup>172</sup> Teun A Van Dijk, *Discourse as Social Interaction, Volume 2* (London: SAGE, 1997).

<sup>173</sup> Munir and Phillip, “The Birth of the Kodak Moment”, 1667.

assembling” of the social, through a tracing of revealed actants, rather than using an identified social position (EKC as industry disrupter) as the starting point of the query.

The need to decenter the “important” actants as defined in the pre-existing network(s), such as the EKC / CKCoLtd, is particularly true when navigating the mythology of Eastman and the EKC in the historiography of photography. ANT is at its most useful in the compilation and digestion of archival research and primary source material, as discussed earlier in this section. I applied ANT as a navigational tool, which allowed me to view my research questions from a more distant perspective, and decentralize the EKC and its canonical products. In doing so, I was able to flatten the research questions that had been layering on top of each other, clustering around what had become the central nucleus of my research, namely the EKC’s establishment of a branch in Canada.

ANT also provides a model of questioning which leads to the identification of a community of practice. In doing so, ANT exposes the complexity of trying to define a singular “amateur” or “professional” identity of photographers during this period. Understanding the complexities of the photographic industry means becoming reconciled to my own preconceived notions of what I previously thought the landscape looked like. I am able to question existing hierarchies of power/ influence within a defined photographic network and begin excavating relationships and the consequences of each interaction. According to Latour, “networks are a great way to get rid of phantoms such as nature, society, or power, notions that before were able to expand

mysteriously everywhere at no cost.”<sup>174</sup> For example, the strength of the EKC’s crafted (and often academically supported) corporate history as “Kodak Story” has resulted in a truncated history of the photographic industry in the late nineteenth century, which shaped how academics have written about photography in the twentieth and twenty-first century.

Utilizing ANT in archival research invites questions that center on the methods of transaction between manufacture, distributor and user. It was particularly useful in excavating the hidden areas of production and distribution in the photographic industry. This allows me to piece together a comprehensive understanding of how the industry was structured and functioned pre/post EKC. This is in opposition to a biographical approach to the history of the photographic industry, which has primarily existed to date. For example, although Jenkins provides detailed information of how and when the American photographic industry evolved, he does not acknowledge the social and political transactions required to facilitate the changes within the industry. He focuses primarily on the economic aspects in a biographical and chronological framework.

In applying ANT to my analysis of archival research I identify actants that were actively shaping the photographic industry in Canada before George Eastman and the EKC entered the country, such as William J. Topley and the Photographers Association of Canada (PAC). The EKC’s acknowledgement and interactions with these actants were a major factor in their success in the Canadian photographic market. ANT makes it possible to follow and describe the actors and their interactions endlessly, with each new interaction revealing a potential new actor to follow, and so on. Identifying the variety of

---

<sup>174</sup> Latour, “Networks, Societies, Spheres”, 802.

actants, and translating the tension that results in their interaction brings them all into analytical relation, and allows us to identify the gaps in the “net”.

There is clear value in mapping out the relationships in the photographic industry, and examining the tension where each group of actants interact. It provides opportunities to examine the impact of new technology, multi-national corporation expansions, and mass-production manufacturing and managerial reforms in traditionally hand-craft or niche industries, and their supporting communities. Approach the newly informed photographic industry from a slightly different entry or view point, and one is able to follow the plight of the unskilled worker in 1890s industry; the role of professional women in the new administrative-based corporate infrastructure; the impact trust actions and anti-trust laws have on local manufacturing concerns, or the relationship between reliable transportation/railroads, mail service and merchants, to list a few possible entry points for researchers.

In tracing the networks and relationships between actants, it is possible to begin filling the gaps in our understanding of how the photographic industry evolved. It begins with identifying the actants and their varied interactions, tracing the movement of objects, people and ideas, and then weaving the discovered narratives into something understandable and applicable across disciplines.

### **Using ANT to untangle the “Kodak Story”**

As ANT is vital in clearing an analytical space in which to examine the true impact of the EKC, without the historical weight and baggage of the Kodak Story, it is useful at

this point to understand how exactly ANT can help to research and define actants in the photographic industry. To help demonstrate, I trace two examples using ANT questioning and thinking. The first example, the 1888 Kodak camera, was not directly used in the analysis of this thesis, yet provides evidence of how ANT may provide avenues for future research. The second example of J.G. Palmer, first manager of the CKCoLtd, features directly in the research and analysis of this thesis and establishes patterns of behaviour that help explain the research queries examined in later chapters.

### 1888 Kodak Camera

As stated, the Kodak camera of 1888 is cited as a reason for change in the photographic industry, rather than as a consequence of existing and external actants interacting in the existing photographic manufacturing and distribution network. Upon first examination, there are several actants connected to the 1888 Kodak camera and its “You push the button, We do the rest” slogan. They are revealed through a basic understanding of industry / manufacturing requirements drawn from accounts such as Jenkins, as well as contemporary reports of the manufacturing works published in photographic journals.<sup>175</sup>

Identifiable are the individuals who designed the camera and related processing equipment, chemists who created the necessary sensitized emulsions, machinists who designed and built necessary manufacturing equipment, the pattern makers who enabled mass manufacturing, lens makers, tanners, foundries and the machines, equipment and

---

<sup>175</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*. Journals consulted include: *The Photographic News*; *The Amateur Photographer*; *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*; *The Canadian Photographic Journal*; *The British Journal of Photography*.

individual machine parts. The patents, trademarks, copyright and patent legislation or law that protected the intellectual property of the company and the patent lawyers and clerks who processed the claims for inventions.

There is the modern factory, which can be further broken down (packing, shipping, receiving, as well as theory and implementation of modern methods of production), and the employees - both skilled and unskilled, and the related administrative infrastructure. Producing consistent sensitized photographic emulsions required clean and reliable water, silver, gelatine and paper sources, and raw chemical production.

A reliable postal system and transportation infrastructure to distribute and receive the required and finished materials and the manufacture of boxes and containers to ensure the safe transport of the goods to and from the factory; government taxes and tariffs on imported and exported cameras and lobbyists who petitioned on behalf of the photographic industry for lowered domestic taxes and import/export tariffs.

A training structure to educate both the merchants and consumers on how to use this new technology - in the form of both demonstrator men and written information to accompany the camera or appear in press. An existing distribution network of merchants, willing to stock and sell the new \$25 camera; and journals, newspapers and other printed medium to carry advertising.

These are a few of the immediate avenues that ANT is able to reveal for scholars to pursue from one single object. The relationships found in each intersection reveal an opportunity to further question how far the network extends and understand how

intertwined the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry is with its surrounding economic, political and cultural communities.

### John Garrison Palmer

In contrast to a camera, which can be broken down or extend into its physical components of manufacturing and distribution, tracing a human through the photographic industry would appear to be a different task. However, as ANT treats people/objects initially as equals, the principle remains the same. I question each interaction, and look for where the resulting tension in interaction leads. In what would become common practice by the EKC during the acquisition of competing companies, key individuals from the purchased manufacturers were retained and installed in key positions in the EKC's larger expansion plan.

As an example that relates directly to this thesis, John Garrison Palmer was transferred from Rochester-based Palmer & Coughton (formerly Brown & Palmer) to the newly formed Canadian Kodak Company in 1899 as part of the acquisition arrangements. Palmer was sent by Eastman to Toronto to study the prospects for Kodak entering the Canadian photographic market based upon the sales reports and suggestions from EKC manager S.H. Mora.<sup>176</sup>

It is possible Palmer was familiar with the Canadian market, as he had most likely visited Toronto promoting the Brown & Palmer Malmedy paper at the PAC

---

<sup>176</sup> George Eastman Legacy collection, incoming and outgoing correspondences, Jan 1, 1898 – Dec 31 1900, various dates; GEM.

conventions, and having arranged for a sample illustration to be included in the Toronto-based *Canadian Photographic Journal*.<sup>177</sup> Already we see several interactions, including: Palmer and the periodical press in Canada; the PAC and American manufactures; Mora, Eastman and Palmer's correspondences; Palmer and Eastman interacting in the Rochester photographic manufacturing scene. Based partially on Palmer's optimistic initial report of the existing photographic industry and market, the decision was made by Eastman to set up operations in Canada, with Palmer assigned the position of manager.<sup>178</sup>

The action of retaining, and placing "valuable" industry participants in the EKC network would become common practice in the EKC's acquisition strategies as it accomplished several functions. Primarily it provided the strongest link between the newly acquired company and the existing market. The EKC may have purchased a product or technology, but they also required the individual connections and knowledge that developed and marketed the materials. These contacts and reputations were valuable, for they were something that took many years to develop. They were often vital to the success of a branch office in a new location and in several instances, the only perceivable way for the EKC to enter a new segment of the photographic market was to buy the business of an active participant and integrate them into the company.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> For example, "Convention notes", *Canadian Photographic Journal*, (June 1895).

<sup>178</sup> George Eastman Legacy collection, outgoing correspondences, 1899, 278; letter to John G. Palmer: House. Aug 9th 1899. GEM. Beginning August 10th, 1899, there was a formal agreement between Eastman and Palmer in which as the first manager of the Canadian Kodak Co. Ltd, Palmer would receive a salary of \$125.00 per month in addition to travelling expenses and a conditional 2% commission on goods purchased from Eastman Kodak and shares within the EKC and CKCoLtd.

<sup>179</sup> As with many of the lessons gleaned from Eastman's operation of his growing empire, these points can be applied to other manufacturing or technological sectors. Eastman realized early in his company history that Eastman Kodak would not be able to make everything they sold under their brand. The company has a



Prior to acquiring companies, Eastman relied upon his corporate network to relay personal or professional details regarding key employees and partners in the investigated firm. Based on the information he gathered, he would have been able to make informed decisions on the suitability of particular individuals, which far exceeded the traditional methods of selecting applicants through general recommendation or publically posted positions.<sup>180</sup> It also allowed Eastman access to the best in the competing field, and acquire a level of knowledge which could be retained during the absorption of the purchased company into the Eastman Kodak brand, and used to advantage the EKC.<sup>181</sup>

Hiring from the acquired companies also served the practical purpose of reducing the likelihood of the best or most motivated individuals from starting up a new company and possibly creating renewed competition.<sup>182</sup> Tracing the acquisition and retention processes through ANT proves to be valuable in understanding or “re-assembling the social” aspects of the growth of the EKC, and is how Palmer was initially revealed in my research.

As an EKC/ CKCoLtd manager, Palmer was expected by Eastman to do more than simply manage the manufacturing / distribution site and employees. He was also expected to report on other photographic businesses, discover and follow-up on leads for potential growth of the CKCoLtd through acquisition and expansion, and keep Eastman informed of all decisions which could potentially affect the larger Kodak Company and

---

long history of contracting out certain operations (camera construction to Brownell for example) as well as buying companies whose sole responsibility was to continue manufacturing their existing product, but under the wider Kodak brand. This was done to maintain the illusion of separate companies, and/or retain the reputation of the original manufacture.

<sup>180</sup> For further information regarding hiring practices and social networks see: Pamela Laird, *Pull*, introduction and Chapter One.

<sup>181</sup> George Eastman Legacy collection, outgoing letters, 1898-1900; GEM.

<sup>182</sup> Brayer, *George Eastman*, 153.

brand, all of which are revealed through ANT tracing and feature heavily in the material used in this thesis analysis. Palmer participated in the major Canadian photographic business and manufacturing communities (Toronto and Montreal), as well as maintaining a presence in, and knowledge of, the broader Canadian business markets, again each connection leading to resulting action in either Palmer / CKCoLtd or the other actants.

ANT has another benefit that presents itself when considering how actants belong to more than one community and/or develop complex identities. In doing so, it is possible for a single actant to be made up of multiple interactions or tensions in a researcher-defined network. Eastman for example, was originally a clerk in a bank, and retained ties to financial community that clearly guided his decisions regarding how the company operated.<sup>183</sup>

Topley belonged to multiple civic and social communities which all had direct bearing on how he conducted his photographic business and in reverse, how he presented himself as a member of the other communities (see Chapter Five for detailed discussion). The recognition of individuals complex social and professional lives is not a new concept, but one rarely explored in photographic history.

In their edited volume, *William Henry Fox Talbot: Beyond Photography*, historians Mirjam Brusius, Katrina Dean and Chitra Ramalingam draw attention to Talbot's participation in a wide range of scholarly and scientific activities, and their geographically disperse character, which connected him to multiple communities and

---

<sup>183</sup> The ties Eastman held to the local business community were sustained through his investor/ partner Henry Strong, as well as his actual banking investments.

imagined communities, which were heterogeneous in composure.<sup>184</sup> For example, the scientific community that Talbot participated in during the 1830s and 1840s included genteel amateurs (such as Talbot and Herschel) but also instrument makers and craftsmen, members of professions such as law and medicine, and itinerant lecturers and showmen.<sup>185</sup>

Brusius, Dean and Ramalingam (and the scholars contributing to the volume) identify sites of activity and the connections and tensions between the participants to broaden our understanding of Talbot's contributions beyond photography, but also how his interests outside of photography shaped his ideas and practices regarding photography.<sup>186</sup> Focusing on an actants participation in activities unrelated (directly or indirectly) to photography, and how the connections formed as part of that activity affected the photographic activities of the individual or community are of particular interest in my study. I argue that the connections Topley established to the broader Ottawa / Canadian social, political and economic communities are what sustained his business for the length that it did, and also what attracted the EKC to him as a preferred local dealer.

---

<sup>184</sup> Mirjam Brusius, Katrina Dean and Chitra Ramalingam, eds., *William Henry Fox Talbot: Beyond Photography*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 14-16.

<sup>185</sup> Brusius, et al, ed., *William Henry Fox Talbot*, 14. The idea of looking outside the immediate community for influence can be traced back to the work of Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin in their 1985 *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*, which examined how scientific fact is formed, and the political fallout of their arguments beyond the intellectual sphere in which their work has traditionally been examined, developing a theory of what can be recognized as a sociology of the sciences, and complementary to the work of Latour, Law, et al. Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University press, 2011).

<sup>186</sup> Brusius, et al, ed., *William Henry Fox Talbot*, 14.

In *The Camera as Historian*, Elizabeth Edwards argues that the middle-class or white-collar worker who largely made up the community in question were a heterogeneous group, which allow for a tension and connections between the actants to “develop in civil society at complex levels of social, political and business organisation that constituted middle class organization”.<sup>187</sup> Edwards cites that a good number of amateur photographers active in the survey movement in England between 1885 and 1918 belonged to other associations, and citing Simon Gunn, Edwards writes that this group made up a “dense web of economic networks and social relationships which bound together different geographical and occupational groupings ... in ever more complex and reciprocal ways”.<sup>188</sup> Relationships and connections are formed which contribute to the photographic practice.

Including the relationships and connections as part of the examination provides context and information which would not have been clearly recognizable when approached from a purely photographic perspective. ANT provides the tools for tracing these seemingly “external” connections and tensions, which in turn, may link back to another aspect of the photographic-related network, or extend in unforeseen manner beyond the local (real) community, and connect with a broader geographically composed (imagined) community.

Tracing when two or more community members become competitors in the same industry is another interesting avenue for consideration when discussing how actants

---

<sup>187</sup> Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*, 42; Simon Gunn “The Failure of the Victorian Middle-Class: A Critique.” In *Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, edited by Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 24; 47.

<sup>188</sup> Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*, 42; Gunn “The Failure of the Victorian Middle-Class”, 24.

interact in multiple communities. I explore this concept further in Chapter Two in an examination of the consequence of such tension through the shifting power balance between the Stanley Dry Plate Company, the Farmer Bros, and the PAC during the dry plate tariff negotiations.

Recognizing overlapping membership and the potential for conflict or tension is important to the discussion of industry community and networks as it acknowledges that social, economic and political power in the actants community can be drawn upon as required to reveal imbalances or asymmetries in the network. Eastman / the EKC drew upon this ability to harness and utilize power across communities when they hired or retained individuals such as Palmer and Topley, who were key contributors in specific (and often initially closed to the EKC) communities.

The influence of community members or knowledge of community structure and hierarchy was a valuable commodity and required tool of the EKC's integration into foreign markets such as Canada. For many of the photographers and photographic industry participants during the period being examined community participation often extended beyond local or national borders. Therefore, in addition to discussing community ties in my study, I also refer to the concept of "imagined communities".

### **Defining "community" and "imagined community"**

I use the term "community" and "imagined community" regularly throughout this thesis. "Community" is a broad topic within the social sciences generally, and similar to

“industry”, can be difficult to define.<sup>189</sup> For the purposes of my research, I have chosen to use the definitions adapted from the work of sociologists Joseph Gusfield and Emile Durkheim owing to the wide acceptance of their work in the academic community.<sup>190</sup> Gusfield distinguishes between two major uses of the term “community”. The first is defined by geographical boundaries (neighbourhood, town, city) and the second is relational, concerned with “quality of character of human relationship, without reference to location”.<sup>191</sup> Durkheim however, observes that modern society is more likely to develop communities around interest and skill rather than around locality.<sup>192</sup> I argue that this last point is particularly important when identifying communities of Canadian photographers and photographic industry participants.

Community members were drawn together towards interactions through a shared interest in photography, with divisions or sub-community creations developing based upon the level of skill or involvement in the photographic trade, practice or art. The idea that communities were more likely to be structured based upon interest, rather than geographical location also strongly lends itself to the theory of imagined communities, which is another major methodological consideration I have applied in this thesis. Gusfield further elaborates that the two usages are not mutually exclusive, and that both may define a community. For example, communities formed along geographical areas

---

<sup>189</sup> Zachary P. Neal "Community", in *Oxford Bibliographies in Sociology*, accessed June 30, 2015, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0080.xml>.

<sup>190</sup> David McMillian and David Chavis, “Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory” in *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14 (January 1986), 8-9; Joseph Gusfield, *The Community: A Critical Response* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1975); Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964 – originally published 1893).

<sup>191</sup> Gusfield, *The Community*, xvi.

<sup>192</sup> McMillian and Chavis, “Sense of Community”, 8.

such as local photographic societies or camera clubs often identified or participated as part of a larger community of camera or photography clubs. They shared information in private and public exchanges, creating an imagined community that I expand upon in Chapter Two.<sup>193</sup>

I also draw upon Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities in understanding the fluidity of community identity (particularly relevant when using ANT). As Anderson explains "the members of even the smallest nations/communities will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion".<sup>194</sup> The actions of actants, in particular the periodical press and the PAC, are viewed through this interpretation in greater detail in the following chapters.

The concept of "imagined community" is also useful in navigating the difficulties in assigning a singular expectation for a "Canadian" photographic industry as something separate from "American" or "British / British Empire". Anderson defines nations as an imagined political community, attributing four characteristics to an imagined nation: even the smallest nations will not be able to have face-to-face contact with everyone, leaving many to remain "imagined"; even the largest has boundaries, beyond which are other nations; it is imagined to be free; it is imagined to be a "community".<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>193</sup> I will briefly discuss the exchange of information in the context of the Ottawa Camera Club in Chapter Six.

<sup>194</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*, 6-7.

In the emerging globalization of the late nineteenth century, nations, even when operating as largely imagined communities, were a powerful construct. In a newly sovereign country such as Canada, the idea of a “Canadian” community was still new, and malleable. David Held and Anthony McGrew argue that corporations, not countries drive globalization.<sup>196</sup> If this is true, then corporations, including the EKC, were instrumental in forming national imagined communities, as evidence by the creation of the “Canadian” Kodak Company Ltd. The CKCoLtd appeared to be a “Canadian” company, but was controlled and run as an extension of the American-owned EKC which incorporated or absorbed existing Canadian actants into an American-controlled network rather than creating a new and separate community.

As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the Photographic Association of Canada (PAC) attempted to create a Canadian community of professional and amateur photographers by the mid-1880s. They identified and initially supported Canadian photographic manufacturers such as the Farmer Bros. of Hamilton. In turn the domestic manufacture, (i.e. Farmer Bros.) would advertise their dry plates as “Canadian made” as a marketing strategy in the mid to late 1880s.<sup>197</sup>

Several photographic journals, including the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* and the *Canadian Photographic Journal* attempted to create a Canadian community of readers, however the concept never fully took hold with most “Canadian” editions of photographic periodicals lasting only a few years. They define their “Canadian” identity as a reaction or as a distinction against the dominant American and

---

<sup>196</sup> Schwartz, *That's so French*, 5. David Held and Anthony McGrew, *Globalization / Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide*, (Cambridge, Polity, 2007).

<sup>197</sup> Advertises in *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, various dates. See Appendix B for examples of text.



British economic, political and cultural influence experienced by manufacturers and consumers of photographic goods and services in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Canada. However, they remain largely “imagined” as they were never entirely separate, nor was that even a realistic possibility.<sup>198</sup>

### **The role of photographic identity**

Photographers in the related photographic industry and (real and imagined) communities participated with varying levels of comprehension and involvement, reflective of the unbalanced power mentioned prior. Recognizing that there may be discrepancies between what a photographer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and scholars and historians in their present day studies have identified as “amateur” for example, was a necessary step in my research.

Before I was able to de-center the individuals from the often retroactively applied or assigned positions in communities or classifications they had previously been identified with, I needed to understand how the differences between photographers skills and intents were acknowledged by their contemporaries.<sup>199</sup> However, these “self identified” labels can be as biased as retro-fitting an individual with a category in contemporary studies, which is why the ANT tracing of where the individual interacts is

---

<sup>198</sup> The continued dependence of Canadian businesses on American and British economy for sustained success remains an area of future/sustained interest for scholars of economics and business studies.

<sup>199</sup> Club and association membership often identified amateur and professional designations in their charters, and numerous examples can be found in the contemporary periodical press, examples of the derision “serious” photographers exhibited towards “snap-shooters”, the desire amongst professional photographers to require certificates or schooling before a photographer could claim status as a “professional”.

an essential factor when considering how “amateur” and “professional” apply in a larger community sense. The labels act as temporary placeholder of identity, until a more nuanced picture of where and how the actant is situated in the research report, along with how network is assembled / re-assembled.

Recognizing that I am focusing primarily on the business aspects of the photographic industry, I have given precedence to the law as a disciplinary language over that of art history. In order to maintain a consistent definition throughout this thesis (and in my wider research analysis) until such a time when a deeper picture of particular individuals or communities is formed, I chose to use the definitions established in the United States federal courts during the early 1900 anti-trust investigations of the EKC as the definitions supplied were identified and agreed upon by all parties involved, in a recognized court of law.<sup>200</sup> I chose the court agreed upon definitions as they suggest or draw attention to how the EKC viewed the exiting photographic community, which is important in understanding how they approached existing communities in their expansion efforts in Canada.

**Professional Photographers** – are those who practice photography as a means of livelihood. The real professional photographers, as the term is used in the trade, are: Studio Photographers, who do portraiture work, for example, and to whom the phrase ‘Professional Photographer’ is usually exclusively applied. There is, however, another class of Professional photographer who are called in the trade Commercial Photographers. These are persons who take photos of products, raw materials, technical things, railroads, machinery, etc., and persons who turn out large quantities of some particular kind of photography, including

---

<sup>200</sup> Definitions established in the United States federal courts during the early 1900, as part of anti-trust investigations into the Eastman Kodak Company US District Court 1915 Trust Case. They were based on commonly understood characteristics of the various types of photographers who practiced during this period United States (Pet) vs. Eastman Kodak Co (Def). Western District of New York In Equity No. A-51. Supplemental Brief and argument for Defence. James J. Kennedy, William S. Gregg, S. Wallace Dempsey. 1912/1913. Kodak Ltd archive files, BL.

publishers of photographic postal cards, makers of enlargements, art publishers, stereoscopic view manufacturers, etc.

**Amateur Photographers** – are those who practice photography as a pastime, but in this general definition are included 3 classes, namely:

Class 1. Skilled Photographer – who have the professional photographers' knowledge and skill, but do not utilize it for profit.

Class 2. Skilled amateur – who do, and are competent to do, their own developing, printing, etc.

Class 3. Unskilled Amateur or Novice (including children) – who know nothing about photography, and do not want to know anything about it, but practice it merely to the extent of pointing the camera and pressing the button, leaving all the work of developing, printing etc., to be done by others skilled in the art.

The unskilled amateur or novices, making up Class 3, contribute ‘‘at least 9/10 of the army of amateur photographers,’’ and they are the real amateur photographers as the term ‘amateur’ has been used and understood for years in the photographic art.<sup>201</sup>

However, before progressing further I must make it clear that I do not take these classifications to be mutually exclusive. Clients and projects could bring a photographer who practiced or identified according to one designation, into the other identified group, even if only temporarily. Amateurs may have been able to practice temporarily in aspects of photography as a profession, and professionals to participate in amateur activities as an extracurricular activity, separate from their professional business.<sup>202</sup>

It is also possible for amateur photographers to occupy multiple designations throughout their photographic experiences, progressing as their skills improved, or they bought new equipment which potentially increased/ reduced their level of active participation and/or interest. If this happens, one could follow the consequences in the

---

<sup>201</sup> US District Court 1915 Trust Case. United States (Pet) vs. Eastman Kodak Co (Def). Western District of New York In Equity No. A-51. Supplemental Brief and argument for Defence. James J. Kennedy, William S. Gregg, S. Wallace Dempsey. 1912/1913. Kodak Ltd archive files, BL.

<sup>202</sup> Lily Koltun, ed. *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada 1839-1940* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1989).

existing community via ANT. This is not the specific aim of this thesis, however I touch upon this idea briefly in Chapter Five in an analysis of Topley as an actant and community node in the Ottawa amateur and professional photographic community.

As mentioned prior, the classification or categories are only a start, until the fluidity and multiple interests of community members are identified and examined further. It provides the advantage in my research of aligning the existing scholarship with my archival findings and ascertaining with greater clarity where the discrepancies exist, and providing paths for future analysis / re-analysis. I begin with an examination of “amateur” photographic periodicals, and their role in creating imagined communities in the Canadian photographic communities.

### **Photographic periodicals and imagined photographic communities**

Based on the reader-submitted published “letters to editors”, and/or “query and answer” columns which appeared in the majority of photographic periodicals in some form or another, it is clear that by the early 1890s the reader-base had grown and begun to vary, mirroring the growth and diversity in the photographic industry. In addition to the “small studio owners struggling to make ends meet”, readers and contributors included the sellers of photographic goods and services, as well as the growing number of Camera Club and other serious amateurs.

Manufacturers of photographic goods developed an increased presence in the photographic periodicals, reflective of the increased numbers and availability of manufactured photographic supplies. Writing about the photographic periodical press of

an earlier period in the 1850s and 1860s, photographic historian Steve Edwards posits that it spoke to itself:

The photographic press was shaped something like this. The editors of the journals, along with some of their regular authors, wrote with an imaginary constituency in mind. The audience that they addressed was significantly distinct from their readership. In fantasy it consisted of enlightened amateurs; owners of respectable studios; those interested in the intricacies of art theory, optics, and a dozen other things; and an educated general public. The readers of these magazines however, were of a different sort - small studio owners struggling to make ends meet.<sup>203</sup>

This model of how the periodical press functioned would change very little from the 1850s and 1860s as Edwards addressed, until the end of the period being addressed in this thesis. At its core, the periodical press still addressed and presented an idealized version of its reader. Periodicals, in general, functioned as aspirational rather than accurate representations of the readership, with manufacturers and other industry participants placing advertisements to capture, and capitalize on, this aspirational and idealized nature of periodical readership.

Peter Buse, in discussing the amateur photographer's relationship with magazines in 1950-1970s, examines this role of idealized reader.<sup>204</sup> Citing Margret Beetham:

Serial publications have to secure purchasers/readers who keep returning regularly every day, week or month. The periodical must, therefore, offer its readers models of identity which they can regularly recognize and indeed occupy

---

<sup>203</sup> Edwards, *Making of English Photography*, 110.

<sup>204</sup> Peter Buse, "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo-Magazines" <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/gear-and-galleries-aspirational-amateur-photo-maga/> West also addresses the idealized reader, although in much more sentimental terms, in *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.

and which they are prepared to pay for again and again. These identities may be aspirational as much as actual.<sup>205</sup>

Buse (and Beetham) argue that models of identity can be “read off” the pages of the magazine. However, there is no guarantee that the target reader, the actual purchaser, and the reader constructed in the text coincide, and instead, we should think of the historical reader as the dynamic result of a negotiation between these different positions.<sup>206</sup>

This is not to say that the mundane or otherwise “real” queries or concerns were not present in the periodicals. Readers/contributors appeared to circumvent the editorial control through the Question and Answer sections (or variations of), however, these “questions” were selected for publication by these same editors, so it was not so much a circumvention, as a loop-hole for the readers to glimpse the “real” community concerns, as highly curated as they were.

Greenough posits that 1889 was a significant year in the photographic industry/community, for the fiftieth anniversary of Daguerre’s announcement caused some inward retrospection. She argues that the community of professional photographers now:

formed a tight and by now clearly defined structure, they were for the most part a cohesive group who were able to extract a moderate living from their business. They consisted of: the photographers themselves, who actually made the images, either in the field or studio; assistants who prepared, developed and printed the plates; Technicians who mounted and finished the photographs; Distributors; and supported by a large group of stock manufacturers who perfected materials to suit the professionals needs, and encouraged by periodicals that reflected their concerns.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> Margaret Beetham, “In search of the historical reader: The woman reader, the magazine and the correspondence column”, *Siegener Periodicum zur Internationalen Empirischen Literaturwissenschaft*, 19: 1, April 2000, 89-104, 95.

<sup>206</sup> Buse, “The Photographer as Reader”; Beetham, “In search of the historical reader”, 96.

<sup>207</sup> Greenough, “Of Charming Glens, Graceful Glade and Frowning Cliffs,” 259.

To this Greenough also adds “Photographic periodicals also turned their attentions to the amateur, adding columns that addressed their concerns and covered the Camera Club interests.”<sup>208</sup> Greenough is distinguishing between professional and amateurs, suggesting that what appealed to a photographer of one designation may not, or would not, be of interest to the other. However, I argue that this is not entirely so. I agree with Greenough in that the changing demographics in the photographic market place, the influx of new and novice photographers did not go unnoticed by the more advanced amateur photographers in the periodical press, however in Greenough’s interpretation, the influx was largely seen as negative by the more accomplished photographers.<sup>209</sup>

If photography in the 1850s and 1860s (and this included the production of photographic periodicals) was shaped by the small property owners as Edwards suggests, then photography in the 1890s, and onwards, had most certainly evolved as it became shaped by large corporations such as the EKC, and seemingly influential communities such as the Pictorialist movement. As the photographic market at the end of the nineteenth century became dominated by disproportionately segmented, but increasingly cohesive communities, the ideas of what it meant to be a “photographer” or part of the photographic community had shifted, but still remained in the realms of the middle-class.

---

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, 261.

<sup>209</sup> Greenough discusses published examples found in photographic periodicals, stating “with this explosion of interest came an avalanche of poorly exposed, poorly printed images with chaotic, fragmented compositions of seemingly inconsequential subjects. Sunday snap-shooters, disregarding all conventions of civility and decorum, were “omnivorous”, an author complained in 1884; they “will photograph anything” and “no man is safe” Cited in Greenough: ‘Organization of the Amateur Photographers’ *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* 15 April 1884; 164, and ‘Amateur Photography’ *Photographic Times and American Photographer* 15 October 23, 1885: 602.

By the end of the nineteenth century, successful publishers understood that the profits did not come from the sale of periodicals, but rather from advertisers.<sup>210</sup> With advertising space in popular (not photographic specific) magazines often exceeding a hundred pages an issue by 1900, the increased space in periodicals enabled manufacturers who placed advertisements regularly (such as the EKC), to become household names.<sup>211</sup>

At the same time as the photographic presence in the general periodicals was rising, these specialized photographic periodicals were being produced in rapidly increasing numbers. Publishers perceived (most likely through the existing advertisements and possible revenue increased industry specific ad space would generate) that there was an expanding market base for photography, and that this growing middle-class market base of amateur photographers offered advertisers access to increasingly homogenous groups of readers.<sup>212</sup>

How information was transmitted to this group of potential consumers/participants, and translated into an open invitation to join the photographic community is a complicated and important query. By 1900 there were over 13,000 individual news dealers, booksellers and stationers in the United States and Canada, selling periodicals.<sup>213</sup> Accurate circulation numbers are very difficult to ascertain, due in part to the fluid nature of the medium.

---

<sup>210</sup> James Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 36.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, 39.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*, 46.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*, 41.



Circulation is simply the number of papers in circulation on an average day, both through subscriptions and newsstand sales. Readership, on the other hand, is almost always a higher number, as it captures the periodicals total circulation, multiplied by the average number of people who read each copy, referred to as the “pass-along rate”.<sup>214</sup> With newspapers for example, various members of a household may eventually read the same copy of a newspaper, or a publication might be passed around from person to person in an office. This "pass-along" rate is generally thought to be about 2.5 readers.<sup>215</sup> For example, if a newspaper's circulation were 50,000, total readership would be 50,000 x 2.5 or 125,000. However, trying to correlate the increase in photographic periodicals to the increase in new subscribers is simply not possible.

Photographic periodicals were specialized, thereby limiting multiple readership. Additionally, the subscription base was not exclusively composed of individual subscriptions. There were institutional subscriptions, where one subscription was shared by members of a community, such as those for libraries, Camera Clubs, and other professional organizations with a central office or library.<sup>216</sup> To further compound the problem of tracing circulation and readership, there were single-issue purchasers, and those readers who received old issues from friends or other acquaintances who no longer

---

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> Newspaper multiplier information supplied by <http://www.burrellesluce.com/freshideas/2010/04/multipliers-a-way-to-establish-correlations-between-audited-circulation-and-readership-or-just-fluff/> accessed on 2014/10/09. And <http://www.ads-on-line.com/newbasiccourse/products/> accessed on 2014/10/09. Modern multipliers for popular periodicals such as People magazine (11 per issue) and Time or Newsweek (5-6 ½) are much higher and reflect a changed environment which sees the sharing of magazines in office lunchrooms and doctor waiting rooms, etc. Alessandra Bianchi “What’s love got to do with it” *Inc.*, 18-6 (1996), 76-85.

<sup>216</sup> Ottawa Camera Club 1894 By-Laws - #3 which stated the aim was to subscribe to photographic periodicals. Camera Club of Ottawa fonds, R2973, LAC. Also - list of Toronto Camera Club subscriptions 1910-1912, Toronto Camera Club fonds, R3686, LAC; Img 4463.

had use for them. See, for example, the following letter from a reader in New Brunswick, Canada, which was published in the editorial section of an 1890 issue of the *British Amateur Photographer*:

Recently a friend brought me a parcel of Amateur Photographers, and in an idle moment I betook myself to reading one of them, and to my surprise, I got so interested in the cleverly written articles that they contained, that I neglected everything else. The articles are so cleverly discussed and explained that I think it is a pity your paper is not better known to professionals in Canada.<sup>217</sup>

This is what makes a multiplier difficult to use in this context. With specialized publications, a target audience may not be aware of key periodicals. Sharing the specialized periodicals may take extra work that the reader is not prepared to do. As the content is specific in its content, the reader may not be aware of another photographer to share the already-consumed information, thereby limiting the likelihood the material is passed-along. Therefore the “pass-along” rate is impossible to estimate, and does not work in this context of reader estimation.<sup>218</sup>

However, it is worth noting that this circumvention of the traditional subscription or reception of successive issues of the periodical created a secondary market for the publications. The active engagement which occurred when readers regularly received,

---

<sup>217</sup> “Letter to the Editor”, *Amateur Photographer*, February 21, 1890, 114 (Img 2685). Also related: Christine Ruane “Spreading the Word: The Development of the Russian Fashion Press” in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*. Ed. Regina Blaszczyk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 33. “Print runs do not tell the whole story. It is important to remember that women who could not afford a subscription would often borrow a magazine from a friend so that they could improve their clothing, obtain household hints, or simply indulge themselves in the fantasies fashion created on their pages.”

<sup>218</sup> Newspaper multiplier information supplied by <http://www.burrellesluce.com/freshideas/2010/04/multipliers-a-way-to-establish-correlations-between-audited-circulation-and-readership-or-just-fluff/> accessed on 2014/10/09. And <http://www.ads-online.com/newbasiccourse/products/> accessed on 2014/10/09.

read and possibly replied to current issues in the publications was not as strong, but is not necessarily a deterrent for participation. Although it is difficult to determine the growth in readership of photographic periodicals, the sharing of information through what can be interpreted as formal (subscriptions, letters to the editor, etc.) and informal (borrowing of periodicals, delayed response to published dialogue) provide valuable information for ANT enabled analysis.

Canada saw its peak production years occur in the 1890s, with three photographic titles being published simultaneously.<sup>219</sup> However, they all ceased publication before 1900. Without a consistently available domestic title, Canadian photographers regularly subscribed and contributed to the British and American periodicals. Recognizing this, several periodicals regularly included Canadian content.<sup>220</sup> The Canadian content often included convention reports of the PAC and other issues relevant to Canadians. For photographic industry participants with varying levels of financially and socially driven interests, the periodical press was an extension of their existing community and linked them larger imagined communities beyond their immediate geographical and social boundaries.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>219</sup> The three Canadian-centric photographic periodicals which overlapped in production dates in the 1890s: *The St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* (1877-1910), the *Canadian Photographic Journal* (1892-1897) and the *Canadian Photographic Standard* (1893-1899). After an unsuccessful attempt to publish *The Canadian Photographer*, as an exclusively Canadian edition of the *St. Louis Photographer* in 1887, the editor rebranded their journal as the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* in 1888.

<sup>220</sup> In British photographic periodicals, the Canadian content often was part of a “colonial” section or contests, such as in the *Amateur Photographer* and the *Photographic News*. In American periodicals, the inclusion was often noted in the journal title, as with the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* and the *Buffalo and Canadian Photographer*.

<sup>221</sup> The British photographic periodical *Amateur Photographer* saw such a demonstrable increase in interest both from and about Canada and the other British colonies that by 1909, it began to organize and sponsor Colonial competitions and exhibitions in London galleries, and publish special issues devoted entirely to photographers articles and queries related to the Colonies. Canada remained part of the “colonial” group, despite achieving Confederation in 1867.

In the following chapter, I provide evidence through ANT assisted analysis that the reactions of the Canadian photographic community in the periodical press demonstrated the government's actions were interpreted by the majority of the domestic photographic industry (represented in the analysis by the PAC) as placing the needs and interests of the manufacturers ahead of the communities of photographic practitioners.

I establish that the Canadian manufacturing industry / community was evolving prior to the EKC opening a Canadian branch in 1899, and that the changes initiated by the government's National Policy in 1879 provided the means and opportunity for foreign (predominantly American) companies including the SDPC and the EKC to enter the Canadian market. However, as I will examine in the following chapters, providing an opportunity for American companies to operate branches in Canada through political action was not in itself a guarantee for success.<sup>222</sup> To remain in the Canadian market beyond the initial stage of establishment, the economic and social aspect of the relevant domestic industrial landscape needed to be addressed by the American firm, which as I will discuss in the following chapters, the EKC was able to successfully accomplish in the Canadian photographic market.

---

<sup>222</sup> Herbert Marshal, Frank A. Southard and Kenneth A. Taylor, *Canadian-American Industry: A Study in International Investment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 243-281.

## Chapter Two: The Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry, 1885-1897

Canada was, and remains, a nation largely reliant on the import of finished goods for commercial distribution. Canadians relied on the American and British manufacturers and distributors for goods, and the ambiguous nature of a Canadian national identity post-Confederation was a large contributor to the development of the National Policy as an election platform in the late 1870s federal election.<sup>223</sup> In 1879, the newly re-elected Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonalD, and his appointed cabinet members enacted the National Policy. It was a three-part economic plan which focused on expanded settlement of the West, the building of a trans-continental railway, and the promotion of domestic manufacturing through the creation of protective tariffs placed on imported goods.<sup>224</sup>

All three parts of the National Policy arguably had an impact on the growth / re-shaping of the photographic industry in Canada. However, in the context of this thesis, I am focusing on the promotion of domestic manufacturing, owing to the importance manufacturing had on the fledging domestic photographic manufacturing industry.

---

<sup>223</sup> Confederation of the Canadian provinces occurred in 1867. It was a legal recognition of Canada as an independent country, able to self-govern, separate from the British Empire. However, Canada would not sever its final colonial ties until 1982, with the Canada Act, which was passed in British Parliament, at the request of the Canadian government, to repatriate Canada's Constitution, thereby ending the requirement for certain types of Constitutional amendments to be made only by the British parliament.

<sup>224</sup> Sir John A. MacDonalD (1815-1891) was the first Prime Minister of Canada, serving as the country's leader 1867-1873, and again in 1879-1891 as the leader of the Conservative party. He campaigned on the issue of protective tariffs, in contrast to the Liberal party's support of free trade. Richard Gwyn, *Nation Builder: Sir John A. Macdonald: His Life, Our Times, Vol 2: 1867-1891*. (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2011); W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh Aitken, *Canadian Economic History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1988), 381-382.

Therefore, an examination of the long ranged impact of the protective tariffs on dry plate negatives is central to this chapter.

Examining Canada's domestic manufacturing and import/export actions in the larger global production and dissemination of photographic materials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century presents an opportunity to explore how Canadian communities interacted with the corresponding manufacturers and photographic communities of the United States and Great Britain, Canada's two largest trade partners at the time. It also adds to existing scholarship related to how the photographic manufacturing industry and cultural communities in these countries operated.<sup>225</sup>

Focusing on the particular issue of the tariff provides a revealing and key locus of the transition in the photographic industry. Intended to encourage the growth of domestic photographic manufacturers, a protective tariff on imported photographic dry plate negatives was approved by the federal government in 1887. Through the lens of the history of the dry plate tariff in Canada, this chapter focuses on how the industry functioned as the first of the American photographic companies began to establish factories in Canada (beginning in 1886), and how the domestic market reacted to foreign manufacturers. From an ANT perspective, the introduction of the tariff, the photographic community's resistance to it and manufacturers circumvention of it, provides valuable insight into how the Canadian photographic industry functioned prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd in 1899. Examining the reforms to the tariffs on

---

<sup>225</sup> Randall White, *Fur Trade to Free Trade: Putting the Canada-U.S. Trade Agreement in Historical Perspective*. (Hamilton: Dundurn, 1988), 95. Also echoed in Alexandra Palmer's introduction to *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, 11: "Canada is sympathetic to and reliant upon the United States, while simultaneously allied to Europe and a colonial past – a situation that has rarely been discussed in this country [Canada] in academic terms for fashion."

photographic supplies, in particular dry plate negative, provides a prism through which to analyse how the key networks of knowledge, influence and economic power were established and/or maintained. It reveals a small photographic community, clustered around major cities, which the EKC would attempt to capture through acquisition post 1900, as examined in Chapter Four.

I argue that instead of supporting the growth of a domestic (Canadian-owned and operated) manufacturing industry, the protective import tariffs placed on photographic supplies by the Canadian government in the 1880s and 1890s had a negative and lasting impact on the photographic manufactory in Canada. It did so by simultaneously inadvertently lowering the perceived value of the domestically produced photographic goods and encouraging the establishment of foreign (American) branch plants. The introduction of the import tariff into the photographic market in Canada also initiated a lengthy and publically waged campaign by the PAC to reduce or abolish the tariff. The publicly conducted lobbying efforts by the PAC to have the tariff lowered are contrasted with the private negotiations of the manufacturers with the federal government for a variety of economic advantages. Foreign manufactures, most notably the EKC, found ways to turn the tariffs to their advantage, and re-shaping the structure of the industry in Canada by the early 1900s.

The two largest manufacturers of photographic materials in Canada prior to the CKCoLtd are represented in the analysis: the Farmer Bros of Hamilton, Ontario; and the Stanley Dry Plate Company (SDPC) of Montreal, Quebec. Both companies were instrumental in the raising and lowering of the protective tariff on imported photographic dry plate negatives in Canada, and central to any analysis of a pre-

CKCoLtd photographic industrial landscape in Canada. I argue that the disparities between the two lobbying strategies to evade the restrictive tariffs, and the results each achieved by their actions become particularly well defined when approached through ANT. The evidence and argument presented here will facilitate the following chapters' examination of the establishment of the CKCoLtd in 1899 (Chapter Three) and the monopolizing actions of the EKC in Canada in the early 1900s, witnessed through the mergers and buyouts of the remaining participants in the Canadian photographic industry (Chapter Four).

## **Sources**

The information and evidence presented here is drawn from the published debates, surrounding the efforts in the Canadian photographic communities to lower the protective tariff, and the federal government's responses that began to be printed in the domestic and foreign periodical press beginning with the initial dry plate tariff increase in 1887. The pro/anti tariff arguments voiced by a variety of participants are found spread across intersecting print communities, including: daily newspapers; editorial sections in Canadian, American and British photographic periodicals; journals related to trades such as chemists, druggists, and manufacturing; and published government reports.

The numerous attempts by the photographic communities to petition for raised or lowered tariffs on photographic materials were reported by, and/or editorialized on, by those involved in the debate, notably the dry plate manufacturers and photographers



directly affected by the tariffs, and those in related or peripheral industries or communities such as American and British photographers, government representatives and officials, domestic and foreign manufacturing associations. Information and strategies regarding the tariff were highly relevant to the American and British manufactures, distributors, and salesmen, as well as amateur and professional photographers visiting Canada and concerned about being able to purchase their “usual” dry plate.<sup>226</sup>

The information drawn from the periodicals also greatly furthers our understanding of what the photographic landscape in Canada looked like pre-CKCoLtd as well as how the domestic photographic marketplace was perceived by those outside Canada. However, periodicals were not the only source of published material used to construct an understanding of the formative networks that shaped the photographic manufacturing industry in Canada.

The official Canadian federal census between 1881 and 1911 includes information such as the number of photographic studios and manufacturers, the amount of working capital and the number, age and sex, of employees. When juxtaposed with accounts in the periodicals, the census information provides a strong framework for the analysis of the dry plate tariffs impact on the domestic photographic manufacturing

---

<sup>226</sup> Excerpts from the British *Amateur Photographer*: “Can dry plates be procured in Canada, at say, Toronto or Montreal, by English makers?” June 25, 1886, 311; “Canada, Photography in. - Can any brother amateur photographer kindly give me a little information on the above? I expect to settle in the south-west of Ontario in the spring, and should be glad to know ... whether I can obtain plates, paper, etc., in Toronto or Hamilton?”, February 2, 1888, 157; (response) “... Eastman paper, the plates of the best American and a few of the best English makers can generally be bought in Toronto or Hamilton, but the duty is very high (15 cents a square foot), and the favourite (sic) plates are not always in stock in all sizes; so ‘Westward’ is recommended to bring as large a supply as he possibly can, as he will probably continue to use English plates while in Canada.” March 9, 1888, 295.

industry. These two key sources - the published information in the periodicals and federal census reports, places the published statements as traceable public actions and privately constructed relationships that were essential to the future of the photographic industry in Canada. They establish the primary actants in the network and provide evidence of the development of major nodes that fluctuated in economic, political and social power with the introduction of the American branch factories.

Based upon the queries and letters published in photographic periodicals, it becomes clear that the dry plate tariff affected amateur photographers in general as the tariff had an impact on the price of photographic materials, however this chapter largely focuses on the photographers and photographic industry participants who relied on the foreign manufactured dry plates to conduct their business. This focus on the professional or industry participants draws attention to the changing industry during this period, and enables the examination of the professional and industry based network that would eventually support the growth of the EKC in Canada. I argue that the increasing desire or need for inclusion in the American-centred economic trade-based networks directly influenced how the Canadian photographic community members communicated and interacted with each other, and with foreign photographic communities, and physically transferred materials across borders.

The difficulties of relying on circulation and readership numbers, as briefly described in Chapter One, relates, somewhat, to several of the difficulties in using the census figures alone as a means of constructing an accurate depiction of the nineteenth century photographic industry in Canada. According to the *Sessional Report* regarding the 1881 census, there were 765 individuals who identified as photographers (defined as

those who derived a living wage from photography as a profession) in Canada by 1880, with 440 in Ontario.<sup>227</sup> The actual number of individuals purporting to be “photographers” may have been higher, or lower, depending on how the census was conducted and how the term “photographer” was defined.

For instance, as the photographers are placed in the census according to a fixed location of practice (i.e. Ottawa), there was no clear category in which to place itinerant photographers. As the label “itinerant” suggests, the photographer would have travelled to the various cities, towns, territories and settlements, advertising their services in the surrounding area’s local newspapers in advance, and often operating similar to a carnival attraction upon arrival. For example, Topley began as an itinerant tin-typist in Upper Canada before apprenticing with Notman in the mid 1860s.<sup>228</sup>

If a particular location seemed capable of supporting a stay longer than a few days, a small, rough studio could be established, with these crudely constructed enterprises either folded up and moved along to the next location, or built up into a more permanent establishment, depending on how the demand for their services developed over the coming months.<sup>229</sup> However, this important, yet underdeveloped area of study, is outside of the immediate scope of this thesis.

---

<sup>227</sup> *1881 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1881).*

<sup>228</sup> Andrew Rodger, “Topley, William James,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol 15, (Toronto: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed June 24, 2013, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/topley\\_william\\_james\\_15E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/topley_william_james_15E.html) “Topley is listed in a directory as an itinerant photographer in Upper Canada in 1863. See also Philippe Maurice, “Snippets of History: The Tintype and Prairie Canada”, *Material Culture Review*, 41 (Spring 1995), Available at: <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/17637/22328> Date accessed: 24 Jun. 2015; Philippe Maurice “Itinerant Photography” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed John Hannavy, 759-761.

<sup>229</sup> Glen C. Philips, *The Ontario Photographers List (1851-1900)*, (Sarnia: Iron Gate Publishing Co, 1990), 5-6.

## Mixed trading and its problems of identification

In addition to the itinerant photographers, photographers who engaged in additional trades were also not often recorded in the census as “photographers”. It is often difficult to identify with certainty, the number of photographers or tradesmen who participated in what Steve Edwards has identified as “mixed trading”, in which a photographer was also engaged in another trade, such as jeweller or carpenter.<sup>230</sup> These side businesses were often constructed out of necessity in a thin market such as Canada, where populations in settled areas were often not sufficient to support specialized businesses.<sup>231</sup>

This distinction of photographic businesses which engaged in “mixed trading” is important when discussing the Canadian photographic market, as many of the actants who participated in the distribution network also participated in other businesses, and likely drew upon other industries/ communities for support (financial, social, and political). This becomes more evident in a later discussion on the inter-connectedness of network participants in Chapter Five.

Information regarding the variety of professional services, years of practice as a photographer, or even an accurate number for these “mixed traders” is difficult to obtain,

---

<sup>230</sup> Edwards, *Making of English Photography*, 61-62. A similar economic principle called “dual economy” also applies at a national scale, in which two separate economic sectors exist in one country, divided by varying levels of development, technology and demand. The concept was originally created by Julius Herman Boeke in *Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953). For further example, see: Sibarata Das, Alex Mourmouras, Peter Rangaza, *Economic Growth and Development: A Dynamic Dual Economy Approach* (New York: Springer, 2015), 2-8; Joseph Bowring, *Competition in a Dual Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 3-10; 79-103.

<sup>231</sup> *1881 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1881); 1891 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1891); 1901 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1901); 1911 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1911).*

as a secondary (or tertiary) trade was not recorded in the census, lest it create the appearance of two separate positions where in reality, only one existed.<sup>232</sup> Edwards' study focuses on the photographic industry in the 1850s and 1860s primarily, however, the practice of "mixed trading" continued, in Canada at least, well into the twentieth century. Glen Phillips notes in *Photographers List*:

Often as not, photographers were also involved with other occupations. ... Common occupations many photographers also carried on were: barber, fancy goods dealer, stationer, book dealer, watchmaker, jeweller, grocer, boot and shoe dealer, tailor, druggist and dentist. Some of the oddball occupations were found to be that of undertaker, livery stable keeper and washing machine manufacturer.<sup>233</sup>

The fluidity between the photographer identifying as a "professional" and other professions or occupations is also why titles such as "professional" and "amateur" are problematic when examining the growth of the photographic industry, as the photographic industry was constantly evolving between the decades in which the federal census was gathered.

As such, it was difficult for the federal government to keep abreast of the variations and developments in the industry, and to clearly differentiate between photographic manufacturer, dealer, or studio owner.<sup>234</sup> For example, in the supporting *1881 Sessional Papers*, there is acknowledgement that the gathered and analysed census

---

<sup>232</sup> Owing to the reasons or manner in which the photographic aspect of their business was established, it is impossible to provide anything more than general observations regarding their methods or motivation in community participation at this point in time. See: *Manual Containing the "Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the Second Census in Canada, 1881*, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1881).

<sup>233</sup> Phillips, *The Ontario Photographers List*, 5-6.

<sup>234</sup> In the 1881, 1891 1901 and 1911 census, the photographic trade is referred to in a variety of terms including photographic galleries, photographic supply and photographic manufacture, without any reasoning as to the change in terminology. *1881 Census; 1891 Census; 1901 Census; 1911 Census*.

data is not an accurate reflection of the photographic profession. In a recorded request to consider changing the definition or scope of several categories, the *Sessional Papers* states:

Our watchmakers and jewellers, as a rule are *merchants*, and cannot be said to, convert anything of importance, but when they do so they come under the more appropriate class of ‘gold and silversmiths’. In the same way *photographic galleries* cannot be called *manufactories*, because the proprietors of these galleries do not make the materials used by photographers.<sup>235</sup> (Emphasis added)

At a basic level, this meant that any manufacturers of photographic materials would be placed under the “Manufacturing” column, and sellers of photographic materials, such as stock house, where placed in the category “Merchants”. It becomes impossible to differentiate in the census results what the specific breakdown in the types of merchandise that were being sold.

As a result of the reported difficulty in obtaining accurate numbers of the photographic industry in the 1881 census, the following 1891 census included “Photographic Supplies” as a category, in addition to “Photographic Galleries”. However, in the 1891 census results, the criteria used to define a “manufactory” was not specifically defined. It most likely included any work completed by stock house or wholesale distributors in re-packaging or assembling foreign manufactured photographic related goods meant for sale in Canada, in *addition* to the domestic manufacturing of dry plate negatives and sensitized paper.

As a consequence, there was no distinction between the manufacturers, and distributors/stock houses. The reason for the ambiguous census reporting is most likely

---

<sup>235</sup> 1891 *Sessional Papers: Official Canadian Census* (Ottawa: Canadian Gazette), 10.

the result of a lack of understanding on the part of the census bureau and enumerators on how the still relatively new photographic studio business and supporting industry functioned, and how it might be classified. To compound the basic misunderstanding of the nature of the photographic industry, if a photographer was involved in manufacturing, of any sort, as a sideline to their studio business (or vice versa), the photographer and/or the enumerator may not have considered identifying the business in question as a manufactory.<sup>236</sup>

The continual refinement in how the federal enumerators recorded and classified information regarding the manufacture and distribution of photographic materials and production of photographic goods (commercial views and portraits, for example) and services, reveals what can be recognized as an *institutionalization* of the photographic industry within the analytical data structures of the federal government.<sup>237</sup> Based upon the federal governments Chamber debate records, part of the institutionalization included increased attention from the federal government and merchants in regards to import tariffs of raw and finished goods required in the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry.<sup>238</sup>

---

<sup>236</sup> Additionally, the manufacturing information recorded in the census only captured the manufacturers who were actively manufacturing materials in 1890, when the information was gathered by the census bureau, and not, for example, a business that operated between 1885 and 1888, closing before the enumerator recorded their information.

<sup>237</sup> Merriam-Webster definition of “institutionalize”: “to cause (a custom, practice, law, etc.) to become accepted and used by many people : to establish (something) as an institution” <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/institutionalize>

<sup>238</sup> For example: Sessional Papers. Number 3 (Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1888 volume XXI), 155-156. Number 1 (Third Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1889 volume XXII), 162-163. Number 4 (First Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1891 volume XXIV), 312-313; 615. Number 4 (Fifth Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1895 volume XXVII), 187. Number 5 (Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1891 volume XXXIV), 82-83; 372-373.

However, for historians interested in examining this period, the lack of clarity or precision in the census reports presents a difficulty in differentiating between an occasional practitioner or distributor of photography, and one who was considered by photographic community members as an integral part of the industrial network. For this reason, the layering of the periodical reports with the census results becomes particularly useful. By combining the information from the 1891 census with the information found in photographic periodicals, the key actors between 1885 and 1895, namely the Farmer Bros of Hamilton, and the SDPC of Montreal, are identified, as well as details regarding the size of their business. This information is invaluable in constructing an accurate account of the photographic manufacturing landscape in Canada prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd in 1899.

### **Canada: a branch plant economy**

As stated earlier, historically, there has been very little domestic manufacturing in Canada outside of industries surrounding the abundant natural resources such as lumber. As a consequence, the Canadian economy has long been reliant on imported goods. The imported goods often have a tariff levied against them upon their entrance into Canada. A “tariff” is defined in Robert Carbaugh’s *International Economics*, as a tax (also referred to as a duty) levied on a product when it crosses national boundaries.<sup>239</sup> A “protective tariff” is designed to reduce the amount of imports entering a country, thus

---

<sup>239</sup> Robert Carbaugh, *International Economics* (Mason: South-Western College Publications, 2012), 106.



insulating import-competing manufactures from foreign competition, and therefore allowing the domestic industry the opportunity to grow.<sup>240</sup>

When introduced in 1879, the new tariffs were intended to pressure the American government to begin reappraising their own tariff policy towards Canada.<sup>241</sup> Yet despite the intended purpose of the tariffs, the protectionist tariffs did not build a strong domestic industry. According to Joe Martin and John Dwyer, the tariffs contributed to Canadian businesses becoming uncompetitive in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>242</sup> The tariff also helped transformed Canada into a “branch plant economy”.<sup>243</sup> Owing to the high number of American companies which established branches in Canada during this time, including the EKC, the branch plant economy defined the manufacturing and related industry in Canada throughout the twentieth century.<sup>244</sup>

In the post-Confederation environment of the 1870s, American manufacturers began to view Canada as an extension of the American industry and as a new opportunity to grow their business in a “friendly” sales territory.<sup>245</sup> Establishing a branch

---

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*; White, *Fur Trade to Free Trade*, 66.

<sup>241</sup> White, *Fur Trade to Free Trade*, 64. Joe Martin, *Relentless Change: A Casebook for the Study of Canadian Business History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 12. John Alfred Dwyer, *Business History: Canada in the Global Community* (Concord: Captus, 1999), 159.

<sup>242</sup> The heavy dependence the Canadian manufacturing sector placed on the American branch economy has produced lasting repercussions in the Canadian economy. Automotive industries in particular, would support major parts of the manufacturing industry, which is why when the American automotive industry began to fail in the 1980s and 1990s. This had a major impact on the Canadian manufacturing industry, especially in areas such as Windsor, Hamilton and Oshawa. Anthony Blackbourn and Robert Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 138-139.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>245</sup> Politically, in Post-Confederation Canada, there was serious discussion amongst politicians regarding whether the young Dominion of Canada should join the United States. Political cartoons of the day often depicted Mother Britannia and Uncle Sam fighting over the small child which represented the Dominion.

factory, as opposed to continuing to strictly export goods into Canada through third party distributors or stock houses/ wholesalers, provided American companies with several benefits. This included relief in taxes and larger profits for the manufacturer; lowered costs for the consumer; greater control in directing the distribution of their products in a new market; and promotion of the company and/or brand image as a “domestic” manufacturing company (such as with the CKCoLtd).

Prior to the establishment of the branch plant, the “jobber” or middleman distributor imported the materials from the foreign manufacturer, paying the tariff and selling the materials to smaller dealers or directly to customers, with each step contributing to the overall increased final cost for the consumer.<sup>246</sup> The branch plants were located as close to the American parent plant as possible, to reduce transport time and costs between plants.<sup>247</sup> For many manufacturers, including the SDPC and the EKC, establishing a Canadian branch plant also allowed them to bypass the middleman or “jobber”. It enabled greater control over the distribution and sale of their materials, and later in the dissemination of particular corporate messages.

In actions seemingly contradictory to the reasoning behind the tariffs (placing pressure on American government to loosen their own restrictions), the Canadian government was amenable to foreign companies establishing branches in Canada, for they wished to see domestic industry increase, with corresponding employment created for Canadians. The originating country of ownership of the company was not of primary

---

See Douglas Sprague, *Post-Confederation Canada: The Structure of Canadian History Since Confederation* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1990).

<sup>246</sup> Błaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers*, 93.

<sup>247</sup> Blackbourn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 139.

concern to the government. Between 1887 and 1900, there were sixty-eight American companies recorded as establishing branches in Canada, including the establishment of the CKCoLtd in Toronto in 1899.<sup>248</sup>

In 1936, a composite of a “typical” American factory in Canada was constructed by economic historians Marshal, Southard and Taylor out of hundreds of studies of individual companies, including the CKCoLtd.:

Typically, the American plant in Canada has been established to avoid tariffs and to cater to the consumer preference for “Empire-made” goods. Although it may export some of its output, it has been organized mainly to serve the Canadian market. It is incorporated in Canada as a limited company, is owned by the parent company, financed by it, and closely controlled by it. It is, in terms of numbers, typically a small plant, employing up to \$200,000 capital and turning out only a small portion of the products produced by the giants among American-owned companies in Canada.<sup>249</sup>

As I will examine further in the following chapters, this composite describes in fairly accurate terms how the CKCoLtd fits a larger pattern of American companies extending their business into Canada.

However, branch plant economy theorists including Naylor, White, Blackburn and Putnum posit that as the manufacturing of an increasingly industrialized society was out-sourced, or produced by foreign-owned manufacturers, the role of the Canadian businessman was largely to act as the intermediary between the foreign manufacturer

---

<sup>248</sup> Marshal, Southard and Taylor, *Canadian-American Industry*, 15. In 1885, a special “Report Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada”, in the Sessional Papers of the federal government “noted with satisfaction that the National Policy of 1879 had induced the establishment of several American branch factories in Canada”. As economic historian Randall White notes, the year the National Policy was announced, thirteen United States-based manufacturers established branch plants in Canada. “Number 37 - Report Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada”, *Sessional Papers of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada*, 18-6 (1885).

<sup>249</sup> Marshal, Southard and Taylor, *Canadian American Industry*, 218-219.

and the domestic consumer.<sup>250</sup> In doing so, it reduced the likelihood of innovation amongst the domestic manufacturing sector, who viewed the investment into production as a risky proposition, supported by the federal government's backing of the foreign companies' establishment in Canada.<sup>251</sup> I argue that this is what happened with the Canadian photographic manufacturing industry by the early twentieth century, due to the increased monopoly of the EKC / CKCoLtd.

As the EKC increased its dominance in industry innovation, and formalized the role of the domestic distributor within the network, the likelihood of a domestic-driven manufacturing industry diminished. Blackburn and Putnam argue that Canadian branch plants lacked any ability to develop products independently of the parent company, as the American parent company often imported ready-made solutions that were developed in a neighbouring country (the United States) with a similar environment to Canada and were therefore usually effective.<sup>252</sup> Naylor claims that until the First World War, no industrial research was done in Canada, largely due to the ease of access to foreign technology and the facility with which skilled labour could be imported into Canada.<sup>253</sup> With the CKCoLtd, all the products manufactured or assembled during the period examined were designed or formulated at the research and development laboratories in Rochester.<sup>254</sup> Blackburn and Putnam's assertions that the branch plant system came to

---

<sup>250</sup> Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, II – 50; White, *Fur Trade to Free Trade* 66-69; Blackburn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 129; Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 77.

<sup>251</sup> Blackburn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 16.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>253</sup> Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, II - 56.

<sup>254</sup> Between 1912 and 1925, the CKCoLtd purchased 25 acres of farmland and constructed Kodak Heights. By 1925, there were over 900 employees, a division of which engaged in the research and development of new Kodak products. From: Canada Kodak Inc., *Journey : 75 years of Kodak research* (Toronto: Kodak Canada Inc., 1989).

dominate those industries that were at an early stage of their product life cycle at the turn of the century fits with my observations regarding the EKC in Canada.<sup>255</sup>

The circumstances which supported a branch plant economy are further explained by the fact that while the British industrial revolution had produced a national market for many goods, the distribution system established during that period (ca. 1760-1840) had also created a complex network of merchants and agents necessary for distribution of the goods.<sup>256</sup> The expanded market and production that was part of the American industrial revolution (ca. 1870-1914) introduced new entities, such as the electrical industry, which found it necessary to include marketing and distribution into its company mandate.

Writing on the electrical companies in the late nineteenth century, Glenn Porter explains that because the industry was so new, the manufacturers themselves had to take the initiative and supply a body of trained personnel to provide the necessary expertise and service.<sup>257</sup> Even when the goods did fit reasonably comfortably into existing channels, producers often created their own distribution networks because this improved their communication with their customers and thus could lead to better service and new products.<sup>258</sup> Patterns in this type of corporate behaviour are evident in the EKC's business model and execution in Canada, including the importation of trained staff to the Toronto office when required. This particular action of redefining distribution networks is a defining component of the EKC's success in Canada as they combined existing

---

<sup>255</sup> Blackbourn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 16.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>257</sup> Glenn Porter, *The Rise of Big Business: 1860-1920* (Boston: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005), 58.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

networks of distribution with new initiatives and distribution models, as will be examined in greater detail in Chapters Three and Four.

### **“Jobbing” photographic goods in Canada before the CKCoLtd**

The evidence inform the periodical articles and advertising, government reports related to census findings and general Parliamentary debates, and points to there being three basic types of possible manufacturing operations occurring in Canada prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd: photographic dry plate and chemistry production; re-packaging and sale of imported goods; and production and sale of commercial views. According to the 1891 census, there were four manufacturers of photographic materials in operation by 1890.<sup>259</sup> “Manufacturing” included any work in re-packaging or assembling of photographic related goods such as film, paper stock and cameras that were manufactured in foreign countries.

The wholesalers, or “jobbers” as they were referred to in the nineteenth century, operated as distribution middle-men, importing the photographic goods from foreign countries in bulk (such as photographic paper), and cutting and packaging the materials on site. They would then sell the individually packaged materials directly to customers, or to smaller, often regional based, photographic dealers for sale in their own shops. While the issue of jobbers will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four in the context of the EKC / CKCoLtd’s acquisition of major Canadian wholesalers, it is important to discuss how the dry plate tariff impacted these jobbers.

---

<sup>259</sup> *1891 Sessional Papers: Official Canadian Census* (Ottawa: Canadian Gazette), 8-11.

Understanding the role of jobbers in the American and Canadian distribution system enhances our understanding of how the manufacturing and distribution network in Canada functioned before the EKC began to radically re-structure the Canadian distribution system in the early 1900s. Jenkins relates that for many of the American manufacturers of photographic materials in the late nineteenth century, “jobbing” was a familiar component of business.<sup>260</sup> E & H.T. Anthony are likely the most recognizable of the nineteenth century wholesalers in the United States and Canada in the nineteenth century, and the company’s history is closely tied with the wider history of manufacture, as they are the precursors to the photographic manufacturing company Ansco.<sup>261</sup> Outside of the E & H.T. Anthony, wholesalers have been the focus of limited scholarship related to photographic history, and is an identifiable area for future research and discussion, especially in relation to how the EKC’s growth impacted these types of businesses.<sup>262</sup>

In her study of jobbers in the glass and ceramic industry in the United States and England Blaszczyk established the important role of jobbers in expanding a company’s share of consumer markets outside of their original distribution territory.<sup>263</sup> There is

---

<sup>260</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 92-93; 161-162;

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid*, 160-166; 246-250; William Marder and Estelle Marder, *Anthony, the man, the company, the cameras: An American Photographic Pioneer : 140 year history of a company from Anthony to Ansco, to GAF*, (Fort Lauderdale: Pine Ridge Publishing Co., 1982).

<sup>262</sup> Michael Pritchard discussed in detail the wholesale of photographic supplies in his doctoral dissertation *The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914*, and has published several pieces in relation to the whole sale business, including entries in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, including the entry on E & H.T. Anthony. In 1900, Eastman considered purchasing the E & H.T. Anthony company, when they were in the process of purchasing other wholesalers in their expansion into the mid-western United States, but decided against it, partially due to a complicated history between the two companies. The relationship between Eastman, and the EKC, and the E & H.T. Anthony wholesale business (and the Anthony-Scovill Company) has largely focused on the lawsuits between the EKC and Anthony-Scovill regarding the Goodwin patent regarding flexible film. See for example, Ackerman, *George Eastman*, 276-279; Brayer, *George Eastman*, 193-195; Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography*, 18.

<sup>263</sup> Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers*, 93-96.

supporting evidence of this practice in Jenkins' study of Anthony and Scoville as the marketing agents for a variety of manufacturers including the EKC. It is for this reason that when the SDPC and the EKC began to eliminate the wholesaler in favour of direct marketing and sales to the photographers themselves they were re-structuring the existing distribution networks in the United States.

However, as examined further in Chapter Three, selling directly to the public was against the original trade agreement between the EKC and the Canadian government, with specific mention of jobbing in the Customs Ruling they secured with the Canadian government in 1899.<sup>264</sup> Part of the reason the EKC/ CKCoLtd was denied the ability to sell directly to the Canadian photographers as they did in the United States and Great Britain, was that in Canada there was less domestic production and therefore wholesalers relied heavily on imported photographic materials to sustain the distribution or "jobbing" trade. This heavy reliance on imported materials is why the import tariff on dry plates had such an impact on the Canadian distribution community. It is also why the issue was of intense interest to the PAC, as there were several prominent members of the PAC who participated in the jobbing of foreign photographic materials, most notable being J.G. Ramsey of Toronto.

### **The protective import tariff begins to take a toll**

---

<sup>264</sup> The EKC initially sought a "special ruling enabling the CKCoLtd as manufacturers and jobbers, to import goods at lower rates than conceded to retailers" which was denied. Canadian Customs Ruling No. 42608. Mora to Eastman, 23 April 1903, Incoming correspondences, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.



In the late 1870s, when the National Policy was drafted, the majority of camera work was still being accomplished through “wet plate” technology. Photographers were required to coat their own negative plates immediately prior to exposure.<sup>265</sup> To accomplish this task, they were using purchased chemicals and glass that were usually classified under “raw materials” or unfinished goods in the official schedule of tariffs. The finished, or manufactured goods the photographers purchased were primarily cameras and lenses, as well as paper and other sundries for printing from European or American manufactures and stock houses, and the tariff was set at a relatively modest 20 percent for these types of materials, largely because there were no Canadian manufacturers attempting production in these areas.

However, the first five years of the 1879 National Policy happened to coincide with the introduction of the dry plate process, which not only enabled photographers to coat and develop their negatives at a time separate from the exposure, but it also enabled the sensitized glass plates to be prepared, packaged and distributed commercially, for sale in domestic and/or foreign markets.<sup>266</sup> In order for a domestic manufacturer to succeed against foreign competition, the protective tariff required adjustment at both ends: low, to no tariff on the import of raw materials (glass and chemicals); high, or

---

<sup>265</sup> Mark Osterman, “The Technical Evolution of Photography in the 19th Century,” in *The Concise Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: From the First Photo on Paper to the Digital Revolution*, ed. Michael Peres (Burlington: Focal Press, 2012), 11-12.

<sup>266</sup> The adaptation of the dry plate technology by photographers is outside of the scope of this paper. “By 1881, technology had improved, with a speed 8x faster than that of the wet-plate, and professionals overcame their initial reservations. By the end of 1883 no fewer than 28 American firms were manufacturing dry plates and shipping them as far away as India and China.” Keith Davis, *An American Century of Photography: From Dry-Plate to Digital*. (Kansas City: Hallmark Cards, Inc, 1999), 17. Also see: Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 66-171.

restrictive tariff on the importation of finished goods (manufactured dry plate negatives).<sup>267</sup>

The manufactures of photographic materials in Canada during the late 1880s and early 1890s, however, did not benefit from a government supported tariff escalation. The glass, paper and chemicals were all subject to high tariffs in an effort to support the emergent domestic glaziers, pulp and paper, and chemical industries.<sup>268</sup> The tariff on these essential raw materials for photographers was enacted despite the fact that these same domestic industries were often not producing the exact materials required for the production of quality photographic goods.<sup>269</sup> The initial tariff placed on glass for example, covered *all* glass, rather than breaking down the different types as required, yet

---

<sup>267</sup> There were exceptions for products which could not, or were not, being manufactured in Canada. The exceptions were placed on a list of “approved” import items, which received a lower or complete tariff exemption (zero tariff), and thus had an impact on the types of foreign industry that established manufacturing facilities in Canada. Additionally, there were instances of government-supported initiatives for domestic manufactures, in the form of “tariff escalation”, which was a policy whereby raw materials or unfinished goods are imported at zero or low tariff levels in order to encourage manufacture of particular products. Simultaneously, high tariffs levels were maintained on finished products from foreign markets which competed with the now domestically-manufactured products. White, *Fur Trade to Free Trade*, 112. An example of an escalation tariff in Canada’s National Policy of 1879 is: In order to encourage the growth of a textile manufacturing industry in Canada, the machinery required to process the raw materials and to produce the finished textiles, as well as the raw wool and dyes (if required), entered Canada free of tariffs. Meanwhile, to discourage the importation of textiles which would compete with the now-domestically produced goods, foreign-made textiles received a tariff of 34%. Gwyn, *Nation Builder*, 307.

<sup>268</sup> The pulp and paper tariffs in particular, came to represent the divisive economic and political action the tariff created between Canadian and American manufacturers and importers of raw materials and finished paper goods. Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, 78-81; Blackbourne and Putnum, *Industrial Geography of Canada*, 44-46. See also: Daowei Zhang, *The Softwood Lumber War: Politics, Economics, and the Long U.S.-Canadian Trade Dispute*, (New York, Routledge, 2010).

<sup>269</sup> Paper quality of North American paper manufacturers – too acidic for photographic use. Therefore, securing paper became a means to control the market. For example, *Chicago Record* Jan 18, 1899 – “Silver Paper Trust”: “Eastman Company and Other makers of photographic goods form a combine, corner the visible supply and put up prices... the principle movers were the Eastman Kodak company and the American Aristo Company. They sent representatives to Germany last summer who made arrangements with the manufacturing of the Steinbach & Reeves sensitive papers to have exclusive control of the output of their factories. This is the paper which has been most used in this country, and if the other manufacturers are unable to buy it they will either be compelled to close up or sell out to the combine when their present supply runs out. The trust will have entire control of the photographic paper trade in the US, Canada and Mexico.”

the glass destined for housing was very different than the glass required for the manufacture of photographic negatives. To make quality photographic plates, the glass needed to be particularly clear, and free from defects.<sup>270</sup> In the nineteenth century domestic glass manufacturing in North America was not of good enough quality to be reliably used in the manufacturing of photographic materials, as evidenced in the EKC's corporate correspondences.<sup>271</sup>

According to accounts in several contemporary periodicals, the cost of importing the raw materials necessary for domestic production encouraged the few photographic manufacturers attempting dry plate production in Canada in the 1880s to pressure the government to raise the protective tariff on foreign manufactured dry plates.<sup>272</sup> Due to their lobbying efforts the existing tariff was raised from a flat 30 percent tax on import value, to a 15 cents per square foot tax on all imported dry plates, thereby setting in motion a chain of events which would completely alter the existing manufacturing and distribution landscape in Canada in fifteen years.

The square footage based tariff introduced in 1887 was apparently particularly difficult for the English dry plate companies. Prior to the increased tariff of 1887 they had enjoyed the advantage over the American manufacturers by specializing in the

---

<sup>270</sup> "Glass," in *Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, ed. Michael Peres (Burlington, Focal Press), 82-83.

<sup>271</sup> Brock, *Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of Anti-Trust*, 657. SDPC of Newton MA, to George Eastman, Rochester, 2 June 1902, Incoming letters – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. "The profits for 1901 would have been greater had it not been for the difficulty in getting glass, which we explained to Mr. Abbott. ... Our output for this year up to date exceeds the same months last year, and we have contracted for glass at very satisfactory rates."

<sup>272</sup> "Photographers Grievances in Canada", *The [Toronto] Mail*, 8 June 1888. "...there were three manufacturers of dry plates in Canada, and upon their urging, the Minister of Customs was convinced to change the duty to a uniform 15 cents per square foot."

“cheap plate”.<sup>273</sup> However it is important to acknowledge the fact that cost was not the only factor in consumers’ dry plate decision. Figure 2.1, compares the dollar amount of imported dry plate negatives from the United States and Great Britain between 1888 and 1898. There is a marked increase in the American imported dry plates, over the English.

The value of photographic dry plates from Great Britain and the United States as recorded in the federal government’s annual import/exports report show that although there was always a preference for the American dry plates over the British, the discrepancy grew in the early 1890s, for reasons that will be explored shortly.

The information represented in Figure 2.1 also reveals the increasing market for commercially produced photographic negatives, reflected in the increase in the total dollar amount imported each year, which rose from \$7,776 in 1889 (the first complete year import statistics on photographic dry plates were recorded by the federal government) to \$32,963 in 1899.

---

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid*, “It will be readily seen that this tax presses most heavily upon the cheapest plates, which are made in England, and it has practically shut them out from this market.”

	\$ value of photographic dry plates imported from Great Britain	\$ value of photographic materials dry plates from the United States	TOTAL \$ of photographic dry plates imported
1888 (beginning May 13th)	439	246	685
1889	2,954	4,822	7,776
1890	4,700	5,316	10,041
1891	4,356	5,334	9,702
1892	2,461	9,635	12,098
1893	3,348	8,016	11,366
1894	2,654	7,231	9,891
1895	2,317	11,710	14,207
1896	1,646	14,207	15,853
1897	1,732	14,755	16,579
1898	2,245	22,820	25,502
1899	2,768	28,655	32,963

**Figure 2.1 : Value of imported photographic dry plates from Great Britain and the United States for the years 1888 to 1899. *Sessional Papers*, Number 3 (Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1888 volume XXI), 155-156. *Sessional Papers*, Number 1 (Third Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1889 volume XXII), 162-163. *Sessional Papers*, Number 4 (First Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1891 volume XXIV), 312-313; 615. *Sessional Papers*, Number 4 (Fifth Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1895 volume XXVII), 187. *Sessional Papers*, Number 5 (Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1891 volume XXXIV), 82-83; 372-373.<sup>274</sup>**

The overall increase is proof of the changing market for photographic materials which included the growing segment of amateurs, but also the increasing number of

<sup>274</sup> The reported numbers of imported photographic dry plates were only published beginning in 1888, with the reportage beginning May 13<sup>th</sup> of that year. Until the 1890 report, the photographic dry plates were classified under the general “Glass” imports. In 1891, the photographic dry plates were listed under the heading “Photographic dry plates”.

professional photographers who relied on commercially produced materials in their business, rather than continuing to make their own negatives. The Canadian population between 1889 and 1899 increased from 4,729,000 in 1889 to 5,235,000 in 1899. Although an increase of 10.7 percent, it does not match the increase of import of photographic dry plates which increased 324 percent during the same period.<sup>275</sup>

### Photographic manufacturers in Canada prior to 1899

In the 1891 census, the individual manufactories were not identified, but rather they were broken down by geographical location as follows:

City	Employees			Value of raw materials	Wages	Value of goods produced annually	Working capital
	M	F	< 16				
Hamilton	2	4	1	\$1,425	\$3,650	\$6,150	\$1,000
Toronto	2			\$5,000	\$1,200	\$9,000	\$500
Wentworth	4	2		\$1,000	\$2,500	\$6,000	\$2,000
Quebec	2			\$500	\$150	\$1,000	\$75

**Figure 2.2 : Number of Photographic manufacturers according to the 1891 federal census. 1891 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1891).<sup>276</sup>**

<sup>275</sup> Population statistics provided by Statistics Canada, 1867-1970 Source: CANSIM, table 075-0001 <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4151287-eng.htm> Accessed May 23, 2015.

<sup>276</sup> I wish to draw attention the wording of the title “Number of Photographic manufacturers according to the 1891 census. It is highly likely that these are not the only businesses engaged in the manufacturing an/or distribution of photographic materials. As I noted earlier, there was a high rate of “mixed-trading” in regards to the photographic business during this period, and it is likely that many businesses engaged in the distribution and sale of photographic materials as a side line did not self-identify to the census enumerators. The table may also not capture businesses that were short-lived. It is my reasoning that the census results reflect the number of business for which

By tracing the location and names of participants in the articles and advertising in photographic periodicals, the Hamilton manufacturer has been identified with certainty as the Farmer Bros dry plate factory, and the Wentworth manufacturer as the SDPC. The Hamilton and Wentworth locations both have higher numbers of employees (seven and six respectively) than the other locations, yet lower raw materials and value of good produced annually. In contrast, the Toronto location listed four to five times the value of raw materials as the Hamilton and Wentworth locations with only two employees, yet half to a quarter of the working capital. These discrepancies support the existing archival research I conducted regarding the existence of sustained domestic manufacturing efforts.

The census data supports the existence of major “jobbing” or re-packaging work in Toronto and Quebec, and manufacturing facilities in Hamilton and Wentworth/Montreal.<sup>277</sup> The high level of working capital for the two identified dry plate manufacturers (Hamilton and Wentworth) would have included the machinery required for mechanized production of dry plate negatives, and other fixtures. The

---

photographic manufacture and distribution where the primary or sole product identified with their business, as I identify further in this chapter.

<sup>277</sup> The Toronto “manufacturer” in this passage was most likely J.G. Ramsey, the largest photographic stock house in the city. “Stock houses”, as they were commonly referred to in the photographic trade, were companies which engaged in the wholesale distribution of the photographic supply business, supplying materials primarily to smaller dealers and professional photographers. The Quebec location is most likely referencing the business of professional photographer and producer of commercial views, the Livernois studio of Quebec City. This can be conjectured on the grounds of the low costs of raw materials and wages, and working capital, compared to the value of goods produced. Additionally, owing to a lawsuit brought against Livernois by the Druggist Association which began in 1891, there is evidence that Livernois was selling photographic materials, in particular photographic chemistry, in the early 1890s in addition to the commercial views his studio produced for the tourist market in Quebec City, which housed a large population of British military personnel until the late 1860s, when the British presence was replaced by British-Canadian personnel.

amount of working capital also included land and building, if the company proprietor owned such in the name of the company. Combined with the machinery and fixtures the figures represented an insurable amount that could be used to guarantee payments, and in the case of closure, could be sold off to pay creditors. The working capital figures also provide an important point for comparison to the capital the EKC supplied the CKCoLtd with when they established their own Canadian branch in 1899.

Understanding how the two major manufacturing companies in Canada prior to the CKCoLtd were formed and how they functioned aids our understanding of how the tariff impacted the existing industry prior to the CKCoLtd. The manufacturing locations of Hamilton and Montreal would be replaced by Toronto via the EKC in the early 1900s, however the EKC / CKCoLtd is not the only reason for the shift. In the case of the Farmer Bros, the tariffs, rather than the CKCoLtd's restructuring of the industry initiated the decline of the business.

### Hamilton: The Farmer Bros.

In the late nineteenth century, Hamilton Ontario was the home to a variety of manufacturing concerns due to its close proximity to the United States (see map in preface).<sup>278</sup> Established as a family business in 1885, the Farmer Bros began

---

<sup>278</sup> Major manufactures centered in Hamilton included Steelco, the steel manufactures, Eli Smith created his preserves company 'E.D. Smith', after being frustrated by paying to have his fruit transported from distant areas, had founded a company in 1882 to market directly to wholesalers and eliminate the middleman. Also, the city was a technology center, being the home of the first telephone company, and the first city to Completion of the Great Western railway and the Niagara Suspension Bridge transforms Hamilton into a major centre and part of the American immigration route from New York or Boston to



manufacturing the Hamilton Lightening Plate under the management of J.H. Farmer. In October of 1887, shortly after the initial rise in tariffs on dry plates was announced, a Farmer Bros. / Hamilton Dry Plate advertisement stated that the company had purchased two acres of land, situated on the Hamilton & Dundas Railroad, and had erected a “large brick factory, with sufficient capacity for supplying all demands of the trade in Canada” (see Appendix B).<sup>279</sup>

According to business historians such as White and Chandler, reliable infrastructure and production facilities are key components for success in the manufacturing industry.<sup>280</sup> Access to the railway lines meant that the photographic materials being produced could be distributed across the country, and that the raw materials required for production could be reliably transported to the modern manufacturing facility. If deemed necessary, the purchase of two acres provided the Farmer Bros. with additional working capital, and space and insurable assets to enable expansion. Additionally, the Farmer Bros. expanded into vertical integration, as further examined in Chapter Four, by producing their own chemicals.<sup>281</sup>

In late 1888, the Farmer Bros. added a nitrate silver works, and by 1889, they were also manufacturing chloride of gold, “which he [J.H. Farmer] is ready to supply the trade, wholesale and retail.”<sup>282</sup> The silver nitrate manufacturing came with the purchase

---

Chicago or Milwaukee. Thomas Melville Bailey, *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography* (Vol I, 1791-1875). (Hamilton: W.L. Griffin Ltd, 1981); *The Hamilton Spectator - Souvenir Edition*.

<sup>279</sup> “Farmer Bros Advertisement”, *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 4-11 (October 1887). “Farmer Bros.” research file, Art and Photography library, LAC.

<sup>280</sup> White, *Fur Trade to Free Trade*, 36. Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 188-189; 205-207.

<sup>281</sup> Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 355.

<sup>282</sup> “Farmer Bros Advertisement”, *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 5-11 (November 1887). Farmer Bros. file, Art and Photography library, LAC.

of a Canadian chemical manufacturer, Ames & Baldwin, in 1889.<sup>283</sup> The domestic chemical manufacturing used in the photographic production was another way to decrease the cost of production for the Canadian manufacturer, and also reduced the dependency of the domestic manufacturer on foreign suppliers.

Removing the supplier of essential materials restructured the existing network of manufacturing, and potentially provided more control to the manufacturer, in this case, the Farmer Bros in Hamilton, because they were capable not only of meeting their own needs for manufacturing, but also of supplying the trade of would-be manufacturers, and other industry participants. By producing the very chemicals or materials needed to manufacture their photographic goods (in this case dry plate negatives), the Farmer Bros. were reducing their reliance on third party suppliers, which could restrict a company's production.

Additionally, expanding into the chemistry production via vertical integration and acquisition of complementary businesses in 1889 utilized the companies accruing capital, in the same way purchasing well situated land for their factory did in 1887. These actions accomplished, albeit on a smaller scale, the same business processes that helped make the EKC expansion successful by the early twentieth century. However, the Farmer Bros. did not experience international, nor even national success, despite these familiar business tactics in industrial expansion for reasons which will be explained shortly.

Prior to the 1887 raise in tariffs the PAC had been supportive of the Farmer Bros. dry plates, regularly promoting the plates in their conventions and published convention

---

<sup>283</sup> *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 6-12 (December 1888), 411. *Ibid*, 7-5 (May 1889), 217.

reports.<sup>284</sup> Even though the transportation and manufacturing requirements necessary for domestic manufacturing and distribution success had been addressed, the Farmer Bros. had to overcome the increasingly negative feelings towards the domestically produced dry plate, as vocalized primarily by the PAC in the photographic periodicals. The Farmer Bros failed to successfully accrue or maintain continuing social power in the influential PAC community. This failure most likely contributed to their company's eventual demise, and again provides a contrast to the efforts of their closest competitor in Canada at the time, the SDPC, as well as the later efforts by the EKC / CKCoLtd.

#### Wentworth / Montreal: The Stanley Dry Plate Company (SDPC)

In contrast to the Farmer Bros, the SDPC chose to focus only on the manufacture and distribution of dry plate negatives. Located on the outskirts of Montreal the SDPC was established as the Canadian branch of the SDPC of Lewiston, Maine in late 1886, after consultation with William Notman. By the 1880s, Notman was clearly the largest producer of photographic images in Canada, with over twenty branches or franchises of his studio in operation across Canada and the North-Eastern United States, and as such, was the largest single employer of photographers and photographic-related labourers in North America.<sup>285</sup>

---

<sup>284</sup> As evidenced in multiple articles in the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*. For example, the PAC's annual convention photograph was taken by the Farmer Bros. Hamilton dry plate in 1888 and 1889, and the firm regularly awarded prizes at the annual convention until 1891.

<sup>285</sup> Triggs, Dodds and Hall, *The World of William Notman*, 14-17; 45-47; Erika Lederman, "Photography and Tourism," in *Photography: The Whole Story*, ed. Juliet Hacking (New York: Prestel, 2012), 89; Kunard, "Canada", 262-263.

When Notman decided to stop having his studios produce their own sensitized plates in 1885 he sought a reliable manufacturer to supply his network of studios.<sup>286</sup> In the late 1870s Notman also operated photographic goods and equipment stock house from his primary American location in Albany, New York, which is likely how he became both personally and professionally acquainted with the SDPC.<sup>287</sup> Entering the Canadian market through Notman provided the SDPC with immediate benefits not shared by other manufacturers, such as guaranteed access to the Notman studio network and the social, economic and political capital associated with the Notman name in Canada.

Montreal was most likely chosen as the site of the SDPC's Canadian branch due to it being the home location of Notman, as well as its proximity to the U.S. East Coast shipping routes that certainly served the American SDPC. Also, Montreal had long been the business capital of Canada, and was home to an increasing number of foreign companies in the 1880s, as the early major Canadian banking institutions originated in Montreal, providing a stable financial environment for foreign businesses to establish and deposit the capital required for operation.<sup>288</sup>

---

<sup>286</sup> Triggs, Dodds and Hall, *The World of William Notman*, 49-51.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*, 52. The company in Albany was named the Notman Photographic Company, Ltd. In addition to the Albany branch, located at 55 North Pearl St., there were studios in Boston, MA; Hanover, NH; Cambridge, MA; New Haven, CT; Easton, PA; Saratoga, NY; Poland Springs, ME; Magnolia, MA; Newport, RI. Processing for the American studios was completed in Boston and Albany locations.

<sup>288</sup> In comparison, Toronto in the late 1880s, was not the central hub of transportation that Montreal was, and made import/export of manufactured goods and raw materials more costly, because of additional transportation needs, the risk of delays and so forth. As an increasing number of rail lines and routes were developed, and the organization of the Great Lake shipping companies aided Toronto in beginning to attract a larger share of the manufacturing in Canada in the late 1880s. However it did not yet replace the advantage that the ocean accessible harbours provided to Montreal. It was not until an increasing number of American companies, including the EKC, established branch plants close to the existing American manufacturing belt in the late 1890s and early 1900s that Toronto finally began to replace Montreal as the commercial capital of Canada. Blackburn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 138-139.

The SDPC entered the Canadian market with a strong initial connection to Notman, and a well situated manufacturing and distribution site. They were able to quickly accrue strong social and political power in the small Canadian photographic community. They would continue to develop the positive reputation of their business in the following years, largely due to how they were able to navigate the dry plate tariff in the PAC community and subsequently, in the photographic periodicals reporting of their interactions with the PAC.

### **The Photographic Association of Canada (PAC)**

The PAC, which has already made its appearance in my account, was formed in Toronto, Ontario 24 January 1884.<sup>289</sup> The details of the formation of the PAC were published in the Toronto newspaper *The Globe* the following day, stating that the association had been formed “Owing to the injury which has been done to the profession in the past by the cutting of prices and the constant bickering and ill-feeling among the members of the profession.”<sup>290</sup> Similar to other professionally driven associations, such as the Photographers Association of America (PAA), the PAC was formed by photographers seeking to define photography as a respectable profession, often by drawing attention to its applications in science and art.

---

<sup>289</sup> “New Photographers Association Formed,” *The Globe*, 25 January 1884, 6. Modeled after an association in Huron County the previous year, which had been formed “for the purpose of fixing a uniform rate of prices, and promoting more of a professional esprit de corps among photographers.”

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

According to the original constitution of 1884, the PAC was created to “improve the science and art of photography ... by diffusing scientific knowledge among its members, stimulating discovery and invention, and encouraging the home production and the manufacture of the many articles required for photographic use.”<sup>291</sup> The constitutional mention of home production and manufacturing would prove difficult for the PAC to fulfill, as the industry was affected by re-structuring beginning in the late 1880s. The by-laws were intended to support the PAC elected executive board and general members in ensuring the association was able to:

... discourage and oppose any unjust imposition which tends to hamper the progress of the art; to establish the relations between members of the profession and the public at large upon just and business principles which shall promote the public welfare and be of mutual advantage; to inaugurate exhibitions of photographic productions on a scale commensurate with the progress of the art.<sup>292</sup>

The Canadian association was open to any photographer, regardless of level or nature of involvement in the photographic business. As they stated in an 1885 *St. Louis & Canadian Photographer* article “It will be seen by our heading “Photographic Association of Canada” that this Association is not photographers but photographic, which was explained by Secretary Poole as covering all who practice the art be he professional or amateur.”<sup>293</sup>

The distinction between an association of “photographic” rather than “photographers” was a core aspect of the PAC, as they worked to include not only

---

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.* The constitutions and by-laws of the PAC were based on those of the Photographers’ Association of America (PAA), which had been formed in April 1880.

<sup>292</sup> “Photographic Association of Canada,” *St. Louis & Canadian Photographer*, 4-10 (October 1885), 310.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

photographers, but also manufacturers and distributors of photographic and photographic-related materials into the association. Although they were keen to include amateurs in the association, the PAC also viewed themselves as an association which supported and promoted the business interests of the professional photographer and their “home product and manufacture” of photographic materials, as explained in an article detailing the decision to legally incorporate the PAC in 1892.<sup>294</sup>

Like nearly every other class of businessmen in this and other countries, the Canadian photographers have been confronted with a number of difficulties relating to their work... it was considered advisable to place the association on a footing somewhat similar to that of a druggists' and dentists' and a committee was appointed to meet and confer as to the best means of securing incorporation. It is probable that some effort will be made to obtain legislative authority to establish a standard to which all in the business must attain.<sup>295</sup>

The specific inclusion of “encouraging the home production” of photographic materials in the original charter is an important aspect in the analysis of the PAC. The inclusion of manufacturers, distributors and users into a single organization initially aided the strengthening of a “Canadian” photographic industry network. However, although the PAC was initially supportive of domestic manufacturers, such as the Farmer Bros of Hamilton as evidenced by the regular support extended to the company in the annual conventions, the association’s constitutionally defined support toward the “home” producers would change, with the 1887 introduction of the dry plate tariff.

---

<sup>294</sup> Incorporation required legislative authorization, usually at the provincial level. Having the federal / provincial government recognize the validity of the association aided the PAC’s efforts in institutionalizing the photographic industry, and making their association a legitimate labour organization. Both are important factors in gaining political capital which enabled the PAC to successfully lobby the government for lower tariff rates in the early 1890s.

<sup>295</sup> *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, 23 (1892), 603-605.

Beginning in the late 1880s, the desire to include all aspects of the photographic industry in this formally organized community led to conflicts of interest for several high profile members, and divisions in the PAC membership in general. In the periodicals connected to Canadian photographic community there is evidence that the original constitutional article of “encouraging home production” had its limits in the PAC community. The idealistic intent to construct a formal network of Canadian photographic community members which included manufacturers *and* consumers would ultimately be super-ceded by the conflicting financial interests of each community.

### **The PAC conventions as organizing sites for anti-tariff protests**

According to the records of membership and other archival source material, the PAC community was composed of participants from a wide geographical and economic area, with varying investment and interest in photography as an amateur, artistic, scientific and/or economic pursuit.<sup>296</sup> The annual convention provided the opportunity for community members to meet face-to-face, and develop a deeper connection with other members, and in the case of manufacturers, market and demonstrate their goods and services.

Whereas the conventions functioned as a physical meeting of a largely imagined community, the published convention notes were a further extension of the imagined community’s interaction. Publishing the convention notes in photographic periodicals

---

<sup>296</sup> Photographers Association of Canada / Ontario Society of Photographers: minute books and minutes, Frank Wright Fonds, R5151, LAC.



provided the members who were unable to attend with a means to participate in the larger public and published dialogue. At the same time it allowed the PAC to promote their interest to a wider audience and potentially attract new members.

Throughout the PAC's decade long petitioning campaign they worked to build community support amongst Canadian photographers, publishing the highlights of their major discussions relating to tariffs during their annual conventions in photographic periodicals, as well as the details of their lobbying efforts in the general periodical press. Each published account served as an opportunity to build their base of support in the photographic community and establish additional networked connections to other communities and participants by placing the PAC and their lobbying efforts in the scope of larger labour or professional association movements in Canada.<sup>297</sup>

The PAC utilized the forum of the periodical press in Canada to establish their initial grievance and subsequent lobbying efforts on behalf of Canadian photographers. Following Eisenstein's argument, the PAC was addressing a community broadly dispersed and unlikely to ever publicly provide unanimous support. The PAC's active lobbying efforts were initially executed by only a small handful of photographers and distributors in specifically urban locations.

Through the expanded efforts of the PAC over the next few years to attract additional members and widen their network, largely through the periodical press, they were able to improve dramatically their navigation of the economic and political process

---

<sup>297</sup> David Frank, "Labor Movement and Social Welfare (Canada)" in *Encyclopedia of Social Welfare History in North America*, ed. John Herrick and Paul Stuart, (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005), 216-218; Easterbrook and Aitken, *Canadian Economic History*. Elizabeth Eisenstein, "Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought", *Journal of Modern History*, 40-1 (March 1968), 42. Although outside the immediate scope of this thesis, Steve Edwards' examination of the worker in England in the 1860s in his *Making of English Photography* was of interest in this area of consideration.

of lobbying the federal government for change. As their lobbying success was reported in the periodical press the economic, political and social power of their association in the wider network of professional and manufacturing associations in Canada, as well as in foreign markets was strengthened. The PAC's position against the dry plate tariff provided a strong platform to grow their community. Reading of the potentially detrimental effects of the dry plate tariff on the Canadian photographers practice and the PAC's dedication to helping the Canadian photographic community in a published photographic journal acts as firm link to tie the often-isolated photographer to the imagined community. The PAC relied on the publication of their convention notes, which include tariff reduction efforts, to provide an assumed acceptance by a largely silent population of photographers.

### **The photographic community make their grievances public**

The first mention of the Canadian dry plate tariff in the periodical press is in a June 1887 special issue of the *St. Louis & Canadian Photographer*.<sup>298</sup> Printed under the title "Canadian Duty on Dry Plates." The president of the PAC A.T. Barraud wrote the following regarding the tariff:

I beg that you will allow me to ventilate through the columns of your widely circulating journal, a grievance that I firmly believe affects nine-tenths of the photographers of Canada. I refer to the recent action on the part of the Canadian Government in having raised the duty on foreign gelatine dry plates to *thirty-five cents per square foot, verily a protective tariff with a vengeance*. This has of course been done at the solicitation of the dry plate makers in Canada with a view of forcing us to use their plates

---

<sup>298</sup> *Canadian Photographer*, June 1887, 182-183.

whether we like them or not. If the Canadian plates are, as the makers will no doubt state, actually superior to English or American makes why not sell them on their merits? They must have a poor opinion of themselves if they have to resort to such strong measures in order to affect a sale. ... This putting of imported plates at a price that none but the wealthy photographer (and he is a *rara avis*) can afford to pay merely to enrich one or two men, ought not to be calmly submitted to, and it is to be hoped that every photographer will see the necessity of claiming the protection that is due to himself as well as to the plate manufacturers...<sup>299</sup>

Barraud alludes to the dry plate manufactures in Canada, assigning very low numbers to those who would benefit from the tariff. The census reports from 1891 support this figure, as there were an estimated thirteen people employed in the two identified dry plate-manufacturing facilities.<sup>300</sup> In comparison, according to the same federal census, there were 332 people employed in 182 photographic galleries in 1881, and 708 people employed in 327 galleries by 1891, more than doubling in the number of people employed in the general photographic industry.<sup>301</sup>

Barraud highlighted the discrepancy between the number of individuals the tariff benefitted, as opposed to the number it potentially negatively affected. He established a line of reasoning that would be repeated in the published grievances of the dry plate tariff over the next decade. Additionally, Barraud drew attention to the protective tariff as protection for the domestic manufactures. The implication was that the Canadian manufacturers must be producing an inferior dry plate, for products equal to the

---

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> *1891 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1891)*. The Farmer Bros employed 2 men, 4 women and one male youth prior to the 1891 census; The SDPC employed 4 men and 2 women prior to the 1891 census.

<sup>301</sup> These numbers do not reflect those practicing photography as an amateur pursuit. *1881 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1881)*. *1891 Census, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1891)*.

American or British dry plates would not require a protective tariff to sell well in Canada, where photographers were already familiar with purchasing expensive (American) dry plates.<sup>302</sup>

In the same issue of the *St. Louis & Canadian Photographer*, printed directly below Barraud's remarks, is an additional letter from the PAC, written by E. Poole, the association's treasurer and secretary. Poole's letter, although similar in the message, was included to drive home the PAC's abhorrence of the dry plate tariff. Poole wrote, "Why did the Government not communicate with our photographic association for our views before acting?" stressing the government should have consulted with the wider photographic community, represented by the PAC, before raising the tariff on dry plates.<sup>303</sup> He continues, "I think a united effort should be made and forcible representation sent to the Government at once," foreshadowing the future efforts the PAC would actively pursue throughout the following decade through petitions, letter campaigns and visits to the federal offices of Parliament in Ottawa.<sup>304</sup>

The anti-tariff sentiment was also recorded within the general PAC convention notes in the September 1887 *St. Louis & Canadian Photographer*:

---

<sup>302</sup> Cost of goods have historically been higher in Canada, due to the cost of importing materials and finished goods in general. Easterbrook and Aitken, *Canadian Economic History*, 113-117 and 265; Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, 14 and 37

<sup>303</sup> *Canadian Photographer*, June 1887, 182-183.

<sup>304</sup> It is worth noting that there are a few items in Barraud and Poole's letters which show that they were mistaken about some issues. They both reference a rumoured increase in the dry plate tariff of thirty-five cents per square foot, rather than the actual increase of fifteen cents per square foot. Their letters also show a lack of comprehension about how the government departments were organized. For example, Poole did not know that it is the Minister of Customs, not the Minister of Finance, who sets the tariff rates. Being early in their efforts to have the tariff lowered, the misunderstandings and misinformation that Barraud and Poole displayed in their 1887 letters to the editor of the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* show a lack of "insider" knowledge of how the federal government operated and disseminated information.

... At the close of the morning meeting a great deal of animated conversation took place among the members regarding the dry plate duty. In fact from the conversation heard one would imagine the Convention to be a Free Trade Club. The grievance of the photographers is that in order to encourage the manufacture of Canadian plates of a quality generally regarded as inferior to imported ones, the government raised the duty on imported plates from 20 to 30 per cent, and in some cases of exceptionally fine plates to 87 per cent. A prominent photographer leant against the door and delivered himself of the statement that a little longer of such a policy would kill photography in Canada. The sentiment was concurred in by a group standing around. Even the principle of protection was not regarded as sacred.<sup>305</sup>

The statement reflects the general attitudes towards restrictive tariff in the 1880s among the majority of the population and served as a synthesizing argument, capable of bringing together the regional or profession/pursuit-based communities of professional and amateur photographers and related photographic industry participants. As long as they shared a common goal – lowering the tariff on dry plates – each community could work together cohesively, under the PAC driven protestations of the tariffs on photographic goods.

The text also re-enforces Barraud's statement of earlier in the year, that domestically manufactured dry plates were inferior to the foreign dry plates. It draws attention to the financial strain such a tariff might have on the professional photographers who felt compelled to continue using "exceptionally fine plates" in spite of the increased tax.<sup>306</sup> The statement made by a "prominent" photographer, and

---

<sup>305</sup> "Photographic Association of Canada Convention notes", *Canadian Photographer*, September 1887, 6-8.

<sup>306</sup> "PAC Convention Notes", *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 18-18, (24 September 1887), 572-573. "...that it was excessive and a direct injury to the photographer, as those who wished to produce the very best results still used plates imported plates."

witnessed by the reporter at the convention, that “a little longer of such a policy would kill photography in Canada” was deliberately intended to inspire action and support of a petition or related activities, as alluded to in Poole’s published letter noted earlier.<sup>307</sup>

In addition to the information regarding the tariff being published in the *St. Louis & Canadian Photographer*, the September 1887 issue of *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* also published the PAC’s 3rd annual convention report. This report was written and submitted by Toronto stock house proprietor, and PAC member, J.G. Ramsey. Ramsey had a vested interest in seeing the tariff reduced, as he was one of the major importers of foreign manufactured dry plates in Canada. As a jobber, he purchased large quantities of materials from a variety of manufacturers, selling to the photographic trade and the public and making a profit on the margins between imported/ purchased cost and the realized retail price.

In the conduct of his daily business affairs, Ramsey and his staff most likely developed direct and first-hand information regarding the implementation of the changing tariffs, as the complaints regarding the tariff on dry plates would have been filtered through his experiences as an importer and merchant of foreign goods. Ramsey was identifying not only his role in the PAC, but his stance on the issue of tariffs. Similar to the PAC’s notes, in publishing the details of the convention Ramsey was looking to attract new members by highlighting the types of industry concerns the PAC addressed. He was seeking to also attract customers who would see in Ramsey, a community member and leader who was up-to-date on the issues most relevant to their profession or amateur pursuit. In these reports Ramsey is arguably drawing attention to

---

<sup>307</sup> “Toronto Papers” *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, 20-22 (October 26, 1889), 635.

his networked role in the PAC's discussions with the federal government, and placing himself in the position of lobbyist for the photographic community.

In the following issue of *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, J.G. Ramsey supplied convention notes continued, providing yet more information regarding the PAC's efforts to have the tariff lowered.

The secretary then read the following letter, which was received through Mr. McCarthy, in reply to their petition to the government. "Ottawa June 20th. Dear Sir - I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, with enclosure of petition from the Photographic Association of Canada with reference to the duty on photographic dry plates, and in reply I beg to say that the increased duty was imposed in order to give protection to the manufacturers in Canada, it being represented to the government that the plates could be made in Canada. It is too late to make any change in the tariff this season, but the matter will receive careful consideration during the recess."<sup>308</sup>

The reply from the government is perhaps, as would be expected, based on the information provided in the earlier communications, as the tariff had been increased to protect the domestic manufacturer(s), one of the federal government's primary concerns with the National Policy. However, the wording of "it being represented to the government that the plates *could* be made in Canada", and not that they *were* being manufactured is an important distinction, and supports the PAC's claim that the tariff was increased without prior sufficient research into and central understanding of the existing domestic photographic community.

---

<sup>308</sup> "PAC Convention Notes", *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 18-18, (24 September 1887), 572-573.

## The PAC as lobbyist

In November 1887, after the original petition was rejected, a seven member deputation from the PAC descended upon Parliament in Ottawa to present a petition of 297 signatures and a selection of over eighty letters from photographers across the Dominion who opposed the tariff on dry plates.<sup>309</sup> The party included the current and past presidents of the PAC (Stanton and Barraud), the secretary-treasurer (Poole), major stock house proprietor J.G. Ramsey, and local Ottawa photographers Pittaway and Jarvis. If their names were not familiar to those outside of the community of photographic periodical readership, their positions within the PAC organization, and related business ventures would signal their importance within the community.<sup>310</sup>

Yet, as Laird has argued, any number of individuals may have contact with another individual who is capable of creating or facilitating change (in this case the Commissioner of Customs), yet a contact is not the same as a connection. A connection implies an equal or beneficial outcome to existing or future transactions between

---

<sup>309</sup> "Photographers at Ottawa", *The Globe* Nov 11, 1887, 2. The details of their visit were recorded in *The Globe*, a Toronto daily newspaper. "Today a deputation from the Photographic Association of Canada ... waited upon Mr. Bownell, Minister of Customs, with the object of representing to him the unjust nature of the present duty of about 90 per cent on imported "dry plates." Although there are one or two manufacturers of dry plates in the Dominion, photographers claim that they cannot use them because they are not always uniform in quality. They have, therefore to import plates from England and the United States. A tariff of 20 per cent was originally placed upon them, but this was afterwards, through the representation of the Canadian manufacturers, increased to 30 per cent. Just before the close of the last Parliamentary session the duty was still further increased by an imposition of a tariff of 15 cents per superficial foot, thus bringing the present duty up to between 85 and 90 per cent. This imposition was bitterly denounced at the convention of the photographers at Toronto in August, and a petition was drawn up for presentation to the Government. This petition, to which is affixed 297 signatures, was presented to the Minister of Customs to-day and the facts were fully explained to him. It was represented that every photographer in Canada uses dry plates for his business, and the success of the trade depends upon the cheapness with which the materials can be purchased, the trade being very limited. ... Besides the petition which the deputation laid before the Minister of Customs, they also brought with them some of the 80 letters from photographers throughout the Dominion, in which bitter complaint was made of the oppressive nature of the tariff."

<sup>310</sup> Laird, *Pull*, 2.



individuals, thereby increasing the social capital of each participant.<sup>311</sup> With this in mind, although the meeting between the PAC and the federal government did not achieve the PAC's original goal of lowered tariffs, they had negotiated an initial contact that was a first step in establishing a connection, due in part to their perceived social value within the photographic community (via publication and role in the association). However, they would require a firmer and deeper display of their networked link to the economic and social capital in the Canadian photographic community, if the Ministry of Customs was to make any change to the existing tariff policy.

As the published letters and articles collectively demonstrate, the PAC was the central organizing force for photographers and jobbers in Canada during this period. They united photographers and stock house proprietors across the country, and acted swiftly to lobby on behalf of Canada's photographic community to have the dry plate tariff lowered. The PAC utilized the physical momentum of the often-spirited discussions that took place during the face-to-face meetings of the conventions to appoint the delegation and initiate the petition plans. Upon returning to their homes, the photographers in attendance at the convention were expected to continue to follow the progress in the periodical press, and correspond and participate in the PAC led tariff discussions in the photographic journals.

The PAC member was able to inform their local photographic community of the efforts by the Association at the convention, and contribute to the PAC network by

---

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid*, 2-3. "A chauffer, a secretary, a waiter, or a clerk may all have contact with a CEO who is searching for a successor or colleague. But a contact is not necessarily a connection. Rarely will a CEO regard anyone in those positions as connectable – as someone with whom to dine or negotiate a business deal." I argue that the same dynamics occurred in regards to the conduct of politics and business in Canada during this period.

building local support. The 297 signatures on the PAC petition were gathered in the first month of the PAC acting against the increased tariff, and the eighty letters of support were accumulated in less than five months, from the first suggestion for “united effort” and “forcible representation sent to the Government” as suggested by Poole in the at the PAC annual convention in June 1887.<sup>312</sup> They are evidence of the quick success the PAC led discussions could accomplish through the layered actions of the published letters, conventions, and community petitions. It also exposes the power the PAC held in connecting the existing photographic network at this time. The PAC members, especially those in positions of authority (such as Poole, Barraud and Ramsey) were viewed as community leaders, and were the organized public voice of the Canadian photographic community.

However, despite the efforts of the PAC to raise awareness and/or sympathy for their plight amongst the responsible government officials, the specific tariff on dry plates was not lowered in 1887. The PAC may have had the support of the majority of the Canadian photographic community, but the economic influence of the manufacturers who suggested the tariff still exercised more political weight with the federal government. The PAC continued their efforts to raise awareness amongst the general public, namely through a continued presence in the periodical press.

The PAC began to draw attention to the impact of the dry plate tariff on the foreign manufacturers, as well as the consumer of photographic products. Thus for the first time, the PAC looked outside of their immediate community for additional support.

---

<sup>312</sup> Signatures on the petition were gathered between May and June 1887, with the petition submitted to MP McCarthy in mid-June. “PAC Convention Notes”, *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, 18-18, (24 September 1887), 572-573.

They had the details of the tariff published in periodicals that addressed the general public, such as the daily newspapers. As an example, in the 5 June 1888 issue of the Toronto newspaper *The Globe*, an article titled “Photographers grievances in Canada” outlined for the general public the results the protective tariff would have on the variety in dry plates made available to Canadian interested in photography:

...There were three manufacturers of dry plates in Canada, and upon their urging, the Minister of Customs was convinced to change the duty to a uniform 15 cents per square foot. It will be readily seen that this tax presses most heavily upon the cheapest plates, which are made in England, and it has practically shut them out from this market. The best and highest priced plates used in Canada are made in the United States, but even upon these the duty amounts to 80 per cent. The photographers complain very bitterly that, as it is necessary in these days of critical patrons to use the imported goods, they have to pay this heavy duty in every case where good work is called for. They state through their organization - the Photographers Association of Canada - that the hands employed in the Canadian manufactories of dry plates number about fifteen, while the number of those deriving a livelihood from the practice of photography in its various branches is nearly three thousand.<sup>313</sup>

The inclusion of a story about a tariff on photographic materials is significant as it suggests that there was a general interest or at least acknowledgement of a photographic industry in Canada at this time by the general reading public/audience of the newspaper. According to the news story, the primary grievance of the photographers, outlined here, is that in order to encourage the manufacture of Canadian plates of a quality generally regarded as inferior, the government raised the duty on imported plates. There is again re-enforcement of the PAC’s claim that the American dry plates are the superior make, justifying their high costs, and at the same time, crediting the Canadian consumer of

---

<sup>313</sup> “Photographers grievances in Canada”, *The Globe*, 5 June 1888, 2.

professional photographic services as having enough knowledge to be “critical” enough to judge, and more importantly, discern between the levels of quality in the British, American and Canadian produced dry plates.

Building on the idea that the tariff on dry plates would negatively impact the photographic manufacturer and distributor in the United States and England, the actions of the PAC to have the tariff lowered were beginning to be reprinted in foreign photographic periodicals. For example, the “Photographers grievances in Canada” article was republished in the British photographic journal *Photographic News*.<sup>314</sup> For the foreign dry plate manufacturers who were operating in a domestic industry already thick with price cutting, a tax which doubled the cost of the plates for the importer may have been too a difficult an obstacle to overcome for them to remain active in the Canadian market.<sup>315</sup>

For foreign manufacturers interested in maintaining a trade in Canada, news of the tariff and the PAC’s efforts to have it returned to its original levels, or at the very least lowered, would have been reason enough for the information to be re-printed in the American and British photographic journals. Domestic and foreign dry plate manufacturers regularly exhibited at PAC conventions. Amongst the exhibitors at the 1886 convention were the American dry plate manufacturers Cramer (of St. Louis) and

---

<sup>314</sup> “Photographers Grievances in Canada”, *Photographic News*, 32 (June 1888), 1553.

<sup>315</sup> See Pritchard, “The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914”; Giles Hudson, “Plate Wars: Marketing Measures and Advertising Objectivity in the British Photographic Dry Plate Industry, circa 1888 to 1900” (paper presented at the annual conference for the Photographic Historical Research Centre, De Montfort University, Leicester, June 24-25, 2013).

George Eastman, and George Ayers, of the E & H.T. Anthony stock house.<sup>316</sup> They used the opportunity of concentrated numbers of photographers to exhibit their newest products, which appealed to the more serious photographer. It is reasonable to assume that the foreign manufacturers exhibiting at the PAC conventions would be aware of the dominating issues at the convention (such as tariffs) and remained updated through personal / professional contacts and the published accounts in the periodical press.

Although the tariff issue provided an initial rallying point for the PAC to bring together multiple participants in the Canadian photographic community, increased fracturing in this same community began to surface, as photographers and importers begin to take an official stance on the origin of their preferred products (and potentially aesthetic standards and ideals) - United States, England or Canada. The *Globe* article exhibits the wider scope of the linkages between the photographic communities in Canada, England and America, and how the protective tariff became a complicating and ultimately divisive factor in Canada's political economy. Rather than functioning as a nationally unifying and strengthening action as intended with the National Policy, the protective tariffs ultimately provided the opportunity for foreign corporations to enter the Canadian manufacturing landscape by creating divisions in the photographic community and weakening the vision for an inclusive domestic community as originally defined in the PAC's constitution.

Until 1888, the public dialogue regarding the tariff had been consistently negative, and in favour of a significant lowering of the dry plate duty. The implication

---

<sup>316</sup> 1886 PAC convention notes published in several issues of the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* and *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*.

that the tariff was enacted to protect the few Canadian manufacturers had remained unchallenged, as the only voice recorded in the periodical press was that of the PAC, and the non-committal response from the Ministry of Customs. There were no responses from Canadian dry plate manufactures, nor from any photographer who was using a domestically manufactured dry plate or purchasing the foreign plate at increased costs.

In response to the re-publishing of the September 1888 *Globe* article “Photographers grievances in Canada” in the British *Photographic News*, there appeared the first argument in favour of the tariff, and it came from Notman.<sup>317</sup> As a Montreal photographer, Notman is likely to have been exposed to a strong British influence, owing to the ties between the business communities in Montreal and England.<sup>318</sup> However, with franchise studios and a photographic distribution center in the United States, Notman would have also had strong connections to the photographic industry in America.<sup>319</sup> In short, his interests were varied geographically, politically and economically. However, in his 1888 response in the *Photographic News* he clearly voiced his position regarding plate manufacturing preference and the tariff. It was based in the economics of his own business interests. By his own admission, at the time of the tariff increase he was heavily involved in encouraging the SDPC to establish a branch in Canada.<sup>320</sup>

Notman was not a member of the PAC, which in general, appears to have largely attracted younger and less established photographers. For a professional such as

---

<sup>317</sup> “Photographers Grievances in Canada”, *Photographic News*, 32 (June 1888), 1553.

<sup>318</sup> Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, 121-129.

<sup>319</sup> Triggs, *The World of William Notman*, 23-35.

<sup>320</sup> *Photographic News*, 32 (September 1888), 588-589.

Notman, who had been in the photographic business since the 1850s, his own professional network structured around his franchise business superseded the potential connections which the PAC could offer. In what would eventually become a series of letters published in the *Photographic News* in the last quarter of 1888, Notman explains the reasons for the establishment of the first foreign branch plant of photographic materials in Canada, and his personal involvement in opening of the Montreal branch of the American SDPC. In a letter drafted as part advertisement, part explanatory text, Notman frames his support of the tariff in the context of Canadian photographers' objections towards the high tariff on dry plate negatives. In writing to the British *Photographic News*, he makes his case plain, while at the same time, clearly identifying where his preferences lie:

For many years plates have been made by Canadian makers, some by photographers to supply their own requirements, others to supply the trade. Up to the end of 1884 we manufactured our own plates for use here in Montreal and at our branches. In the fall of 1884 the Stanley dry plates were taking a very prominent place in the market of the United States, and we had them tried very carefully at our US branches, and we found them so satisfactory that we resolved to give up making plates, and made arrangements with the SDPC to supply us. Those for our own use and sale in Canada we had to import, paying a duty of 30 per cent on the US prices. We found them so well received and appreciated throughout Canada that it naturally suggested itself to us that if we could induce the Stanley Company to start a factory in Montreal it would be much to our advantage and to photographs in general. The market and consumption throughout the Dominion was found to be very limited, and considered the biggest risk to starting the enterprise, and therefore an application was made to the Government to change the tariff from 30 per cent ad valorem to a specific duty of 15 cents per square foot. But we fail to see wherein the action taken has been any real cause of grievance to the photographers of Canada. Prior to starting the Stanley Dry Plate Factory, fully two-thirds of the plates imported were from the US, paying duty of 30 per cent, and now plates second to none in quality are supplied at the US prices, and no duty to pay.

We may also state that duty has been paid on the chemicals, glass, &c. Used in the production of the plates - notably 30 per cent on the glass.<sup>321</sup>

Speaking as a studio operator, Notman attempts to justify the application to the federal government to change the tariff from the thirty percent to a fifteen cents per square foot tax.

Notman states that in order to supply dry plates for all his branch studios he paid a thirty percent tax on the raw materials used to manufacture plates at his primary Montreal location, and that “fully two-thirds of the plates imported were from the US”.<sup>322</sup> His opinion regarding the tariff was that since there was now a Canadian company (Stanley) producing dry plates, the tariff need not affect the majority of Canadian photographers. Although manufactured in Canada, the “superior domestic product” the SDPC was producing was of American design, and foreshadowed the manufacturing of EKC products in Canada in the 1900s as “Canadian made” yet clearly tied to American products and companies.

Notman chose to supply his account of the tariff through an open letter to the editor in the pages of the *Photographic News*, rather than the Canadian daily newspaper. In all probability, he did so because it was the forum by which he initially encountered the article. Responding in the *Photographic News* allowed Notman the opportunity to dialogue with the larger photographic community outside of Canada, and defend the

---

<sup>321</sup> *Photographic News*, 32 (August 1888), 482. The term ‘ad valorem’ meant the tariff (30%) was applied to an item on the basis of its value, and not on the basis of its quantity, size, weight, or other factor. Regarding Notman’s own dry plate manufacturing, A.L. Henderson’s 1884 *British Journal of Photography* report notes that upon meeting Notman in Montreal, he learns that Mr. Notman makes his own plates, or rather had staff making his plates for his studios, but these plates are not supplied to Fraser.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*



tariff to the manufacturers and exporters of the English dry plates, the consumers of the imported materials, and any other member of the imagined Canadian community the journal supported.

Anderson maintains that there are two fertile traits of newspapers and journals which assist in creating imagined communities: their provinciality and their plurality.<sup>323</sup> This is evident when, in a British periodical, Notman was framing himself and his role in the Canadian photographic manufacturing industry as part of the larger community of photographic manufacturers and consumers by discussing his networked connections to the American and Canadian photographic industry. He was resisting the provincial nature of the argument by drawing the debate into an international context. He also provided evidence of his awareness of the parallel existence of the British and American consumers, manufacturers and distributors of photographic materials, while placing himself firmly as Canadian. In doing so, he was trading on the social capital he had accrued in the periodical press during the previous decades as the most recognizable and renowned photographer in Canada.

The Notman letter initiated a protracted public discussion regarding the tariff, between himself and another reader and contributor to the *Photographic News*, Englishman Joseph J. Ackworth. In his rebuttal to Notman, Ackworth cites the English manufactured Ilford plate, and the 90 per cent duty required before it entered the Dominion. Ackworth writes “Here lies another side of the question - that is, the question of forcing Canadian photographers to use a brand of plates that they justly have no faith in working. I would not speak so emphatically if I had not recently made a tour through

---

<sup>323</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 62-63.

Canada, and have, to some extent, been behind the scenes.”<sup>324</sup> He continues in this line of attack, asserting that the Canadian Stanley dry plate is very different from the dry plate manufactured in the United States, with the Canadian dry plate largely wanting in uniformity and rapidity, thereby questioning Notman’s assertions of a domestically manufactured plate “second to none” as justification for raised tariff on foreign plates. He ends his letter with “But why should Canadian photographers be obliged to purchase a brand of plates simply because Messrs. Notman are interested therein?”<sup>325</sup> Although his motives for questioning Notman may have been suspect, Ackworth raises a valid point that is relevant to this thesis’s queries. How and why was Notman able to direct the existing manufacturing and distribution of photographic materials in Canada? The fact that Ackworth was a fellow representative of a dry plate manufacturer may have shifted the purpose of Ackworth voicing his concerns, but it did not reduce the validity of his argument.

In challenging the tariff championed by Notman, he was in fact voicing concerns shared with the larger photographic community inside and outside of Canada, that the available choices in affordable dry plates for many Canadian photographers had been sacrificed for the benefit of very few people. It was a challenge to the singularly privileged position Notman maintained in the photographic network. It is evidence of an initial shift in the re-structuring of how the economic, political and social capital in the network was beginning to move towards the corporate driven efforts of manufacturers,

---

<sup>324</sup> *Photographic News*, 32 (17 August 1888), 512.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid. Photographic News*, 32 (14 September 1888), 588-589. Notman revealed in the September letter that Ackworth was travelling Canada as a representative of the Britannia Works Company for the sale of the Ilford plates.

represented in this dialogue by the background interests and presence of Stanley and Ilford.

Beginning in 1889, shortly after the Notman articles appeared, George Knowlton, manager of the Montreal SDPC joined the PAC, and began to publicly represent the company at the PAC conventions.<sup>326</sup> In the PAC community Knowlton had to negotiate the conflicting interests presented to him as both the manager of an American-owned manufacturer that supported the tariff, and a member of the PAC, which was decidedly anti-tariff. As a prominent member in the photographic community internal and external to the PAC, it is reasonable to assume he would be called upon to speak in the public forum of the conventions. In this forum, pressure existed to be seen as progressive and sympathetic to the photographers concerns, whilst still remaining true to the aims of his employers – namely, protecting their business interests and retaining the protective tariff on imported goods to protect their investment into the Canadian photographic manufacturing industry.

Similar to Notman and Ackworth, Knowlton was the public face of a corporation, but unlike Notman and Ackworth, his identity was largely shaped through his direct association with the corporation as a clearly identified employee. The networked connections he maintained and established with the Canadian photographic communities, in particular with the PAC, relied on his ability to balance the corporate requirements of his position with his fraternal relationships as evidenced in the published PAC convention notes.

---

<sup>326</sup> Convention notes in *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* and *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 1888 - 1893.

In 1889 the *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* published the following update on the tariff petitions in their reportage of the 1889 PAC convention:

... George Knowlton, of Montreal, spoke on the vexed question of the dry plate tariff. He defended the tax, and thought that while it might be high, yet Canadian manufacturers' required adequate protection. [PAC President] Mr. Stanton replied to Mr. Knowlton's address. He said the present duty of fifteen cents per quire foot on plates equalled 87 per cent *ad valorem* duty. This he considered a most unreasonable figure, and he advocated a deputation of photographers should present a petition to the Minister of Customs asking for a reduction of the tariff to 30 per cent. Mr. Knowlton said he was willing to sign a petition asking that a specific duty, equal to 30 per cent be place on plates, but he did not favour *ad valorem* duty.<sup>327</sup>

In citing concerns that re-frame the pro-tariff arguments from Notman two years prior, Knowlton insists that the tariff on dry plates is necessary to protect the Canadian manufacturers. When the suggestion is made by the PAC president to form another delegation of photographers (following up on the unsuccessful attempts in 1887), Knowlton realizes that even if he is unable to prevent the dry plate tariff from being lowered, it may be possible to protect the larger interest of the American dry plate manufacturers by preventing a return to a percentage of cost at import tariff, which would restore the advantage to the British manufacturers of the "cheap plate".

After three separate failed petitioning efforts in 1887, 1888 and 1889 to have the tariff lowered, the PAC's lobbying and petitioning efforts were finally successful in 1890. As mentioned earlier, the 1887 delegation pressing for a reduction in tariffs was made up of PAC executives, photographers and a photographic stock house owner. In 1890 another delegation of photographers, this time including a manufacturer's

---

<sup>327</sup> "Toronto Papers", *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 20 (26 October 1889), 636-637.

representative, Knowlton, visited the Minister of Customs in Ottawa.<sup>328</sup> Here is evidence of the networked re-structuring of the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in Canada that had begun with the introduction of the dry plate tariff in 1887. As noted previously, prior to including Knowlton and the SDPC as a member of the association and an active part of their lobbying strategy, the PAC lacked the economic and political capital in their earlier attempts to have the tariff lowered. The inclusion of Knowlton to the official delegation allowed for an instantaneous assessment of the industry and tariff in question. For the Ministry of Customs, there was no longer any troubling debate amongst the various participants, and hearing directly from one of the manufacturer that he wished to have the tariff lowered, while simultaneously being presented with an option of a lowered tariff by the PAC, aided the process.

Details concerning the PAC's 1890 success were published in the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, which as the primary publisher of information regarding the PAC and the wider photographic community, was a continuing supporter of the PAC and an important part of the networked imagined community of Canadian photographers:

...the effort to reduce the tariff on dry plates in the Dominion has at last been successful as a reduction has been secured from fifteen to nine cents per square foot [amounting to 50% duty for English plates and 40-45% for American] through the endeavours of Mr. E. Stanton, ex-president PAC, accompanied by [PAC Secretary] Mr. Poole, and joined by Mr. George Knowlton of the SDPC in Montreal. Farmer Brothers, of Hamilton, opposed the reduction; but for that it doubtless would have been still greater.<sup>329</sup>

---

<sup>328</sup> *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 8-5 (September 1890), 189-190.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

Here is evidence of the division within the PAC community, with the Farmer Bros. positioned as antagonistic to the PAC's efforts, and the SDPC as supportive. Unlike Knowlton and the SDPC of Montreal, the Farmer Bros of Hamilton were not willing to support the petition in the convention debate, and perhaps unfairly, were blamed for not having the tariff placed even lower than the achieved nine cents per square foot. It was not the first time the Farmer Bros faced repercussions for supporting, or even suggesting that the protective tariff on dry plates in Canada be raised. Prior to the PAC demanding the government lower the protective tariff beginning in May 1887, J.H. Farmer was an elected executive board member of the PAC.<sup>330</sup> He served on the board from 1885 until 1887 when he either did not voice an interest in running again, or more likely, was not re-elected. As evidenced by the eventual success the PAC achieved by including a manufacturer (Knowlton) in a position of power in the association, the swift rejection or neglect in supporting the Farmer Bros. continued participation beyond 1887 was ultimately counterproductive in relation to their later goals of having the tariff lowered and most likely delayed their success by several years.

With regard to the tariff, in choosing to align themselves with the PAC, Knowlton and the SDPC were making a strategic business decision. Improving or maintaining the social capital of the company in Canada to combat the American and Canadian competition only served to benefit the SDPC overall. Any changes to the tariff on dry plates would most likely not affect the company in any significant manner, for the import of American plates could still benefit the SDPC in general, so long as the

---

<sup>330</sup> Photographers Association of Canada / Ontario Society of Photographers: minute books and minutes, Frank Wright Fonds, R5151, LAC.

American SDPC plates were being imported along with the other American brands, such as Seed, Aristo or Eastman.<sup>331</sup>

The changes to the tariff also increased the pressure on the Farmer Bros, their primary Canadian competitor, who did not have the benefit of an American based parent company, to lower their prices or re-capture lost domestic sales. By supporting the PAC's petition and lobbying efforts, the SDPC, and Knowlton in particular, was viewed as supportive of the Canadian photographer's concerns. They began to garner strong endorsements from the PAC in such statements as "They deserve the patronage of the craft in Canada, of far as their plates are equal to the imported ones, and doubtless will receive it", which were published in the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* beginning in May 1890.<sup>332</sup> As an example, in the October 1890 *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* we read the following:

Ex-President Stanton, of Toronto, addressed the Convention on the success of the committee in having the tariff on dry plates reduced, and attributed much of the success of the committee to the action of the Stanley Company through Mr. Geo. Knowlton, in appearing at Ottawa, and urging the reduction. Mr. Stanton's remarks were loudly applauded. Mr. Knowlton thanked the member for their expressions of gratitude, and stated that his earnest endeavour was to do right, and would always work for the good of the Canadian photographers as well as for the Stanley plates...<sup>333</sup>.

---

<sup>331</sup> See Jenkins *Images & Enterprise* 74-75, regarding Dry Plate Manufacturers Association, The "Business Directory" [advertising space 13- 8 ] in the August 1895 *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* lists the following American dry plate manufacturers: Hammer Dry Plate Co. (St. Louis MO); Arrow plates from the M.A. Seed Dry Plate Co. (St. Louis, MO); John Carbutt of the Keystone Dry Plate and Film Works (Philadelphia); Cramer Plate (location); Eastman Kodak (Rochester, NY).

<sup>332</sup> *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 8-5 (May 1890), 189-190.

<sup>333</sup> *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 8-10 (October 1890), 401.

By again framing his involvement in the tariff situation as “for the good of the Canadian photographers”, rather than as the astute business decision that it was, Knowlton executed a masterful public relations coup.

The implication behind Knowlton’s statement was that in resisting the lowering of the tariff, his competitors, the Farmer Bros., were acting *against* the Canadian photographers. Knowlton’s involvement with the PAC would not have been without precedent. According to Marshal, Southard and Taylor “most of the American branches in Canada “play the game” loyally in trade and manufacturers associations. Most of them quickly become “naturalized” and settle down as peaceable members of their various industrial fraternities, where their national origin soon passes unnoticed.”<sup>334</sup> In supporting the PAC’s efforts to aid the Canadian photographers Knowlton and the SDPC were “playing the game”, with successful results.

In the eyes of the PAC and the Canadian photographic periodical press, the domestic manufacturers of photographic materials were either on the side of the Canadian photographer, or against them. From this point forward, if Canadian consumers were to buy a domestic photographic dry plate, they would be encouraged by the PAC community to buy from the manufacturer who had the Canadian photographers’ best interests in mind, and had worked to have the tariff lowered. As discussed earlier, the support of the PAC for the “home producers” as defined in their original 1884 charter extends only to the community members who were willing to support the association’s political efforts.<sup>335</sup> Intended as a reciprocal relationship, the

---

<sup>334</sup> Marshal, Southard and Taylor, *Canadian-American Industry*, 282.

<sup>335</sup> “New Photographers Association Formed,” *The Globe*, 25 January 1884, 6.



balance of support fluctuated according to the PAC's current interests, which at this time, was the reduction of the dry plate tariff.

The successful lowering of the dry plate tariff in 1890 indicated to the photographic community, and by extension the wider community of professional based organizations, that they could effectively petition and lobby the federal government for change. This is an important factor in building social power in both the Canadian photographic and fraternal associations community. The building of social power in a community however, would last only as long as they felt that the PAC was addressing their interests.<sup>336</sup> In 1891, the free-trade supportive Liberal party defeated the National Policy and protective tariff instituting Conservatives. The impact of this change in political leadership on the photographic community, and on Canadian and foreign manufacturers of photographic materials specifically, was that in 1897 Canada entered into a preferential trading relationship with the U.K.

The Canadian tariff on imported photographic materials would now have two tiers. The first would apply to the existing rates for all countries whose tariff was protectionist against Canada (in fact, chiefly the United States). A second-tier would provide an ultimate reduction of 25 percent to any country that admitted Canadian goods at a rate equal to the minimum Canadian tariff (in fact, chiefly the free trading United Kingdom and British Empire). The two-tiered tariff system meant that from 1897, the advantage the tariff on dry plates had until now extended to the American manufacturers

---

<sup>336</sup> Laurel Smith-Doerr and Walter Powell, "Networks and Economic Life", in *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, ed. Neil Smelser and Richard Swedberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 4-5. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/song/papers/NetworksandEconomicLife.pdf> Accessed June 21, 2015.

would be cancelled out, and favour given to the materials imported from Britain, as intended.<sup>337</sup> Despite the two-tiered tariff Canadian photographers, as a whole, still retained a strong preference for American manufactured photographic materials in the 1890s, as evidenced in Figure 2.1. The clear preference for imported American photographic materials is part of the reason the EKC decided to establish a Canadian branch factory in 1899; however, I shall consider it was not the sole reason the EKC entered the Canadian market as a “domestic” manufacturer.

Building on the new sense of nationalism in the post-Confederation landscape, Canadian photographers initially were attracted to the idea of supporting a domestic manufacturing industry as evidenced in the PAC’s original charter. However, with the political action of the National Policy that led to the establishment of American branch plants such as the SDPC and the EKC, the original goal of a domestic manufacturing industry was permanently altered to favour the American manufacturers.

The PAC’s lobbying efforts against the dry plate tariff was intended to be a unifying event within the association, yet ultimately it created a divisive wedge that would see the association’s power within the Canadian photographic network reduced by the 1890s. The PAC exhibited clear preference initially for foreign manufactured dry plates over domestic, choosing to support a foreign owned domestic manufacturer over a Canadian owned manufacturer, whilst claiming that it was what Canadian photographers wanted, even though it was contrary to their original founding charter.<sup>338</sup> The PAC’s

---

<sup>337</sup> Kenneth Taylor "Tariffs", in *The Encyclopedia of Canada*, Vol. VI, ed. Stewart Wallace ed. (Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948), 102-108; Robert Brown, *Canada's National Policy, 1883-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 275-278.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

noble, yet ultimately divisive efforts to create an inclusive association which supported Canadian photographers and “home producers” began to fail through conflicting political and economic interests.

Through the actions of the federal government, and the reaction in the Canadian photographic community, as largely represented by the PAC in the photographic journals and daily newspapers, the dry-plate tariff became a key actant in re-shaping the politico-economic landscape of the photographic industry between 1885 and 1897, placing the balance of power in the hands of manufacturers, rather than in the community of practitioners, as was previously the case in Canada.

The influence the PAC had been building in the Canadian photographic community as a leader was greatly diminished with the loss of a clearly definable political platform. For a variety of reasons, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Five, the PAC ceased to be the hub of the Canadian photographic network by the early 1900s, replaced by the corporate form of the EKC / CKCoLtd. In the following chapters I examine how the federal government sponsored tariff led to several points of weakening in the Canadian photographic landscape, which ultimately provided the ideal environment for the EKC to enter the market and re-shape it to suit their own interests.

## Chapter Three: The establishment of the Canadian Kodak Company

In 1899, likely interpreting the political, economic and social benefits in Canada extended to the SDPC through branch plant establishment, the EKC began to investigate the possibility of establishing their own branch plant. Jenkins has identified high tariff barriers and local public relation considerations between 1905 and 1910 as a motivator for the EKC to begin focusing on an international policy of establishing production facilities in major nations, including Canada.<sup>339</sup> However, as I examine in this chapter the movement into foreign territories for tariff reasons occurred earlier than the period identified by Jenkins, and required extensive work and knowledge of the existing photographic community in order to truly take advantage of the “local public relation considerations” Jenkins identified as a reason for the establishment of foreign branches.<sup>340</sup>

Prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd, American EKC salesmen and demonstrators serviced the Canadian territory. Part of the role of EKC travelling demonstrators and salesmen was to regularly submit reports to the corporate office in Rochester. These reports were often directed to Eastman and outlined the EKC’s success, or indeed lack of it, in each assigned Canadian territory, passing along relevant

---

<sup>339</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 241-242.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*

industry-related news such as the status of local photographic manufacturers and information regarding opening, closing or merging businesses.<sup>341</sup>

By building and maintaining a correspondence network, which reported industry and community events, the EKC was able to obtain a working knowledge of the photographic landscape in Canada, and develop a strategic plan for how to enter and reshape the existing communities as a “domestic” manufacturer. This is in contrast to the continued exporting of finished goods to Canada as a foreign company competing with other foreign interests and businesses. In establishing a foreign branch of the EKC, the newly formed “Canadian” company was able to utilize the EKC’s existing network of suppliers and contract manufacturers.

In terms of American manufacturing evolution, the EKC were part of a larger pattern of corporate expansion. As a part of the evolving organization of production and distribution in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States, Chandler notes, corporations (such as the EKC) moved from a single factory marketing model of their products through multiple agents, to the development of many factories and elaborate networks of warehouses, service facilities and in some cases retail outlets.<sup>342</sup> However, while there were many benefits in establishing a branch plant in Canada, there were economic and political restrictions imposed by the federal government of Canada that the EKC would need to negotiate and overcome before they could operate as a branch plant.

---

<sup>341</sup> *Salesmen & Demonstrators General Instructions*, Kodak Ltd, (1908). Kodak Ltd corporate archive, file A924, Box 56, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, BL.

<sup>342</sup> Chandler *The Visible Hand*, 140.

## The EKC's presence in Canada pre-1899

As previously stated, the EKC travelling salesmen and demonstrators were responsible for ensuring the company actively participated in the Canadian market prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd in 1899.<sup>343</sup> These American EKC employees would travel in Canada as part of an official regional based sales route or territory. They were expected to attend photographic conventions and camera club meetings when possible, in addition to regular visits to the local photographic dealers and photographers. For example, in 1893, details of the EKC's representatives' attendance at the 10th annual PAC convention were published in the *Canadian Photographic Journal*:

...S.H. Mora of the Eastman Kodak Company read a most interesting paper on Gelatino-Chloride Papers: Their Advantages and Manipulation....[regarding vendor displays] Beginning with our friends from the States, we come first, as we enter the hall, to the extensive display of the Eastman Company, in charge of Mr. Mora (manager of Solio department) and a staff of assistants (Messrs. Robertson, Horgan and Curtis). Mr. Mora made many warm friends, both for himself and his firm while here. The display on Solio and enamelled bromide made by the Eastman Kodak Co. was an excellent one and attracted the attention and admiration of every photographer present. ... The verdict of all present being that it was one of the largest as well as the best exhibit ever made at any meeting of the Association.<sup>344</sup>

Maintaining a physical presence placed the EKC employee into the existing communities. In doing so, the EKC demonstrators and salesmen had an opportunity to gather information about the community they were meeting with, while demonstrating

---

<sup>343</sup> *Salesmen & Demonstrators General Instructions*, Kodak Ltd, (1908). Kodak Ltd corporate archive, file A924, Box 56, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, BL. There was a difference between the two positions. The specific job duties were outlined in the sales manuals produced by the company

<sup>344</sup> *Canadian Photographic Journal*, 2-6 (July 1893), 327.

the latest EKC products, placing orders and answering queries both from the distributor/dealer, as well as directly with customers as required.<sup>345</sup>

Through visits with existing dealers and fostering relationships with new customers as part of this information gathering, the EKC traveller and demonstrator built upon their knowledge of, and relationships with, formal organizations such as the PAC and camera clubs, and strengthened their position and connections in the photographic network. For the EKC, understanding how the existing network was structured in Canada and what or who the key influences in the Canadian community were was a major contributor to how the EKC/ CKCoLtd successfully entered and dominated the existing photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in the early 1900s.

The relationship with Canada's photographic communities continued as the EKC grew in the 1890s. At this time there is no effort by the EKC to re-structure the distribution networks, which centered on Montreal. Hierarchical sales and distribution structures for EKC material conformed to the existing distribution networks with select products being sold to the prominent photographic dealers and stock houses in Canadian cities such as Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa.<sup>346</sup> Products were directed to each city from the primary Rochester EKC location. Palmer recorded the distribution of EKC goods in Canada prior to the 1899 registering of the Canadian branch as an incorporated company noting:

---

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>346</sup> "Instead of our familiar Eastman Kodak stores we were shipping to D.H. Hogg and Co in Montreal; J.G. Ramsey in Toronto; Duffrin and Co in Winnipeg and Calgary; Camera and Art store in Vancouver." Quote from an oral history project to record the early days of the EKC in Rochester, Kodak historical collection #003, File 8, Box 1, Rare Books Special Collections and Preservation, Rush Rhees Library, UofR.

...Prior to the opening of this business on March 19th, 1900, the few Canadian dealers handling E.K. goods, ordered them direct from Rochester and some of the dealers were jobbing the goods as they had opportunity [‘jobbing’ in this context meant acting as a third-party distributor, or middleman between the EKC, and other smaller, Canadian dealers]. I could not find where there was any special effort being made to do so, except by D.H. Hogg of Montreal. The E.K.Co.’s total sales in Canada for the twelve months prior to opening this business (March 1899 - March 1900), as reported by Mr. Mora, were \$51,402 and the number of customers 53.<sup>347</sup>

Montreal was their largest customer owing to the presence of the stock house owned by D.H. Hogg that advertised and distributed photographic materials across Canada. The remaining fifty-two customers were spread across the country and included Ramsey (Toronto) and Topley (Ottawa).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the EKC was aware of the jobbing of their products prior to 1899, with stock houses such as Ramsey and Hogg selling re-packaged goods to smaller dealers and photographic shops. The decision to establish the CKCoLtd in 1899 enabled control of how and where the EKC products were sold, and for what price, and allowed the EKC to attempt to put an end to jobbing. I use the term *attempt*, for it is of course, not possible to state with certainty that the practice did not continue, especially in remote areas where photographic dealers engaged in “mixed trading” and could have moved unsold stock to other dealers as they entered and/or exited the photographic business. However, as examined in detail in Chapter Five, the EKC /

---

<sup>347</sup> Palmer recorded his recollection in a December 12, 1911 letter to Eastman as part of the EKC’s preparations against the anti-trust accusations by the United States federal government . “average of \$969.85 per customer. letter from Palmer to Eastman, 12 December 1911, File “List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca 1881-1913”, Sub-series X: National and International, Series II: Corporate Papers, #003 Kodak Historical Collection, Rare Books Special Collections and Preservation, Rush Rhees Library, UofR.



CKCoLtd developed strategies by the early 1900s to assist in monitoring the increasingly extended distribution network.

### **Drawing upon local connections: Establishing the CKCoLtd**

The proposal for a Canadian branch of the EKC first appeared in Eastman's business records in July 1899, in correspondence with S.H. Mora, the manager of his Solio paper works in Rochester, New York. Writing to Eastman, Mora was in Ottawa, Ontario with a Canadian friend of his, Dr. William Beattie Nesbitt. Nesbitt was an amateur photographer who was also the owner of the Nesbitt Publishing Company, which published the *Canadian Photographic Journal* in the late 1890s.<sup>348</sup> Nesbitt was also actively involved in politics, serving as a member of the provincial parliament (MPP) for Toronto North between 1902 and 1908.<sup>349</sup> He was a valuable connection to the Canadian photographic and political communities for Mora and the EKC, providing them with knowledge and access to the political and economic elite in Toronto and Ottawa and photographic communities across Canada through his connection to the *Canadian Photographic Journal*.

It was a relationship Eastman encouraged and which saw Nesbitt rewarded for his assistance, with shares in the CKCoLtd assigned to him upon the successful incorporation of the company in late 1899. In July of 1899 Mora and Nesbitt were in the

---

<sup>348</sup> *The Canadian Photographic Journal*, 4-8 (August 1895), 200. At the Photographers Association of America - Detroit Convention 1895 "The photographic press was represented by Mrs. Fitz-Gibbon Clark, of the *St. Louis Journal*, Mr. Todd, of the *Beacon*, and Dr. Nesbitt and Mr. Gilson of the *Canadian Photographic Journal*."

<sup>349</sup> "William Beattie Nesbitt," accessed March 14, 2014, <http://canadianorangehistoricalsite.com/BeattieNesbitt.php>.

federal capital to discuss with the appropriate federal politicians and bureaucrats the heavy tariffs that EKC were paying out on certain items:

Today saw persons proper, including the Commissioner of Customs [John McDougald]. That on receipt of reply to today's wire for cost prices and information, we will formulate and present positive proof for special ruling. That we expect to secure favourable ruling before leaving and consider it important to stay until it is obtained. That it is desirable, in fact necessary, for customs reasons that an independent company be formed I am proceeding upon this supposition that this will be satisfactory to you. There will be some objections to my scheme and the difficulties are great. If successful in securing what I am trying for, I think as a whole it will meet with your approval.<sup>350</sup>

Here is evidence of how the EKC's (via Mora) connection with Nesbitt extended benefits likely not available to other competitors or Canadian photographic community participants. The "scheme" suggested by Mora (and eventually supported by the Commissioner of Customs) was to establish a branch factory in Canada and applying for exceptions on certain items as raw / unfinished materials required for manufacture. This was preferable to continually seeking exemptions or lowering of tariffs on individual finished items, as the products being imported were likely to change with increasing frequency as the technology and demand for materials was continuing to evolve.

By 1899 the federal government was more keenly aware of the situation within the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry, and the community of photographers who relied on the materials the industry produced and imported, largely due to the continued lobbying efforts of the PAC beginning in 1887. They would have been aware of the potential for controversy in arranging private negotiations with

---

<sup>350</sup> Samuel Mora [in Ottawa] to George Eastman, 20 July 201899, Incoming Correspondences – 1898-1899, manuscript series, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

foreign manufacturers, if the photographic community (namely the PAC) and the periodical press became involved. As discussed in the previous chapter, it took the PAC five years to successfully convince the federal Commissioner of Customs to alter the existing tariff schedule on dry plates alone. However, the presence of Nesbitt, who inhabited multiple political and photographic communities familiar to both the photographic community and federal bureaucrats seems to have smoothed over any concerns the Customs office may have had in meeting with Mora, as the EKC representative. They were able to present their case for a special ruling on exporting materials into Canada at reduced rates and negotiating the terms for establishing a branch plant in Canada.

Eastman sent Mora the current cost of items shipped to Canada, as well as the duty paid, yet made no mention in the correspondence to the suggestion of creating a Canadian company.<sup>351</sup> Eastman's reluctance to address the issue directly in a letter to Mora may have partially been for secrecy reasons, as Eastman had experienced firsthand the internally aggressive nature of his business in the past. Jenkins notes instances of corporate piracy internal to the EKC, including the defection of several of his top research and development staff to rival companies.<sup>352</sup> Eastman may have worried about news regarding the company's expansion plans becoming known to his competitors, or the press, prior to fully developing a strategy for officially expanding into the Canadian market and securing key contacts and resources necessary for successful establishment. As discussed in Chapter Two, the EKC was heavily investing in manufacturing and

---

<sup>351</sup> George Eastman to Samuel Mora, 26 July 1899, 256 – Outgoing correspondences – 1899 [copies], manuscript series, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>352</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 152-153.

distribution outlets across the globe in the late 1890s and early 1900s, with each newly established location acting as physical extension of the company, increasing the economic, political and social capital, and becoming an active participant in restructuring the domestic photographic industry in each location. As part of the larger EKC plan for market expansion on a scale previously unimaginable in the photographic industry, Canada was but one small component. A more pragmatic view of why Eastman did not respond directly about the potential for establishing a Canadian branch is that owing to the dozen other foreign branches and/or retail facilities that opened during the year 1899-1900, and the pending public release of the Kodak Brownie, perhaps the creation of a Canadian company was not an event Eastman perceived as overly important at this particular time.<sup>353</sup> However, an examination of the establishment of the CKCoLtd constitutes a prism through which to understand how the EKC entered existing markets and re-shaped them to their advantage.

### **Creating value in the Canadian photographic market**

The decision to establish a Canadian branch in Toronto appears to have been solidified by several factors including: the positive Customs ruling from the federal government in regards to the terms of operation in Canada; a projection of the potential savings by gaining exemptions as a domestic manufacturer; and discussions with EKC lawyers to ensure that legally, the decision was sound and favoured the corporation as a whole.

---

<sup>353</sup> See Appendix A.

On 20 November 1899 the Canadian Kodak Company Limited (CKCoLtd) registered its charter under the Ontario Companies Act, and incorporated under the Companies' Act of the Province of Ontario, Canada.<sup>354</sup> Incorporation as a Canadian company meant the CKCoLtd was a distinct legal entity separate from its foreign owners (shareholders), in this case the EKC. In the branch plant system, Canadian companies were usually incorporated as protection for the American owners, yet it also offered additional benefits for the Canadian branch, including the generation of capital, and protection from dissolution in the case of the death of (foreign) owners or shareholders.

Taxation rates are also lower for corporations, and a corporation is able to raise capital easily from investors through the sale of stock.<sup>355</sup> As an independent company, this would be especially beneficial for the CKCoLtd in growing capital in the future. However, as a foreign-held corporation, the CKCoLtd were required to obtain the permission of the original incorporation-granting government to increase the original value of stocks / capital, which was a safety measure to prevent a false over-valuation of the stocks/capital.<sup>356</sup> The requirement of the granting government's approval meant that favourable connections between the government and the EKC / CKCoLtd would need to be maintained, to provide the opportunity for future development of the corporation in

---

<sup>354</sup> Copy of Incorporation documents located in box 28, Kodak Ltd archive, BL. Authorized Capital: \$150,000.00 divided into 1,500 common shares of the par value of \$100.00 each (500 of these shares were converted into preferred stock on March 10, 1900). One of the main reasons that businesses choose incorporation was the extended liability protection. It meant that theoretically, no member of the company can be held personally liable for the debts, obligations, or acts of the company. A shareholder is only liable for the unpaid portion of shares owned. Definitions of incorporation from:

<http://sbinfoCanada.about.com/od/incorporation/g/incorporation.htm> accessed 12/12/14

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>356</sup> On July 11, 1905, the shareholders and directors adopted a resolution, authorized by the government of the Province of Ontario on December 27, 1905, to increase the capital stock from \$150,000 to \$300,000.00 by the issue of 1,500 shares of common stock of the par value of \$100.00 each. Copy of Incorporation documents located in box 28, Kodak Ltd archive, BL.

Canada. It was also a tentative step in re-structuring the Canadian industry, as it was the first Canadian photographic manufacturer to seek the issue of shares. The EKC/CKCoLtd were creating new links between the company, the government and, eventually, external investors.

Eastman explained the decision to establish the CKCoLtd in a letter to his friend, and manager of the Kodak Ltd branch George Davison, in December 1899:

For purposes of doing business in Canada a company with \$150,000 capital, \$50,000 in preference and \$100,000 in common shares has been incorporated; premises have been rented and are being fitted up. The manager is to be J.G. Palmer, formerly of Palmer & Coughton, one of the concerns that we bought out. *There is not a very large field in Canada but it is one which we think ought to be occupied by us.* The capital stock will be issued to the Eastman Kodak Co as the purchase price for its right to use the trademarks of the company and in consideration of a certain amount of cash which the law compels the company to have. This cash will be paid back to the EKC for goods... so that the whole thing amounts merely to our establishing a small branch in Canada and stocking it with goods.”<sup>357</sup>  
(Emphasis added)

In return for the funds for working capital (\$150,000) and use of the trademarked name “Eastman Kodak”, the EKC was given shares in the CKCoLtd, which guaranteed an annual percentage of the profits, also referred to as “dividends”. The shares (and percentages of profits) were allotted as follows:

Eastman Kodak Company - Preferred 500 shares  
Eastman Kodak Company - Common 850 shares  
Samuel Hancock Mora - Common 30 shares  
John Garrison Palmer - Common 30 shares  
Florence Sebastian Glaser - Common 30 shares  
George Eastman - Common 30 shares

---

<sup>357</sup> George Eastman to George Davison [president of Kodak Ltd], 6 December 1899, “Canadian Co.” LB 3 P.428, #003 Kodak Historical Collection, Manuscripts, Special Collections and Preservation, Rush Rhees Library, UofR.

Henry Alvah Strong - Common 30 shares<sup>358</sup>

The majority of the shares were held by the EKC, as it had supplied the capital to the CKCoLtd. Majority shares meant that the EKC maintained control of the “independent” CKCoLtd. The remainder of the shares were assigned to selected senior executives of the EKC and the CKCoLtd as a form of bonus. Shares increased in value as the Canadian company began to generate income, with each share being a literal “share” in the accruing profits.

Assigning control of the CKCoLtd to the shareholders of the EKC also included the dictum that the Board of Directors was to be elected from shareholders, a standard occurrence in such situations.<sup>359</sup> The CKCoLtd Board of Directors made the large-scale decisions regarding the CKCoLtd, such as funding the physical expansion of the factory and staff, and granting permission to purchase other companies, which is explored further in Chapter Four. What was uncommon, at least for the EKC, was that twenty shares were sold to Dr. Nesbitt of Toronto for the sum of \$1,000 in June 1900. The EKC loaned him the purchase money, and Dr. Nesbitt also obtained \$1,000 cash.<sup>360</sup>

Shareholders had the right to vote on major decisions regarding the company at the annual shareholder meetings, and therefore maintaining a core group of individuals loyal to the company and its Board of Directors was essential to avoiding any possible

---

<sup>358</sup> EKC report dated 19 April 1900, Series II Corporate Papers, Subseries X National and International 1881-1913, “Canada”, #003 Kodak Historical Collection, Manuscripts, Special Collections and Preservation, Rush Rhees Library, UofR.

<sup>359</sup> George Eastman to J.G. Palmer, 27 February 1904, Outgoing Correspondences – 1904, regarding “Programme For Annual Election Of Canadian Kodak Co Ltd.” GEM. George Eastman, President; John G. Palmer, Treasurer; Samuel H. Mora, Secretary.

<sup>360</sup> Beattie Nesbitt to George Eastman, 11 October 1905, Incoming correspondences 1905, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

disruptions to the governance of the corporation. Nesbitt was the only non-Kodak affiliated shareholder. The allotment of shares outside of the corporation was not a common occurrence for the privately held company at this time, and the EKC would eventually buy back these shares in 1905.

Providing the initial capital for the CKCoLtd through the generation of shares was largely a protective measure, which ensured that the CKCoLtd had the monetary and corporate support it would require in the establishment of a new factory, whilst ensuring control of the Canadian company remained with the EKC. The funds for the 1,500 shares became part of the overall debt the CKCoLtd was expected to repay the EKC by ordering goods from the EKC in Rochester. The provincial government required a supply of cash reserve or “working capital” during incorporation of a foreign company.<sup>361</sup>

The generation of capital through share creation also allowed the EKC, as the parent company and primary owner of the stocks, the opportunity for incredible increases in assets and cash dividends on the stocks, and was a common benefit for foreign-controlled companies. For example, between 1905 and 1927 the shareholders of the Canadian Ford Motor Company (branch plant of The Ford Motor Company) was paid over \$14 million in cash dividends on an initial capitalisation of \$125,000 in 1904.<sup>362</sup>

---

<sup>361</sup> Working capital is intended as a short-term resource, primarily cash used to pay for raw materials, debts and salaries. Fixed capital included the value of long-term resources, which repeatedly are used and maintain or increase in value, and included land, buildings, machinery and tools. Pierre Vernimmen, Pascal Quiry, Yann Le Fur and Antonio Salvi, *Corporate Finance: Theory and Practice* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2009), 48-50.

<sup>362</sup> Blackbourn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 139.



In addition to ensuring the long-term involvement and investment between the CKCoLtd and the EKC, the issuance of shares provided the CKCoLtd with a strong financial lead over the Canadian competition. To the Canadian manufacturer with no backing other than his own resources, the increased competition introduced by the American branches often appeared unfair. Having decided to enter the venture in Canada, the American corporations were prepared to give it generous financial support.<sup>363</sup>

With \$150,000 in combined working and fixed capital, the financial resources of the CKCoLtd were above the average amount available to the existing Canadian companies specializing in photographic materials. According to the 1901 Federal Census, there were nine “photographic materials” manufacturers listed and included the CKCoLtd and the SDPC, with a combined capital of \$862,719.<sup>364</sup> By providing the new Canadian branch company with such a substantial amount of funds, the EKC was establishing a dominant lead for the CKCoLtd over the existing competition, as well setting a precedent for any company that might consider following the EKC into the Canadian market.

### **Corporate structure and control in the CKCoLtd**

---

<sup>363</sup> Marshal, Southard and Taylor, *Canadian American Industry*, 281.

<sup>364</sup> *1901 Census*, (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, 1901). The average amount of capital for the remaining eight businesses was \$86,589, however it is highly doubtful that this amount was evenly distributed.

As an independent company, a contract between the CKCoLtd and the EKC laid out the terms of its operation, including how and where the materials for production and distribution would be obtained. The terms included:

- A) the right to use the word “Kodak” as part of its name, upon its goods and in its advertising.
- B) the right to manufacture or sell in the Dominion of Canada any photographic appliance covered by patents owned or controlled by the Eastman Kodak Company.
- C) the business, then owned or controlled by the Eastman Kodak Company, of selling Kodaks and other photographic appliances and goods in the Dominion of Canada.<sup>365</sup>

The terms also clearly stipulated that the EKC was “not to engage on the manufacture or sale of Kodaks or photographic goods or appliances in the Dominion of Canada; not to sell such goods to any firm or corporation in Canada, excepting the Canadian Kodak Company, Limited” for a period of five years.<sup>366</sup>

This agreement meant that all sales for EKC branded or subsidiary owned photographic materials in Canada must now go through the Toronto branch. This was the first major step by the CKCoLtd / EKC to re-structure the exiting manufacturing and distribution network in Canada, which would be further developed by the acquisition and re-location of several major manufacturing and distribution points in Canada in the early 1900s. Once established at the end of 1899, all the dealers and wholesalers would be communicating with the Toronto office and CKCoLtd roadmen exclusively, rather than the previous regional based distribution and communication system, which may

---

<sup>365</sup> “Canadian Kodak Co. Ltd Terms of Agreement”, 2 January 1900. Series II Corporate Papers, Subseries X National and International 1881-1913, “Canada”, #003 Kodak Historical Collection, Manuscripts, Special Collections and Preservation, Rush Rhees Library, UofR.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*

have seen Canadian dealers and photographers interacting with the EKC distribution offices dispersed across the United States.<sup>367</sup>

I argue that the legal action of creating an incorporated branch company (the CKCoLtd) can be interpreted as a fracturing and containing strategy that enabled further legal actions such as consolidation through acquisition and patent control and/or litigation. The establishment of foreign companies enabled the EKC to consolidate the power and influence in the photographic industry in countries outside of the originating American location, by providing a legally sound framework on which to build the overall holdings and capital of the EKC. A physical and legally supported presence in foreign markets also provided the EKC with a strong base on which to arrange the purchase of the foreign competition at a local and international level. Therefore the legal action of incorporation was instrumental in the EKC becoming a success in the Canadian industry, by first allowing the EKC to by-pass the protective tariff, and then by providing a legal corporate form with which to purchase and control Canadian competitors.

### **Incorporation: a two-way relationship between the EKC and the CKCoLtd**

The benefits which the CKCoLtd received as an incorporated branch company of the EKC included, but were not limited to: access to attractive rates from distributors of raw materials and contract manufacturers; license to manufacture photographic materials with severe patent restrictions; and funding loans for expansions. In addition to being

---

<sup>367</sup> See Appendix A.

able to import raw materials and unfinished goods into Canada at a low tax rate, the benefits of establishing the CKCoLtd as an incorporated branch of the EKC included a small, but reliably steady growth in the EKC's overall industry share of photographic materials.

Referring back to the EKC statistical reports of the 1920s, photographic sales over a nine-month period in Canada were \$606,857 with a per capita sales rate of 6.7, the highest in the world at the time.<sup>368</sup> A branch company such as the CKCoLtd, which was producing stable and increased growth, built capital in the parent company through increased market shares and sales. The increased profits could then be invested back into the parent company and applied against the cost of the research and development department, advertising, and the physical expansion in the new and existing markets. For example, the funds used to expand the CKCoLtd buildings in 1901 came from unused capital of the EKC, which they lent to the CKCoLtd with minimal interest upon approval from the EKC Board of Directors.<sup>369</sup>

There were additional benefits offered to the CKCoLtd as part of the EKC brand, such as access to the EKC's body of trained employees, and legal and business advisors. This enabled the CKCoLtd to actively build a strong industrial base in Canada that was connected to the EKC. The human element of the incorporated relationship between the

---

<sup>368</sup> EKC annual report - 1922, Kodak Ltd Archive, file A1091, Box 1, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, BL.

<sup>369</sup> CKCoLtd Board of Directors meeting notes, Series II Corporate Papers, Subseries IX Rochester Area, "Canada" file, #003 Kodak Historical Collection, Manuscripts, Special Collections and Preservation, Rush Rhee Library, UofR. "... directors [CKCoLtd] authorized the purchase of a lot 51ft by about 187 ft on the north side of King Street West, near Portland St. (#586 and 509 King st w) for the sum of \$3,570 and the construction of a four story and basement brick building on said lot according to plans drawn by Messrs. Chadwick and Beckett. They also authorized the treasurer [Palmer] to borrow from the Eastman Kodak Company at 5% the amount necessary to pay for the construction of said building."

CKCoLtd and the EKC was strongly encouraged and maintained due to the relative close proximity between the head office of the EKC and personal home of George Eastman in Rochester, New York, and the CKCoLtd in Toronto. Eastman took advantage of the location of the newest branch through heavy involvement in the establishment of the CKCoLtd. For example, in August 1901, Eastman wrote to one of the EKC retained lawyers, G.S. Abbott, regarding the future of the CKCoLtd, indicating that the Canadian branch company had outgrown its original premises, owing to the volume of material required to supply the Canadian photographers and photographic retailers.

The business is increasing, however, so that we shall likely require more room. We have some idea of buying property and erecting a warehouse. Before we decide about this we shall have to consider our plans for the future handling of the Canadian trade. Many questions will arise upon which I would like to have your advice. Would it be convenient for you to meet Mora and me in Toronto next Saturday, the 24th, or come to Rochester and go with us on the boat Friday night?<sup>370</sup>

The meeting demonstrates the role of infrastructure, which enabled reliable cross-border travel, and physical proximity between the parent company and branch plant in the success of the CKCoLtd.

Reliable infrastructure and a good relationship with the Canadian Customs officials ensured that the necessary materials were imported from Rochester in a rapid and reliable manner. In addition, the close proximity between Toronto and Rochester allowed Eastman to arrange a meeting between himself, the CKCoLtd manager Palmer, Mora, and the EKC-retained lawyer. Including the corporate lawyer in the expansion

---

<sup>370</sup> George Eastman to G.S. Abbott, 17 August 1901, Outgoing Correspondences – 1901, 927, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

plans ensured that the EKC remained in the original contract between the EKC and the Canadian federal government, and including both Palmer and Mora in the discussion was a prudent use of time as it allowed all knowledgeable and interested parties to immediately contribute to the decision.

Networked relationships such as these were essential to building, extending and strengthening the reach of an EKC photographic community in Canada, with the potential for far reaching impact. This is another important step in the re-structuring of the manufacturing and distribution network in Canada, as it limited who had access to information and knowledge of decisions which could affect the growth of the industry for the CKCoLtd and its competitors. Eastman was inserting himself as a major conduit in the corporate plan, continuing to participate in discussions and decisions which directly impacted the running of the CKCoLtd, exerting strict managerial control to ensure that the CKCoLtd was run similar to the larger EKC. The CKCoLtd functioned in the early days as a direct extension of the EKC in Rochester, however as will be examined in the next chapter in the context of company acquisition, it was not always a successful strategy.

As noted previous, the photographic market in Canada was physically small in number compared to other nations, such as the United States. Owing to the relative small order sizes that would be expected for the Canadian market, the usual rates of discount on bulk orders offered by suppliers would not have been automatically extended to a company like the CKCoLtd under other circumstances. Yet, with the EKC parent-child company connection, the CKCoLtd was able to negotiate a better deal or share an order with the Rochester factories, and import the materials as raw materials or unfinished

goods, while at the same time avoid the tariffs placed on manufactured materials due to the agreement with the Commissioner of Customs as arranged by Mora and Nesbitt in 1899.

However, the opening of the Canadian branch of the EKC did not mean that the EKC's concerns regarding the tariffs were eliminated. As part of Mora's meeting with the Commissioner of Customs, there were certain arrangements that required maintained assurances that the agreements made in 1899 were met. The CKCoLtd was required to comply with regular inspections from customs officials, to ensure that the materials imported into Canada for the CKCoLtd's operations were as described, and ensuring all relevant duty paid, and restrictions on how the materials sold were followed. Mora continued to be the contact point between the EKC / CKCoLtd and the Commissioner of Customs, as outlined in the following correspondence between the Toronto factory and Kodak Park in Rochester from 1902:

Mr Mora reports that the Canadian Inspector of Customs is expected here to investigate the cost of roll film. If he comes please give him what information he wants. When we put our estimate on table film it was altogether too high. We are importing it into Canada at \$1.50 per sq yds and are applying for a reduction of 65cents. The cost of table film that we gave them originally was Dope \$11.07 / Emulsion \$20.00 / Labor \$3.03 / Expense \$2.15 = total cost per table \$35.25. This, of course, is without expense for spooling and packing. What we want to do is to show him the exact cost of all roll dope and emulsion costing, which appears to be about \$80 per 1,000 sq ft. or about 49-1/2 cents a square yard, which, of course, is really a little more than our original estimate. At the same time on a cost of 49-1/2 cents per sq yd we can show a profit of about 30% at 65 cents, the price that we are now asking to import at.<sup>371</sup>

---

<sup>371</sup> Eastman to Lovejoy, 15 March 1902, Outgoing Correspondences – 1902, 173, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

Here is an example of the exacting level of detail applied by EKC managers to the calculations of the cost of production in Canada and the United States factories, and the close understanding and monitoring of the Canadian prices and custom reviews.

Although the inspections were intended to prevent the EKC from taking advantage of their Canadian branch to import materials below cost, the EKC / CKCoLtd used these visits to plead their case for increased reductions or improved conditions for import.

Owing to the imported materials remaining in the same parent company from manufacture to end distribution, the CKCoLtd was able to take advantage of the increasingly international EKC network to bring the materials into Canada at manufacturing cost. To further the savings on import tariffs the EKC could source from their various locations to find the lowest price. An example of this exercise in export sourcing for the lowest tariff rates to supply the Canadian location can be seen in the following series of exchanges between the CKCoLtd's J.G. Palmer in Toronto, Kodak Ltd.'s George Davison in London (England), and EKC's George Eastman in Rochester (New York), regarding the import of lantern slides to the Toronto location.

Beginning in August 1901, Palmer wrote to Eastman, asking how the British branch obtains their lantern slides, as the Canadian branch was looking to begin selling them domestically. Eastman, unsure of what to tell Palmer, writes first to Palmer "We supposed that we furnished them [Kodak Ltd.] all the [lantern slide] plates they sell but have written for information. Those we have billed of this size have cost them 35cents net in Rochester. Could you get a rebate of 1/3 of the duty on American plates shipped



back from England?”<sup>372</sup> As the tiered tariff was reimbursed as a rebate, Eastman was asking Palmer if it made sense to ship the lantern slides destined for Canada first to England, then to Canada to make use of the preferential tariff on English imports.

At the same time, Eastman wrote to Davison in London. “My dear Davison: the Canadian Kodak Co says you quote lantern slide plates, 3-1/4 x 3-1/4 at 1s 3d per dozen less 20% discount and they think they can import them to sell in competition with other English makes”.<sup>373</sup> Eastman provided the following resolution, which demonstrates how deeply the tariff affected the daily business operations of the early modern multinational corporations. “In regards to the English lantern slide plate – all the lantern slide plates sold by our English concern are made in Rochester and I do not see where any economy could be attained in shipping them to London and then back to Toronto.”<sup>374</sup>

In this instance, the costs of shipping outweighed the savings in tariff rebates. However, this was part of a larger pattern throughout the EKC’s history in the twentieth century, of shifting production in their global network of foreign branches to take advantage of low costs of raw materials and production in each of the manufacturing countries, and weighing it against import/export rates and shipping costs.<sup>375</sup> In doing so they were able to speculate on the savings that could be recouped in year-end dividends

---

<sup>372</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 5 August 1901, Outgoing Correspondences - 1901, 912, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>374</sup> Eastman to Palmer; 29 August 1901, Outgoing Correspondences – 1901, 942, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>375</sup> Mora to Eastman, 23 April 1903, Incoming Correspondences – 1903, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

Letter regarding expanding operations in Canada: “...taking up the item of film only: in the year ending March 31st, 1903, we shipped to Canada 14,990 square yards of film. Allowing 10% for waste, this would make 113,630 rolls of 12 exposure #2 Bulls-Eye. Figuring the film duty at the present valuation and adding the duty on the weight of black paper that it would take to spool the number referred to, allowing 10% for waste, also adding the duty on spools, the total duty paid would be \$4,093.00. On this same number of spools imported in a finished condition at the US retail rate the duty would be \$15,340.00”.

of the EKC as an international *whole*, rather than solely looking at the production output, export profits, import costs and overall profit of each branch independently.

The circumvention of foreign tariffs (in this instance Canadian), was one small but highly effective factor in the EKC's re-structuring of the existing photographic manufacturing and distribution networks, and was made possible by the strength of the EKC employees' knowledge of, and participation in, the necessary communities prior to establishment. Based upon the series of correspondences, Rochester, and Eastman, remain the hub of the EKC / CKCoLtd network, with the senior executives (including Palmer and Mora) serving as the primary participant of each geographical manufacturing location, connecting the EKC to the wider Canadian photographic and non-photographic communities. This arrangement enabled Eastman to retain a firm understanding of all issues, major and minor, in his corporation, and strategize in grand terms, the corporation's international expansion.

As a registered Canadian company, the CKCoLtd could import raw materials and partially finished goods, which with minimal processing at the Toronto factory, could be marketed and sold as "Canadian-made" photographic materials. Additionally, the action of shipping unfinished goods to a registered Canadian company allowed the materials to be classified as raw materials required for domestic manufacturing, and therefore eligible for a reduced tariff rate. Securing such favourable rates was part of the initial discussion between Mora, Nesbitt and the Commissioner of Customs McDougall. Furthermore, the EKC was able to eliminate the traditional middleman position of importer, an accepted part for most foreign companies who wished to distribute their material in a foreign market. With the establishment of the CKCoLtd, the EKC was able

to export select finished photographic materials from Rochester directly to the CKCoLtd, as part of the preferential agreement between the EKC and the Canadian government, establishing in the process, the creation of a domestic manufacturer in Canada.

The Canadian government's policy regarding free trade or protective tariffs was dependent upon the elected government in power and therefore subject to change. As such, when examining the long-term benefits of incorporating a foreign branch such as the CKCoLtd into the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry, avoiding taxes on a relatively small segment of the overall global production cannot be interpreted as the sole reason for the EKC to establish a branch in Canada. To successfully re-structure the Canadian photographic industry at the political, economic and cultural level there would need to be additional benefits for both the parent (EKC), and branch company (CKCoLtd).

## Chapter Four: The CKCoLtd and the local competition, 1901-1905

The previous chapter examined the benefits for the EKC in establishing the CKCoLtd as a separate Canadian business in 1899 through legal incorporation. However, the financial benefits afforded to the CKCoLtd, as a part of the larger EKC corporation, was not in itself enough to fully dominate the Canadian photographic market. To dominate the manufacturing and distribution aspects of the photographic industry in Canada required re-structuring the network to their advantage. As early as 1904, Eastman acknowledged that the EKC controlled an estimated ninety per cent of the trade in amateur photographic cameras, ninety per cent of amateur film sales, and seventy-five per cent of the photographic paper trade.<sup>376</sup>

As Brock argued in his examination of the anti-trust lawsuits brought against the EKC in the twentieth century, “the power that the firm [EKC] subsequently amassed was neither normal, nor neutral. It was strategically aimed, assiduously pursued, and successfully executed to eliminate competition throughout the industry.”<sup>377</sup> The “deliberate program” to eliminate the EKC’s competition identified by Brock, is

---

<sup>376</sup> Ackerman, *George Eastman*, 109. Brock, “Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of Anti-Trust”, 656.

<sup>377</sup> Brock, “Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of Anti-Trust”, 657.

revealed in this chapter through an examination of the acquisition of the Canadian photographic companies by the CKCoLtd between 1902 and 1905.<sup>378</sup>

The process and results of acquiring competing / complementary businesses, internally driven growth in material production and the movement of key individuals within the EKC/CKCoLtd between 1900 and 1905 radically re-structured the economic and geo-political connections of the photographic industrial network which existed in the previous century, and is the central focus of this chapter. I examine the acquisition process here through three separate transactions as a means to analyse this re-structuring of the existing industry.

I discuss the process and benefits the EKC / CKCoLtd gained through acquiring: Groves & Bell; the Stanley Dry Plate Company of Montreal; and the J.G. Ramsey (Toronto) and D.H. Hogg (Montreal) stock houses. The resulting analysis reveals a pattern in how the EKC / CKCoLtd approached acquisition in a foreign market and what the acquisitions meant to the existing domestic industrial landscape and its networks. While there may have been differing superficial reasons why existing businesses were acquired, the root purpose remained the same - the EKC / CKCoLtd sought control of the domestic photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in Canada through acquisition of existing and competing businesses.

For the EKC to control foreign market through the acquisition of domestic competition required a close understanding of the existing network of key participants in Canada prior to purchase. Eastman's use of the CKCoLtd to harness seemingly

---

<sup>378</sup> 1902 and 1905 falls within a period which is part of the larger "merger movement" affecting American businesses between 1895 and 1905, identified by economic historian Naomi Lamoreaux in *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

disconnected aspects of the industrial network to his and the company's daily operations and expansion are a large contributor to the CKCoLtd's success in Canada by 1905. The EKC / CKCoLtd re-structured the existing industrial manufacturing and distribution network to fit their specific needs. If the EKC was unable to establish a new or re-work an existing connection, an attempt was made to purchase access through acquisition of a competitive or complimentary firm. The photographic network was re-structured to provide the EKC / CKCoLtd with a strong advantage in the photographic consumer market at the expense of the Canadian and foreign competitors who continued to remain outside of the now EKC-supported manufacturing and distribution structure.

### **The EKC's acquisition strategy in Canada**

According to corporate historical records the EKC acquired over thirty-five companies internationally by 1910 (see Appendix A). However, when documenting the company's early history, the corporate records for the EKC only record the names of the companies which continued to operate after purchase. The actual number of businesses purchased by the EKC is most certainly higher. For example, the purchase of Groves & Bell, a small paper coating manufactory formed in Toronto in 1901 and purchased by the CKCoLtd in 1902, is missing from the official record of purchased or acquired firms that formed shareholder and other corporate reports. The likely reason for the omission is that the CKCoLtd never utilized the acquired resources or staff.

The sole purpose of the purchase was to remove any possibility for equipment to be sold to a potential competitor. After being absorbed and asset stripped, manufacturers

such as Groves & Bell offered no continuing or clearly identified contribution to the EKC/ CKCoLtd. The corporate correspondences revealed several other examples of this type of acquisition, suggesting that the purchase of Groves & Bell fit a larger pattern of market control.<sup>379</sup> The purchase of Groves & Bell and their subsequent exclusion from the official corporate history provide documentation of the predatory and monopolizing actions of the EKC in their re-structuring of the Canadian photographic market, and will be examined in further detail further in this chapter.

In contrast to manufacturers such as Groves & Bell which were purchased with the intent to eliminate, are the manufacturers whose purchase offered the EKC/ CKCoLtd an opportunity for market expansion. The purchase of J.G. Ramsey's stock house business in Toronto is an example of larger patterns of the EKC / CKCoLtd purchasing access to areas of manufacturing and distribution that were otherwise closed to them.<sup>380</sup> With Ramsey, the CKCoLtd was purchasing access to distribution networks closed to the company due to the original federal restrictions against direct retailing, set by the Commissioner of Customs in 1899 as a condition of the special rulings.

Similar to the relationship between the EKC and the CKCoLtd, businesses such as Ramsey's were maintained by the EKC / CKCoLtd as a "subsidiary".<sup>381</sup> Although operating as a separate business and retaining the original company name, the majority of shares in the subsidiary company were held by the parent company (in this case the

---

<sup>379</sup> Jenkin's study of the American photographic companies purchased by the EKC, and other mergers in the photographic industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States suggests a broader pattern. See: Jenkins, Part Five, "Period of the Amateur Roll Film System 1895 to 1909," *Images & Enterprise*, 172-245.

<sup>380</sup> Between 1902 and 1904 the EKC acquired over thirteen stock houses in the United States, with the idea of creating a chain of company-owned retail stores (as adopted in Europe). Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 239.

<sup>381</sup> Subsidiary is a company which operates independently from the larger 'parent' company.

EKC / CKCoLtd). As such, control of the company resided with the parent, via the voting majority shareholders and elected board of directors as evidenced in the previous chapter's examination of the CKCoLtd conditions of capital creation via share creation.<sup>382</sup>

When a company was acquired by the EKC / CKCoLtd with the intent of continuing operations such as Ramsey's stock houses, the founding partners or owners were often removed, or transferred to another part of the parent company. An existing EKC senior manager assumed responsibility of the company in the original owners place. For example, as part of the purchase agreement between the EKC and Palmer & Coughton (an American photographic paper manufactory acquired by the EKC in 1898), Eastman removed Palmer as the company's manager and assigned him the task of overseeing the formation of the CKCoLtd as its new manager.

There are several reasons why the EKC employed the informal policy of rotating / replacing managers in newly acquired companies. It allowed for measured control of the new company. It brought the operations of the acquired company in line with the EKC / CKCoLtd management structure, with minimal disruptions to the existing workflow and production.<sup>383</sup> Including identified key employees from purchased

---

<sup>382</sup> Alex Burke, "What Is the Difference Between a Subsidiary & a Sister Company?," *Chron*, accessed February 23, 2014, <http://smallbusiness.chron.com/difference-between-subsidiary-sister-company-35043.html>; "Subsidiary - Definition Merriam-Webster Dictionary". Merriam-webster.com. accessed January 10, 2014, Merriam-webster.com; Peter Drucker, "The Global Economy and the Nation State," *Council on Foreign Relations*, (1997), 172.

<sup>383</sup> Douglas Nigh and Douglas Woodward, *Foreign Ownership and the Consequences of Direct Investment in the United States: Beyond Us and Them* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1998), 273-278; Annette Ranft and Michael Lord, "Acquiring new knowledge: The role of retaining human capital in acquisitions of high-tech firms," *The Journal of High Technology Management Research*, 11- 2 (November 2000), 295-319. Prescott Ensign, Chen-Dong Lin, Samia Chreim and Ajax Persaud, "Proximity, knowledge transfer, and innovation in technology-based mergers and acquisitions," *International Journal of Technology Management*, 66-1 (2014), 1-31.



companies in the EKC/ CKCoLtd was an important element if the EKC / CKCoLtd was to re-structure how the networks constituting the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in Canada interacted.

The success of the subsidiary (and the company as a whole) depended on the strength of the connections the manager maintained in the existing photographic communities. For this reason, Eastman identified the candidate based on their previous experience in the photographic industry, including existing personal connections and contacts in the industry, specifically those formed without the benefit (or hindrance) of an existing EKC / CKCoLtd identity. In doing so, Eastman and the EKC were making strategic use of existing industry-based connections, altering and/or creating new paths within the Canadian networks.

### **Legal-based re-structuring: Monopolies and patent control**

The EKC / CKCoLtd's re-structuring of the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution network between 1902 and 1905 created what can be clearly identified as an EKC monopoly of the Canadian photographic industry by 1910. The EKC / CKCoLtd accomplished the re-structuring through the economic strategies of internally constructed vertical integration and strategic acquisition of competing and complementary businesses such as the SDPC. Building the CKCoLtd's physical political and economic presence in the Canadian manufacturing community lead to the EKC being referenced in the periodical press by their competitors and critics as a monopoly. The monopolizing accusations occurred because the growth of companies such as the

EKC through internal and externally driven expansion via acquisition largely occupied a poorly defined legal zone.

The process of acquisition as a means of industry monopolization was exploited by a number of American firms in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>384</sup> Naylor states acquisitions executed to achieve market power for a reduced number of companies were found in virtually every facet of Canadian industry before the great merger waves in the early 1900s, tracing the first example to the paper manufacturing industry shortly after 1879.<sup>385</sup>

As an increasing number of American companies established branch plants in Canada in the 1890s and 1900s Gerry Van Houten argues there was a transition in monopolizing actions, which shifted from the sphere of distribution to the sphere of production.<sup>386</sup> Achieving a monopoly in Canadian industries through production and distribution allowed the monopolizing company to dictate how the flow of materials and services reached consumers. For example, by 1899 the American corporation Standard Oil had secured a virtual monopoly of the refining industry in Ontario, and it began immediately to exact higher prices.<sup>387</sup>

The increasing production and physical expansion of the EKC on an international scale also enabled the CKCoLtd to participate in securing monopolies in certain raw

---

<sup>384</sup> Kenneth Lipartito and David Sicilia, *Constructing Corporate America: History, Politics, Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 149-153; Charles Geisst, "Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, et al. v. United States, 1911," in *Encyclopaedia of American Business History* (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 534-539; Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 318-324; Standard Oil is often cited example, and had an impact on Eastman's own thoughts regarding monopolization according to Ackerman; Ackerman, *George Eastman*, 165-166.

<sup>385</sup> Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, 184-186.

<sup>386</sup> Gerry Van Houten, *Corporate Canada: An Historical Outline*, (Malta: Progress Press, 1991), 70.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid*, 250.

materials essential in photographic manufacturing such as paper and glass. With increased connections across a larger geographical space, the EKC was also able to apply pressure to suppliers for exclusivity and lower prices.<sup>388</sup> The tactics the EKC/CKCoLtd employed were often simply not possible on the same scale to the remaining domestic competitors, and provided the CKCoLtd with a clear advantage as discussed earlier in the context of the benefits associated with branch plant establishment. The CKCoLtd's expansion actions in Canada provides evidence of the EKC building their economic capital in a foreign market. Although outside the scope of this thesis, Canada may be viewed as part of a larger pattern of the EKC's monopolizing actions in the photographic industry on a global scale.

In addition to building the EKC / CKCoLtd's economic capital through internally driven vertical integration and acquisition of competitors, patent control was another legal based strategy Eastman employed to eliminate competition. In Brock's study, patents and the consolidation of the photographic industry through the merger and acquisition of the EKC's rivals are identified as the two legal actions Eastman employed in growing the EKC into a recognizable monopoly.<sup>389</sup>

---

<sup>388</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 318-324. Brock, "Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust", 660. According to Brock, in 1896 the EKC monopolized the photographic paper trade by becoming the sole agent of Rives and Steinbach in the United States, Canada and Mexico. By targeting key resources or processes in the photographic industry, such as the paper required for producing quality photographic materials, the EKC/CKCoLtd were able to create a monopoly in specific areas. "Producers refusing Eastman's initial terms [of distribution of EKC products] and rebuffing his earlier acquisition overtures were deftly denied access to this essential input. Their resistance thus undercut, quick purchase of eight major manufacturers gave the EKC immediate control of an estimated ninety-five per cent of domestic photographic paper sales."

<sup>389</sup> Brock, "Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust", 658. The legal actions of patent litigation and corporate buy outs are separate from the social actions of governmental lobbying, and integration into networked communities.

Although the EKC's detailed use of patent litigation is beyond the scope of this thesis, the role patents played in the EKC's growth during the 1890s and early 1900s require attention before progressing further, due to the manner in which Eastman employed patent enforcement and litigation as a weapon against the competition. Rather than employing patents for the protective function for which they were intended, the EKC's strong use of patent control and litigation in the period being examined (1890-1910) speaks to the predatory actions of the EKC in Canada during the period of acquisition and re-structuring of the photographic industry.

Jenkins, Brock, Sarvas and Frohlich all provide evidence that patents were used by the EKC to shape, fracture and appropriate networked practices amongst their competition.<sup>390</sup> In discussing the EKC's use of patents as a legal manoeuvre for securing control of the photographic manufacturing industry, Eastman biographer George Ackerman notes that regardless of their strength, patents covering finished goods as well as possible production processes were generated and acquired on a worldwide basis, owing to what Eastman termed their "moral effect" on potential rivals.<sup>391</sup>

As further evidenced in the corporate archives, Eastman was well aware that the expense of litigation and injunction for patent infringement against his competitors was an effective means of harassment, quite irrespective of the patents' validity. As Eastman

---

<sup>390</sup> Sarvas and Frohlich, *From Snapshots to Social Media*. Also primary resources located in incoming / outgoing correspondences in the George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM, between Eastman and Canadian inventor Arthur McCurdy provide further evidence of network shaping and manipulation of patents for market control. McCurdy worked for Bell Laboratories as an engineer. Eastman accessed that network when he sought to purchase McCurdy's patents for a daylight film washer.

<sup>391</sup> Ackerman, *George Eastman*, 140. Control of film, in particular, was crucial: "The film business has the greatest possibilities of profit of any branch of photography, and we must try to cover every avenue that leads to it." "We have so many patents," Eastman could soon relate, "that if we get beaten on one we could try another and it would take our competitors ten or fifteen years to break them all down

is quoted to have stated after one such event, “We do not always win, but when we lose the victory does not seem to have much attraction for the enemy.”<sup>392</sup>

The acquisition of competing and complementary businesses by the EKC occurred at a period referred to by Naomi Lamoreaux as the “merger movement”.<sup>393</sup> Lamoreaux describes the “merger movement as a period between 1895 and 1904, when a great wave of mergers swept through the manufacturing sector of the United States' economy. According to Porter, the industries most likely to seek relief and/or growth through merger/ acquisition were those dominated by relatively new firms (such as the oil, railroads, and the auto industry) and which included capital intensive, mass-production based manufactories where expansion had been rapid.<sup>394</sup> As the mass production of photographic materials was relatively new industry, the EKC fits this larger pattern identified by Porter and Lamoreaux.

According to van Houten Canadian data regarding industry consolidation via merger /acquisition during this time is “unfortunately rather spotty”, however, the analysis regarding the activities of the EKC / CKCoLtd gathered in this thesis can be added to the existing body of information regarding the Canadian farm machinery, oil,

---

<sup>392</sup> Brock, *Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of Anti-Trust*, 658; Ackerman, *George Eastman*, 140. Ackerman supplied Eastman's quote in the context of the 1898 lawsuits he was pursuing against the Blair Camera Co. and Reichenbach, Morey & Will, precipitated by feelings of betrayal due to Reichenbach's “I am turning my attention to peaceful pursuits; am now engaged in preparing plans for a greenhouse...Peace only extends only to private life, however. In business it is war all the time. Just now we are beginning suits against the Blair... etc.”

<sup>393</sup> See for example: Naomi Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Glen Porter, *The Rise of Big Business 1860 – 1920, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* (Boston: Wiley-Blackwell 2005); Munir & Phillips “The Birth of the “Kodak Moment”, 1676.

<sup>394</sup> Porter, *The Rise of Big Business*, 86.

textiles, canning, paper, sugar and banking industries.<sup>395</sup> Presented together, the three distinct acquisition examples of Groves & Bell, the SDPC and J.G. Ramsey form a means through which to explore the varied notion of acquisition in relation to the CKCoLtd. The three acquisitions occurred during the same period (1902-1905), which falls within the larger period of intense acquisition by the EKC, which in turn is reflective of the larger trend, identified by Lamoreaux. The three examples which I discuss later in this chapter, demonstrate the complex mechanisms of restructuring an existing industry's manufacturing and distribution network.

### **Growing a “Canadian” business**

In his examination of the creation of corporate business structures in America between 1860 and 1920, Glenn Porter argues “even when the goods did fit reasonably comfortably into existing channels, producers often created their own distribution networks because this improved their communication with their customers and thus could lead to better service and new products.”<sup>396</sup> Improving communication is most certainly one benefit of re-structuring the distribution network, however the benefits may be extended even further. Restructuring the distribution network allowed the EKC to utilize the existing connections which formed the photographic network in a re-

---

<sup>395</sup> Van Houten, *Corporate Canada*. Van Houten provides information regarding the farm machinery, oil, textiles, canning, paper, sugar and banking exclusively. Looking a bit further ahead in time, he states that between 1909 and 1912, 275 individual firms merged into 58 new companies, placing the EKC / CKCoLtd as likely being part of the early wave of mergers in Canada.

<sup>396</sup> Porter, *The Rise of Big Business*, 58.

worked context and connected the EKC / CKCoLtd to the major manufacturing and distribution channels in Canada.

The EKC / CKCoLtd sought to control the manufacturing and distribution of photographic materials in Canada, and as a consequence they also shifted the geographical centre of the photographic manufacturing industry by concentrating production in Toronto, around the new CKCoLtd manufacturing facilities. With Toronto as the centre rather than Montreal, an earlier dependence of the Canadian photographic communities on Britain for economic and cultural influence was further reduced. The growing connection between Toronto and the U.S. in wider ranging political and economic related sectors coincided with the Canadian photographic community's growing dependence on American firms (predominantly the EKC) for economic and social direction.<sup>397</sup>

Understanding why the EKC exercised such geo-political and economic processes in the manufacturing and distribution industry in Canada can be partially explained by looking to other industries which were emerging during the same time period, such as automobiles and the electrical industry. For example, the Ford Motor Company of Canada (1904) and General Motors Canada (1908) were both established close to Toronto, owing to its relatively close proximity to Detroit. The Canadian auto branch plants eliminated the 35 percent of tariff imposed on imported cars from the United States. The Canadian auto plants were also shipping cars to the entire British

---

<sup>397</sup> Blackbourn and Putnum, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 138-140.

Empire enabling the American owned companies to take advantage of the reduced tariff which was part of Canada's 1897 preferential trade agreement with England.<sup>398</sup>

The CKCoLtd quickly proved to be a success in Canada, as the company outgrew their original location in the first year. The necessity of moving to a larger facility in 1901 provided Eastman with the opportunity to consider how the EKC could expand the Canadian business. Rather than maintaining a rented space, it was also an opportunity to increase the CKCoLtd's working capital through the purchase of land and to construct a purpose built factory. In October 1901, the CKCoLtd's Board of Directors, led by Eastman as president, authorized the expansion of the existing facilities in Toronto, and also authorized Palmer to borrow the funds necessary for construction from the EKC's surplus funds at 5 percent interest.<sup>399</sup>

In addition to approving the expansion as President of the Board of Directors, Eastman remained highly involved in the CKCoLtd's expansion. He advised Palmer on possible locations, and on the layout of the planned facilities, often in specific and exacting details.<sup>400</sup> For example, the following letter regarding the layout outlines of the new building, highlights the level of detail and precision Eastman retained in his businesses:

...the building is to be say 180ft long with a shipping platform and canopy on the rear alley it being intended to receive and ship goods at the rear of the building. The elevator should, therefore, be near the rear end. The office should be in front with a space for delivering staple goods to messengers. If we go into the general stock business a show room for such things as

---

<sup>398</sup> Blackbourn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 140.

<sup>399</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 14 October 1901, Outgoing Correspondences – 1901, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>400</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 12 September 1901, Outgoing Correspondences – 1901, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. "...it seems to me that for advertising purposes the location on King St would be very desirable."



cameras, stands, back grounds, accessories, etc should be on the second floor in front. Back of that the cutting and packing rooms. The third floor to be for paper box and wrapping paper storage and possibly a small gelatine coating plant. The basement to be for storage of stock not carried in the stock room on the ground floor, packing cases, etc.<sup>401</sup>

In advising Palmer, Eastman used his experiences in establishing a facility capable of housing photographic manufacturing and distribution. It also points to an intentional design and use of space to be economically and ergonomically viable and profitable. The EKC and CKCoLtd were establishing modern facilities that could easily and quickly adapt to increasingly diverse functions and methods of production which became necessary as the company expanded. Eastman was also ensuring the establishment of a consistent EKC brand message, which began in the manufacturing facilities, and extended to its management.<sup>402</sup>

According to Martin Ricketts, expansion within a company largely occurs through “vertical integration”.<sup>403</sup> Vertical integration occurs when a firm does something for itself that it could otherwise procure, such as obtaining and refining chemicals necessary for manufacturing rather than purchasing the refined chemistry.<sup>404</sup> It occurs “upstream”, (as in the example of procurement and refining of raw materials), or

---

<sup>401</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 28 September 1901, Outgoing Correspondences - 1901, 961, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Two weeks later, Eastman writes another two letters, including Oct 11, 1901 to Palmer (979). “Since writing you this morning I have noticed the small amount of light in the rear wall. You cannot have too much light in the rear end of the building. There ought to be big double windows in the rear like the windows in the camera works, with a wood mullion between. I do not know whether it was an oversight or not but there are no windows at all in the fourth story at the north end. There is nowhere near enough light in the shipping room.”

<sup>402</sup> Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 374-375; Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 184.

<sup>403</sup> Martin Ricketts, *The Economics of Business Enterprise: An Introduction to Economic Organization and the Theory of the Firm* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2002), 217-218.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*

“downstream” (towards distribution directly to consumers).<sup>405</sup> Expanding both upstream and downstream was a contributing factor in the EKC’s ability to re-structure the manufacturing and distribution system for photographic materials in Canada. Vertical integration for the EKC / CKCoLtd occurred through their own efforts in expanded production, as well as through active acquisition of companies which provided the opportunity to add a vertically integrated function to the corporate structure. The example examined in this chapter is EKC / CKCoLtd’s downstream vertical integration into distribution, specifically achieved through the acquisition of the J.G. Ramsey stock houses in Toronto and Montreal.

In contrast to vertical integration, horizontal integration occurs when a number of firms or producers who manufacture or distribute the same kind of product or service join their companies through merger to form a stronger single entity.<sup>406</sup> According to Porter, a firm is said to have formed horizontally because the involved companies share the same rung on the vertical ladder.<sup>407</sup> Evidence of horizontal integration in the photographic industry examined here is found in the acquisition of companies that in dominating the Canadian photographic market produced similar materials as the EKC, such as dry plates companies SDPC and Seed and Standard.

In *Images and Enterprise*, Jenkins dedicates an entire chapter to vertical integration and the EKC, noting that “although horizontal integration played an important role in Eastman Kodak’s strategy during the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, an equally or, in some respects, more important role was played by

---

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-234.

<sup>407</sup> Porter, *The Rise of Big Business 1860 – 1920*, 48-49; 86.

the strategy of vertical integration that was interwoven with it.”<sup>408</sup> This position is borne out in my study for it was vertical integration combined with consolidation of similar (horizontally integrated) businesses such as the SDPC into the EKC that provided the CKCoLtd with measurable success. I extend Jenkins’ argument by tying the success achieved through vertical integration to the previously examined requirement of political actions (legal incorporation and negotiated favourable tax rates on import), as evidence of larger re-structuring of the industry in Canada.

### **Vertical integration in action: The Canadian Card Company**

The EKC / CKCoLtd’s movement into card mount production in 1902 provides evidence of the way in which vertical integration had an impact the EKC / CKCoLtd as well as the domestic manufactures of card mounts.<sup>409</sup> The CKCoLtd, like the EKC, offered printing services to consumers. They required card mounts to carry out this service, and they were required to purchase the card mounts from an external manufacturing company, incurring costs that affected the price for consumers and/or profits.

In February 1902, Eastman wrote to CKCoLtd manager Palmer explaining that the EKC would soon be in the position to supply the CKCoLtd with a “full line of card mount machinery, embossers and bevellers” which could be installed in the new

---

<sup>408</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 188-235.

<sup>409</sup> Card mounts are the firm paper based card to which photographs were affixed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when photographs were being printed on very thin paper. The card mounts prevented the photographs from curling.

building.<sup>410</sup> In doing so, the CKCoLtd would no longer be required to go outside of the EKC to purchase card mounts. It reduced their dependency on a third-party manufacturer/ distributor and was a step in re-structuring the existing network by eliminating the interaction with the card stock supplier. They would be able to reduce the overall costs in the finishing department (enabling lower prices for consumers and/or higher margins in profits). It would also provide a new EKC / CKCoLtd branded product for consumers in Canada.

As the machinery would not be installed for over a year, Eastman asked Palmer to “learn anything about the way the [card mount] business is carried on in Canada”.<sup>411</sup> Using his growing connections in the Canadian photographic network he was able to identify the EKC / CKCoLtd’s domestic competition, confirming earlier reports that card mounts were being produced in Canada by only one Montreal based manufacturer, the Canadian Camera Company.<sup>412</sup> This period of investigation provided Palmer with an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the Canadian photographic market.

In April 1903, Eastman wrote to Taprell, a Chicago-based card mount business recently acquired by the EKC and the source Eastman alluded to in his earlier discussions of 1902 regarding card mount machinery. Eastman states in his letter to Taprell “we are desirous of starting the manufacture of card mounts in Toronto and would like to send our Mr. Palmer, manager of the Canadian Kodak Co., to you to pick

---

<sup>410</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 17 February 1902, Outgoing Correspondences – 1902, 129, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>412</sup> Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business*, 78-83.

up points in regard to the business.”<sup>413</sup> Writing to Palmer of the forthcoming visit, Eastman emphasises the relationships between the companies (Taprell, EKC and CKCoLtd) using the words “we” and “our” when discussing company business.<sup>414</sup> In doing so, Eastman is actively working the connections and relationships he has created in the expanding EKC network. To Palmer, Eastman adds, “While here [Chicago] we will lay out some plans for entering the general wholesale business. Please bring along a Canadian Camera Company catalogue”.<sup>415</sup> Eastman was encouraging Palmer to pursue the opportunity to grow the company through expansion into card mount manufacturing, while entering direct competition with a domestic competitor (the Canadian Camera Company) with the creation of the Canadian Card Company.

The CKCoLtd began to operate the Canadian Card Company (not to be confused with the Canadian Camera Company of Montreal, which they were entering direct competition with) in early 1905 as a subsidiary (non-incorporated) company.<sup>416</sup> As evident in this example, Eastman and the EKC / CKCoLtd were active in efforts to re-

---

<sup>413</sup> Eastman to Taprell, 14 April 1903, Outgoing Correspondences - 1903 George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>414</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 17 April 1903, Outgoing Correspondences - 1903 George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.* Eastman was in Chicago, arranging for the purchase of the E.H & T Anthony distribution centre in that city, with plans to turn the building into the EKC distribution centre for the mid-West. The Canadian Camera Co was an ongoing concern between Palmer and Eastman. In a letter dated May 5th, 1902, Palmer writes to Eastman under the opening section Imitation Bulls Eye Camera: “We sent you by Mrs. Parshall, (wife of the man you sent us from the Park last) who left for Rochester this morning, one of the latest models that the Canadian Camera Co. have produced in imitation of our Bulls Eye. They do not seem to be making any progress in marketing these goods, as we are endeavouring to scour the trade of everyone who wishes to handle photographic supplies that would appear in anyway desirable. ... There is a rumour around town that Cohen Bros., manufacturing opticians, have about closed negotiations for the purchase of the Canadian Camera Co.’s, if so there will be more money available for them to push their business than there has been for sometimes”.

<sup>416</sup> See: Eastman to Palmer letters: 21 March 1905; 26 March 1905; 30 March 1905; 26 May 1905. Outgoing correspondences – 1905, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Products began to be advertised shortly thereafter in *Canadian Kodak Company Trade Circular* and other EKC / CKCoLtd publications.

structure the existing Canadian manufacturing and distribution network through the growth of their *own* manufacturing efforts (card mounts) and distribution (wholesale). The CKCoLtd was able to draw upon the human and material resources of the larger EKC network (such as Taprell). In doing so, they gained an advantage in the manufacturing and distribution of card mounts in the Canadian market. The far reaching impact of the move into vertical integration / re-structuring is that by removing their dependence on external manufacturers, such as card mount companies, the CKCoLtd was able to reduce or outright eliminate the domestic competition, further reducing the field of possible manufacturers / distributors and increasing the CKCoLtd's market share of photographic materials in Canada.

Vertical integration was a part of the EKC's corporate plan well before the 1902 example cited above. Evidence of Eastman's intentions in vertically expanding his company's operations are visible in the 1888 advertising campaign of the Kodak camera. Acknowledging the public recognition (through advertisements) of the EKC/CKCoLtd's vertical integration efforts provides evidence that the EKC /CKCoLtd was placing themselves as the clear leader in the industry, with modern practices and international connections.

In 1888 the EKC began to market the benefits of a vertically integrated company with the Kodak camera system and the accompanying marketing slogan "You push the button, We do the rest". Expanding vertically in both directions, away from solely producing a camera and accompanying film and offering services which ranged from manufacturing the actual film and camera, to developing and printing the images, the company was expanding the existing niche approach to manufacturing. To reduce costs

the EKC produced the boxes for shipping the cameras on-site, gradually expanding the kinds of manufacturing completed on site to reduce as much as possible the need to seek outside manufacturers /distributors.<sup>417</sup> However, the expansion into vertical integration did not mean the elimination of a reliance on outside industry participants. The EKC was able to identify when particular areas of expansion were too costly to maintain or pursue.

The 1888 Kodak advertising campaign drew attention to the new area of “photo finishing” services the camera and film created, and identified a vertically integrated expansion in the company, yet it is important to note that the EKC’s photo finishing business was part of the larger re-organization of the existing photographic industry. The EKC did not envision sustaining the processing services as an exclusive operation, and by 1900 it had identified that the costs of maintaining a dominant role in the photo finishing industry was an expensive proposition. Eastman identified that the cost associated with providing printing developing and enlarging services were “carried on much more advantageously on a small than on a large scale because the small man escapes almost all of the detail office labour which costs so much. The only reason that we have for doing the business at all is to set the pace for other printers and enlargers“.<sup>418</sup> By ensuring the services were increasingly handled by the local dealers and

---

<sup>417</sup> Exceptions likely remained paper and glass production, as the quality of raw materials available in North America were not of sufficient quality to be used reliably in photographic production. Multiple discussions in Eastman’s corporate correspondences regarding glass and paper manufacturers, such as 1904 Eastman to Charles Abbott [Jamestown factory], regarding choosing between Thatcher & Whittemore, Pilkington and a superior Belgian glass manufacturer as the primary supplier. Eastman to Abbott, 2 September 1904, General Business Correspondences – 1904, 925, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>418</sup> Eastman to Davidson, 7 August 1900, Outgoing Correspondences – 1900, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. “Profits of printing, developing and enlarging: Apropos of the proposition to increase your developing and printing space would it not be well to look into the profit in these departments and have a statement made showing just what the profit is after charging not only all the materials and labour that is actually used in the department but their quota of the general factory expenses, apportioned

distributors, the EKC not only reduced their costs, but more importantly they established connections to existing and new industry participants to engage in the integration of the EKC's products and services to consumers.

Beginning with the 1888 Kodak camera campaign, West focuses on the style and medium in which the advertisements were disseminated to the general public.<sup>419</sup> She states that it was Eastman's original commitment to advertising that determined the EKC's rapid triumph over competitors.<sup>420</sup> However, I argue that Eastman's commitment to advertising is the consequence of the EKC's re-organization of the industry, as West herself intimates, by citing Eastman's hiring of Lewis Bunnell Jones as manager of the newly created Kodak advertising department in 1892.<sup>421</sup> In creating a new department and relinquishing the duties he had handled previously, Eastman was demonstrating commitment to the form of advertising, but they were also the result of the larger vision of a vertically integrated corporation.

In her assessment of the reasons for and execution of the advertisements, West remains highly theoretical. She does not acknowledge the network of local dealers / distributors as the connection between the nationally placed advertisements and the actual procurement and consumption of the advertised goods. West notes that by 1905

---

according to the floor space occupied by the departments, and also the office wages of the entry, shipment and correspondent clerks and bookkeepers who handle the business? I enclose herewith a statement of the business done in our departments during the last six months and of the actual expense of turning out the goods. An estimate of the general and office expenses is being made but without this it is easy to see that we are losing money on the business. The business of printing and enlarging is one that can be carried on much more advantageously on a small than on a large scale because the small man escapes almost all of the detail office labour which costs so much. The only reason that we have for doing the business at all is to set the pace for other printers and enlargers."

<sup>419</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 21-22.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*, 24. See also Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 150; 328-329; Brayer, *George Eastman*, 135.



the EKC had achieved an international reputation for the effectiveness of its advertising, yet I question effective on whom, exactly?<sup>422</sup> After the initial 1888 “You push the button, we do the rest” campaign, the efforts to attract the existing or advanced consumer has often been overlooked by scholars.<sup>423</sup>

In subsequent decades, the EKC / CKCoLtd continued to draw consumers attention to the vertically integrated aspects of their production, placing emphasis on the quality ensured when the components of the manufacturing process are internally maintained. For example, a full-page advertisement from a 1905 issue of *The Canadian Magazine*, with the title “Our twenty years of film experience” the text includes:

It has taken us more than twenty years to learn what we know about making film. And in that twenty years we have also learned how to make the perfect raw materials which are absolutely essential to the manufacture of film – materials which cannot be obtained in the industry with a certainty that will be what they should be. We nitrate our own cotton for the film base; we nitrate our own silver for the emulsion. We go further, we even make the acid with which the cotton and silver are nitrated. Wherever it is possible to improve the completed product by manufacturing the raw material, we erect a factory and make that raw material. ... but experience is not the only advantage that our chemists and film maker enjoy. They have access to the formulae of the chemists who make the best dry plates in the world. The Kodak Film of to-day have in them the combined knowledge of the most expert film makers and the most expert plate makers....<sup>424</sup>

---

<sup>422</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 24.

<sup>423</sup> For example, West draws attention to EKC’s early advertising efforts to attract women and children as consumers, by focusing on the idea of home and memory in connection to photography, leisure, and aspects of play introduced with the Brownie.

<sup>424</sup> Advertisement, “Our 20 Years of Film Experience”, *The Canadian Magazine*, 25-6 (October 1905), 52. The attention to the vertical integrative nature of manufacturing was also a focus in the 1906 “The Photographic Centre”. Published for the information of the Kodak stockholders and the dealers in Kodak products. “In Rochester Kodak Park not only do they make nitric acid which treats raw cotton, and turns silver bullion into silver nitrate, but they also make the sulphuric acid out of which (in combination with nitrate) the nitric acid is made.” Kodak Ltd archive, box 17, BL; and, “Kodaks and Kodak Supplies, 1908”, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester N.Y. The Kodak City, booklet for consumers, which included a variation of the 1905 text in a section “Our Film Advantage”; Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County, Trade Catalogue Collection. See Appendix C for full copy of the 1905 advertisement.

The primary purpose of the text would appear to be to impress upon the consumer the importance of obtaining Eastman-branded Kodak film. However, it also offers a clear image of how vertical integration and manufacturing re-structuring had been achieved in the EKC / CKCoLtd. It placed the manufacturing as Canadian, and at the same time firmly uniting the Canadian factory with the value assigned to the Eastman /Kodak name/brand.

The reader of this 1905 advertisement was meant to see the benefit that incorporation of the photographic industry offered, namely expertise, reliable access to materials, and control in production. For the novice photographer, phrases such as “It has taken us more than twenty years to learn what we know about making film” and “combined knowledge of the most expert film [and plate] makers” lent historical weight to their company expertise and products. For the experienced photographer, it offered a different message, the opportunity to try the EKC materials anew. Through the statement “The Kodak Film of *to-day*” the text emphasizes that these films are not the same EKC manufactured materials of yesterday, which the experienced photographer may have tried in the past, or which they had perhaps come to view (and avoid) as the “snap-shooter” brand.

Although the 1888 and 1905 examples both touch upon vertical integration as part of the EKC / CKCoLtd’s corporate structure, the primary difference between the two advertisement campaigns is that in the target of the “You push the button...” promotion was primarily the novice photographer and it emphasized a new idea of commercial photo processing for personal photographs. The 1905 vertical integration centric campaign printed in sources such as *The Canadian Magazine* addressed an

audience largely familiar, at least in concept, with the EKC/ CKCoLtd and the products they advertised and sold. It coincided with the EKC's larger deflection of monopolization accusations by the American federal government and the dealer communities in the United States and Britain.<sup>425</sup> It attempted to place a positive face to the aggressive corporate expansion techniques by framing it as beneficial to the consumer for the EKC to control all aspects of manufacturing through an emphasis on maintaining / ensuring quality from start to finish. The 1900s advertisements allowed the EKC to sell itself as experts with a (relatively) long history within the photographic industry.

### **Strategic acquisitions by the CKCoLtd: Three examples**

The following three examples of acquisition describe in detail how the EKC/ CKCoLtd's restructuring began to alter the manufacturing and distribution landscape in Canada. In the description are evidence of the networked relationships between Palmer, Eastman and the EKC, and the Canadian photographic community. The circumstances

---

<sup>425</sup> Although outside the immediate scope of this thesis, dealer boycotts were a serious concern for the EKC / Kodak Ltd in the United States and England in the early 1900s, as evidenced in numerous correspondences between Eastman and Kodak Ltd president George Davidson, as well as articles in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, *The St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, the *Photographic News* and *The Amateur Photographer* and other contemporary photographic periodicals. For example, *The Spectator*, 21 January 1899, 8-9; "Kodak Ltd and the Trade Monopoly" *The Amateur Photographer* 5 April 1901; "Anti-Monopoly" *The Amateur Photographer*, 3 May 1901 "We mentioned last week the excellent example set by the City Sale and Exchange in banishing Kodak goods from windows and show cases ...", 366. "Silver Paper Trust", *Chicago Record*, 18 January 1899; "Photographic Manufacturers Association of America", *St Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 28 February 1900; Brayer discusses the threat of boycott the EKC faced from its American dealers due to restrictive terms of sale in *George Eastman*, 390-392.

which enabled the acquisition in each example also provide the opportunity for networked analysis and future additional scholarship.

Groves & Bell offer an example of acquisition for elimination as cited earlier in this chapter. They did not contribute directly to the CKCoLtd's production or distribution. The SDPC was acquired to consolidate a type of product (dry plates). They contributed to the EKC / CKCoLtd by providing the EKC / CKCoLtd with a stronger foothold in the dry plate market by eliminating a strong competitor and providing the opportunity to offer a fuller range of products to consumers. The final example of the J.G. Ramsey stock house acquisition was acquired to allow vertical expansion of the CKCoLtd directly into distribution to consumers. It was a necessary acquisition for the CKCoLtd/ EKC to side step the restrictions established by the provincial and federal government during the original negotiations of the CKCoLtd's establishment in 1899.

### Groves & Bell

In May of 1902 the CKCoLtd purchased the Toronto photographic paper manufacturing company Groves & Bell.<sup>426</sup> Groves & Bell are an example of an acquisition that would not become a subsidiary company nor contribute to the growth of the company directly. Rather it was purchased to suppress the possibility of competition. In the EKC corporate archive are correspondences which outline situations similar to

---

<sup>426</sup> The Groves and Bell acquisition was not part of any official corporate history, and appears only in correspondences between Eastman and Palmer, copies of which are located within the Outgoing Correspondences- 1902, George Eastman Legacy Collection, GEM.

Groves & Bell, in which a failing business would approach the EKC / CKCoLtd seeking financial relief through a sale or merger with the EKC.<sup>427</sup>

This type of acquisition, where a company in a resource intensive manufacturing situation was seeking financial relief from a dominant firm, fits with Lamoreaux's observations regarding mergers during this specific period of intense industry expansion. The proprietor Groves himself had peripheral experience in the photographic industry, having worked as a book keeper in Rochester for the photographic paper manufacturing firm Brightman Bros.<sup>428</sup> When the Rochester business closed in late 1900 due to financial failure, the Brightman Bros. persuaded Groves to purchase the coating machine and try manufacturing photographic paper in his native Toronto.

Establishing the business in Toronto in early 1901, as a partnership, Groves & Bell attempted to manufacture gelatine printing paper. Partridge replaced Bell as the primary partner as the original partnership dissolved in the first year. In early May 1902, only a year after Groves established the business in Toronto, Partridge approached CKCoLtd manager Palmer regarding the possibility of the CKCoLtd purchasing his photographic paper company. Palmer wrote to Eastman of the exchange "To-day Partridge came in and wanted to know if we would buy them out. They had not

---

<sup>427</sup> Located within Incoming and Outgoing Correspondences in the George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. For example: Gibson [Buffalo-based Lawyer] to Eastman, 11 September 1903 regarding a solicitation by the G. Cramer Dry Plate Co. for the EKC to purchase the company; [EKC employee] Rudolph Spelth to Eastman, 3 April 1907 regarding several Milwaukee businesses that were under consideration for which Spelth, as the local contact, was serving as the middle-man in negotiations for acquisition.

<sup>428</sup> When the Brightman Brothers went out of the photographic business, they convinced Groves, a Canadian by birth, to "buy the coating machine and come over here to try his luck"; Palmer to Eastman, 5 May 1902, Incoming Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. This behaviour is similar to that which Naylor documents within the textile industry. Naylor, *History of Canadian Business*, 46-51. "The pattern of employees leaving their firms and establishing their own-small scale manufactories typified much of early Canadian industrialization, and revealed how closely linked it remained to the artisanal mode of production."

sufficient capital to handle the business and could not turn out enough goods to make it pay”.<sup>429</sup> Based on observations of larger patterns in manufacturing failure in Canada during this period, Groves & Bell were not unique in citing insufficient capital as a reason for failure. Canadian business historian Richard Naylor states that the rate of business failure due to “lack of capital” (including manufacturing failures) in Canada during this period ranged between 65 and 75 percent.<sup>430</sup>

Established as the largest photographic company in Canada, and part of the rapidly expanding EKC corporation, the financial capital necessary to support the CKCoLtd would not have gone unnoticed in the photographic community. News regarding the EKC’s monopolizing activities were a regular feature in photographic periodicals such as the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* and the *Amateur Photographer* between 1901 and 1905 and in all likelihood a familiar topic with other photographic manufacturers and distributors who were competing against the EKC / CKCoLtd.

However, the accusations that the EKC actively sought to purchase its competitors in order to control the market presented failing companies with a possible solution to their financial concerns. In this respect, the EKC/ CKCoLtd affected the existing industry by presenting as the increasingly dominant manufacturer in the industry, and therefore a possible means for extending the operations of a small-scale (and often struggling) manufacturer.

---

<sup>429</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 5 May 1902, Incoming Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>430</sup> Naylor, *History of Canadian Business*, 48; 84-85: “One of the major problems impeding Canadian innovation in manufacturing was the lack of financing available to the industrial sector. Not only did it suffer from the indifference of the commercial banks, but direct aid to industry from federal and provincial government was absent.”

How the EKC / CKCoLtd chose to respond is what actively shaped the industry, as evidenced in the example of Groves & Bell. Partridge told Palmer he was willing to sell the business to the CKCoLtd for four or five hundred dollars, citing in the company inventory “a coating machine that they paid Brightman \$550.00 for, a cutting machine and a small motor with a lot of small truck that they use in the business, also about 300 ft of Bennecke paper.”<sup>431</sup> Partridge maintained connections which enabled him to identify the CKCoLtd as his best chance of salvaging financial resources out of the failing company, despite his limited time as a participant in the Canadian photographic manufacturing community. He was able to identify and contact Palmer directly, and is evidence of the CKCoLtd’s successful integration into the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution network.

Compared to the recorded capital of the SDPC or the CKCoLtd, the small scale operations of Groves & Bell were miniscule and represent the niche or small operators who were being consumed, through merger / acquisition or pressure to close due to increased competition from larger firms, in the transitional period of American and Canadian consumer industry in the late 1890s and early 1900s.<sup>432</sup> As discussed in Chapter Two, without the available capital to expand their operations, small manufacturers such as Groves & Bell often could not manufacture enough product to make the business viable. It is the basic principle of economy of scale, which the EKC

---

<sup>431</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 5 May 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM: “In talking with him about the business he stated that that they do not do sufficient business to warrant their buying a whole roll of paper at a time so they made an arrangement through William Huermann of New York, whom we presume you know has been Bennecke’s agent there for some years, and George Croughton, who also could not use paper in full rolls, to ship roll of paper to Croughton, who would rewind portion of it and send it over here to Groves & Bell.”

<sup>432</sup> Capital as recorded in census reports (1891; 1901) and multiple EKC corporate correspondences (GEM; UofR; BL).

was able to take advantage of with clear success.<sup>433</sup> In acquiring increased capital through acquisition of related companies, and increased shares of the existing market, the EKC (and by extension the CKCoLtd) had access to better deals on raw materials, transportation and distribution which all factored into the amount of goods the EKC could produce in a reliable and consistent manner, unlike the small scale manufacturers such as Groves & Bell.

Eastman encouraged Palmer to investigate the offer by drawing upon Palmer's growing reputation in the Canadian photographic community as well as his existing ties to the Rochester network. Palmer found that the production runs were small with local distribution in a local department store and stock house.<sup>434</sup> However, as he reported to Eastman, the electricity to the manufacturing space had been cut, owing to inactivity and as such, "since then he [Partridge] has been running the coating machine by hand, so you can imagine the kind of material he was producing."<sup>435</sup> With the electricity cut, production was suffering. As Partridge stated to Palmer in his original approach, they "had not sufficient capital to handle the business and could not turn out enough goods to make it pay", and were unable to continue.<sup>436</sup> Eastman advises Palmer to continue his

---

<sup>433</sup> Economies of scale definition: economies of scale are the cost advantages that firms obtain due to their relative size, output, and/or scale of operation. If a sufficient level of scale is achieved (variable), the individual cost per unit of output (in this case, complete run of sensitized paper) generally decrease as the scale increases as fixed costs are spread out over more units of output. The economic concept dates back to Adam Smith (1750s – 1790) and the idea of obtaining larger production returns through the use of division of labor. Arthur Sullivan, Steven M. Sheffrin, *Economics: Principles in Action*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2003), 157.

<sup>434</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 19 May 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>436</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 15 May 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.



investigation, and see what the lowest purchase price would be. Eastman continues “We might be able to pay a little something for it and break it up for junk.”<sup>437</sup>

Over three days, Eastman and Palmer corresponded several more times, and in the process, provide further insight into how the acquisition process in Canada was primarily directed by Eastman.<sup>438</sup> In investigating the business and the value and probable re-sale targets of the company’s resources, there is evidence of the heavy reliance on Palmer and Eastman’s existing knowledge of the photographic manufacturing landscape and communities in Canada and the United States, as well as the related industries such as druggist and printing businesses.

In every correspondence regarding Groves & Bell, Palmer makes specific mention of photographic or photographic-related manufacturers or distributors who either supplied the materials, or had some other connection to Groves & Bell. Palmer was able to identify where and how Groves and his partner Partridge were connected in the photographic industry. He identified where the raw materials and machinery required for manufacture were obtained, and where their finished product was distributed. Groves & Bell’s connection and engagement with the active manufacturing and distribution network, however localized or minor, is visible as an essential part in Palmer and

---

<sup>437</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 17 May 1902, Outgoing Correspondences – 1902, 302, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>438</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 19 May 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. “Groves & Partridge: I saw these people this afternoon. They have the crudest outfit I ever saw for coating paper. The Hang Up that they set up is about 60 feet long and they have enough chain etc to run it about 20 ft further, but their present quarters does not permit of that extension. There is no stock on hand of any value except for refining, and only about the equivalent of 10 gross of cabinets anyway. There is a very fair druggist’s scale with a set of brass weights, which they claim is worth \$10, a 30” Leader Cutter, which I believe was made by Jones of Palmyra, N.Y.. This machine Partridge thinks he can sell to a printer here for \$100 and if so would be willing to deduct whatever he gets for it from the value of the plant. ...”

Eastman decision making process regarding Groves & Bell specifically, and subsequently with any other company which approached, or was otherwise considered for purchase by the EKC/ CKCoLtd.

The knowledge gained through networked investigation informed if and how a final offer was made and the post-purchase dismantling and disposal of assets was determined. Groves & Bell were a small, regional and recent addition to the photographic community, and therefore the minimal benefits of purchasing the company weighted the negotiations in Palmer and Eastman's favour. At one point, Eastman wrote to Palmer, "I do not think that it would be of any particular benefit to us to buy this outfit. If anybody wants to engage in the business of making gelatine paper in Canada it would handicap them to have this plant; hence I do not know why we should try to take it out of the industry."<sup>439</sup> Palmer, with a better practical understanding of how the Canadian industry functioned, disagreed. He replied to Eastman:

... While I stated in my previous letter that this was a very crude plant, still they made paper there that answered very well for raw amateurs and for proof purposes. Partridge showed me ledger account where Eakins & Ferris [stock house] had bought over \$100 worth of it, and the T. Eaton Co. [department store], about three times as much during the three months Groves was with him. The only object I can see in getting this machinery out of the way is that someone else might get hold of it at a nominal price and if they had a better idea of machinery than Partridge has might possibly work the machinery over in shape where they could secure better results...<sup>440</sup>

Eastman saw no fault in having another competitor attempt production with such crude

---

<sup>439</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 20 May 1902, Outgoing Correspondences – 1902, 314, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>440</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 22 May 1902, General Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

manufacturing facilities. He likely viewed the possibility of low quality goods being manufactured as aiding the perceived value of the EKC/ CKCoLtd's goods, which had the comparative (marketable) benefit of being manufactured in modern factories with the associated benefits of a large corporation (expert staff, consistency of product, wide range available).

However, Palmer recognized the possibility of a more skilled individual purchasing the machinery, and taking advantage of the slight, but potentially lucrative connections established by Groves & Bell with Toronto amateurs and distributors. Palmer would have been better situated to make such a judgement, as he was by now familiar with the level of skills (business and manufacturing) possessed by Toronto's photographic and manufacturing communities. He would recognize that in capable hands, a possible success could be wrung from the existing connections and facilities established by Groves & Bell.

Trusting Palmer's reading of the situation Eastman reconsidered his previous stance writing "offer Mr. Partridge two hundred dollars for the outfit and if he accepts, break up or separate the plant so it cannot be used for the same purposes again and dispose of it for junk, or otherwise to the best advantage".<sup>441</sup> Partridge accepted the offer, despite being less than half his original asking price, and the company was quickly dismantled. The equipment was sold to printers and druggists, which Palmer had identified earlier through his connections to the Toronto business community. If there were to be any competitors for manufactured photographic papers in the Toronto area in

---

<sup>441</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 23 May 1902 Outgoing Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. IMG 3362.

the next few years, the CKCoLtd was secure in knowing that the machinery did not originate from the Groves & Bell operation.

### The Stanley Dry Plate Company of Montreal (SDPC)

In contrast to the Groves & Bell acquisition, the SDPC was a major acquisition for the EKC / CKCoLtd. It was recorded as part of the corporate history of both the CKCoLtd, as well as part of the overall EKC history.<sup>442</sup> Historical scholarship regarding the SDPC exists, however it is not as prolific as that of the EKC. Jenkins included the company in *Image and Enterprise*.<sup>443</sup> The strategic decisions made by the SDPC manager during the dry plate tariff protests provided the SDPC with a favourable reputation in Canada.<sup>444</sup> The SDPC's Montreal location was a branch plant of the American company, similar to the relationship between the CKCoLtd and the EKC, therefore acquiring the Montreal Stanley branch was a major step in securing control of the domestic manufacturing in Canada.

The Montreal branch of the SDPC had been manufacturing photographic materials in Canada since 1886, predating the CKCoLtd as a "Canadian" manufacturer

---

<sup>442</sup> See: "Stanley Dry Plate Co." Series II Corporate Papers, Sub-series X National and International List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca 1881-1913, Kodak Historical Collection #003, Rush Rhees Library, UofR.

<sup>443</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 75-77; 220-230.

<sup>444</sup> The PAC voiced their opinion of the SDPC at their annual convention, details of which were printed in the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* and the *Canadian Photographic Journal* in the 1890s. An example of the support voiced by the PAC is evident in the following: "It should be here noted that the actions of the Stanley Dry Plate Company on Montreal, in this manner of duty, are commendable in the highest degree, and should not be lost sight of by the photographers of the Dominion. They deserve the patronage of the craft in Canada, of far as their plates are equal to the imported ones, and doubtless will receive it." "Reduction of Duty on Dry Plates in the Dominion", the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, 8-5 (May 1890), 189.

by thirteen years. For the EKC / CKCoLtd securing the acquisition of the SDPC allowed them to build their stable of dry plate manufacturing and sales in North America and further control of both the film and glass negative trade. The CKCoLtd also acquired the social profile the company held in the Canadian photographic community and tied the Montreal and Toronto photographic communities together.

The first appearance of the Montreal branch of the SDPC in the EKC company records was in a 1901 correspondence between Palmer and Eastman.<sup>445</sup> There were concerns that in addition to the dry plates they currently produced, the Montreal branch was considering manufacturing film. This would increase their competition with the EKC/ CKCoLtd in the American and Canadian markets. Drawing upon one of the benefits of the networked corporation, Eastman consulted with the EKC's lawyers. He notified Palmer that "the statement of the Stanley Plate representative that there is nothing to prevent their engaging in the manufacture of films in Canada is correct so far as the patent matters stand. There are manufacturing and trade conditions there, however, that might prevent anyone from continuing in the business very long if he went into it."<sup>446</sup>

In addition to legal advice, knowledge of trade, tariffs, patent requirements and the availability of trained staff, equipment and supplies informed the pronouncement from Eastman and his lawyer. Eastman's reply was meant to assuage any worries Palmer may have harboured regarding domestic competition. At the same time, it must have also drawn Eastman's attention to the abilities and/or possibilities of the SDPC in

---

<sup>445</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 12 August 1901, Outgoing Correspondences – 1901, 920, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*

Montreal. It reflects a growing and competitive response in the Canadian market to the EKC / CKCoLtd for until the SDPC voiced an interest in expanding the kinds of photographic materials they manufactured (moving from the old style dry plate to film), there had been little interest by the EKC and CKCoLtd in the company.

The acquisition of the Montreal office was part of the larger EKC acquisition of the American SDPC parent company. In June 1902 Eastman approached the SDPC of Newton, Massachusetts regarding the possibility of acquisition by the EKC.<sup>447</sup> Unlike the previous example of Groves & Bell, the initial offer of purchase did not initiate from the smaller firm. It was a proactive move on the part of the EKC to shape and control the existing American and Canadian photographic industry. The EKC's initial offer was five times the net profits of the business for the year 1901, and the full value of the assets of the SDPC as of 1902.<sup>448</sup>

In response to the initial offer, the SDPC supplied a counter offer, and at the same time offered an explanation of why they felt the amount being offered by the EKC was too low.

Now, without going too much into the details of the matter, we will make the following statement and offer. Our profits for the year 1900 exceeded \$100,000. The profits for 1901 would have been greater had it not been for the difficulty in getting glass, which we explained to Mr. Abbott [EKC lawyer]. ... Our output for this year up to date exceeds the same months last year, and we have contracted for glass at very satisfactory rates. Our assets will inventory about \$200,000. This includes our Montreal plant,

---

<sup>447</sup> At this time the Stanley brothers were beginning to transition into their next venture, manufacturing automobiles. It is likely that Eastman was aware that the Stanley brothers were interested in devoting their energy and resources into the manufacture of automobiles, sensing that the Stanley's may be amenable to selling their photographic business to provide substantially increased capital (which could then be used to grow their new venture). Eastman himself owned a "Stanley Steamer" in 1902. Brayer, *George Eastman*, 203; Coe, *George Eastman and the Early Photographers*, 77.

<sup>448</sup> Palmer to F.O. Stanley, 25 May 1902, Outgoing Correspondences – 1902.

which we presume you want. We will deliver this business to you on or before July 1st for the sum of \$650,000.<sup>449</sup>

It is highly probable that they were familiar with each other as established firms in the American North Eastern and Canadian photographic industry network. As such, Stanley drew upon their likely connection and wrote to Eastman directly rather than to communicate with the original correspondent, the EKC lawyer. In addition to the high value they assigned to their companies assets, the Stanley's counter-offer letter provides evidence of the importance of securing reliable access to raw materials in manufacturing.

As the EKC had approached the Stanley company with the initial offer, the Stanley's could afford to remain consistent with the price they were demanding. Writing again to Eastman a few days later, F.O. Stanley further explained that he would not consider a price lower than the \$650,000 for the American and Canadian branches, which he quoted earlier.<sup>450</sup> Rather than negotiating a price, Stanley focused on the employment prospects of his employees (which included several members of their extended family), and suggesting that the EKC / CKCoLtd would add value in retaining the existing skilled employees.

After the initial 1902 correspondences between F.O. Stanley and Eastman, negotiations for the purchase of the SDPC, (including the Montreal branch) came to halt.

---

<sup>449</sup> F.O. Stanley to Eastman, 2 June 1902 General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>450</sup> F.O. Stanley to Eastman, 5 June 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM : “Our price is as stated. We have no doubt of your ability to engage on satisfactory terms the skilled help now in our employ. We have consulted our superintendent, Mr. Brewer, and our emulsion maker, N.F. Stanley, and they are both willing and anxious to remain with the business. We have no doubt the same will be true of C.F. Stanley, who has charge of our Montreal factory. We think this factory will be a valuable adjunct to your business.” (IMG 3332-3334)

Although not possible to confirm, it may have been that the price the Stanley's were asking had exceeded the EKC's available capital for the year, as the latter were also in the process of purchasing at least nine companies in 1902.<sup>451</sup>

Eastman notified Palmer in December 1903, "we have taken up negotiations again for the purchase of the Stanley Dry Plate Co., hence the information about the consumers in yours of the 10th is unusually interesting. Do you know anything about the Stanley factory as it is carried on in Canada?"<sup>452</sup> The comment "the information about the consumers in yours of the 10th is unusually interesting" is oblique, however, based upon the preceding and following sentences, it is reasonable to infer that Palmer had written to Eastman regarding consumer queries about Stanley dry plates in Canada. Again providing evidence that the CKCoLtd was keen to address the competition that the SDPC represented in the small Canadian photographic manufacturing market.

As the negotiations for the SDPC included the purchase of both the American and Canadian branches, Eastman began to consider how to best integrated the Montreal location into the existing operations of the Toronto-based CKCoLtd. Shortly after asking Palmer to investigate the Montreal operations of the SDPC, he wrote to Palmer, "I think probably the best thing, in case we buy out the Stanley Dry Plate Co., will be to move

---

<sup>451</sup> In 1902, the EKC is recorded to have acquired the following companies: Sweet, Wallach & Co. (Jan. 22); O.H. Peck Co. (March 5); Zimmerman Bros. (Mar. 12); Standard Dry Plate Co. (May 31); Milwaukee Photo Materials Co. (June 17); Taprell, Loomis & Co. (July 5); Robey-French Co. (Aug. 15); M.A. Seed Dry Plate Co. (Aug. 28); Frank A. Brownell (Oct. 1). See Appendix A.

<sup>452</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 14 December 1903, General Business Correspondences – 1903, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3398



the Montreal works to Toronto, building a new, small, model plant there, to turn out both Stanley and Seed plates.”<sup>453</sup>

The suggestion to relocate the Montreal operation to Toronto, and using the facilities to concentrate the production of both Stanley and Seed (another recently acquired American dry plate firm) dry plates is evidence of the re-structuring the existing methods of manufacture and distribution in the Canadian photographic communities. Eastman was evaluating the benefits of the SDPC’s individual connections and assets along with determining how to maximize each with the larger EKC corporate structure. For example, writing to one of his EKC employees stationed near Newton, Eastman inquired about the number and strength of the “travelling men” on Stanley’s payroll, seeking to determine the physical and social reach of the SDPC’s distribution network and weighing it against his knowledge of similar participants and assets in other firms recently acquired by the EKC, such as Standard.<sup>454</sup>

Eastman continued his request for information, explaining the strategy behind acquiring several of the largest dry plate companies in operation in North America. “My idea is that we should drop the Stanley demonstrators and do our fighting with the Standard. If there are any good demonstrators on the Stanley staff we could transfer them to the Standard.”<sup>455</sup> In pooling and re-distributing the resources of their former competitors, the EKC / CKCoLtd was actively condensing and re-structuring the existing dry plate manufacturing and distribution industry. Not only do the EKC/

---

<sup>453</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 16 December 1903, General Business Correspondences – 1903, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3399

<sup>454</sup> Eastman to J.L. Miller [Newton, Mass]. 11 January 1904, General Business Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3407

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*

CKCoLtd eliminate their closest domestic competitors, they are provided with the opportunity to dictate the availability of photographic materials in the North American commercial marketplace. They were able to shape what consumers were exposed to by pushing certain lines of products through the existing, re-structured distribution channels, primarily through local dealer and travelling men relationships.

As negotiations continued, a letter written by Eastman to the EKC lawyer Abbot in January 1904 specified exactly why Eastman sought to purchase both American and Canadian branches of the SDPC.

I think if we can close it on substantially the lines laid out it will be a good thing, for two reasons: it gives us both ends of the pole as far as the dry plate business is concerned, the best plates and the cheapest. The other reason is that it will enable us to employ some of our idle capital, which is only bringing 4%, so it ought to earn at least 17-20%. I hope now to be able to get rid of the two younger Stanley's, and take Leavett and Ross to Canada. Palmer is negotiating for the west 50ft next to our King St buildings and I would propose to erect a building there for the manufacture of dry plates and the coating of gelatine papers and film. It seems that by making Seed and Stanley plates, Solio paper and sensitizing the transparent support, we can save something like \$15,000 a year in duties. We can ship the support for the film in free of duty and of course if we can make emulsion there suitable for glass plates we can also make it good enough for film. The building will be about the same size as our present one and will give us two extra stories for the manufacture of other goods, or to the care of the growth of the present business.<sup>456</sup>

Eastman outlines the clear benefits to the EKC / CKCoLtd in purchasing the SDPC which would aid the expansion of the Canadian branch and grow the overall capital of the EKC. Calculating an increase of thirteen to sixteen percent on the EKC's surplus capital, Eastman recognized that there was also an opportunity to utilize the "idle

---

<sup>456</sup> Eastman to Charles Abbott [London], 3 January, 1904, General Business Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3401

capital”, which by 1904 had recovered from the acquisition expenses of 1902. He has also calculated that by increasing the range of materials produced by the expanding CKCoLtd, the EKC/ CKCoLtd would be able to save substantial funds in tariffs.

His strategy of securing “both ends of the pole” in the dry plate business, by securing the best (Stanley) and the cheapest (Seed), is evidence of the acquisition aiding market consolidation of the dry plate manufacturing industry in the United States and Canada. It also reveals the ambitious expansion plans of the company. The Montreal purchase (when combined with the alluded to Seed acquisition), would serve as the cornerstone of the CKCoLtd’s expansion into manufacturing photographic materials at the Toronto location, which until that time, had been limited to cutting and re-packaging materials manufactured in Rochester. Building and staffing facilities to manufacture the Stanley and Seed dry plates also provided the resources to further expand manufacturing operations into film production. He also identifies the human resources necessary to build the network of expertise in the EKC / CKCoLtd.

Shortly after the successful purchase of the SDPC in early 1904, the Montreal factory was closed, and human and non-human resources of identifiable value were transferred to the CKCoLtd in Toronto. Carleton F. Stanley was nephew of the founders of the SDPC and manager of the Montreal factory, and one of the disposable “younger Stanley’s” Eastman had identified.<sup>457</sup> He was given charge of the Dry Plate Department

---

<sup>457</sup> The CKCoLtd also retained the privilege of “buying any of the utensils and machinery any time in a year, and it is our intention to buy anything that we can use to our advantage in the new factory, which we shall immediately proceed to erect at Toronto. The whole inventory of the machinery and appliances amount to less than \$1,000 and it is not expected that we can use a great deal of that. Eastman to Palmer [Montreal], 6 January 1904, Outgoing Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3402

at the CKCoLtd under a one-year contract.<sup>458</sup> His purpose during the year was to bridge the old and new operations, especially during the re-location from Montreal to Toronto. Once the transition from Montreal to Toronto was satisfactorily resolved (both in the manufacturing and public relations sense) C.F. Stanley no longer served a quantifiable purpose and his contract was not renewed.

### Ramsey and Hogg

The final example of acquisition is that of the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses in 1904, the same year the SDPC acquisition was concluded. The SDPC acquisition enabled control of the manufacturing aspect of the Canadian photographic industry, however the EKC / CKCoLtd continued to lack direct access to consumers due to restrictions in the original agreement with the Canadian government. The EKC / CKCoLtd was unable to control distribution in the Canadian market to the degree which they were familiar with in the American and European market and the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses were purchased to rectify the issue.<sup>459</sup>

---

<sup>458</sup> “Contract of Sale”, National Company Profiles and Histories file (1 of 2), Series II Corporate Papers, Sub-series X National and International List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca. 1881-1913, Kodak Historical Collection #003, Rush Rhees Library, UofR. Img 3810. : “Stanley Dry Plate Co.” - “Neither of them (Stanley twins) will at any time in the period of twenty years after the date (January 5, 1904) engage in or be interested in the manufacture to sale of photographic dry plates without the written consent of the said Kodak Company, either in A-f American locations (g) in the Dominion of Canada. For Carleton F. AND Newton F. Stanley, they will continue in the employ of said Stanley Company. Will not disclose, etc and agrees with said Stanley Company and with the Eastman Kodak Company, for the period of ten years from Jan. 1, 1904, not to engage etc. - Same covenants, exceptions and territory as Stanley and Emerson preceding.” C.F. Stanley would leave the employ of the CKCoLtd January 1, 1906, after his initial contract expired.

<sup>459</sup> When entering a new territory in the late 1890s and early 1900s such as Europe, Asia, or the Western regions of the United States, the EKC established Kodak-branded retail locations. Located in major cities, these EKC retail locations offered an opportunity for complete control of the selling, and clear branding of

As stipulated in the original 1899 contract of incorporation and federal customs ruling, the EKC were not authorised to sell their products directly to consumers in Canada.<sup>460</sup> Unable to directly enter the Canadian retail market by opening EKC storefront operations in Canada, the CKCoLtd / EKC had to find alternative means to control the distribution and sale of photographic materials in the Canadian market. Ramsey had purchased the stock house business of his largest competitor, D.H. Hogg in Montreal, several years prior. By purchasing the Ramsey-owned businesses, the CKCoLtd and EKC acquired access to the existing distribution channels through the two largest distributors in Canada. In acquiring the major stock house the EKC / CKCoLtd was able to capitalize on the stock houses' existing reputation, familiar location, advertising, and customer base while still remaining within the legal confines of the original legal agreement with the Canadian federal government. The Ramsey/ Hogg stock house became a subsidiary of the EKC / CKCoLtd.

Ramsey, acknowledging an existing connection between the two companies, approached Palmer in 1902 with a suggestion that he would consider selling his businesses in Toronto and Montreal to the CKCoLtd / EKC.<sup>461</sup> Eastman was receptive to the idea of purchasing the business, as long as Ramsey agreed to remain out of the photographic retailing business after purchase, both in the retail and wholesale industry

---

their products. In addition to selling materials to the public in an entirely EKC branded storefront, the spaces also served as distribution points for the local stock houses, photographic dealers, department stores and chemist shops. For further information on EKC branded storefronts in Europe, see: Sarah Richardson "The Kodak Shops (1898-1902) : George Walton, designer and George Davison, photographer: A Working Relationship Revealed" (BArch Thesis, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1989).

<sup>461</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 19 November 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

in Canada and the majority of the United States.<sup>462</sup> Similar to the Stanley deal, the negotiations for the Ramsey owned stock houses was a protracted process requiring lengthy discussions and investigations by Palmer on behalf of the CKCoLtd. Yet unlike the process of buying out a competing manufacturer of photographic materials, the acquisition process of a stock house was complicated by the existence of prior relationships between the stock houses as customers/buyers and the EKC as manufacturer/seller of the photographic goods. As noted in an internal EKC document:

Almost all the proprietors of the larger stock houses existing at the time maintained very friendly relations with the Eastman Kodak Company, and its affiliated companies [such as the CKCoLtd], of Mr. George Eastman... and where such houses did a profitable business and dealt in Eastman products - even if this could be improved considerably - the Eastman Kodak Company could not very well overlook the past relationship and open distributing houses without first submitting a proposition to some of these stock houses towards the purchase of their business with a fair and reasonable bonus for goodwill.<sup>463</sup>

Palmer and Ramsey had an existing business connection, with Ramsey distributing the CKCoLtd and the EKC's photographic materials. Although it was not an exclusive relationship. The CKCoLtd sold their products to other wholesalers. Ramsey acted as the distributor for a variety of other manufacturers. With the acquisition of the Ramsey-

---

<sup>462</sup> Eastman to Palmer November 22, 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3811: “Contract of sale James G. Ramsey: Will not, at any time in ten years from date, engage in or be interested in the manufacture or sale of photographic materials without the written consent of said Hubbell, wither (a) in Toronto, Canada; or (b) in the Province of Ontario, Can., (c) in the Dominion of Canada; or (d) in any of the States or territories of the U.S. North of Mason and Dixon's Line, or north of said line continued westwardly to the Pacific Ocean. J.G. Ramsey also made same covenants with Walter S. Hubbell with respect to the sale of the Montreal business conducted under the name of the D.H Hogg Company.”

<sup>463</sup> “Stock Houses” National Company Profiles and Histories file (2 of 2), Series II Corporate Papers, Sub-series X National and International List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca. 1881-1913, Kodak Historical Collection #003, Rush Rhees Library, UofR. Img 3788 & 3818: “The amount to be paid for the business was to be arrived at by examination of the books, inventory, etc. The goodwill bonus was to be based on the profits of the business for one year after deducting therefrom 6% interest on ne tangible assets, multiplied in one case by 5 and in others by 3; in some cases a flat amount was offered.”

owned businesses, the connections in the network between the stock houses and other manufactures (predominantly foreign) as well as between the stock house and its smaller regional distributors would change. The changes are reflective of the re-structuring of the distribution network, which was the aim, and eventual result of the acquisition.

By April 1903 as negotiations for the acquisition progressed, there remained a large discrepancy between the price being offered by CKCoLtd (\$71,432), and the price Ramsey was asking (\$168,000).<sup>464</sup> As a part of the Canadian network of photographic retailers, Mora (EKC's Solio manager) was consulted on the pending purchase in addition to Palmer. By 1903 Mora was likely able to offer an informed opinion on Ramsey, and the socio-political power he and his company maintained in the community.

As a regular attendee of the PAC conventions beginning in the late 1880s, Mora was aware of Ramsey's involvement in the PAC's earlier attempts in organizing committees and petitions. Ramsey was an active participant in how the PAC community responded when they felt unfair advantages were being afforded to manufacturers at the expense of the photographers.<sup>465</sup> Mora was concerned that the strategy proposed by

---

<sup>464</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 22 November 1902, General Business Correspondences – 1902, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM: “Your letter of the 20th received with statements of Mr. Ramsey's business. Our method of figuring the worth of such a business as Mr. Ramsey's is to take the tangible assets and figure 6% on them; deduct this from the net profits, after deducting all the management expenses, and multiply the balance by three for goodwill; and add this sum to the net tangible assets. The two together make the value of the business. Assuming that the value of Mr. Ramsey's tangible assets is \$71,000, 6% on this would be \$4,260. We should figure at least \$4,000 management expenses for the two stores, which added to the \$4,260 makes \$8,260. This leaves \$144 to be multiplied by three for the goodwill, which equals \$432, making the total value of the business \$71,432 instead of \$168,000.”

<sup>465</sup> As a member of the PAC, Ramsey supplied the PAC convention notes to periodicals, including *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 18-18 (24 September 1887), and participating in the PAC's multiple lobbying effort as examined in Chapter Two.

Eastman for the CKCoLtd to purchase the stock houses owned by Ramsey would fail.

As Mora understood the proposal:

Palmer is to say to Mr. [Ramsey] that the CKCo.Ltd propose branching out by going into the retail business, selling to photographers directly in competition with him; that the CKCo.Ltd will have special advantage in the card stock line as they will duplicate the patterns of Taprell, Loomis & Co., thus avoiding the trouble and expense of designing.<sup>466</sup>

Mora was concerned that the strategy would turn Ramsey against both the acquisition and the company, rather than make him more amenable to a sale price closer to the number being offered by the CKCoLtd. He was worried that drawing attention to the unfair advantage that would be afforded to the CKCoLtd as a competing retail distributor with extensive connections would be perceived as a thinly-veiled threat to Ramsey's existing business. In his letter to Eastman, Mora continues:

If Mr. Ramsey were in the US., I should say that the chances are at least fully two out of three that the making of such statement would bring him to the point of modifying his ideas and naming a reasonable figure for the business, but as Mr. Ramsey is a Canadian and the conditions are altogether different in Canada and as there is a wide difference between the value that Ramsey places on his business and that which we place thereon, I think the chances are at least even, if we propose using a basis of calculation under which we have bought out stock houses in the U.S., that we would not come to the point of purchasing that business.<sup>467</sup>

A miscalculation in the negotiations with a powerful and well-connected businessman in the small Canadian photographic community could have a disastrous effect on the EKC's plan to dominate the Canadian industry through the CKCoLtd.

---

<sup>466</sup> Mora to Eastman, 23 April 1903, General Business Correspondences – 1903, George Eastman Legacy Collection, GEM.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*



Ramsey had been an active participant in the PAC's petition and lobbying campaigns in the 1890s, and his political actions (such as lobbying against the dry plate tariff) and role as community leader in the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution network could not be overlooked by the EKC / CKCoLtd during the acquisition negotiations. The EKC / CKCoLtd needed this acquisition to progress with minimal disruptions as possible for their re-structuring to succeed. Mora expresses his concern to Eastman as thus:

Presuming, for the sake of stating the case, that Ramsey will not be willing to name a figure at which you would be willing to buy but decides to continue business in competition with us, questions arises - what can he do? As our going into the retail business would put us in competition with all the dealers catering to professional trade and as all these dealers have on several occasions in the past got together in a combination to maintain prices, I think it altogether probable that an alliance against the C.K.CoLtd would be formed.<sup>468</sup>

Mora's concern about Ramsey organizing the retailers to form an alliance against the EKC reflects a larger pattern in the EKC's expanding international distribution concerns. The CKCoLtd could not afford to risk turning the remaining Canadian dealers and stock houses against the company as long as there were other foreign manufacturers willing to import or manufacture photographic materials in Canada.

As mentioned previously, the threat of an alliance (also referred to as a "combination") was very familiar to Eastman. He himself had been a part of one in his early days as a dry plate manufacturer, and the strategy was continued in many

---

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*

industries, including the gas and electric industries.<sup>469</sup> The EKC had faced a similar threat of boycott from the American and British dealers in the early 1900s as a reaction against the bullish terms of agreements proposed by the EKC.<sup>470</sup>

With dealer/ distributor boycotts a reality in the early 1900s, Eastman gave Mora's concerns about hostile combinations and the power of their networks serious consideration. To drive his point further with Eastman, Mora continued:

If such an alliance were formed, I think it altogether probable that the first step would be to refuse to comply with our conditions, limiting them [the CKCoLtd] to selling General Aristo Papers and Eastman Film exclusively and that the business would be damaged to a considerable extent before we could get a retail department properly organized and in a condition to handle the trade satisfactorily. The second step would be for all of them to go around among their friends and secure as much political influence as they could bring to bear, then formulate a petition to Ottawa asking for protection, setting forth that the C.K.Co.Ltd were controlled by a foreign corporation (in other words, a Trust) and were entering into the retail business with the avowed intent and for the purpose of securing the business of the undersigned, ... but if we enter into the retail business against the retail dealers of Canada, even though that business formed but a small percentage of the total business done by the C.K.Co.Ltd, it is my opinion that the chances are 9 out of 10 that the ruling would be revised to our disadvantage.<sup>471</sup>

In addition to his concerns about the way in which Eastman was proposing that Palmer approach Ramsey, Mora also expressed trepidation in regards to how the expansion into direct sales would affect the original agreement with the federal government. Mora

---

<sup>469</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 74-76 : Eastman belonged to the Dry Plate Manufacturers Association, formed in 1883, and included Cramer, Norden, Walker-Reid-Inglis, Carbutt. Eastman was elected secretary-treasurer in 1884, before the Association was disbanded a few years later.

<sup>470</sup> At the core of the debate were the restrictions the EKC placed on dealers who wished to sell EKC materials. The EKC insisted that the dealer selling EKC or EKC-subsiidiary goods, carry only the EKC approved goods.

<sup>471</sup> Mora to Eastman, 23 April 1903, General Business Correspondences – 1903, George Eastman Legacy Collection, GEM.

quotes from a previous letter he wrote to Eastman, shortly after securing the ruling from the Deputy Minister of Customs in July 1899.

It is proposed to form a company in Toronto which is to be known as the Canadian Kodak Co. Ltd...[the proposed company will] manufacture as well as sell photographic goods, selling at wholesale exclusively to dealers or those buying to resell. ...if we modify our position in the trade by going into the retail business, there is liability of a revision of ruling.<sup>472</sup>

Purchasing the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses placed the CKCoLtd in the retail business, and would violate the original agreement with the Canadian federal government's Commissioner of Customs.

If the original agreement was violated, Mora was concerned that the favourable tax rates the CKCoLtd / EKC had been granted in 1899 would be reversed, potentially resulting in a great loss in revenue for the EKC/ CKCoLtd. Mora provides Eastman with an example, citing that in 1903 the duty being paid to import unspooled film from Rochester amounted to \$4,093.00, but that it would rise to \$15,340.00 without the existence of the CKCoLtd and the preferential rates extended by the federal government.<sup>473</sup> If the original reason for establishing the CKCoLtd (tax savings) were lost, the benefits of expanding the CKCoLtd manufacturing and distribution would be pointless, as the cost of importing the materials required for operations (manufacturing and distributing) would become too costly to the EKC to maintain.

---

<sup>472</sup> Quoting letter to John McDougald, Commissioner of Customs, Ottawa, 27 July 1899. Mora to Eastman, 23 April 1903, General Business Correspondences – 1903, George Eastman Legacy Collection, GEM. Img 3340-3344

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.* “taking up the item of film only: in the year ending March 31st, 1903, we shipped to Canada 14,990 square yards of film. Allowing 10% for waste, this would make 113,630 rolls of 12 exposure #2 Bulls-Eye. Figuring the film duty at the present valuation and adding the duty on the weight of black paper that it would take to spool the number referred to, allowing 10% for waste, also adding the duty on spools, the total duty paid would be \$4,093.00. On this same number of spools imported in a finished condition at the US retail rate the duty would be \$15,340.00”

Eastman and Palmer worked with the CKCoLtd-retained Canadian lawyers to resolve any risk to the original agreement with the federal government regarding retail sales, as highlighted by Mora. The legal solution suggested by the lawyers is outlined in a letter Eastman wrote to Palmer in 1904: “In case we purchase a stock house, it should be taken over by a company organized as suggested by Messrs. MacDonnell & Boland, under the Dominion Law, so that it can do business in all the Provinces.”<sup>474</sup> Unlike the original incorporation agreement, which Eastman and Palmer executed at the provincial level, the expansion plans of the CKCoLtd necessitate a federal incorporation, as operations and ownership would now extend beyond Toronto, Ontario. Eastman continued “I do not see that it will be necessary to secure a new charter for the Canadian Kodak Co, as it is not intended that that company shall have factories elsewhere than at Toronto, or do business in its own name outside of that city”.<sup>475</sup> This legal restriction in opening factories outside of Ontario was additional justification for Eastman’s plan to relocate the Montreal SDPC branch factory and the CKCoLtd’s clear intent of consolidating all manufacturing facilities owned by the CKCoLtd in Toronto.

In 1904 Eastman asks Palmer to initiate a full investigation into Ramsey and Hogg accounts over the previous four years. Palmer once again draws upon the network of EKC expertise, soliciting the aid of the EKC accountant Mr. Speth, who was then conducting a similar investigation into the accounts of the Stanley branches.<sup>476</sup> With a

---

<sup>474</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 25 January 1904, “Developing Machine Patent”, Outgoing Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>476</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 25 January 1904, “Ramsey & Co.”, Outgoing Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM: “I wrote you on the 22nd and 25th of November 1902, as to the purchase of this company. The objection . . . we would be willing to do this providing an investigation of the accounts showed that the loss in the first half of 1903 was owing to bad management rather than

professional financial investigation of accounts arranged, Eastman and Palmer discussed how to best integrate the Ramsey-owned Toronto and Montreal distribution centres into the existing CKCoLtd manufacturing and distribution network.

Drawing upon Palmer's understanding of the Canadian photographic industry, Eastman solicits Palmer's opinion regarding the possibility of dividing Ramsey's current wholesale and retail business in Toronto, by relocating Ramsey's wholesale operations to the CKCoLtd's Toronto manufacturing and distribution centre:

Would it be feasible to move the Ramsey wholesale business to the [CKCoLtd] King St building, and maintain a retail store nearer downtown in the city of Toronto, where a full stock for amateurs could be kept and a sufficient stock for the daily supply of professionals? And in Montreal, a separate wholesale and retail establishment.<sup>477</sup>

Despite Eastman's suggestion, the Ramsey stock house retained its separate location. With both businesses occupying the physical space (and likely shared resources), it would be too difficult to separate the functions and operations of Ramsey, and CKCoLtd risked violating the legal agreement with the federal government. Eastman had his lawyer Walter Hubbell (who was soon appointed the Ramsey company's Board of Director's president) complete the transaction, and the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses were purchased for the sum of \$150,308.63 in February 1904.<sup>478</sup> The doubling of the

---

falling off in the volume of business, reduction of prices caused by competition." Eastman to Palmer, 28 January 1904 Outgoing Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM: "RAMSEY INVESTIGATION. I find that Mr. Speth can probably take this up in the next two weeks. He is to be in Boston Monday next in connection with the Stanley matter and from there will go to Montreal, where he can investigate the Stanley and Hogg businesses, and then go on to Toronto."

<sup>477</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 28 January 1904 General Business Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

<sup>478</sup> "Stanley Dry Plate Company, Watertown, Mass.," National Company Profiles and Histories file (1 of 2), Series II Corporate Papers, Sub-series X National and International List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca. 1881-1913, Kodak Historical Collection #003, Rush Rhees Library, UofR. Img 3793

original offer by the EKC / CKCoLtd (\$71,432) signifies the importance the EKC / CKCoLtd placed in securing the Ramsey business as part of the larger distribution plan in Canada.

On May 14, 1904, an article titled “Growth of Photography” was published in Toronto newspaper *The Globe*.<sup>479</sup> Highlighting the introduction of the new film pads in the Kodak cameras for sale at the Ramsey retail outlet, the article largely details the success of the Ramsey business, and growing interest of the city’s inhabitants in photography as a personal hobby. However, it does not address the recent sale of the company to the EKC / CKCoLtd. Rather, the article cites “the growth of amateur artists, who regard the Kodak as a necessary article in an outing equipment”, and draws attention to the recent remodelling of the premises, which occupied an entire four storeys. The article continues, “The several departments are managed by experts, and retail customers can count on informed “intelligent” service. The company is represented on the road in Ontario and the west by several competent men, who look after the wholesale interests.”<sup>480</sup> In this text is evidence of the EKC / CKCoLtd assuming control of their newest acquisition. Although the Ramsey business functioned as a subsidiary, the EKC / CKCoLtd exacted strict managerial control. They re-structured the existing business (physically and at the management level) to suit the CKCoLtd’s requirements for expansion into the Canadian photographic market. Within a few

---

“February 26, 1904, Walter S. Hubbell [of the City of Rochester, purchased on behalf of the Eastman Kodak Company, of New Jersey, from J.G. Ramsey, of Toronto, the business conducted by him in Montreal under the name D.H. Hogg Company, Limited, for the sum of \$150,308.63, which included \$16,083.36 for goodwill. Purchased expenses of \$830.54 brought the total investment in this company to \$51,139.17. This business was purchased as of February 8, 1904. This is not a corporation.”

<sup>479</sup> “Growth of Photography,” *The Globe*, 14 May 1904, 22.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*

months of purchase, extensive renovations were completed, likely bringing the acquired property in line with the EKC / CKCoLtd's modern and efficiently designed distribution and retail methods. The reorganization also included improved division of labour and management as cited in the *Globe* article.<sup>481</sup>

The purchase of the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses benefited the EKC/CKCoLtd in areas outside of the intended areas of distribution. Not all photographic manufacturers and community participants sought to establish or maintain a business relationship with the EKC or its subsidiaries.<sup>482</sup> As a consequence the EKC and the CKCoLtd were unable to rely exclusively on their growing importance and weight in the industry to influence the outcome of competition. It was possible to overcome the competitors prejudices against the EKC /CKCoLtd by drawing upon the contacts and relationships which the EKC / CKCoLtd employees formed separate from the CKCoLtd and the EKC. The pre-existing social capital of employees, such as Palmer, was used by the EKC/ CKCoLtd to surreptitiously establish contact and/or build connections with communities or businesses not interested in the EKC or otherwise inaccessible to the corporation. These valuable connections were a major reason why Eastman selected key individuals from the companies the EKC acquired.

However, the networked approach via individuals outside interests was not the only way the EKC / CKCoLtd chose to hide their interests from those who would rather not do business with them. A subsidiary relationship in which the acquired business retained the appearance of autonomous operation (such as Ramsey) provided

---

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>482</sup> As evidenced in the dealer boycotts experienced in England, as referenced earlier.

opportunity for the EKC / CKCoLtd to arrange business relationships with parties who were averse to working with the EKC/ CKCoLtd directly.

An example of such reluctance is the Anilin Company of New Jersey, which purposely avoided selling materials to Palmer and the CKCoLtd based on the aggressive reputation and actions of the EKC. In 1904, Palmer wrote to the company directly as manager of the CKCoLtd, and was experiencing difficulty in arranging for Anilin products to be carried in the newly acquired Ramsey and Hogg stock houses. Writing to Eastman for advice, Palmer learned the reasons for Anilin's resistance: "We are not in a position to influence this [Anilin] company because we have for many years thrown our energies against the introduction of their fancy developers, having pushed pyro in preference."<sup>483</sup>

In this exchange is evidence that owing to past aggressive sales tactics to suppress a competitor's goods, the competitor (Anilin Company) is unwilling to conduct business with the EKC, or any of its branches. However, the value of acquiring a distributor that continued to operate under its own name as a subsidiary had immediate value in this situation. Eastman advises Palmer to use the recently purchased Ramsey and Hogg stock houses as a way to mask his affiliation with the EKC.<sup>484</sup> Even if the ruse was ultimately unsuccessful and the connection between the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses and the CKCoLtd / EKC discovered, the strategy suggested by Eastman would at

---

<sup>483</sup> Palmer to Eastman, 14 March 1904, General Business Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. Img 3424

<sup>484</sup> Eastman to Palmer, 4 March 1904, General Business Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM. "The only thing you can do is to write in the name of Ramsey & Co and state that you and Hogg are under the same management; that you do by far the largest business in the Dominion; and that you are in a position to make or unmake the popularity of developers to a much greater extent than anyone in the field but that you do not like buying such supplies second hand and ask them what they will do of you."



least allow for an initial discussion that was not possible to a CKCoLtd / EKC representative in the existing circumstances.

However Eastman also suggested that Palmer emphasize the point that as a combined, or merged business, Ramsey and Hogg were the largest distributors in Canada and were “in a position to make or unmake the popularity of developers” recalling the aggressive tactics he suggested in the SDPC and Ramsey negotiations. It is further evidence that when able to, Eastman preferred to apply the aggressive methods used in many of the American EKC negotiations, rather than recognize that in Canada, with its smaller community, a more subtle approach in negotiations was required at the risk of alienating the EKC / CKCoLtd from the existing network of Canadian manufacturers and distributors. This was a clear threat, implying that if the Anilin Company continued to resist forming a business relationship with Ramsey and Hogg (and by extension the CKCoLtd and the EKC) the company and their developers would be unable to achieve any level of success in Canada.

Eastman urges Palmer to further push the advantage of their increased control of the Canadian photographic distribution and retail market. He suggests that Palmer argue that although it would be in the Anilin Company’s best interests to agree to distribute their developers through the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses, an agreement would require a preferential relationship. A preferential relationship would require the Anilin Company to sell their products directly to Ramsey and Hogg at a discount and remove the middle-man (most likely the E & H.T. Anthony stock house in the United States). An additional benefit in this arrangement is that it would deprive yet another competitor such as Anthony of the revenue from “jobbing” the goods to Ramsey and Hogg, and

provided further evidence of how far the impact of re-structured connections in the Canadian manufacturing and distribution industry extended.

## **Conclusion**

By entering the Canadian photographic market through export of their products to stock houses and photographic dealers in the 1880s and then later as a domestic manufacturer and distributor in 1899 via the establishment of the CKCoLtd, the EKC began to integrate the company into the existing Canadian industrial landscape. They accessed the existing channels of manufacturing and distribution of photographic materials through aggressive acquisition strategies and internally driven vertical integration. In doing so, the EKC were able to overcome the challenge of entering a foreign market that had an existing domestic industry as evidenced in the examination of the dry plate tariff's impact on the Canadian photographic community in Chapter Two.

Drawing upon the EKC's vast resources and connections (human, financial and material) to expand their operations across Canada, as well as vertically within the company, the CKCoLtd were able to manufacture and distribute materials at a rate and volume the existing Canadian manufacturers were unable to match. The original negotiation tactics suggested by Eastman in the Ramsey acquisition, as well as the similarly aggressive suggestions he offered Palmer in regards to the Anilin issue are evidence of the EKC's attempt to use their growing economic and political weight in the industry.

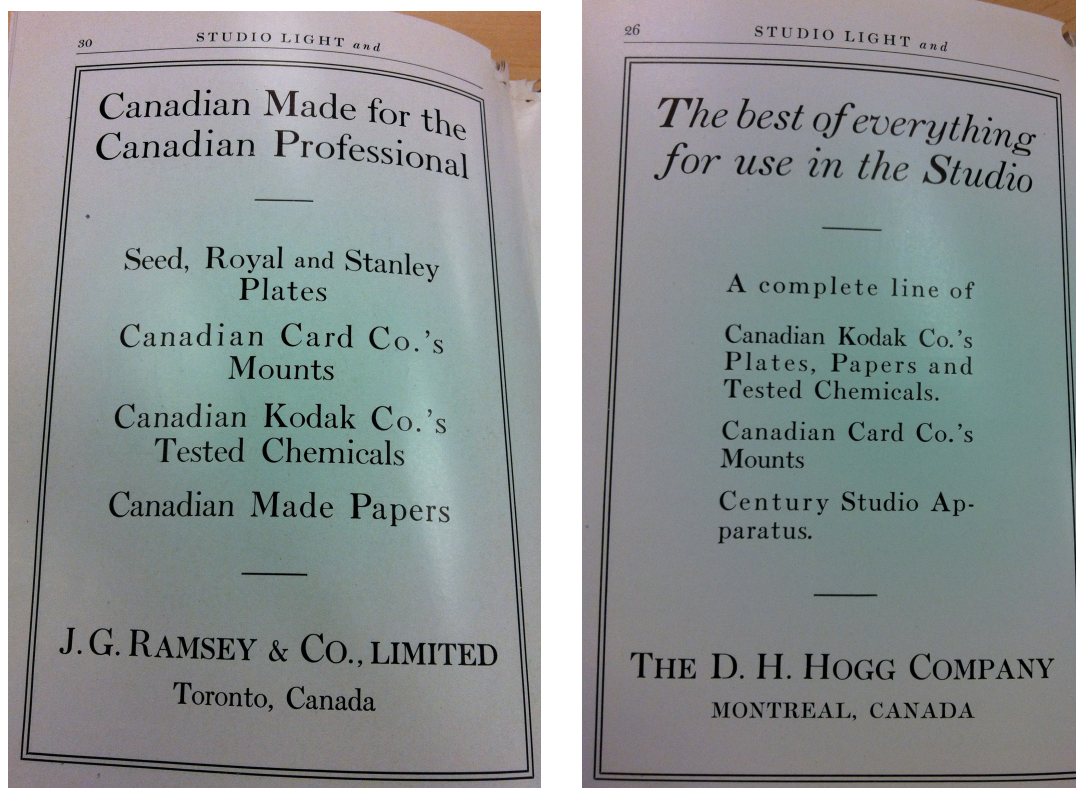
In operating selected acquisitions as separate businesses, even if in name and location only, the EKC / CKCoLtd was providing consumers with the appearance of consumer choice in the photographic market while simultaneously consolidating specific aspects of the manufacturing industry, the Seed / Standard / Stanley ranges of dry plates being manufactured and marketed in Canada being one example.

In addition to consolidating and securing a wide spectrum of the market as Eastman had envisioned when explaining his desire to secure the SDPC acquisition - from the cheapest to the best - they also provided an “alternative” to the Eastman brand. The illusion of separate businesses was maintained even though the Seed and Stanley dry plates were manufactured in the Toronto CKCoLtd factory. The same efforts to blur the exact ownership of the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses was achieved, which the EKC / CKCoLtd used to their advantage when faced with manufacturers or consumers biased against the EKC / CKCoLtd.

The CKCoLtd’s presence in Canada was measurably strengthened when the EKC / CKCoLtd’s efforts to vertically integrate were combined with the acquisition of complementary or competing Canadian photographic manufacturers and distributors in the early 1900s. Figure 4.1 (below) is an example of how by the early 1900s, the major Canadian stock houses were able to advertise a variety of EKC/ CKCoLtd –owned subsidiary companies as domestic, or “Canadian Made”.

The various manufacturers and distributors included still retained the appearance, however thin, that they were independent of the EKC / CKCoLtd. By re-structuring the existing manufacture and distribution network in Canada through the successive acquisition and vertically integrative moves, the EKC/ CKCoLtd directly affected how

photographic materials were produced and sold in Canada. However, the acquisition of their competitors did not always contribute to, or perform in a manner the EKC/CKCoLtd had intended. For example, in April 1904, shortly after finally acquiring the SDPC in both Newton and Montreal, Eastman wrote to his former partner, and now EKC president and CKCoLtd Board of Directors member Henry Strong, with an update on the CKCoLtd sales figures for the first quarter of 1904. Eastman noted that the



**Figure 4.1 : Advertisements for CKCoLtd-owned Ramsey (left) and Hogg (left) stock houses, which advertised products from EKC / CKCoLtd- owned Seed, Royal and Stanley dry plates and Canadian Card Co. Advertisements in *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*, 1-1 (March 1909), 26; 30.<sup>485</sup>**

<sup>485</sup> A publication targeted to the professional photographer, published by the EKC.

Canadian sales were “the only ones that show a big increase” and outlined the progress of each of the recently purchased companies.<sup>486</sup> However, the Stanley sales numbers were not performing in the manner anticipated. Eastman stated, “the bottom has fallen out of the Stanley sales. They fell off in February from \$25,000 to \$1,700 in March. The stock houses all show bad sales, probably an average drop off of 10 percent, and it is this feature which is so ominous because, of course, if the dealers are not selling the goods, the manufacturing companies would have to feel the effects later on.”<sup>487</sup>

It is unclear why the demand for Stanley Dry Plates dropped off so soon after the EKC/ CKCoLtd purchased the company, but as I consider in Chapter Five, the changes the EKC / CKCoLtd instituted upon the Canadian photographic industry were not always met with positive reception. The reduced sales of the SDPC in 1904 may in fact be a reaction against the EKC/CKCoLtd’s purchase of the company by consumers. The re-structuring needed to be accepted by consumers and those outside of the major participants in the manufacturing and distribution industry. This is why strengthened networked relationships became vital to the EKC/ CKCoLtd’s success in Canada.

The EKC was re-drawing how the Canadian photographic community obtained photographic materials. As described in the preceding examples, they accomplished this re-structuring of the Canadian network largely through purchase, as with Stanley or Ramsey and Hogg. When purchase was not possible, their strategy included the elimination of competition through internal expansion, as with the Canadian Card

---

<sup>486</sup> The gains in the Canadian sales amounted to nearly fifty per cent in the first three months. Eastman cited the American EKC sales, which had ceased to gain, and Kodak Ltd sales increasing only approximately four per cent.

<sup>487</sup> Eastman to H.A. Strong [Honolulu], 4 April 1904, General Business Correspondences – 1904, George Eastman Legacy collection, GEM.

Company. In all instances, they retained the aspect which was most strongly connected to the Canadian manufacturing and distribution network, and re-worked the connection to henceforth include the EKC/ CKCoLtd. In doing so, the EKC slowly increased the Canadian photographic networks reliance upon the EKC/ CKCoLtd.

The three examples described in this chapter provided evidence of the extent of both Palmer's and Eastman's knowledge of the Canadian and wider American photographic manufacturing and distribution landscape. They showed that knowledge of the existing photographic distribution industry provided the EKC with the opportunity to situate their company in the local networks prior to the 1899 establishment of the CKCoLtd.

Their networked relationships increased the likelihood of the EKC/ CKCoLtd's success in re-structuring the existing methods of distribution of photographic materials in Canada. Eastman and Palmer learned during the intense period of acquisition and internal growth between 1902 and 1905 that a strong understanding and connection to the local distribution community in Canada was a necessary component of successful negotiations. Without acknowledging the role of the distributors who physically encouraged and supported consumers in making actual purchases, the efforts exerted by the EKC / CKCoLtd at the federal and provincial levels would be weakened.

Recalling the 1903 negotiations for the Ramsey and Hogg stock houses, Solio manager Samuel Mora pointed out to Eastman that the market in Canada was very different from the American market with which Eastman and CKCoLtd manager John G. Palmer were familiar. According to Canadian census reports of 1901, only 37 percent

of the Canadian population lived in urban areas.<sup>488</sup> Looking beyond the wholesale distribution network of Ramsey and Hogg, the EKC / CKCoLtd needed to address the photographic dealers in smaller cities and towns. Successfully reaching and including photographic dealers in all communities and markets and not just in the larger urban manufacturing and distribution centres of Toronto and Montreal was essential to the EKC/ CKCoLtd's success in Canada.

To build relationships beyond the urban centers, Palmer needed to strengthen the relationships between the Canadian dealer and the CKCoLtd. As noted in Mora and Palmer's reports of the Canadian photographic market prior to the CKCoLtd being established in 1899, there were fifty-three identifiable retailers who sold EKC materials in Canada.<sup>489</sup> In the next chapter I focus on how the CKCoLtd / EKC worked with the local dealers to advertise and promote the company, and in the process, further re-structure the manufacturing and distribution networks. I examine how the EKC / CKCoLtd orchestrated their nationally directed efforts to reach the existing photographic communities and new consumers, by combining their efforts with those of the local photographic dealers and photographers, exemplified by William Topley of Ottawa.

---

<sup>488</sup> Urban defined as centres of 1,000 people or more. Source: For 1871 to 2001, Statistics Canada. Population urban and rural, by province and territory (Canada). Available from: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62a-eng.htm> - accessed October 19, 2014].

<sup>489</sup> December 12, 1911 letter from Palmer to Eastman, File "List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca 1881-1913", Sub-series X: National and International, Series II: Corporate Papers, #003 Eastman Kodak Collection, UofR.





**Key:**

- T – Topley Studio locations: 1 90 Wellington st (1868-1875); 2 Bank & Metcalf (1875-1878); 3 104 Sparks St (1878-1888); 4 132 Sparks St (188-1931).
- P – rival photography studios
- CC – Ottawa Camera Club meeting location
- N – Citizen newspaper office
- H - Hotel

**Figure 5.1: Map of the immediate area surrounding Topley’s studio and photographic supply shop. “Insurance plan of the city of Ottawa, Canada, and adjoining suburbs and lumber districts, January 1888, revised January 1901.” Section 33, Ontario, Charles E. Goad Company Fonds R6990, LAC.**



## **Chapter Five: William Topley and the Ottawa photographic community - and evolving relationship**

The previous chapters examine how the EKC/ CKCoLtd was able to re-structure the framework for the manufacture and distribution of goods in Canada by utilizing political and economic connections to the existing Canadian photographic industry. They took advantage of the photographic community's divided stance regarding photographic manufacturing to establish a branch plant in Toronto, and further strengthened the company's existing presence in Canada by purchasing the domestic competition and limiting the ability for a competitive market.

This chapter examines these re-structuring changes in the experiences of Ottawa photographer William Topley. The changes in Topley's business practices mirror the cumulative changes which occurred in the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry as discussed in the previous chapter, providing further evidence of how the EKC/ CKCoLtd's restructuring of the industry impacted how photographic materials were distributed in Canada.

William Topley's career in the photographic industry began in the 1860s, outside of Montreal. He built his reputation in the local photographic community through his portrait work, which gradually receded as the consumer demand for photographic materials increased, first with professionals and serious amateurs, and then with the novice or general consumer. He was the primary contact for a large part of the local

community to the practice of photography. The changes initiated by the EKC/ CKCoLtd's re-shaping of the photographic network of manufacturers and distributors of photographic materials in Canada are evidenced through the evolution of Topley's photographic business, bringing into analytical relation the larger changes the EKC is introducing at the corporate and international level.

I examine the central role Topley occupies in the development of the photographic business and community cluster on Sparks Street beginning in the 1860s by first tracing his actions as an active participant in the increasingly commercialized photographic industry, and then through the connection and value that the CKCoLtd and Topley exchanged in Ottawa between the late 1880s and 1910.

As stated previously, Topley was the initial contact to photography for the majority of the local community. He played an important role in the community, assisting interested consumers through the near constant changes in the market of amateur and professional photographic materials. Becoming an EKC retailer would have also placed him as the primary spokesman for the company in the absence of travelling salesmen and demonstrators. With his varied personal interests outside of photography, such as religion, naturalism and education he increased the potential of introducing new consumers to his shop, and by extension to the EKC.

Examining Topley and the shift in his business from a focus on portraiture in the 1870s, to photographic supplies by the 1890s, provides evidence that the high level re-structuring efforts of EKC/ CKCoLtd had a direct impact on the development of the local photographic community. It also reveals that the EKC/ CKCoLtd was dependent on local dealers such as Topley to ensure that the re-structuring efforts were successfully

implemented. The local dealer (Topley) became the primary access point between the manufacturer and the consumer.

Maintaining and/or developing friendly relationships between the corporation and the local dealer was vital to the EKC/ CKCoLtd's success in Canada, for as Strasser argues, disaffected retailers could sabotage manufacturers expensive marketing campaigns by refusing to carry a product or by recommending a substitution when a customer asked for a specific product.<sup>490</sup> Ideally the manufacturer (EKC/ CKCoLtd) and the local distributor (Topley) worked in synchronicity, with a consistent brand image and message expressed through both outlets. Therefore, part of the focus of this chapter is an examination of the synchronized efforts between Topley and the EKC/ CKCoLtd and what they meant to Topley's business and local community.

Despite the EKC/ CKCoLtd's success in reshaping the field of domestic competition in the photographic market to their advantage by 1905 in Canada, they (and their supporting distributor/ retailers) continued to compete with other photographic manufacturers, but also with a wider market of non-essential consumer products and services which were increasingly available to the middle-class consumer, such as bicycles, jewellery, patent medicines, washing machines, automobiles and travel.<sup>491</sup>

To compete with the increased market for consumer products and services the EKC / CKCoLtd needed to firmly establish in the minds of consumers (and the distributors and retailers) that photography was an economically viable, enjoyable, and

---

<sup>490</sup> Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 21.

<sup>491</sup> Regarding consumer studies in Victorian England, see Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

attainable personal hobby, accessible in their own communities.<sup>492</sup> If successful, manufacturers (EKC / CKCoLtd) and retailers (Topley) needed to continually work to encourage the new consumer to buy, and continue buying, their products and services by repeatedly reinforcing their brand image and message.<sup>493</sup> As Strasser identifies, many people may have been familiar with a brand name, such as “Kodak”, but they still required an interaction with the clerk or shopkeeper to purchase the brand name product, as before 1912 self service was not available.<sup>494</sup> This is the role Topley filled, acting as the brand ambassador in his local community, marrying the EKC/ CKCoLtd brand with the idea of amateur photography in the minds of consumers.

By the early 1900s, the EKC / CKCoLtd was aware of the negative attention their aggressive growth had attracted, with monopoly being applied to the EKC name in attacks by competitors and other community members in the periodical press.<sup>495</sup> To combat the negative impression as well as promote their brand and secure the lead in the amateur photographic market they had established in the 1890s, the EKC/CKCoLtd began to focus on building relationships with small community level photographic dealers and photographers.

The EKC / CKCoLtd developed several marketing initiatives including: the creation of sales literature such as the Kodak Circular; set sales programs and price scales for selling materials; support of local and national photographic communities and associations; and choice selection of “preferred” dealers across the country, who would

---

<sup>492</sup> Munir and Philips, “The Birth of the 'Kodak Moment'”, 1665-1666.

<sup>493</sup> Strassner, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 22-25.

<sup>494</sup> Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 21.

<sup>495</sup> Brock, “Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust”; Brayer, *George Eastman*, 2; 195; 215; 319; 386.

serve as the local face of the EKC / CKCoLtd. By encouraging and supporting the local dealer, such as Topley, in building connections in their own community the EKC / CKCoLtd positioned the local dealer to become the primary contact point for turning the casual or first time photographer into an EKC / CKCoLtd consumer. Doing so meant simultaneously providing a reliable local resource to amateur and professional photographers, and in the process, strengthening the social and financial capital of the national and global EKC brand.

The EKC/ CKCoLtd faced an additional challenge in addressing the existing photographic consumers. As discussed in the previous chapter, the EKC/ CKCoLtd began acquiring manufacturing companies often favoured by professional and amateur photographers such as the SDPC in the early 1900s. They required a marketing and distribution strategy which appealed to and/or appeased this existing base of professional and accomplished amateur photographers while simultaneously avoiding alienating the new consumer. Tapping into the community connections of photographers / photographic dealers, such as Topley, who could bridge a connection between the different / varied communities of users was a valuable component of the EKC / CKCoLtd's success in Canada by the end of 1910.

### **Photographic community as business cluster**

The retail community of which Topley was part might be described as a “business cluster”. By this is meant geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field which encompass an array of linked industries and other

entities important to competition.<sup>496</sup> It is usefully applied to the photographic community because it helps to explain how the photographic and larger retail community in Ottawa was formed, and when and how Topley's role in it as a community leader was established.

As I discuss in further detail shortly, from the beginning, the location of Topley's business had a direct bearing on the success of his portrait studio and photographic supply shop. His business was located in a part of town that can clearly be identified as a business district. Location inside of the business district provided Topley with neighbouring businesses that were often complementary or competitive to his own. The additional shops served as a benefit rather than a hindrance to his business.

Michael Porter describes three clear benefits and/or criteria of business clusters: clusters increase productivity and operational efficiency; clusters stimulate and enable innovation; and clusters facilitate commercialization and new business formation.<sup>497</sup>

Developed to assist in explaining geographical economics, Porter's theory is valuable in helping expand the actor-network concept and application outside of the immediate photographic profession, by providing an additional way to view connections/

---

<sup>496</sup> Michael Porter, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* & <http://www.isc.hbs.edu/competitiveness-economic-development/frameworks-and-key-concepts/Pages/default.aspx> "A cluster frequently enhances the reputation of a location in a particular field, making it more likely that buyers will turn to a vendor based there. Beyond reputation, cluster members often profit from a variety of joint marketing mechanisms, such as company referrals, trade fairs, trade magazines, and marketing delegations." Finally, complementarities can make buying from a cluster more attractive for customers. Visiting buyers can see many vendors in a single trip. They also may perceive their buying risk to be lower because one location provides alternative suppliers. That allows them to multisource or to switch vendors if the need arises.

<sup>497</sup> Michael Porter, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. Porter, "Clusters and the new economics of competition", *Harvard Business Review*, 76-6 (Nov/Dec 1998), 77. Porter, "Location, Competition, and Economic Development: Local Clusters in a Global Economy", *Economic Development Quarterly*, 14-1 (2000), 15-34.

interactions.<sup>498</sup> Porter explains that although what happens inside companies, such as the EKC or Topley's business, is important, understanding what happens in the immediate business environment outside companies plays a vital role as well.<sup>499</sup>

I believe that understanding how Topley related to his immediate geographical neighbours directly impacted his level of interaction in the photographic communities and networks in which he participated. Clusters help scholars make sense of these immediate environments. Porter argues this role of locations in measuring industry success has been long overlooked, despite striking evidence that innovation and competitive success in so many fields are geographically concentrated, as in Silicon Valley for example, or the photographic and photographic-related businesses in Rochester.<sup>500</sup>

To date, business cluster theory has not been clearly applied in any study of the photographic industry. However the general concept of a business cluster can be identified in the work of several scholars in their examination of the photographic industry. Jenkins for example, wrote about the photographic businesses prior to the formalization of Porter's theories of the business cluster. Yet, much of his work can be read as proto-business cluster theory, as he draws attention to the close proximity or personal relationships between companies such as ECK and other Rochester area companies.

---

<sup>498</sup> Cynthia Montgomery and Michael Porter, *Strategy: Seeking and Securing Competitive Advantage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 135.

<sup>499</sup> Porter, "Clusters and the New Economics of Competition".

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.* Porter does not give the example of Rochester, however I propose this is an ideal example of a tech based business cluster that can be explored in depth as a separate area of study.

Jenkins identified Rochester as the capital of the photographic world. It had the largest companies in the camera, optical and photographic materials industries in close proximity to each other. He questioned why this happened, and cited good water and skilled labour supply, as well as the power amassed through mergers in the re-location of acquired companies to grow the Rochester photographic manufacturing community.<sup>501</sup> He also indirectly answers the second and third criteria of a business cluster (clusters stimulate and enable innovation; and facilitate commercialization and new business formation) by citing the close physical and economic connections between the EKC and Bausch & Lomb as a large contributor to the growth and success of both companies, and that “with two large and growing companies in a relatively new industry already located in one small city, Rochester became the location where employees who were prompted to leave these firms and start their own businesses were already known and most likely to find credit and partners”.<sup>502</sup>

Jenkins’ observations also draw attention to the importance of industry connections, as revealed through a network analysis, in the development and success of a new or emerging business. Further examples of studies which concentrate on the importance of geography in the photographic industry as a means to draw attention to the social and cultural community aspect of photographic practiced include Anne McCauley and Maki Fukuoka.<sup>503</sup>

---

<sup>501</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 215.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>503</sup> Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness*; Maki Fukuoka, “Selling Portrait Photographs: Early Photographic Business in Asakusa, Japan”, *History of Photography*, 35- 4 (2011), 355-373. Accessed July 16, 2013, doi: 10.1080/03087298.2011.611425



In *Industrial Madness*, Anne McCauley includes in her study the Parisian carte de visite industry of the 1860s and 1870s. It is possible to interpret her targeted study through the lens of business cluster's three key principles. She draws upon the Parisian photographic community as a whole to identify what it means to be a commercial photographer during this period by studying what they shared in terms of training, class, background, values and interest, to see where patterns emerge. She then takes the patterns and uses them to provide an interpretation of how studio practice during the period operated and was received, providing scholars with a clear median with which to compare against practitioners in other places or times.

Maki Fukuoka examines the Asakusa district in Tokyo, Japan in 1870-1880, and attributes the production in the specific Asakusa area to a “Synergetic orchestration of events and production of goods....”<sup>504</sup> She claims the proximity of temples, pleasure quarters and theater district and the tourists each assisted in the growth and popularity of the photographic businesses in the area, arguing that when combined with the driving force of two of Tokyo's most vocal and accomplished photographers, the photographic community and the products they created became unlike those found elsewhere in Tokyo at the time.<sup>505</sup>

By applying business cluster theory I am able to move beyond Jenkins' explanation of concentrated community success by providing a clearer correlation between geographical location and community interactions. At the same time, in including an external corporation, such as the EKC, as an (eventual) major participant, I

---

<sup>504</sup> Fukuoka, “Selling Portrait Photographs”, 366.

<sup>505</sup> Fukuoka, “Selling Portrait Photographs”, 373. Specific to the district were images of “living dolls” and woven bamboo figures and animals, and the work of Kitaniwa Tsukuba and Shimooka Renjo.

expand upon the model presented by McCauley and Fukuoka by suggesting that the business cluster may extend beyond the immediate geographical-based community. Business cluster theory becomes an important step in understanding how the EKC re-structured the existing communities, as the interactions that occur inside a business are connected to businesses that form the larger community identity. As with ANT, it is a tool to link Topley to the local Ottawa community, and Topley and the EKC/ CKCoLtd to the larger Canadian photographic community. In future, it can be extended, and used to connect communities together trans-nationally.

In discussing Talbot, Mirjam Brusius and Chitra Ramalingam note that the communities which many photographers belong to are heterogeneous in their composure. They explain that the community of scientific practice in the 1830s and 1840s in which Talbot participated included genteel amateurs (such as Talbot and Herschel) but also instrument makers and craftsmen, members of professions such as law and medicine, and itinerant lecturers and showmen.<sup>506</sup> Each participant contributes access to their own (external) connections, which have the potential of causing additional interactions within the community. Including more than simply photographic establishments, and acknowledging the likelihood of interaction between Topley and the newspaper offices, druggists, general store owners, federal government employees and photographers, and other business and political acquaintances reveal the possibility of an expanded network of interactions and connections.

---

<sup>506</sup> Brusius, et al, ed., *William Henry Fox Talbot*, 14. See also the work of Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

As identified in Chapter One, ANT is without hard boundaries, and the recognition of business clusters provides the opportunity to limit the analysis to inside a geographically-defined business community. This is an important distinction, because rather than attempting to outline every and all connections Topley may have built in his community, real and imagined, for the purposes of this thesis it is important to focus on a few select connections and extract as much meaning as possible from them. Doing so provides a profile of sorts, to which other samples can be compared against in the future, similar to McCauley's work with the Parisian carte de visite portrait studios.

For the purposes of this study, I begin this sections analysis with an examination of the connections Topley established as a portrait photographer in the 1860s-1880s. This is because these early connections are vital to his becoming a figurehead in the broader community, which in turn attracted the EKC to his expanding business in the 1880s, directly providing evidence of how his transforming business was part of the EKC/ CKCoLtd's larger re-organization of the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution network.

### **Building a photographic business cluster in Ottawa 1867 – 1899**

Topley was the first photographer to establish a permanent studio in Ottawa, when he opened the Notman branch in 1868.<sup>507</sup> During his forty-year career as a professional photographer in the city, Topley moved locations four times (see Figure 5.1) as the

---

<sup>507</sup> Andrew Rodger, "William Topley: Reflections on a Capital Photographer", LAC web exhibition (archived): <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/topley/index-e.html> : accessed November 13, 2011.

nature of his business and the economic climate in Canada evolved.<sup>508</sup> Although the focus of this chapter is on the last studio location of 132 Sparks Street it is relevant to briefly describe the locations and physical features of his previous locations, as they underscore the development of a photographic business cluster as established by Topley in Ottawa.

### The early years: 1867 - 1878

In 1868 William Notman chose 90 Wellington St. as the ideal location for the first Notman branch studio.<sup>509</sup> He installed one of his most promising apprentices, William Topley, as the studio's manager.<sup>510</sup> Positioned on one of the main streets in Ottawa (see #1 in Figure 5.1), the studio was situated directly across from the newly constructed Parliament Buildings, which housed the federal government representatives, ministries and government departments. Surrounding the Notman studio were the offices of civil servants, lawyers, lobbyists, newspapers and other trades and professionals who required close physical proximity to the federal buildings for their daily work.

In locating his studio directly in the path of these professionals Notman ensured that if a photographic portrait were required, their attention would be drawn to the studio that occupied a prominent and recognizable physical location, befitting the prominent

---

<sup>508</sup> See map of locations Figure 5.1. First location (Notman branch) 90 Wellington St, 1868-1874; Custom built mansion at Metcalf & Queen, 1875-1878; financial difficulties in 1878 force him out of the mansion, and he moves to 104 Sparks St., 1878-1888; final move to 132 Sparks St., 1888-1931.

<sup>509</sup> Stanley Triggs, Gordon Dodds, and Roger Hall, *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens* (Toronto: David Godine Publishing, 1993), 23-25.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*

and recognizable Notman name.<sup>511</sup> In being part of the first to establish a business of any kind in the immediate vicinity of the Parliament Buildings, Topley became part of the politically and economically driven community of service providers that catered to and supported the growing middle-class populating the federal public service. It was a community that would serve him well throughout his lengthy career and allow him access to political and cultural networks with federal, provincial and local reach that were not easily accessed by others in his field.

In addition to accessing the political and cultural communities in Canada which had begun to establish a presence in Ottawa only a year prior, the Topley managed Notman studio was able to utilize the connections and business relationships established by Notman in the wider Canadian and foreign photographic community. Similar to the benefits extended to the CKCoLtd as part of the EKC network, Topley was able to firmly established himself in the Canadian photographic community as part of the Notman brand.

In the decade after opening the first Notman branch in the Spark Street area, the few city blocks in the vicinity of Topley's studio had attracted multiple other photographic and professional establishments. The area had become the official professional and commercial district for the middle and upper classes in the nation's capital. Hotels, dentists, fancy goods and dry goods, jewellers, confectioners, milliners, dressmakers and tailors, bookshops and stationers occupied the large majority of the shop space in the 1870s and 1880s. The concentration of retail and leisure related businesses in this particular area were tied to the immediate proximity of the Parliament

---

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*

Buildings as a place of business, and as a tourist location. The nearby railway station and canal system supported the influx of people and goods through quality infrastructure, which in turn, drew additional businesses to the area through the quality and quantity of consumers the area was able to attract.

When Topley sought a space for his own studio in 1875, after leaving the partnership with Notman, the areas surrounding the original Wellington location was largely unavailable due to the increased popularity of the area for professionals and retailers.<sup>512</sup> However, not wishing to leave the area and the privilege such a location brought, Topley was able to purchase a vacant lot a few blocks south, at the corner of Bank and Metcalfe streets where he commissioned an architect to build a “photographic palace” (see #2 in Figure 5.1).<sup>513</sup> The details of his new studio were recorded in several newspapers, highlighting the grand achievement Topley accomplished as well as his connections as a portrait photographer of local and national renown.<sup>514</sup> It was designed specifically for his needs as a popular society photographer, with five heated reception spaces. The developing, printing, retouching, colouring, mounting and framing were carried out in the darkrooms and workrooms over three floors.<sup>515</sup>

When financial difficulties required Topley to vacate the Bank and Metcalfe location in 1878, he again chose to remain in the vicinity of Parliament to remain close

---

<sup>512</sup> The reasons for leaving Notman partnership are unknown. I speculate that with a new wife and young family, Topley wished to retain all the profits for himself, rather than maintaining the shared profits required in a Notman partnership.

<sup>513</sup> “New Photographic Palace in Ottawa”, *Canadian Illustrated News*, 15-18 (November 11, 1876), 277.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*; “New studio for Topley”, *Ottawa Citizen*, 6 Dec. 1875, 4; *Free Press [Ottawa]* 19 Jan. 1876, 3; Engravings of Topley’s political and society portraits were regularly published in *Canadian Illustrated News*, hence the periodical’s readers would be familiar with Topley as a photographer and likely interested in his new opulent studio.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*

to his client base and wider community of related or otherwise influential businesses.<sup>516</sup> Topley took up residence at 104 Sparks Street in 1878, retrofitting a second floor dental office to suit his needs (#3 in Figure 5.1).<sup>517</sup> Although not physically an ideal space (and a clear step down from his photographic mansion in terms of space and opulence), the new space provided him with an ideal location to re-focus his business after the great financial losses he and the suffered in the late 1870s. Spark Street remained a destination for leisure and business travellers in the late 1880s, with six major hotels and several theaters located within a two-block radius of Topley's studio. There was a rail station at the end of Sparks Street servicing the nearby hotels and businesses. The Customs' office and bonded warehouses flanking the rail station were located less than two blocks from his shop, making the shipment of foreign and domestic materials a relatively easy and reliable transaction.<sup>518</sup>

### 1880s and 1890s

In 1888, Topley moved his photographic business for the final time. He remained on Sparks Street, moving his photographic studio to 132 Sparks Street (see #4 in Figure

---

<sup>516</sup> In the years after Canada's 1867 Confederation, the once-buoyant British North American economy soured, an event some blamed on union or government railway policy, but was more likely caused by the Long Depression (1873-1879), a global economic depression. Demand for Canadian resources slumped, and protectionist policies in the United States and Europe hurt Canada's trade. See: Peter B. Waite, *Canada, 1874-1896* (McClelland and Stewart: Toronto, 1971); Geoffrey Wood, "Great Depression of 1873-1896" in David Glasner and Thomas Cooley, *Business Cycles and Depressions: An Encyclopedia*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 148-49.

<sup>517</sup> Rodger, "William Topley".

<sup>518</sup> See figure 5.1. The location of easily accessible transportation and customs warehouse is an important factor when considering the transfer of materials for Topley's supply shop, as it allowed for the swift transport of fragile materials with minimal additional handling, as opposed to photographers further afield of Ottawa, for whom the river or train transport was only part of the materials journey. Roads remained very crude in the Ottawa region well into the twentieth century. John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co, 1989), 76-77.

5.1). The new location allowed Topley to have street level storefront access, as well as studio space on the second floor. The storefront location was an important step in his transition from studio operator to local dealer and photographic materials distributor. As a retailer, Topley needed to capture consumers' attention, often through window displays that included advertising material supplied by the manufacturers.<sup>519</sup> As Susan Strasser has identified, after technological improvements cheapened plate glass in the mid-1890s, even small stores had display space visible from the street.<sup>520</sup> In the busy consumer market that was Spark Street, an attractive and welcoming window display clearly identifying the types of materials and services offered for sale by Topley was likely highly beneficial. He was able to demarcate his role as the photographic specialist in comparison to the other photographic and photographic related businesses located in the Ottawa business cluster. His closest competitors were all located on second floors, with minimal display space provided beside the ground floor entrance, as they largely remained in the portrait business with no clear need/ desire for expanded retail space at this time.<sup>521</sup>

With a clearly defined sales space, Topley provided his business with a clear advantage that would serve him, and the EKC/ CKCoLtd well in increasing interactions with Ottawa consumers. Spark Street's photographic business cluster thus fits with

---

<sup>519</sup> Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 188 – 190. Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 84-86.

<sup>520</sup> Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 189.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid*; Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 84-86. The portrait photographers also preferred to occupy the top level of the building when possible, as they still required the natural light supplied by the building's sky light (often specially installed for the photographer) to provide enough light to take quality portraits indoors.





**Figure 5.2: Topley's studio and photographic supply shop at 132 Sparks Street, Ottawa. "W.J. Topley Store, 132 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ont." May, 1911. Credit: PA-042707 Library and Archives Canada / Topley Fonds.**

Blackbourn and Putnam's conclusions about the durability of localized business concentrations in which an area that has an early start.<sup>522</sup> A benefit of a business cluster is that participants are able to develop the reputation of a particular location, as a destination for particular products or services. By 1899, there were at least ten

### **Photographers**

Binks Charles, 45 Bank  
Charron Wm, 460 Sussex  
De Champlain Auguste, 79 Duke  
Dorion J B, 569 Sussex  
Jarvis S J, 117 Sparks  
Lancefield G R, 61 Sparks  
Leger Uiric, 454 Sussex  
Pittaway A G, 58 Sparks  
Reardon Edwin, 388 Rideau  
Sproule & O'Connor, 134 Bank  
Thompson James, 106 Lyon

**THE TOPLEY STUDIO**  
**KODAKS,       PREMOS,**  
**PHOTO SUPPLIES,**  
**PORTRAITS.**  
**132 SPARKS STREET.**

Willis, G E, 140 Sparks

Figure 5.3 : “Photographers” listing in the *Ottawa Business Directory*, 1898. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography Library, LAC.

<sup>522</sup> Blackbourn and Putnam, *The Industrial Geography of Canada*, 56.

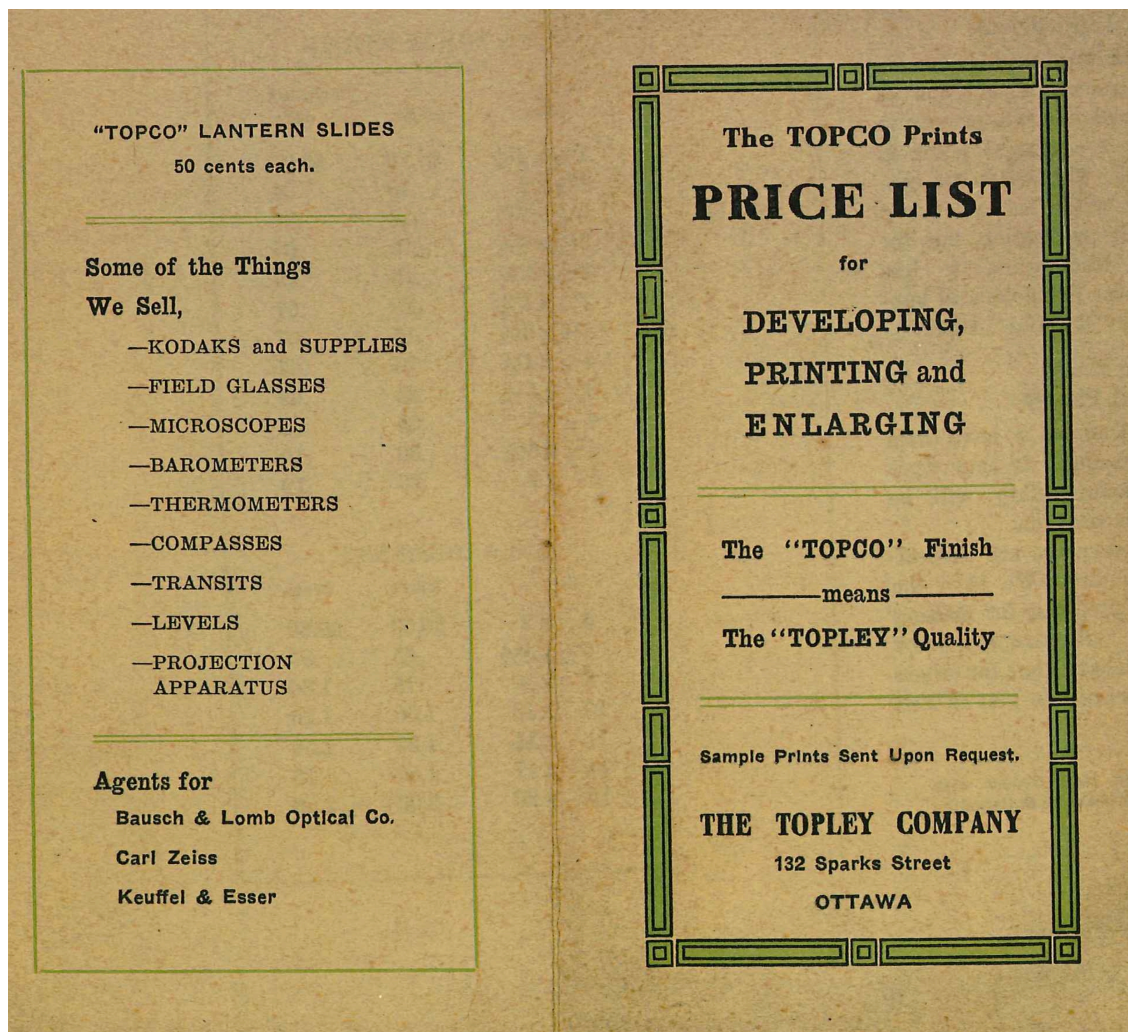
establishments involved in the photographic trade located within two city blocks of Topley's studio (Figure 5.1) yet Topley remained the clear leader, and the only one with a storefront clearly dedicated to the sale of photographic materials.

In addition to having a high concentration of photographers in the one area, there were the related businesses that were also located on Sparks Street which would become increasingly part of the photographic community as the photographic market continued to evolve in the late 1890s and early 1900s. These included the offices of local and national newspapers which increasingly began to use photographic services. There were three newspaper offices located on Sparks Street, with the largest newspaper *The Citizen*, located two doors away from Topley's studio.

Before newspapers regularly used the half tone process, photographs required the use of engravers before they could be reproduced by a printing press (as with newspapers).<sup>523</sup> To complete the business cluster, there were two engravers also located in the immediate vicinity. The related businesses, such as the newspaper offices, again provided Topley with the opportunity to situate himself as a figurehead in the photographic community, as well as in the local business community. His interactions with the businesses and services located within the Spark Street business community continued to aid his own business as he continued to transition his operations more heavily into the sale of photographic materials.

---

<sup>523</sup> Although the use of these services and the imagery they re-produced in the periodical press is outside the immediate scope of this thesis, acknowledging the role inter-related businesses played in the development of a photographic business cluster is important to the larger discussion. See the work of Vanessa Schwartz and Jason Hill, *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2015) as an example.



**Figure 5.4 : The Topley Company “Topco Prints Price List for Developing, Printing and Enlarging” sales brochure, c. 1900. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography library, LAC.**

As the needs of businesses and consumers continued to change, Topley was able to change along with them through his knowledge of the needs and desires of his own community. His understanding of community’s requirements combined with his deep understanding of the changing photographic landscape is clearly manifested in the

establishment of his “Topco” photographic supply company, as a separate venture from his portrait business.

### **Diversifying the local photographic community**

With the ability to witness and calculate the annual diminishing sales in portraiture and large landscape views in his own business, it is possible Topley may have viewed the transition to photographic merchant as a protective measure against financial instability. In beginning to transition his business away from portraiture as the primary source of income, his actions fit a larger identifiable pattern. It is also evidence of the distribution re-structuring discussed in the previous chapter. The local dealer was beginning to fill the role of the jobber.

Topley entered the commercial photographic supply business in a measured manner, building a clientele amongst the federal government and his long-standing portrait business clientele. According to 1888 federal financial reports, Topley sold photographic supplies, including EKC material, to the federal government, and presumably the general public, from his new storefront studio location.<sup>524</sup> By 1891, Topley began to market and sell photographic and scientific materials under the “Topley

---

<sup>524</sup> Topley would supply materials and provide services as required to several federal departments prior to 1888, however they were not regularly recorded in the official Sessional reports as itemized lines, but rather as a lump payment such as \$17.75 for “photographic supplies”, which did not specify what was purchased. The same government reports which note the purchases from Topley also record the government offices orders from photographic stock houses such as E.H. & T. Anthony in New York, and J.G. Ramsey in Toronto. *Sessional Papers: Official Canadian Census*, (Ottawa: Canadian Gazette), multiple years.

Company” name, regularly shortened to “Topco” (see figure 5.4).<sup>525</sup> Despite the growing market for amateur photograph supplies and services in the 1890s, the move into retail sales was not without financial risk.

Detailed court documents from the Eastman trust/monopoly litigation of the early twentieth century provide evidence that for many of the photographers-turned dealers, the sale of photographic supplies alone was not enough to return their profits to the level they enjoyed earlier in their career. The small margins afforded on photographic supplies to photographic dealers likely required business owners such as Topley to re-evaluate their client base. Survival rested on diversifying their business interests. In addition to bolstering the potential for profits, he was reaffirming his role as a community leader by increasing the number and range of interactions between himself and the expanded consumer base his increasingly diversified operations attracted. He did not abandon his portraiture business, rather, he focused on offering more services to a more diversified community of consumers.

Topley soon became the primary source for photographic materials and service in Ottawa. The orders placed with merchants like Topley by the various government departments were published yearly as part of annual department reports provide evidence of the types of photographic materials that Topley was stocking for sale in his Spark Street photographic studio and supply shop.<sup>526</sup> In addition to EKC materials were Premo cameras, Adam’s (view) finders, Seed and Aristo dry plates.<sup>527</sup> Federal

---

<sup>525</sup> Rodger, “William Topley”. Also based upon the tracking of advertisements in local newspapers.

<sup>526</sup> *Sessional Papers: Official Canadian Census* (Ottawa: Canadian Gazette), multiple years.

<sup>527</sup> *Sessional Papers: Official Canadian Census* (Ottawa: Canadian Gazette): totalling \$526.87, the bill to the GSC in 1889 included Premo Camera (5x7); Premier Camera \$115.20; Eclipse cameras \$84; Adams

government departments, the Geological Survey of Canada, in particular, ordered materials and services from the Topley studio beginning in the late 1880s following almost two decades of various federal ministers, civil servants and lawyers posing for portraits in the Topley studio. The relationships Topley developed with the political and politically-related communities in Ottawa certainly provided him with benefits not extended to other photographers in the city, such as exclusive government contracts for photographic supplies and photographic survey work.

Topley's brother (and studio assistant) Horatio Needham Topley was hired as an official photographer of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1887. The Geological Survey's head office was located in Ottawa, near the Parliament Buildings, and had been using photography since the 1860s as a means of documenting the geological surveys which were used in developing the natural resources in Canada and drafting environmental protections.<sup>528</sup> H.N. Topley likely secured his position through relationships established in his brother's studio, and strengthened the networked connection between Topley and the office of the Geological Survey of Canada.<sup>529</sup> The close proximity of Topley's studio to the government offices provided an opportunity to discuss the specific requirements and physically demonstrate the materials. In doing so

---

finder; Seed MH. Plates; Aristo plates; chemicals; 'doing repairs' \$5; cutting plates \$2.25; developing \$6.65.

<sup>528</sup> Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*, 4. Photographic survey and the evidential potential of photography were not new ideas in the 1890s. The possibility of such an application had been noted from the first announcement of the daguerreotype in 1839, and several countries had used them in photographic projects dating from the 1850s. For example of GSC members participating in ONS activities in "Excursions" *The Ottawa Naturalist*, 4- 4 (July 1890), 73 : "During excursion, a valuable series of photographers were taken by Messrs. H.N. Topley, Mr. McConnell and Mr. Low". All three were photographers with the Geological Survey of Canada.

<sup>529</sup> Record of H.N. Topley found in the "Topley, HN" file, "textual records" series, "Geological Survey of Canada" Fonds, RG 45, LAC.

he was “working the net” of connections he maintained to the wider photographic market, many of which had been initially established through his connection with Notman in the late 1860s and 1870s.

In addition to continuing to build connections through the Sparks Street business cluster and government department sales, Topley was involved in multiple civic and leisure clubs and associations in the local Ottawa community. His community participation led to new connections or strengthened existing connections which supported his business expansion into retail sales. When he was establishing his Topco business in the 1890s, Topley’s family became involved with the Ottawa Naturalist Society (ONS), an organization that although not photographic in intent, had developed a strong interest in photography around the same time Topley joined.<sup>530</sup>

The interest the ONS exhibited in the possibilities of photography in their society’s practice likely derived from the noted presence of members from the Geological Survey of Canada (including his brother). Positive reinforcement of the practice of photography was present in the Society’s meetings and related articles in the *Ottawa Naturalist*. Society members were regularly encouraged to include photography in their experience as naturalists.

Their aims and activities can be read as part of an amateur photographic survey movement, of the sort described by Elizabeth Edwards in *Camera as Historian*, and likely emerged from a confluence of two major but complex social shifts.<sup>531</sup> The first

---

<sup>530</sup> As documented in “Membership Role” in *The Ottawa Naturalist*, the journal for the Ottawa Naturalist Society 1892-1894: Topley’s wife Helena, brother Horatio Needham, and sister-in-law (Horatio’s wife) Margaret.

<sup>531</sup> Edwards, *Camera as Historian*, 2.



SHOES SOLD BY RETALLACK WEAR WELL. 63 SPARKS STREET.

67 Sparks St., Ottawa,  
Telephone 75.

Olmsted & Hurdman, Diamonds, Watches, Jewellery,

M. M. Pyke, Men's Outfitter and Proprietor of Pyke's Steam Laundry.

**HENRY WATTERS,**

Chemist and Druggist,

Corner of Sparks and Bank Streets,

OTTAWA.

**JOHN MURPHY & CO.,**

IMPORTERS

**FANCY AND STAPLE DRY GOODS,**

68 and 69 Sparks Street.

OTTAWA.

**TOPLEY,**

132 Sparks Street.

COME IN AND SEE LATEST PHOTOS.

Kodaks to Rent.

**THOMAS LIGGET**

Has removed his Stock of

CARPETS, ETC.,

to new premises.

177 AND 179 SPARKS ST.

**R. A. McCORMICK,**

Prescription Druggist,

75 SPARKS STREET,

Phone 159. Ottawa.

**C. M. HOLBROOK,**

102 Sparks Street,

OTTAWA.

Trouser Stretchers, 50c. per pair.

C. C. RAY. D. MURPHY. J. W. McRAE.

**C. C. RAY & CO.,**

**COAL DEALERS,**

OFFICE:

53 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

Telephone 461.

**J. & R. CRAIG, Tailors, 105 Sparks St., Ottawa.**

Figure 5.5 : "Advertisements" *Ottawa Naturalist*, 10-1 (April 1896). "Topley, 132 Sparks Street. Come in and see latest photos. Kodaks to rent." Early Canadiana Online, Early Canadian Periodicals, <http://eco.canadiana.ca/> accessed April 11, 2012.

was a response to the changing social landscape and physical environment in Canada. Societies such as the ONS focused on the historical presence and weight of the “natural” environment as a means of taming or understanding the remaining undeveloped resources.<sup>532</sup> The second shift was the general adoption of photography as a pastime, which more than likely had permeated the middle-class and white-collar membership of the ONS in theory, if not in practice, by the early 1890s when Topley and his family became involved as members.

Topley regularly purchased advertising space in the *Ottawa Naturalist*, the “official organ” of the ONS between 1895 and 1897. The advertisements helped pay for the publication of the local journal, and at the same time, provided an opportunity for Topley to direct Naturalist Society members to his photographic supply business. The simply worded advertisements (figure 5.5) shared the page with ten or eleven other advertisers and read “Topley, 132 Sparks Street. Come in and see Latest Photos. Kodaks to Rent.”<sup>533</sup> Although the majority of the *Ottawa Naturalist* journal readers likely were familiar with Topley due to previous business and/or service, the invitation to “come in and see [the] latest photos,” allowed for the fostering of new clients/ connections and the continued engagement of existing consumers.<sup>534</sup>

Topley was still engaged in speculative photography and the sale of scenic views, a mainstay of his business from the beginning of his career in Ottawa. However,

---

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.* Also ties into ideas of “sublime”, and using technology (photography) as a means of understanding and studying it. Beyond the scope of this thesis, however see Joan Schwartz, David Nye.

<sup>533</sup> See also *The Canadian Church Magazine* in which Topley placed regular advertisements March 1895 - Dec 1897 - same time frame as *Ottawa Naturalist* ads The *Church* ads read “Topley ... is pleased to see visitors. 132 Sparks Street, Photographic Supplies for Amateurs.”, and shared the space with up to eighteen other advertisements.

<sup>534</sup> As Topley still operated a photographic studio and sold photographic prints of local and national interest, the “latest photos” likely included the speculative landscape photos taken by H.N. Topley.

for new clients, viewing his stock of images may have led to an initial purchase of photographic prints, then progressed to rental of a Kodak and purchase of photographic films, development and printing services. Advertising “Kodaks to rent” provided an opportunity for society members to participate in activities the Naturalist movement encouraged, such as documenting the natural environment for preservation purposes, while also introducing new customers.<sup>535</sup> With continued encouragement from Topley and other Naturalist society photographers, the new photographer could progress to adopting photography as an amateur pursuit with rented equipment, with Topley positioned to make all necessary introductions into the community.

Recognizing the potential of wider networked social engagement, Topley also supported the local University of Ottawa in the 1890s and early 1900s, providing photographic related lectures on a variety of topics for the university community and by purchasing advertising space in the student journal *The University of Ottawa Review*.<sup>536</sup> The advertising was local, reflecting the journal’s title and readership. It provided advertisers including Topley with direct access to a privileged class of consumers. Advertising beside confectioners, banking services and clothiers offering ‘student prices’, Topley marketed Kodaks, photographic supplies, along with developing and printing services.

Additionally, in several ads he also advertised \$80.00 combines Opaque and Transparent Balopticon, an early type of projector, as could be used in university lecture

---

<sup>535</sup> William Topley, "Hints to Beginners." *The International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 5 (1892): 314.

<sup>536</sup> The journal was first published as *The OWL* in 1888, then became *University of Ottawa Review* in 1898. Vol. 1 No. 1 September 1898.

halls, demonstrating a clear understanding of what may be desired by the educated market in this context. As evidenced by the content of the journal issues by the late 1890s the student-based readership was most likely familiar with the practice of amateur photography, as well as with Topley in his capacity as a respected professional photographer.<sup>537</sup>

In both the *Ottawa Naturalist* and *University of Ottawa Review* examples, Topley's combination of physical presence through lectures and/or club membership and advertising space in the club/society/university periodicals provided enriched opportunities for building his client base and enhancing his business and personal connections in the photographic network. An enhanced knowledge of the diversity in his client base enabled him to accurately shape the local direction of his retail business. The improved and extended relationships were an asset to the promotional efforts of the manufacturers he represented, and likely a major reason why he was identified by the EKC / CKCoLtd (and later Bausch & Lomb) as the primary contact point between consumers and manufacturer.

Although Topley's civic and community involvement was beneficial to his business personally, and to the related manufacturers including the EKC, he was joining existing communities, fitting photography in as a secondary interest. To truly secure his status as the local photographic business leader he would need to make photography the primary focus of a new local community. Topley's heavy involvement in the

---

<sup>537</sup> For example, in February 1902, Topley's name is mentioned as the inaugural speaker at a public lecture series hosted by the Scientific Society. The *University of Ottawa Review* reported "Mr. Topley, in an illustrated lecture on Ireland, gave a treat long-to-be-remembered, and has caused himself to be enrolled as one of the Society's chief benefactors." *University of Ottawa Review*, 4-6 (February 1902), 340.

establishment of the Ottawa camera club in 1894 was a major step in this direction.

Topley played a seminal role in creating a new community in which a shared interest in photography was the defining requirement for membership, serving as a member of the executive board and a regular participant in the weekly critiques from the club's inception until he died in 1921.<sup>538</sup>

Involvement in the camera club provided yet another opportunity to connect with the city's photographers, build his community relationships locally and internationally, and promote his own skills and services. It also provided Topley with a forum in which he could educate a specific and ideal group of existing or potential consumers regarding the products and services he offered in this photographic supply shop. Maintaining close ties between the club and his shop were a vital part in the success of both. The first meeting of the club was held at Topley's Spark Street studio on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1894, during which Topley agreed to serve as the Chairman, in absence of an elected official.<sup>539</sup> On December 1st 1894, the results of the first meeting were published within the *Ottawa Evening Journal* that provided details of an identifiable existing photographic community:

Last evening a meeting of the best-known amateurs was held at Topley's studio and the first steps taken to organize a society... There are about a hundred amateur photographers in Ottawa who own their own instruments. Besides these there are a number who rent and use instruments.<sup>540</sup>

The Ottawa camera club eventually settled in Brouse's Hall as their regular meeting spot, due to its proximity to Topley's studio and supply shop. Located at the corner of

---

<sup>538</sup> As of 2016, the Ottawa Camera Club is still active. <http://www.camerclubottawa.ca/>

<sup>539</sup> Meeting minutes ledger, 1894-1897. Camera Club of Ottawa fonds, LAC R2973.

<sup>540</sup> "New amateur club formed" *Ottawa Evening Journal*, Dec 1, 1894.

Bank and Sparks Street in 1895 (Figure 5.1) it enabled Topley to continue to engage Spark Street as not only a business cluster, but also a cultural cluster for photographers as well. As a key participant in multiple photographic related amateur clubs, and a central figure in the local professional community, Topley acted as the conduit between the EKC/ CKCoLtd and the local photographic communities. He provided a direct connection in the local landscape between photographic production, the sale of photographic supplies, and the EKC.

If community efforts such as with the University of Ottawa and the Ottawa Naturalist Society provided an opportunity for Topley to extend his connections beyond the photographic business community, then his involvement with the Ottawa camera club strengthened his existing connections to the local photographers and provided the club with connections to the wider photographic community, beyond Ottawa, fostered to a degree by the continued connection between Topley and the EKC/ CKCoLtd. In the following section I follow this line of inquiry further, and examine how the inclusion of Topley and his participation in the Ottawa camera club were tied to the EKC's early restructuring efforts, as the EKC began to create a dependency between the distributor and manufacturer in Canada.

### **The Ottawa Camera Club: Connecting Topley to a larger community**

Reflective of a larger international trend, the number of camera clubs in Canada multiplied rapidly in the 1890s. The growth in the number of camera clubs, and camera club members, was reliant on the efforts of individuals to organize a club or society,

recruit and sustain membership, and connect their group with the larger community or communities of photographers and camera clubs. The topic of camera clubs has been discussed to varying degrees in the historiography of photography.<sup>541</sup> To a large extent, camera clubs have served scholars as a tie between amateur photographers, Pictorialism and the larger acceptance of photography as an art form, however, there are notable exceptions, such as Elizabeth Edwards, Christian Joschke and Juliet Baillie who have examined the social and cultural aspects of camera clubs.<sup>542</sup> Research into the camera club in Canada is largely centered in the work of Lily Koltun and the National Archives of Canada's *Private Realms of Light*, and David Mattison's work in the *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*.<sup>543</sup>

---

<sup>541</sup> Camera clubs are an area of research which is ripe for further exploration, especially the relationships and networks which developed between camera clubs and photographic journals. I touch briefly upon these connections, however the subject could easily be the subject of a thesis in its own right.

<sup>542</sup> Selected citations of scholarly work regarding camera clubs include: Christian Joschke "Amateurism and cultural change: Photography in Germany and Austria 1880-1900," in *Impressionist Camera*, 107-125; Edwards, *Camera as Historian*; Becky Simmons "Amateur Photographers, Camera Clubs and Societies," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 31-34; Juliet Baillie "Camera Clubs, Interwar Amateurs and Photography for Profit" *Reconsidering Amateur Photography* edited by Annabella Pollen and Juliet Baillie, EitherAnd, 2013 <http://eitherand.org/>; Annabella Pollen, and Juliet Baillie, *Amateur Photographic Communities, Real and Imagined: Collective Identity in Camera Clubs and Mass-Participation Events* Photoworks Annual, 21 (2014), 160-167 <http://eprints.brighton.ac.uk/13393/1/In%20Conversation%20for%20Photoworks%2021%20-%20for%20repository.pdf>. Phillip Prodger, "A Transatlantic Art: European Pictorialism in the United States," *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888-1918*, edited by Patrick Daum, François Ribemont and Phillip Prodger, (London and New York: Merrell Press, February 2006), 232-49; Dona Schwartz, "Camera Clubs and Fine Art Photography: The Social Construction of an Elite Code," *The Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 15-2 (July 1986), 165-195 doi: 10.1177/089124168601500202; Dona Schwartz and Michael Griffin, "Amateur photography: The organizational maintenance of an aesthetic code." *Natural Audiences: Qualitative Research of Media Uses and Effects* (New York: Ablex, 1987), 198-224; Michael Scott Griffin, "Amateur photography and pictorial aesthetics: Influences of organization and industry on cultural production," (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987), <http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AA18804932>; Pamela Inglesby, "'A Photograph is Not a Picture': Distinguishing Anarchy From Art in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Larry Goss, ed. *On the Margins of Art Worlds* (Oxford: Westview, 1995), 167-182; Pamela Inglesby "Button-pressers versus picture-takers: The social reconstruction of amateur photography in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century U.S.," *Visual Sociology*, 5-1 (1990), 18-25.

<sup>543</sup> Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*; Mattison, "Societies, Groups, Institutions and Exhibitions in Canada" in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 1290-1293.

In this section, I focus on Topley's connection to the Ottawa camera club, and how the club format provided Topley and the Ottawa amateur photographic community with an opportunity to connect to a larger community that extended beyond the local, and national border. I also frame the network building as another piece of evidence in how the EKC's increasing successful involvement in the Canadian photographic industry landscape was tied closely to their relationship with the local dealers. Their continued and increasing connection with community leaders such as Topley provided the company with access to a growing community.

The connection between camera club amateurs and the EKC is a subject which has been touched upon by several scholars, as with the example of George Davison, a prominent amateur photographer in England, being hired as the manager of Kodak Ltd, however it is an area of scholarship which requires fuller attention in future studies, beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>544</sup> For now, I focus on the growth of camera clubs in Canada, and how the gathering strength in the community, and Topley's involvement, aided the re-structuring efforts of the EKC prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd.

As part of the growing popularity of the camera club, a common look and feel in the club structure, mandate and by-laws, etc. fostered a feeling of belonging to the larger

---

<sup>544</sup> See Kodak Ltd Vs. London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company Ltd / Kodak Ltd Vs. George Houghton & Sons in trademarks of Kodak, 66-67. Q361-367 details his connection to the wider amateur and professional photographer communities, established through his role as honorary secretary of the Camera Club when it first opened in 1885. Brian Coe and Colin Harding have written about Davison and the connection between his work in the Camera Club and the Linked Rings, and his role as Kodak Ltd executive. Brian Coe, "George Davison: Impressionist and Anarchist," in Mike Weaver, *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century: The Fine Art Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 215-241; Colin Harding, "George Davidson", in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 387-389; Harding, "O Is For... The Onion Field And The Great 'fuzzy' Photography Debate," National Media Museum <http://blog.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/a-z-of-photography-george-davison-pictorialism-vs-straight-photography/> accessed February 22, 2016.



photographic community. Common formats also provided the opportunity for exchanges and shared information, as in essence, each club operated in a similar manner to its distant counterpart. Club meeting times, location and contact points (often the club secretary), and/or meeting notes and details of Canadian camera clubs were published in British, American and Canadian photographic periodicals, including the *Amateur Photographer* (British), *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* (American), and the *Canadian Journal of Photography*.

In Canada during the 1890s, there were three photographic journals, with the *Canadian Photographic Journal* devoting the largest portion of its publication to Canadian camera club information.<sup>545</sup> Nesbitt Publishing published the journal in Toronto between 1892-1897. The *Canadian Photographic Journal* included both domestic and foreign camera club information. February 1895, for example, saw mention of the following camera clubs: Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Ottawa, Upper Canada College, Boston, Minneapolis, California, Jersey City Athletic Club, Photographic Society of Japan and the Society of Amateurs of New York.<sup>546</sup>

---

<sup>545</sup> There were the three Canadian photographic periodicals that overlapped in production dates in the 1890s: the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer* (1877-1910), *Canadian Photographic Journal* (1892-1897) and *Canadian Photographic Standard* (1893-1899).

<sup>546</sup> *Canadian Photographic Journal* (February 1895). As an important note to the *Canadian Photographic Journal*, Nesbitt Publishing was owned by the family of Dr. Beattie Nesbitt, who would assist EKC manager Samuel Mora with the EKC's establishment of connections with the federal government in 1898-1899. Although the *Canadian Photographic Journal* would cease publication before Nesbitt's involvement in the EKC / CKCoLtd's negotiations in 1899, the periodical was an important connection in the EKC / CKCoLtd's expanded presence in Canada. Mora and Nesbitt likely met while attending photographic conventions and other photographic related events in the Toronto and upstate New York vicinity as part of their respective business's. "1895 Photographers Association of America - Detroit Convention", *Canadian Photographic Journal* 4-8 (August 1895), 200: "The photographic press was represented by Mrs. Fitz-Gibbon Clark, of the *St. Louis Journal*, Mr. Todd, of *The Beacon*, and Dr. Nesbitt and Mr. Gilson of the *Canadian Photographic Journal*." Mora and other representatives of the EKC are also noted in attendance at the same convention.

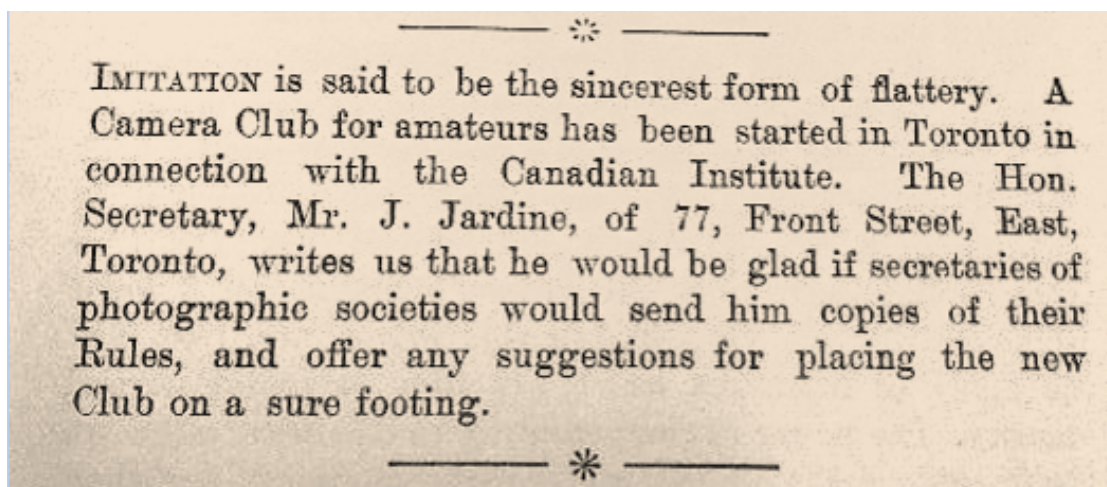
The exchanges in the photographic press offer a method with which to trace the connections between camera clubs and the hierarchical structure that established itself amongst the Canadian camera clubs. Understanding the hierarchical structure is important in understanding the shifting political-economic and social preference of Toronto over Montreal in the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry in the early 1900s, and further evidence of the far-reaching impact the EKC's industry restructuring had on the Canadian photographic community, referenced in earlier chapters.

The Toronto camera club positioned themselves as the leader of the Canadian amateur community by publishing details of the club's formation in 1886. Toronto was not the first camera club in Canada, as the first formally organized club was in Quebec City.<sup>547</sup> However, the 1886 announcement in the British *Amateur Photographer* is the first instance of a Canadian camera club appearing in a foreign publication (See Figure 5.1).<sup>548</sup> In doing so, the club placed themselves into the imagined community of photographic periodical readers. For Canadian photographers, who did not have an exclusively Canadian photographic periodical at the time, having a Canadian camera club mentioned in British and American photographic periodicals was the only avenue for publically declaring their commitment to the wider photographic community. It also

---

<sup>547</sup> Mattison, "Societies, Groups, Institutions and Exhibitions in Canada", 1291. Also, a Montreal camera club (Montreal Amateur Photographic Club) was formed in 1886, a few months before the Toronto camera club was officially formed.

<sup>548</sup> *Amateur Photographer* March 26, 1886. Published weekly by Hazell, Watson & Viney Limited London (Ruskin's publisher), the *Amateur Photographer's* first issue appeared October 10th 1884 and was available at all newsagents and railway bookstalls every Monday for a two pence with wholesale agents for India and the colonies. It is still in publication today, under the same title, although it does not hold the title of longest running photographic periodical – that honour goes to the *British Journal of Photography* which has been in publication since 1854.



**Figure 5.6 : Toronto Camera Club announcement in *Amateur Photographer*, 26 March 1886.**

provided a sense of legitimacy and social recognition. Notifying the foreign periodical press of their existence was a major component in the Toronto club's establishment as the premier camera club in Canada. By having their name published in foreign photographic periodicals they provided Canadian photographers with a familiar name, with whom they likely shared local connections such as Canadian photographic manufacturers and distributors. The familiarity likely encouraged the establishment of similar clubs in communities across Canada.

As camera clubs in Canada quickly grew in number in the 1890s, there were numerous instances of other clubs asking for similar information from the Toronto Camera Club, including the solicitation of information from the founding members of the Ottawa camera club in 1894.<sup>549</sup> To the Toronto club the Ottawa secretary wrote:

---

<sup>549</sup> Based upon letters from newly formed clubs writing to the Toronto Camera club, located in the Toronto Camera Club fonds, LAC R3686.

Dear Sir, we have recently organized a Camera Club in this City and are anxious to make it a great success but as the Committees have had very little experience in drafting rules and regulations that would be applicable to a Society of this kind I have been instructed to write you and solicit a little assistance in the shape of a copy of your Constitution and By-Laws which I presume are in printed form. If you can help us in this way you will confer a lasting favour on the Ottawa Camera Club.<sup>550</sup>

The Toronto secretary quickly obliged, as developing good connections between Canadian clubs positioned Toronto as the primary provider of advice and guidance in the camera club network, and aided the perception amongst the Canadian photographic community of Toronto as the community leader.

In addition to developing a consistent approach and appearance in the Canadian camera club community, the Toronto camera club began to organize the exchange of objects via the relationships maintained through the existing networks of written correspondence. Again, the hierarchical position obtained through provision of advice and guidance in the creation of similar clubs in Canada assisted the Toronto club's efforts at creating exchanges schemes in Canada. Following their inclusion in the American Lantern Slide Interchange, the Toronto camera club created a Canadian Lantern Slide Exchange in 1894, which in two years included camera clubs from Hamilton, St. John NB, Halifax, Montreal Owen Sound and Ottawa.<sup>551</sup>

---

<sup>550</sup> Letter from G.E. Valleau [Ottawa Camera Club Secretary] to Toronto Camera Club Secretary E.M. Lake, December 2, 1894. LAC; TCC fonds; R3686; Vol 1, file 8 Correspondence and memoranda, Sept-Dec 1894.

<sup>551</sup> Mattison, "Societies, Groups, Institutions, and Exhibitions in Canada," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 1291. Exchanges of photographic images between amateur camera clubs had been occurring in the United States from at least 1885, with the establishment of the American Lantern Slide Exchange, however the practice did not extend to Canada until the 1890s. Keith Davis, *An American Century of Photography: from dry-plate to digital: the Hallmark Photographic Collection*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 43. Toronto Camera Club minutes, LAC R3868.

The growth in print and lantern slide exchange schemes between camera clubs in the late 1890s in Canada was essential in developing of a physical network of exchange between the Canadian and American clubs, which enabled the members to regularly share ideas and artistic developments, in the structured club environment and critique sessions. Special loans of American camera club lantern slides, prize-winning exhibition prints and collections also circulated through the Canadian camera clubs, due largely to Toronto's inclusion in various American exchange schemes. According to the mandates of the various exchanges, and the recorded club notes of Ottawa and Toronto, the sharing of club material encouraged a better level of work amongst club members and exposure to new techniques and aesthetics in coming years.<sup>552</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, the exchanges also introduced a preference for American products and ideas, centered in Toronto, which paved the way for the establishment of the CKCoLtd in 1899.

Although outside the immediate scope of this thesis, there are other important links between the EKC and Canadian camera clubs which require a brief mention as part of the larger discussion. The EKC (and later the CKCoLtd) regularly encouraged their travelling salesmen and demonstrators to visit club meetings. Topley again presented as an ideal connection to the EKC/CKCoLtd, possessing local connections through his Topco business, and a connection to the larger Canadian photographic community through his involvement with the Ottawa camera club.

---

<sup>552</sup> Toronto Camera Club minutes, LAC R3868, vol 1 and 2. Camera Club of Ottawa fonds, LAC R2973; Montreal Amateur Athletics Association fonds, LAC R3193.

As the early Club meetings took place in the Topley studio, he could easily perform demonstrations of materials he offered for sale in the very same space, again building the potential for increased sales, while reinforcing his role as a community expert. During the 1895 January camera club meeting in which Topley delivered a paper on developing, he “referred to nearly all the developers now in use, and mentioned the particular purposes for which they were each specially adopted.”<sup>553</sup> It is plausible that the professional visits were arranged through Topley’s existing business connections. For example, in October 1899, a Mr. Cornish, representative of the American Aristotype Company, gave a short address on the subject of printing with Aristo Platinum Paper.<sup>554</sup>

Topley is likely the only businessman in the local community who could transition a novice or “snap-shooter” to an amateur photographer (who developed and printed their own material – a requirement of the Ottawa camera club), as he was in the physical position to discuss, educate and persuade them of doing so within the specialized and ideally equipped confines of his photographic supply shop. In *The [Ottawa] Evening Journal* in December 1894 one of the first announcements regarding the Ottawa camera club was published: “...a membership roll has been opened at Mr. Topley’s studio where those desirous of joining and making the venture a success are invited to call and register their names”.<sup>555</sup>

By holding responsibility for the membership roll, and asking interested individuals to call on him at his studio for further information, Topley would directly

---

<sup>553</sup> “Now Look Your Prettiest - For the Amateur Photographers are after you”, *Evening Journal*, December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1894. Clipping in Ottawa Camera Club research file, Art and Photography research library, LAC.

<sup>554</sup> Ottawa Camera Club meeting minutes, October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1899. LAC, Camera Club of Ottawa fonds, R2973.

<sup>555</sup> “Now Look Your Prettiest - For the Amateur Photographers are after you”, *Evening Journal*, December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1894. Clipping in Ottawa Camera Club research file, Art and Photography research library, LAC.

benefit in several areas. Publically linking him with the club would have attracted potential club members who were familiar with Topley's work but perhaps unaware of the camera club concept. For those individuals already familiar with his services personally (perhaps having previously sat for a portrait and/or purchased photographic supplies from his studio), the news may have enforced an existing feeling of attachment to the photographic community, and to Topley specifically. Again, Topley is placed as the conduit for flows of knowledge in the local community, placing him in the role of teacher / informant of not only photographic practices and materials, but also in the social / cultural capacity of camera clubs and related photographic community events.

In April 1897, an edition of the [Ottawa] *Evening Journal* printed an item that linked the Ottawa camera club, and the word Kodak together. Titled "Kodak Men Gather" the news item stated:

The closing meeting of the Camera Club last evening was one of the best attended of the season. Mr. C.W. Parker opened the evening by reading an instructive paper on "Re-Touching", which was listened to with great interest. An exhibition was afterwards given of a number of lantern slides taken by members of the club. These included several by Mr. A.P. Lowe of the Geological Survey, taken by him while on a recent trip to Labrador.<sup>556</sup>

This item is important to the research regarding the Ottawa camera club's integration into the local community for several reasons. Firstly, it is clear that unlike other articles, which were likely written by club members, this article was written or at least re-written by someone outside of the club. It identifies the Ottawa camera club amateurs as "Kodak

---

<sup>556</sup> "Kodak Men Gather" *Evening Journal* April 27, 1897, 2. Clipping in Ottawa Camera Club research file, Art and Photography research library, LAC.

Men”, ignorant of the fact that a good number of the members were women.<sup>557</sup> The use of “Kodak Men” also points to the alternative usage of the word “Kodak” during this time period, when the word was commonly used interchangeably with “photographer” as a noun, and “photograph” as a verb.<sup>558</sup> The remainder of the text highlighted the growing popularity of the club (“one of the best attended of the season”) and skills beyond a casual snap-shooter (the reading of an instructive paper on “Re-Touching” and an exhibit of member produced lantern slides), pointed to a deeper appreciation and understanding of photography.

However, having an article in the local evening newspaper with “Kodak” standing as a replacement for “photographer”, may have had the unintentional, yet positive, benefit of encouraging the attendance and membership of newly practicing “button-pushers / snap shooters” who may have purchased their camera supplies from sideline dealers, or a source other than Topley and therefore not yet directly a part of the Topley-focused local photographic community. By including “Kodak” in the same breath as “retouching”, there was the potential for the aspirational hobbyist to join the camera club community and possibly progress to serious amateur by implying that hearing a lecture on “re-touching” could one day be of great interest to them as well.<sup>559</sup>

---

<sup>557</sup> Ottawa Camera Club meeting minutes. LAC, Camera Club of Ottawa fonds, R2973.

<sup>558</sup> Usage of “Kodak” to denote any type of amateur photographic activity or product may have had its benefits later in the early twentieth century, but at the time period discussed here, the EKC took aggressive legal action to limit the usage of the word Kodak as it was being applied to any products other than those being produced by the EKC. See Brock “Persistent Monopoly” for further information regarding legal precedent in this particular area.

<sup>559</sup> As example of this expected/ encouraged progression see for example an article which appeared in the [American] *Kodak Trade Circular*, 6 (May 1900): “The Brownie Acorn. Under the date of April 27th a Philadelphia amateur writes us as follows: “I have just purchased one of your No. 3 folding Pocket Kodaks. I generally buy a new Kodak each year, but this 3 1/4 x 4 1/4 seems to be perfection and is exactly what I have been looking for several years, especially the rectilinear lens.” The above is simply



Topley was again positioned as the connection between the novice user, the acknowledged growing amateur movement personified by the Ottawa camera club, and the EKC. The strengthened community connection between Topley and the EKC was a primary factor in the EKC's Canadian success in the first decade of the twentieth century, as the CKCoLtd was established and the photographic manufacturing and distribution network re-structured to heavily favour the EKC.

### **Topley as part of the EKC network**

As I noted earlier, prior to the opening of the CKCoLtd in 1899 the EKC's sales in Canada were placed through "53 customers" by the travelling EKC salesmen who called upon Canada as part of their sales territory.<sup>560</sup> The salesmen / demonstrators were encouraged to foster a strong relationship with the local dealers, with the aim of securing an exclusive relationship. As the salesmen would place the customers' orders with their home office (which before the establishment of the CKCoLtd in Toronto was Rochester,

---

another illustration of the photographic progression, of which thousands of instances have come to our attention. The wonderful interest taken in amateur photography during the past 4 or 5 years was very largely the result of the tremendous sales of the original \$5 Pocket Kodaks. There are, we dare say, comparatively few amateurs who began with this little instrument who have not progressed to something better. A \$5 Pocket meant a natural progression to the No. 2 Bulls-Eye, to the Folding Pocket Kodaks and to the Cartridge Kodaks. In 1900 the Brownie camera will do for other hundreds of thousands what the Pocket Kodak did in '95 and '96, but on a still larger scale. We appreciate the tendency to overlook small things. Some dealers do not think it worthwhile to bother with pushing a camera on which there is a profit of only a few cents, but they should bear in mind that the sale of a Brownie means not only a customer for Brownie supplies but that in all probability it will mean a Kodak customer later on. PLANT THE BROWNIE ACORN AND THE KODAK OAK WILL GROW." (Img\_1132 author's files).

<sup>560</sup> "List of Companies incorporated or acquired ca 1881-1913" file, Sub-series X "National and International; Series II "Corporate Papers"; D.319 Kodak Historical Collection #003, UofR. In 1899 the sales territories were re-organized, with branch offices established in San Francisco, Chicago and New York, as well as the Toronto branch in Canada. Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 238.

New York), it is highly unlikely that Topley would have had any direct contact with the EKC office in Rochester.

The salesmen and demonstrators also made a point to visit studio photographers to educate the professional photographers regarding the EKC (and increasingly EKC subsidiary) materials and services, including the enlargement services and Solio products. It was the regular promotion of these exemplified products at the PAC conventions (as detailed in Chapter Four) that created connections between Mora and the amateur and professional photographic communities in Canada.<sup>561</sup>

However the EKC travelling demonstrators were required to refer all sales through the local dealer (i.e. Topley), rather than sell material directly to the photographer when possible. In areas where there were no “local” dealer (“local” being a relative term in the areas located outside of major cities such as Montreal and Toronto), the salesmen and demonstrators visiting photographers were evaluating those with the potential to become the local dealer.

Placing the order for the photographer through the local dealer held several practical benefits. It reduced the number of small orders into larger single orders (easier for the EKC logistically), increased the goodwill between the EKC salesman and the local dealer by directing additional sales traffic to his location, and strengthened or

---

<sup>561</sup> For example, in 1893, Mora attended the PAC convention: “S.H. Mora of the Eastman Kodak Company read a “most interesting paper on Gelatino-Chloride Papers: Their Advantages and Manipulation.” Detailed vendor exhibitions. “Beginning with our friends from the States, we come first, as we enter the hall, to the extensive display of the Eastman Company, in charge of Mr. Mora (manager of Solio department) and a staff of assistants (Messrs. Robertson, Horgan and Curtis). Mr. Mora made many warm friends, both for himself and his firm while here. The display on Solio and enamelled bromide made by the Eastman Kodak Co.” *Canadian Photographic Journal*, 2-6 (July 1893), 168.

created connections between the photographers and their local photographic dealer, with the EKC as the conduit for each connection.

Travelling salesmen and demonstrators provided the EKC (and later the CKCoLtd) with an opportunity to develop a solid understanding of how the photographic market, in particular the market for EKC goods, was progressing in Canada. As part of their job requirements, the travelling demonstrators and salesmen regularly submitted reports to Eastman, outlining their success, or lack of it, in the Canadian territory, and passing along relevant industry-related news such as the status of local photographic manufacturers and information regarding newly opened, closed or merged businesses.<sup>562</sup> It is highly probable that this is how Topley initially entered the distribution and sale of EKC materials in the late 1880s.

As both a practicing studio photographer and dealer of photographic materials, Topley would have ample exposure to EKC demonstrators and salesmen prior to the establishment of the CKCoLtd. As a photographic retailer, Topley began to function as the local connection between the photographic manufacturer (in this case the EKC) and

---

<sup>562</sup> “Salesmen and Demonstrators General Instructions”, Kodak Ltd., 1908. Kodak Ltd. Archive, box 56, file A924, BL.

“13. Undesirable Towns. – Whenever a town is visited, which in the travellers or demonstrators estimation would not be profitable to visit in the future, please write us stating reasons, also advise us concerning any town located in your territory which is not regularly included on routes, and which in your estimation should be included....18. Reports – correct, clear, timely. 19. Reporting Consumers. - ... There are many firms and individuals, in addition to professional and amateur photographers who are large consumers of photographic goods of various kinds. It is desired that our salesmen and demonstrators make it a point to ascertain the names of all concerns which use photography in their business. Photographic goods are frequently used by establishments such as: Stove workers; Furniture factories; Machine shops; Electrical works; Newspapers; Railway Machine shops; Education institutions; Publishing houses; Police Headquarters; and so forth. Also travelling view photographers doing more or less extensive business, whose permanent address we desire to obtain whenever possible. We desire reports on all the above when found to be users of photographic goods. Representatives should make every possible effort to secure the patronage of all consumers of photographic goods.”

the local community of photographers, directing the flows of knowledge regarding new materials and services and securing a stronger position of privilege in the community. He would have been able to develop awareness of who was producing and purchasing photographic products, and in what type of context (studio, commercial,

for 25c.  
 Finest Mixed Pickles, in gallon pails, at 45c.  
 Pure Crabapple Cider Vinegar, 30c a gallon.  
 Extra Standard Granulated Sugar, 21 lbs. for \$1.00.  
 Hecker's Farnea, 9c a package.

**Tuesday's Special** More than in Underwear. half a dollar saved on this line for Tuesday. The regular price, \$1.25, would be considered very reasonable.

Ladies Drawers, made of fine cambric, one cluster of tucks, deep umbrella trim, finished with two rows Valenciennes insertion and wide edge of Valenciennes lace, sizes 25 and 27 inches, our price is \$1.25. Tuesday will be **73**

**Fancy Linens** There is a cheaply priced, priced cheapness in these prices. We have always sold them at 35c, 40c and 50c each, but for Tuesday you can choose them at

- TWENTY-THREE CENTS EACH.**  
 in the collection you'll find :-  
 --Side-board Scarfs --Dresser Scarfs  
 --Tray Cloths --Carving Cloths  
 --Pillow Shams --Table Corners  
 --Centre Pieces

which may be described as follows and will be sold to-morrow morning at 23c each.

- Austrian Crepe Linen Sideboard or Dresser Scarfs, with knotted fringe and fancy open-work, pure linen, size 18 1/2 x 50 and 19 1/4 x 70.  
 Extra Fine Bleached Satin Damask Tray or Carving Cloth, tied fringe, all round, fancy openwork corners, German manufacture, size 18 x 27.  
 Plain Irish Linen Hemstitched Tray Cloths, fancy drawwork corners, full bleached, assorted designs, sizes 13 x 27 and 20 x 30.  
 Applique Pillow Shams and Covers, with scalloped edges, openwork corners and centre, neatly embroidered, Swiss manufacture, size 20 x 25.  
 Fine Bleached Plain Hemstitched Linen Centre Pieces, with fancy openwork all round, pure linen, also stamped centre pieces on our extra fine embroidery linen, latest designs, sizes 13 x 18 and 20 x 22 and 22 x 22.

**Tuesday's Important Hosiery Offering.**

Hosiery for the school children. A half-price offering for Tuesday morning. Better be here at eight o'clock :-

150 dozen Misses' and Boys' Black Cotton Hose, an extra fine quality, in 1-1 and 4-1 rib, with plain seamless foot, double knee, heel and toe, Hermsdorf dye, sizes 6 to 10, this is an excellent stocking for school wear and we guarantee that it will give satisfaction, our price has been 30c and 35c a pair. Tuesday while they last we'll sell for.....

**15c**

**Amateur Photography.** For profitable pleasure and pleasant recreation during the summer months nothing is equal to Amateur Photography. Your first holiday



outing will be on the 24th—next week. Why not master the art and be ready with your Camera for that date. Besides having a complete assortment of the best in photographic supplies we'll cheerfully give advice and instructions to new beginners. The services of experts are at your disposal. A few price hints from our stock of supplies and sundries :-

- The Eureka Camera, No. 2 Junior, \$2.50.
- Eureka No. 2, leather covered, \$3.50.
- Falcon Film Kodak, loaded, \$4.75.
- Pocket Kodak, loaded, \$4.75.
- Gem Pesto, 125 in. camera, good lens, with double plate holder, at \$5.
- No. 2 Bull's Eye Kodak, loaded, \$8.
- Dremp V. Camera, \$6.
- Premio Cycle Camera, \$8, \$10, and \$12.
- Poco Cycle Camera, \$12 to \$25.
- New York Dry Plates, 3 1/4 x 4 1/4 in., at 35c a dozen; 4 x 5 in., at 50c a dozen, and 5 x 7 at 85c a dozen.
- Lumiere Plates, 3 1/4 x 4 1/4, at 45c a dozen; 4 x 5 at 70c a dozen, and 5 x 7 at \$1 a dozen.
- Also Plates, paper, chemicals, mounts, lamps, cases, tripods, holders, etc., at the most reasonable prices.

**Dinnerware Specials.** We call them specials because they are selling for much less than is usually asked for such qualities. But that's the way our Basement

treats its customers, by always giving them the biggest values in Housekeeping Helps of every description :-

A 57 Piece Dinner Set, viz 12 each of tea, dinner and soup plates, 12 each of sauce dishes, butter pats, cups and saucers, 2 platters, 2 vegetable plates, 1 gravy boat, 1 trepot, a sugar bowl, stop bowl, and cream jug, the Barcelona shape, with floral decorations, in steel grey colors, complete set for..... **6.00**

Dunn & Bennett's Dinnerware, in peacock color, with gold ware, a very pretty design, which we sell as follows :- Tea Plates, 50c a dozen; Dinner Plates, \$1.25 a dozen; Breakfast or Soup Plates, 25c a dozen; Cups and Saucers, \$1.25 a dozen; Sauce Dishes, 50c a dozen; Butter Pats, 50c a dozen; Platters, at 25c to \$1.15 each; Soup Tureen, for \$2.00 or Sauce Tureen for 70c; Gravy Boat or Baker, 25c each; Notched Casserole, \$1.50 each; Salad, Vegetable or Casseroles, 70c each; Cream Jug, 30c; Pickle Dish, 40c; Tea Pot or Sugar Bowl, 40c; Water Jug, 25c; Cake Plates, 15c.

**A Three-dollar Parasol for \$1.50.** This parasol has a fancy shot silk cover. The colors are green, blue, red and black. It has a wooden rod fitted with a natural wood handle and would sell at three dollars. We can make the price

**ONE DOLLAR AND FIFTY CENTS** for those who come on Tuesday before the last one is sold.

**THE T. EATON CO. LIMITED**  
**190 YONGE STREET, TORONTO, ONT.**

Figure 5.7 : Advertisement for Toronto department store, with large space for amateur photography, "Canada's Greatest Store - The T. Eaton Co., Toronto, Ontario". *The Globe*, 15 May 1899. Added emphasis due to poor quality of microfiche.

personal, etc.).

It is reasonable to assume that what Topley was able to accomplish in his local community as the local dealer, was being replicated to varying degrees with the other “53 customers” in Canada who were buying and distributing material from the EKC prior to 1899, placing Topley as part of a larger pattern not only in the Canadian context, but beyond as well, as part of the bigger EKC corporate strategy.<sup>563</sup> During the 1890s the EKC began to add druggists, jewellery, hardware and department stores as additional dealers as there were too few devoted retail outlets such as stock houses to meet the needs of the EKC’s distribution aims.<sup>564</sup>

In addition to the stock houses (including Ramsey and Hogg) and photographers / photographic dealers such as Topley, the “53 customers” cited in Mora / Palmers recollections likely included a number of traditionally non-photographic specific participants, or what we can view as “alternative” distributors.<sup>565</sup> These “alternative” or side-line dealers included drugstores, stationers, department stores and fancy goods stores who began advertising EKC materials in the local newspapers and sales catalogues in the 1890s, such as the advertisement in Figure 5.2.

Looking back to the Spark Street business cluster, there were six drugstores, three stationary and two fancy goods shops in Topley’s immediate vicinity, all of whom could *potentially* sell photographic materials and offer photographic services by the end

---

<sup>563</sup> “List of Companies incorporated or acquired c. 1881-1913” file, Sub-series X “National and International; Series II “Corporate Papers”; D.319 Kodak Historical Collection #003, UofR.

<sup>564</sup> *Ibid*, 117; 236. As Jenkins states, “soon the Kodak camera would be as near as the corner store” however I disagree with this point, and argue that certain products and services, such as film and photo processing may have been widely available, but there would remain a clear division of how and where the full range of EKC and EKC-subsiary products were distributed outside of urban centres until after 1910.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid*.

of the nineteenth century (figure 5.1). However, for products that required more sales effort, such as expensive cameras and specialty film and papers, specialized shops like Topley's were preferred, and manufacturers, including the EKC, sacrificed universal distribution for the better service they could get from the specialized local dealers.<sup>566</sup>

To ensure the local photographic specialist pushed their products rather than those of their competitors, the EKC developed a "preferred" dealer scheme for these specialists. In exchange for agreeing to sell only EKC and EKC subsidiary material in their shop, they enjoyed benefits not extended to non-preferred dealers, further reshaping the distribution of photographic materials in Canada.<sup>567</sup> They included special discounts and a limit to the number of "preferred" retailers in a defined distribution area, ensuring exclusivity for dealers such as Topley.<sup>568</sup>

However, as the popularity of personal photography began to increase in the 1890s, and the range of materials being manufactured and/or acquired by the EKC expanded, such a limiting arrangement served neither side. In the December 1899 issue of the Canadian periodical *The Chemist and Druggist*, an article titled "Side-Lines" states "Side-lines continue to form a prominent part of the chemist's business, and we have printed a number of articles this year bearing upon them. ... The photographic side-line continues to be popular with chemists."<sup>569</sup> An EKC annual shareholders report from 1913 described the distribution of EKC photographic materials prior to this date:

The Eastman Kodak Company eliminates the jobber, or "middleman", and deals directly with retail dealers, of which there are about 12,000 handling

---

<sup>566</sup> Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 55; 79.

<sup>567</sup> Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 215-216.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*, 237-238.

<sup>569</sup> "Side-Lines" in *The Chemist and Druggist*, December 30, 1899, 1064.

its products in the United States, over 90% of whom handle the goods as a side line, being druggists, jewellers, opticians, stationers, sporting goods dealers, hardware dealers, etc.<sup>570</sup>

Although detailing the American distribution network, the annual shareholder report demonstrates the volume and variety of distribution that likely extended to Canada based on how closely the EKC and the CKCoLtd's operations were managed leading up to this date, as discussed in the previous chapters.

Shareholders had a strong interest in how the EKC materials were being sold, as it provided an indication of how the market for the company's products was performing, expanding beyond strictly annual or quarterly revenue reports.<sup>571</sup> Selling in outlets other than those which identified as specifically photographic or EKC-branded (officially or unofficially) indicated an increasingly commercialized industry for personalized photography, thereby providing increased potential for future profits.

A dealer such as Topley, who had developed a relationship with area photographers (professional and amateur) and sold a steady supply of materials to large clients such as the federal Geological Survey of Canada, was still only a single access point. By applying business cluster theory in the analysis, in this case the growing photographic market on Sparks Street, I argue that the expansion of sales and distribution being extended beyond the identified "local" dealer (Topley) into

---

<sup>570</sup> "Eastman Kodak Company 1913 [Annual] Shareholder's Report"; Series II: Corporate Papers, Sub-series X National and International, UofR.

<sup>571</sup> Annual reports are considered "grey literature", a type of information or research output produced by organisations, outside of commercial or academic publishing and distribution channels. In 1903, U.S. Steel published an annual report whose financial accuracy was certified by Price, WaterHouse & Co. in what is known as the earliest modern corporate annual report. Shortly after this, the EKC'S annual reports were prepared by / or verified by Price, WaterHouse and Co. as well, providing legitimacy to the reports as verifiable fact. C.P. Auger, ed., *Use of Reports Literature*, (London: Butterworth, 1975); D. Wessel, "When Standards Are Unacceptable", *Wall Street Journal*, February 7, 2002 .



complementary businesses, such as local druggist, would have likely provided the opportunity for increased sales in the specialist shop in the long term.

As novice photographers improved and increased or otherwise required additional photographic related materials, repairs, and access to specialized knowledge, it was likely a specialist such as Topley, whom the other sellers would refer the consumer to once their own knowledge or product range was exhausted. Again, the photographic community connections are extended, with the sideline dealers and local dealers initially competing, but ultimately working to support the larger local photographic industry, with Topley as the hub and the EKC as the means to bring them all together.

### **Imagined meets local: Topley and the EKC's use of periodicals**

To bring the local dealer into the re-structured manufacturing and distribution network, the EKC relied on both the dealer's and consumer's desire to join the imagined EKC supportive/supporting community. Largely crafted through the use of periodicals, the EKC used the general periodical trade as well as specialty in-house publications such as the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* to encourage the local dealer to engage as part of the larger EKC distribution community and also encourage the local dealer to act as local brand ambassador as I will now examine in further detail.

The EKC worked diligently through its work in their in-house trade circulars (i.e. *Kodak Trade Circular*) in the late 1890s onwards to educate its dealers about the value of marketing EKC branded goods in their local press as part of the company's overall

marketing strategy. Dealers such as Topley were encouraged to regularly advertise regarding the EKC stock / services offered in their shops. Publishing served several functions in a community and networked context, and Topley was clearly aware of the benefits of engaging with both the real and what we recognize as the imagined community through periodicals as examined earlier in the context of the Ottawa Naturalist Society, the University of Ottawa, and the Ottawa camera club examples.

As the following example illustrates, evidence suggests that he read contemporary photographic journals such as *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*. As the E. & H.T. Anthony stock house published the journal, and there is evidence that Topley was ordering materials from the New York stock house, it is not surprising that Topley received copies of the journal.<sup>572</sup> In response to an 1889 published discussion in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* on “the reliability of the information given in our photographic literature”, Topley responded in a published letter to the editor:

I am afraid that if we cornered those men who say there is never anything in our journals, we would find that nine-tenths of their knowledge has been derived from such sources. The truth is that contributors give us what they deem best and most important, and it remains for the intelligent and thoughtful reader to bring these statements of fact to bear upon each other, and to so fit one into the other that the whole truth is obtained. Like others of nearly thirty years' standing, I expect to see repeated over and over again by others the experience of my younger days, as well as a revival of old styles and methods; yet even this constant reminding of the past is a very good work. I must say that even during the last year I have received points from the Bulletin that have been invaluable, and probably worth hundreds of dollars, simply because they fitted in at the right time...Many a seemingly simple statement recorded in the Bulletin, the result of weeks or

---

<sup>572</sup> Sessional Papers documenting Topley ordering supplies via E & H.T. Anthony for government departments including the Geological Survey of Canada. Also noted in Correspondences directly with the Geological Survey of Canada. “Topley, W.J.” file and “Topley, H.N.” file, RG45, LAC.

months of research, hinges upon most important issues if it strikes the thinking man at the right time.<sup>573</sup>

According to his own letter, “even during the last year I have received points from the Bulletin that have been invaluable” it would appear that he read the journal on a regular basis, and also considered himself part of the imagined community of Anthony-supported photographers. He substantiated this identity by directly including himself and his experiences in the imagined community of readers, by writing to the editor for publication.

In his letter, Topley emphasises that even with close to thirty years experience there is still much to learn from other’s efforts and information. Reading and contributing to the widely circulated photographic journals provided him with a connection to the larger photographic community, often based in large urban centers with access to the latest equipment and techniques. It enabled him to remain current on the changes in the evolving photographic industry, which he was able to parlay into active engagement with the increased level of local competition.<sup>574</sup>

At the same time, contributing to the journals provided him with increased social capital by providing a forum to share his own experiences as a thirty-year veteran of the photographic trade.<sup>575</sup> Similar to his earlier connection to Notman’s studio which carried recognizable social capital in the photographic community and consumers of photographic services, having his name published in a journal with distribution across

---

<sup>573</sup> William Topley, “Photographic Literature,” *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, 20, 10 (1889), 312. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Web 23 Sept. 2014.

<sup>574</sup> For example, “Colored Photos”, *Evening Journal*, November 24, 1899 as cited earlier in this chapter.

<sup>575</sup> William Topley, "Hints to Beginners." *The International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 5 (1892).

the United States and Canada likely signalled to those in his local community his position as a knowledgeable and experienced photographer.

In addition to reading and responding to articles in photographic periodicals (and his indirect involvement via club activities discussed earlier), it is important that Topley's changing relationships with the local newspaper in regards to advertisements is also examined as part of the larger dialogue with the real and imagined community, as well as to the larger pattern of EKC / local dealers advertising efforts in the 1890s. Simultaneous to Topley's advertising efforts and journal submissions, the EKC was advertising their products exclusively at the national level.<sup>576</sup> The EKC/ CKCoLtd did not usually advertise in the speciality or locally-based periodicals, preferring to direct their advertising dollar at the nationally targeted periodicals that offered larger circulations.

Existing scholarship has focused on the advertising which was directed at the national level, such as West's examination in *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.<sup>577</sup> In "A Short History of Kodak Advertising, 1888-1932", she provides evidence of the advertising campaigns the EKC placed in national magazines such as *Scribner's* and *Ladies Home Journal*.<sup>578</sup> However, these nationally placed magazine campaigns were part of a larger effort to inform and educate the consumer at multiple access points. It fell to the local dealer, such as Topley, to advertise or contribute photographic advertisement and content in the local periodicals.

---

<sup>576</sup> Exceptions may have been made by for EKC sponsored events and exhibitions in major urban centers such as New York and London. Further research may be required to confirm this hypothesis.

<sup>577</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 19-35.

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

WM. S. TOPLEY,  
P H O T O G R A P H E R,  
O T T A W A,

Having sold his premises known as THE NOTMAN'S STUDIO, has built a Magnificent Studio corner Metcalfe and Queen Streets, 2 blocks from old stand.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN ALL ITS BRANCHES:

PORTRAITS OF PUBLIC MEN. VIEWS OF OTTAWA.

Orders will receive prompt attention.

**Figure 5.8: Advertisement, for WM S Topley [error by printer], which was published in 1876, shortly after Topley left the Notman studio to establish his own studio. "Topley, W.J." research file, Art & Photography library, LAC.**

Topley had been advertising in the local Ottawa area newspapers from the beginning of the Notman branch's establishment in 1867.<sup>579</sup> In the late 1880s and early 1890s when he began to sell photographic supplies (and the same time as the *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* articles), Topley was continuing to advertise his portrait services in the local newspapers, drawing attention to his claims of "Photographer by Appointment to Their Excellences the Marquis of Lorne and her Royal Highness the Princess Louise" (Figure 5.9).

---

<sup>579</sup> Triggs, Dodds, and Hall, *The World of William Notman*, 24.

**Topley** 132 Sparks Street  
Ottawa



**Portraits of Celebrated Canadians.  
Views of Canada.  
Characteristic Scenes.**

**PHOTO SUPPLIES FOR AMATEURS.**  
Kodaks Premos  
Bullseyes Hawkeyes

Developing and Printing at Reasonable Rates.  
Special Attention to Postal Orders.



Figure 5.9: Advertisement, “Topley Studio and Photo Supplies for Amateurs”, *The Canadian Men & Women of the Times* [Ottawa], 1898. “Topley, W.J.” research file, Art & Photography library, LAC.

Similar to Notman, who was granted the title “Photographer to the Queen”, Royal patronage offered several benefits in attracting consumers in post-Confederation Ottawa.

According to Triggs, highlighting the Royal patronage helped in attracting clientele seeking a connection, however tenuous, with the Royal family.<sup>580</sup> The transition in his advertisements from an emphasis on portraits and his Royal patent, to an emphasis on his role as an EKC dealer during the late nineteenth century is evidence of a shifting market for photographic services on a larger scale echoing those changes evidenced in the *Canadian Druggist* journals discussed earlier.

In addition to “photographic supplies for amateurs”, in the early 1890s Topley also began to advertise developing and printing “at reasonable rates” (Figure 5.9). In doing so, he was reaching out to the amateurs / novices who were interested in personal photography, but not in the developing and printing work. It signalled to amateurs who may have purchased photographic materials at other locations, such as the side/alternative dealer discussed earlier in this chapter, that Topley / Topco was available for follow-up services, etc. As described earlier, the existing business cluster of which Topley was part enabled a connection between the consumer, Topley, and the alternative or competing sellers was beneficial to the community as a whole, as it increased the support extended to the new consumer and experienced amateur alike.

In 1892 Topley wrote another article for the *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, titled “Hints to Beginners” in which he detailed his efforts to attract beginner photographers.<sup>581</sup> He is again participating in the wider, imagined photographic community by sharing his experiences and advice. At the same time he is providing information about how his business is evolving, having steady work in the developing

---

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>581</sup> William Topley, “Hints to Beginners,” *International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin and American Process Yearbook*, 5 (1892-1893): 314-316.

and printing of amateur photographers, partially as a result of efforts in local advertising. As cited earlier, he encouraged the likelihood of increasing traffic to his shop by offering the rental of cameras and advertising the service in a variety of periodical sources.<sup>582</sup>

In the “Hints to Beginners” article, Topley elaborates on this service stating “Recently I have opened a supply department and added a new feature, the loaning of cameras, by the day or by the week, to those who do not care to invest. This brings in thousands of plates to develop and print”.<sup>583</sup> For Topley, the rental of cameras brought increased traffic in developing and printing, as well as provided the opportunity for consumers to try out the cameras before making a similar (or better) purchase for themselves. It was a clever business strategy as it allowed consumers to try the popular activity before making the costly investment in their own equipment. It also provided a clear advantage for Topley as a specialized photographic dealer, as he had the access to available equipment and knowledge to facilitate this service, which the alternative and sideline photographic businesses likely could not match, or at least to the same level or quality.

Due to the lack of business records, it is not possible to identify with certainty whom the primary user of the rental service in Topley’s shop was, however, the market in which he advertised suggests that the targeted consumer remained middle-class, such as naturalists and university students.<sup>584</sup> He advertised the rentals to an audience likely

---

<sup>582</sup> In addition to the local newspaper advertisements, in the 1890s he also advertised the rental of cameras in *The Canadian Church Magazine*, *Ottawa Naturalist* and *The Owl*.

<sup>583</sup> *International Annual of Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin and American Process Yearbook*, 5 (1892-1893), 314-316.

<sup>584</sup> The possibility of rented cameras by the amateur / novice photographer is currently an unacknowledged aspect for scholarly research of image making in the late nineteenth century, when camera ownership was still prohibitively expensive for the majority of consumers. It is important to draw attention to this aspect



familiar with the concept and/or practice of photography, yet unwilling or unable to make an outright purchase of a camera, without personal engagement. Topley's use of rentals to secure future customers and consumers of EKC materials is therefore evidence of the necessary connection between the high level advertising efforts of the EKC and the community based efforts of the local dealer in ensuring that the necessary information and materials were exchanged between manufacturer and consumer.

Therefore, I argue that educating the local dealer on how to accomplish these types of exchanges and engage the consumer became a necessary component of the EKC's expansion efforts. In the next section, I position the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* as the connection between the local dealers efforts and the EKC's on-going growth.

### ***The Kodak Company Trade Circular and the local dealer***

Similar to the camera clubs using the photographic periodicals as a gathering point for shared ideas, which in turn fostered a similar look and feel amongst the camera clubs in Canada, the EKC trade circular helped create a common look and approach amongst the dealers selling EKC / CKCoLtd materials in Canada. It helped build an imagined community of dealers in an evolving market, as well as ensuring that a singular brand

---

of manufacturing / distribution as it has the ability to question our understanding of who was producing images during this period. Statistics cited by West for example, attempt to provide hard numbers of users, based upon the manufacture / sale of cameras. West uses the relatively/ statistically small number of cameras produced pre-1900 by the EKC to argue that "Kodak's early popularity [pre-Brownie] thus far exceeded its actual use" as evidence of the strength of the EKC's advertising efforts to create "an illusion of universal acceptance" of photography as a personal hobby. However I suggest that there was likely a steady employment of rentals, as evidenced by Topley (and further extended by the sale of second-hand equipment) and would provide alternative means for the creation of images pre-1900, outside of the hands of the "relatively rich". West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 75.

message was being communicated to the distributors of the EKC / CKCoLtd products and services. First introduced in December 1899, the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* was a sales guide, instruction booklet, advertising catalogue and informative journal, designed to foster a sense of loyalty amongst the Kodak dealer community.

Trade circulars were not a new concept, when the EKC introduced their own *Kodak Company Trade Circular*. As evidenced earlier in this chapter, Topley himself contributed regularly to a trade circular for the E & H.T Anthony photo supply house *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*. According to Pritchard, trade catalogues, which had been published by photographic manufacturing and distribution companies since the 1860s, began to appear with increasing frequency by the mid 1880s.<sup>585</sup> However, the types of trade circulars / catalogues Pritchard focuses on primarily, were directed at the consumer.

The catalogues were a blend of advertisements for available materials, and helpful articles and tips.<sup>586</sup> They were mailed directly to the amateur and professional consumer by the manufacturer or distributor, or picked up in the local dealers shop. The dealers received their copies from the manufacturer/distributor, with space to stamp their shop name and details onto the cover. The regularly published house organs had large circulations, and the contents included jokes, and promotional pitches, technical pieces and contests to spur on engagement of the local dealers in window displays and local advertising campaigns.<sup>587</sup>

---

<sup>585</sup> Pritchard, *The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914*, 107; 276

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*, 272-274; 278-279.

<sup>587</sup> Strassner, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 188-189.

Continuing to explore the trade catalogue as part of the Canadian network in which Topley participated, I am interested in the creation and intended purpose of the trade circulars directed at the seller of photographic materials, specifically the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* (and after 1904, the *Canadian Kodak Company Trade Circular*) as a means of re-directing the flow of industry knowledge. The *Kodak Company Trade Circular* (and its earlier dealer focused predecessor *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*) is a valuable resource in the study of the commodification and commercialization of the photographic industry, and of the sales and marketing culture in general in the early 1900s, yet has not received much attention in scholarly accounts focusing on this time period.

Pritchard, West and Jenkins have included brief mention of the trade circular in their texts, but there has been little or no apparent correlation between the products creation, its intended use and its actual digest by local dealers.<sup>588</sup> Of the *Kodak Company Trade Circular*, West writes “much of the early success of the company’s [EKC] early marketing success was due to the volumes of promotional literature Kodak produced for amateur photographers, salesmen and dealers” and continues to add that the creation of the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* was to provide dealers with the “inside story” on new products, services and advertising strategies.<sup>589</sup> However, I argue that the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* also created an imagined community for EKC local dealers, by

---

<sup>588</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 27-28; 32; 95; 105; 168; 213. Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, Pritchard, *The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914*, 275, 303.

<sup>589</sup> West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 27-28.

providing a physical link, in the form of publication, between the company and the dealer.

The information flowed in one direction, with content written exclusively by the EKC / CKCoLtd. The dealer participated as the audience, yet the audience was developed as a community exclusively composed of EKC / CKCoLtd dealers who all shared a common goal – to promote EKC material and sell as much as possible. I further argue that tracing the connection between dealer and corporation via the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* provides details and material for analysis regarding how the photographic industry's re-structuring was digested and interpreted by the local dealers, its impact on the local consumers and the actual production of photographic images in the early 1900s.

The EKC used the forum of the *Kodak Company Trade Circular* to educate the dealers on the benefits of advertising, changes to the terms of sale, price adjustments and problems with substitution. A common strategy employed by the EKC was to use the *Trade Circular* to draw attention to upcoming advertising campaigns in the general interest periodicals. Stories which included the text “You can only get the full benefit by supplementing our general advertising by local work” was intended to spur the local dealer into investing in their own local advertising campaign, working in conjunction with the larger national directed campaigns.<sup>590</sup>

---

<sup>590</sup> *Canadian Kodak Trade Circular*, 2-3 (July 1905), 8-9.

Every Dollar's worth of advertising that we are putting out in the December magazines and weeklies sends the inquirers to your stores.

*When people do write to us we tell them to buy of their dealer.*

**Canadian Kodak Co.**  
Limited



**Figure 5.10: (left) *Canadian Kodak Trade Circular*, 1-9 (December 1904); (right) CKCoLtd advertisement, c. 1923 with text “At your dealer’s”. “All out-doors invites your Kodak” Canadian Kodak Co., Limited – Toronto: 1923. 2005.001.1.1.116, Kodak Canada Corporate Archives and Heritage Collection, Ryerson University.**

The local advertisement which drew attention to the EKC material / services carried by the dealer, such as Topley’s, provided the local consumer with appropriate context, so that when they viewed the EKC / CKCoLtd advertisement in a national or foreign popular periodical and read “See your local Kodak dealer”, they would already know who their “local dealer” was. It encouraged a stronger sense of connection between the local dealer and the EKC /CKCoLtd as each was fulfilling a designated role, with the local dealer able to identify with a larger nationally directed advertising

campaign. See for example the following excerpt from the June 1900 *Kodak Trade Circular* which highlights the number of publications the national ads will appear in, and the benefits the local dealer could reap from such a campaign:

Kodak and Brownie advertising now appears in 6,000,000 copies each issue. The dealers get the benefit when they try. And get \$500 besides. Let folks know. - The combined circulation of the list of mediums in which we are advertising Kodaks and Brownies must run into the hundreds in even the smallest village in which Kodaks are handled by a regular dealer. There are few towns and no cities where this circulation does not run into the thousands, there are many cities where this combined circulation reaches tens of thousands and unquestionably some where it will crowd the million mark. The mediums that we are using have an aggregate circulation of over 6 million copies per issue and we are not using them once but many, many times - most of them every issue. Every Kodak ad says "*Catalogues free at the dealers.*" Every Brownie ad says: "*Send a dollar to your local Kodak dealer for a Brownie Camera.*" You, Mr. Dealer, are missing a splendid opportunity if you do not so advertise that every magazine reader in your city will know that you sell Kodaks. The best way to do this is through your local papers. We furnish the cuts without charge. We give \$500 in cash to the dealers who run the best advertisements. Here is a list of some of our recent Kodak and Brownie advertising...<sup>591</sup>

The list identifies over eighty pages of advertising in sixty-eight June periodical issues, with several titles carrying two or three pages of advertisements per issue. Dealers such as Topley could market the materials in shops with "as advertised in [popular publication name]", thereby providing recognition and legitimacy to their shop, products and role as the "local" dealer.

The EKC/ CKCoLtd could not sell directly to Canadian customers due to the original agreement with the federal government, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four. Therefore, in Canada the EKC/ CKCoLtd was dependant upon the local dealers to

---

<sup>591</sup> *Kodak Company Trade Circular*, 1-7 (June 1900), 11. West briefly drawing attention to the published anticipated circulation numbers of EKC ads in nationally distributed magazines in 1915. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 32.

complete the sales cycle by first successfully advertising in the local newspapers, and then selling to the potential consumer the nationally and locally advertised products. To convince the dealer that such efforts were in their best interest, the *Kodak Trade Circular*, advised of the calculable benefits and monetary gain available to the dealer who put in the time and effort to advertise their connection to EKC / CKCoLtd services and/or materials in their own community. At regular intervals, a version of a story about the local dealer who advertised and the success he achieved through his efforts, was printed in the *Trade Circular* as an aspirational incentive.

The following “account” of a dealer was published in the May 1900 *Trade Circular*. Although most certainly fictionalized, is an example which theoretically represents the experiences of Topley who advertised regularly in the local newspapers as evidenced through close archival research of the local newspapers.:

THIS MAN ADVERTISED. Purchases of our goods amounting to more than \$3,000 during 1899 is the record of a dealer in a certain city of less than 12,000 people. This must have meant sales on his part of over \$5,000 in our line of goods only. How did he do it? He advertised. He began his Kodak business in 1897 with an exceedingly limited stock, but he advertised. He entered enthusiastically into our shop window contest in 1898, and asked us if we had “any more good schemes”. He entered our newspaper advertising contest in 1899 and his business showed a tremendous gain over the previous year. His was the first entry in our present advertising contest and he says that he will send several more advertisements before the close of the contest. His business continues to grow, and he believes thoroughly in the stimulating effect of our prize contests. Try it yourself and watch your business grow.”<sup>592</sup>

---

<sup>592</sup> *Kodak Company Trade Circular*, 6 (May 1900), 3. A similar example placed in the *Canadian Kodak Company Trade Circular*, 1- 2 (Feb 1905) “THEY ADVERTISED”. How a Western Canadian drug store built up a large Kodak business.... See Appendix D for full text of 1905 example.

By creating contests and offering prizes for the best local newspaper advertisements, as well as offering “cuts” without charge, the EKC/ CKCoLtd was actively encouraging the local dealer to expend the effort to match the larger advertising campaigns.<sup>593</sup>

Again exemplifying the integrated approach in marketing strategies between himself and the EKC / CKCoLtd’s, and helping to explain both his success and longevity in the business, Topley had been advertising regularly about the materials and services he offered in his shop prior to 1900, as discussed in the context of Topley’s *Anthony Photographic Bulletin* articles. In many instances, the advice offered in the *Trade Circular* likely would have been viewed as “old news” to Topley, but as he stated in his 1892 *Bulletin* article, it was often worth repeating, with new meaning found when it was read again, at the right time.<sup>594</sup> Topley probably/in all likelihood recognized that although he had decades of experience in the business, the industry was evolving, and there was value in remaining abreast of new advertising and marketing strategies.

In April 1904, the CKCoLtd began to publish its own edition of the circular, printing the *Canadian Kodak Company Trade Circular* in Toronto. The opening article or "salutatory" outlined the aims of the trade circular. It read:

“For your interests and our own.” Such are the objects of this little Trade Circular. Our business to-day is almost entirely wholesale. We have taught our customers to purchase through the dealer. ... We believe that we are the only manufacturers of photographic goods who deliberately turn over to the dealer the difference between the retail and the wholesale price. We have thus made ourselves dependent upon the dealer and the dealer upon us. Our relations are reciprocal; our interests identical... While, owing to a limited

---

<sup>593</sup> “Cuts” refer to EKC / CKCoLtd advertising signs which the dealer could use in window and store displays. Examples of the cuts were regularly included in the *Kodak Trade Circular*, with corresponding numbers that the dealer could order through the company. See Appendix E for examples.

<sup>594</sup> Topley, "Hints to Beginners" *The International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 5 (1892), 314.



space, we cannot throw the columns open to communications, we shall be more than pleased to have the dealers suggest for discussion such topics as may be “For your interest and our own.”<sup>595</sup>

Here is evidence, scripted by the EKC / CKCoLtd, which outlines how the corporation viewed their connection with the Canadian dealers and the benefits each received in the exchange. At the same time, they are clearly laying the terms of the current transaction (*Trade Circular*).

The flow of knowledge was a one-way transaction, stemming from the EKC / CKCoLtd and directed at the dealer community. However, the *Trade Circular* also served as a means of expanding connections for the Canadian dealer. In the same April 1904 issue, a scheme to benefit the dealer, publisher of photographic periodicals and the EKC / CKCoLtd was unveiled. They published an article suggesting how dealers could improve their engagement with their own communities, specifically the amateur photographers. Written almost a decade after Topley became involved in establishing his local camera club, the 1904 trade circular asked, “Do you Kodak? Do you belong to a camera club? If so, do you attend the meetings?”<sup>596</sup> The article continued by outlining the benefits to be had by the local dealer in being seen "Kodaking" himself:

Enthusiasm is as “catching” as the measles. The man who warms up on the subject of photography, who makes a good picture now and then and takes the trouble to show it, is likely to get trade coming his way. People like to talk about their hobbies and compare notes with other people who have similar hobbies. Do you encourage the amateur to come into your store with his troubles and his triumphs? Do you let him know when you have something new that will interest him? These are little things but they help business. If you “take your own medicine” by Kodaking a bit now and then

---

<sup>595</sup> “For Your Interests and Our Own,” *Canadian Kodak Co., Ltd. Trade Circular* 1-1 (April 1904). Material originally printed in the December 1899 issue of the *Kodak Company Trade Circular*.

<sup>596</sup> *Kodak Company Trade Circular*, 5-3 (February 1904), 6.

its a reminder to others that you enjoy it and that there might be fun in it for them. Perhaps its not policy for you to try to “run” the camera club, but if you are there to be seen it will be an “advertisement by inference” for your photographic business. If you talk interestedly with Smith about those pictures of his baby, you’ll be likely to have him exposing another roll of film ere many days.

The trade circular text accurately described Topley’s own experiences in the Ottawa camera club, where he occupied a mentoring and advisory role, preferring to let others “run” the Club. After ensuring the club was on firm ground, he largely assumed the position of critic at the Club meetings, rather than occupying an executive position as in the early days. He offered helpful suggestions for improvement and advice regarding the ever-increasing amount of photographic materials, cameras and techniques available to the photographer in the photographic marketplace. His ability to read accurately the growing interest in the Ottawa population for such a club, and place himself as an seminal figure in the community demonstrates a quality which would be essential in his succeeding as a photographic dealer, and be an essential, but hard to define quality which the EKC would seek to develop in their dealers.

## **Conclusion**

Topley serves as a single, examinable example of how the EKC / CKCoLtd’s influence manifested itself in the re-structured interactions between local community members. Including him as a parallel to the wider changes in the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry served several purposes. Examining his transition within the industry provides evidence of how industry participants adapted to

the changing market, moving from portraiture to sales of photographic supplies as a means of support. It also shows that even when the EKC/ CKCoLtd was not actively and physically re-structuring the chain of manufacture and distribution, there was trickle-down effects in the daily practice and interactions of Canadian consumers and industry participants.

The major participants largely remained active, however, the way they interacted with the wider industry and increasingly diverse network was increasingly controlled or manipulated by the EKC/ CKCoLtd as the company increased their share of ownership as examined in the previous chapter. Yet, in examining the experiences of Topley, it is clear that the EKC/ CKCoLtd could not and would not reach all segments of the photographic community. They were still reliant upon the local dealer to act as the conduit between the product and the consumer despite stating that they would eliminate the middle-man. As a central figure in the Ottawa photographic professional and amateur community, Topley was aware of the beneficial effects of attaching himself to an increasingly passionate community of photographic industry participants. Whether it was the EKC or the local camera club, Topley ensured he was the primary connection between the community participants and the photographic materials.

The changes in Topley's business practices are mirrored in the cumulative changes in the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry which resulted from the EKC re-structuring. Like the EKC/ CKCoLtd, he found that diversification of his business was a key component of success. He shifted the primary focus of his professional activities from traditional studio business to the sale of photographic supplies beginning in the late 1880s, and widened the scope of his

potential client base. Throughout this thesis, I argued that the EKC's ability to identify, navigate and/or foster networked relationships between the existing economic, political and social-based communities largely contributed to the level of success they would achieve in Canada by the early twentieth century.

## Conclusion

Throughout the preceding chapters I sought to understand and explain how the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution industry became dominated by the EKC between the 1890s and early 1910s, a period widely acknowledged by historians as one of transition in both photographic technology and consumer culture. In this final chapter I synthesise the findings of the previous chapters to address the major questions posed, identify the theoretical implications of the findings and discuss the limitations of the research and future avenues that this thesis provides.

My research raises questions about the EKC's impact on the existing/ emerging global photographic industry, looking beyond the existing largely singular American and English narratives. I asked three primary questions: Why did the EKC enter the Canadian photographic manufacturing industry? Upon entrance, how did the EKC restructure the existing Canadian manufacturing and distribution networks? What impact did this EKC restructuring have on the Canadian industrial landscape and community of users (professional and amateur)? In answering these questions I traced over twenty years of interactions between select aspects of the Canadian photographic community and the EKC.

In examining the impact of the EKC in the evolution of the Canadian photographic manufacturing and distribution networks I provided an extended analytical account of the shape of the pre-existing domestic industrial landscape, which expands

the extant scholarship of Canadian photographic history. The findings are chapter specific and were summarized within the respective chapters. But a consistent theme of those conclusion is the way in which the EKC worked to re-structure the existing Canadian network to benefit the wider growth of the company outside of the American boarder.

I discovered that rather than establishing new links or markets as has often been attributed to the EKC and their aggressive growth in the late nineteenth century, they worked to understand, enter, and then re-structure how the existing industry participants interacted. The inclusion of existing community leaders such as stock house owner Ramsey and Ottawa photographer Topley in the EKC's re-structuring of the manufacturing and distribution landscape was a necessary component of the EKC's success in Canada as a domestic "Canadian" manufacturer. In doing so they were able to largely maintain the appearance of a domestic or "Canadian" photographic industry, when in fact, the manufacturing and distribution of photographic materials in Canada was tightly controlled by the EKC / CKCoLtd by the early 1900s.

As I explored through an analysis of Topley's evolving photographic business and photographic interests in Chapter Five, the EKC (through the CKCoLtd) was able to construct a cohesive photographic network that was at once understood as "Canadian", yet also readable as part of the EKC brand. EKC /CKCoLtd corporate literature prior to 1910 stated, "The business of the Canadian Kodak Co., Limited, is to-day and for a long time has been a Canadian business. Its goods are Canadian-made by Canadian employees in a Canadian city. Our factories form one of the big and important industries

of Toronto, and every year sees more of our Canadian people at work turning out Kodak goods.”<sup>597</sup>

The establishment of the Canadian Kodak Co Ltd (CKCoLtd) in 1899 served as the primary prism through which to examine the main questions that drove my research. Through the EKC/ CKCoLtd interaction with industry participants including CKCoLtd manager J.G Palmer, or Ottawa photographer W.J. Topley I examined the corporate strategy and community engagement that the EKC developed to harness the power of the existing social and professional networks in Canada.

I argued that re-structuring the existing Canadian manufacturing and distribution communities to be reliant upon the EKC/ CKCoLtd for economic sustainability ensured that the company was firmly installed as the community leader. Although the industry-wide transition from niche to mass production and distribution was largely initiated by the EKC, the success of the re-structuring was reliant upon the EKC correctly identifying, acknowledging and exploiting the existing photographic related communities. They obtained ownership of the largest domestic photographic wholesalers and created incentives for the increasing number of photographic dealers to push EKC / CKCoLtd and EKC subsidiary products.

The EKC/ CKCoLtd utilized geo-political and economic strategies, to build upon their existing connections to the Canadian photographic industry in order to eliminate or minimize the domestic competition. Doing so allowed the EKC/ CKCoLtd to control how and where Canadian consumers obtained photographic materials and services by

---

<sup>597</sup> “A Canadian Business”, in *Canadian Kodak Co., Ltd Trade Circular*, 5-9 (Jan 1909); Series II Corporate Papers; Sub-series X National and International; Canadian file; Kodak Historical Collection, #003; UofR.

1905. Therefore, the complex re-organization of the photographic industry's existing networked connections was the EKC's most successful accomplishment. It is an argument that is counter to the majority of published scholarly opinion regarding the EKC, which is largely limited to the introduction of a new camera system and marketing campaigns that enabled the amateur market to flourish. The material, both empirical and analytical, presented in this thesis provides a platform for further scholarship that questions the "Kodak Story" and its lasting impact on how photographic practice in the early twentieth century and beyond might be discussed.

Although situated in the scholarship initiated by Jenkins, my research questions demand a different narrative than one written solely out of business history. Scholars such as Kelly Ross, Michael Pritchard, Mirjam Brusius, Annabella Pollen, François Brunet, Steve Edwards, Tanya Sheehan and Elizabeth Edwards have begun to peel back the complex workings of the communities and networks of photographic industry participants from a variety of historical periods.<sup>598</sup> The complexity of their scholarship reveals that the existing definitions largely accepted by art and cultural historians of amateur and professional communities are limited in scope.

I hope my research, with its detailed presentation of the Canadian situation, is able to speak to this oversight. In addressing my research questions and building the detailed empirical base of this thesis, I would claim that I am bridging the work initiated by Jenkins with current scholarship in art history, consumer and cultural studies. The

---

<sup>598</sup> Ross, *Photography for Everyone*; Brusius, *William Henry Fox Talbot*; Brunet *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*; Edwards, *Making of English Photography*, Tanya Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011); Edwards *Camera as Historian*. See Annabella Pollen's work on Either/And "Reconsidering Amateur Photography" for example of work concentrated on a period later than that examined in this thesis.



resulting analysis provides a fuller understanding of how the photographic manufacturing and distribution industry functioned in the early years of the EKC. It also begins to answer questions of how the EKC formed, supported, shaped and/or re-structured communities and identities of practitioners.

When the EKC began to publish its first corporate origin story in the early 1900s, it had begun to adapt its corporate identity in order to present the company's revolutionary actions as singularly propelled by Eastman and the increasing number of factories and distribution centers. In the process of presenting itself as "the" photographic company it shaped the existing industry to support this claim and in the process, changed the way photographic materials were manufactured and distributed, and ultimately consumed.

In challenging the claims of the "Kodak Story" I have revealed and explored the complexity and depth of the existing community of participants that were affected by the EKC's re-structuring decisions. By examining the EKC's re-structuring efforts in additional foreign markets, scholars might begin to explore similarities and differences between local communities photographic efforts and larger themes of national identity, or conversely, larger trans-national communities brought together through the international re-structuring of photographic manufacturing and distribution networks. As an avenue for further research and analysis I argue that this industry re-structuring shaped how photography was practiced in the amateur and professional communities in the twentieth century. Canada can be viewed as part of a larger pattern of the EKC's global monopolizing actions.

The study employed here may be used to examine the histories of photography in geographical areas which may or may not have had a domestic industry prior to the EKC's introduction, providing a model for interpretation of how the EKC entered and eventually controlled a foreign market. With further research Topley's own transition may be read as part of the larger pattern of re-structuring in Canada's photographic communities.

I argue that understanding why the EKC was interested in entering the Canadian photographic market will aid not only historians of Canadian photographic history and cultural studies, but also scholars seeking to understand how the EKC's desire to create a globally cohesive brand of photography shaped what it meant for photographic practice and identity in the twentieth century.

I also acknowledge that there are limitations to what my research was able to accomplish at this stage. The scale of the network is extensive and multifaceted even at the local level. Asymmetries in the communities and networks exists. By identifying where power balances were uneven, who or what has being cut from the network in Canada as the EKC re-shaped it is revealed, however it also meant that many interactions/ communities/ participants remain unexplored or under-analysed. There is a need for more case studies that question community participation and the connections between individual participants and the larger EKC influence in identified photographic communities.

As a result of my study, further research might be conducted on identifying photographic industry participants, both direct and peripheral, in additional communities in order to provide further evidence of the nuanced levels of participation by so-called

“amateurs” and “professionals”, but also provide evidence of a more robust manufacturing and distribution industry prior to the EKC’s re-structuring which began at the end of the nineteenth century. Doing so may also reveal communities that resisted the EKC’s re-structuring, providing avenues for comparative studies and directly contributing to the existing field of knowledge

# Appendices

## Appendix "A"

List of Companies Incorporated or Acquired ca. 1881-1915, Series II Corporate Papers, Subseries X National and International, Kodak Historical Collection #003, Rush Rhees Library, UofR. Does not include the creation of Eastman Kodak Companies. Also, it is important to note that these are the companies officially recorded as part of the corporate history, and the actual number of companies is likely greater.

<b>Company Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date acquired / established</b>
Western Collodion Paper Co.		17 Dec 1894
Boston Camera Mfg Co		23 Aug 1895
Kodak Gesellschaft m.b.h	Berlin, Germany	17 Nov 1896
Eastman Kodak Societe a.f.	Paris, France	23 Dec 1897
American Camera Mfg. Co.	Rochester, NY	4 Jan 1898
The Photo Materials Co.	Rochester, NY	28 Jul 1898
Kodak Ltd	London, England	15 Nov 1898
Palmer & Croughton	Rochester, NY	1 Apr 1899
Blair Camera Co.		12 Apr 1899
Hawk-Eye Works	Rochester, NY	14 Apr 1899
General Aristo Co.		4 Aug 1899
American Aristotype Co.	Jamestown, NY	28 Aug 1899
Nepera Chemical Co.		28 Aug 1899
New Jersey Aristotype Co.		28 Aug 1899
Kirkland's Lithium Paper Co.		28 Aug 1899
<b>Canadian Kodak Co., Ltd.</b>	Toronto, Canada	3 Nov 1899
The Warnica Co.		29 May 1901
Sweet, Wallach & Co.	Chicago, Ill.	22 Jan 1902
Sweet, Wallach & Co.	Davenport, Ill.	22 Jan 1902
O.H. Peck Co.	Minneapolis, Minn.	5 Mar 1902
Zimmerman Bros.	St. Paul, Minn.	12 Mar 1902
Zimmerman Bros.	Sioux City, Iowa	12 Mar 1902
Zimmerman Bros.	Duluth, Minn.	12 Mar 1902
Standard Dry Plate Co.	Lewiston, Maine	31 May 1902
Milwaukee Photo Materials	Milwaukee, Wisc.	17 June 1902
Taprell, Loomis & Co.	Chicago, Ill	5 Jul 1902
Kodak Ltd.	St. Petersburg & Moscow, Russia	1 Jul 1902

Kodak Ltd.	Brussels, Belgium	1 Jul 1902
Robey-French Co.	Boston, Mass.	15 Aug 1902
M.A. Seed Dry Plate Co.	St. Louis, Mo.	28 Aug 1902
Frank A. Brownell	Rochester, NY	1 Oct 1902
Hurman Ltd.	England	17 Apr 1903
Century Camera Co.	Rochester, NY	13 Jun 1903
The Robt. Dempster Co.	Omaha, Nebr.	2 Jun 1903
Lincoln Photo Supply Co.	Lincoln, Nebr.	23 Jun 1903
Cadett & Neall, Ltd	Ashtead, England	28 Jul 1903
Rochester Optical Co.	Rochester, NY	4 Aug 1903
Premo Works	Rochester, NY	4 Aug 1903
Des Moines Photo Mat. Co.	Des Moines, Iowa	20 Oct 1903
Albert Sellner Co.	Quincy, Ill	23 Dec 1903
Albert Sellner Co.	Davenport, Iowa	30 Dec 1903
Stanley Dry Plates Co.	Newton, Mass.	5 Jan 1904
D.H. Hogg Co.	Montreal, QC	26 Feb 1904
J.G. Ramsey Co. Ltd	Toronto, ON	21 Mar 1904
Stanley Dry Plate Co.	Montreal, QC	30 Mar 1904
Good & Schroder Co.	Chicago, Ill	20 Feb 1905
Folmer & Schwing Mfg Co	Rochester, NY	13 May 1905
Folmer & Schwing Co.	Rochester, NY	2 Jan 1906
Kodak Societa Anonimn	Milan, Rome, Naples & Venice, Italy	5 Sep 1905
Jos. Di Nunsio		1 Jul 1906
Kodak Gesellschaft	Vienna & Budapest, Austria	16 Oct 1906
Robert Demspster Co.		4 Mar 1908
Australian Kodak Co. Ltd	Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Townsville, Wellington, Aukland and Dunedin, Australia	7 Aug 1908
John Harworth Co.	Philadelphia, Pa.	20 Jul 1908
John Harworth Co.	Atlantic City, NJ	20 Jul 1908
Adhesive Dry Mounting Co.		25 Sep 1908
Artura Photo Paper Co.		18 Oct 1909
Glenn Photo Stock Co.	Atlanta, Ga.	13 Jan 1910
Northwestern Photo Supply	Seattle, Wash.	18 Jan 1910
Standard Photo Supply Co.	New Orleans, La.	16 Mar 1910
Denver Photo Materials Co.	Denver, Colo.	28 May 1910
Howland & Dewey Co.	Los Angeles, Cal.	15 Jun 1910
Kodak Societe Anonym	Lausanne, Switzerland	6 Aug 1910

Kodak Aktieselskab	Copenhagen, Denmark	2 Nov 1910
Amtura Gesellschaft	Hamburg, Germany	23 Sep 1911
H.F. Goshawk	Zurich, Switzerland	15 Jul 1911
Kodak Societe Anonyme	Cairo and Alexandria, Egypt	30 Jun 1912
Kodak(Holland) Ltd	The Hague, Amsterdam and Sceveningen, Holland	31 Mar 1913
Kodak (South Africa) Ltd	Cape Town, South Africa	28 Jun 1913
Kodak Sociedad Anonim	Madrid, Spain	1 Aug 1913
Kodak (India) Ltd	Bombay, India	1 Sep 1913
Kodak Argebtina Ltd.	Argentina	12 Jul 1915

Appendix "B"

Advertisement for Farmer Bros Hamilton Dry Plate, [*The St. Louis and*] *Canadian Photographer*, 1-10 (Oct 1887). "Farmer Bros." research file, Art & Photography library, LAC.

[St. Louis 4] CANADIAN PHOTOGRAPHER I, 10 (Oct 1887) xxxiii

# Perfect Dry Plates

FOR CANADA.

## ALL FORMER DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME.

The Hamilton Dry Plate Co. have purchased two acres of ground situated on the Hamilton & Dundas Railroad, and erected thereon a **Large Brick Factory**, with **sufficient capacity** for supplying **all demands** of the trade in Canada.

It is without doubt one of the most **Complete Factories** on the Continent, situated on a beautiful spot, **high and dry**, where **pure air** and **water** can be had in abundance.

The Company have spared no pains or expense in procuring everything necessary to make their works **perfect** in **every particular**, and feel confident of their ability to supply **all demands** both in **quality** and **quantity**.

### AMMONIA DEVELOPER.

**Pyro Stock.**  
 Pyro Acid..... 1 oz.  
 Bron. Ammonia..... ½ oz.  
 Water..... 6 oz.

To keep from discoloring, add exactly twenty drops C. P. Nitric Acid.  
 Of the above Pyro Stock, take 4 drams and put into 8 oz. water. Call it No. 1.  
 Take liq. Ammonia, full strength, 1 dram, put into 8 oz. of water, and use rubber stopper.  
 Call it No. 2.  
 To develop, take equal parts of No. 1 and No. 2.

### SODA DEVELOPER.

<b>Pyro Stock Solution.</b>		<b>Soda Stock Solution.</b>	
Water..... 6 oz.		Water..... 15 oz.	
Nit. Acid, C. P..... ½ Dr.		Sal. Soda..... 2 oz.	
Pyro..... 1 oz.		Sulphite Soda..... 3 oz.	

To Develop—Water, 3 oz.; Pyro, 1 dram; Soda, ½ oz.

If the Plates show any inclination to frill, simply dip them in a strong solution of alum; after fixing, allow the plate to remain in water for 20 minutes before exposing to white light; dust plates with a soft hair brush before exposing. During cold weather, chemicals should be kept warm; in summer, keep cool as possible.

### PRICE LIST.

3½ x 4½..... \$ .45	10 x 12..... \$ 3.80
4 x 5..... .65	11 x 14..... 5.00
4½ x 6½..... .90	14 x 17..... 9.00
5 x 8..... 1.25	16 x 20..... 12.50
5 x 7..... 1.10	18 x 22..... 15.50
6½ x 8½..... 1.65	20 x 24..... 18.50
8 x 10..... 2.40	

Any other sizes made to order at proportionate rates.

Office and Works, Concession Street, Hamilton, Ont.

## Appendix "C"

Advertisement, "Our 20 Years of Film Experience", *The Canadian Magazine*, 25-6 (October 1905), 52.

52

CANADIAN MAGAZINE ADVERTISER

# OUR 20 YEARS OF FILM EXPERIENCE

If there is any one line of business in which experience is more important than in any other, that line is the manufacture of highly sensitive photographic goods. And of all photographic processes, film making is the most difficult. It has taken us more than twenty years to learn what we know about making film.

And in that twenty years we have also learned how to make the perfect raw materials which are absolutely essential to the manufacture of film—materials which cannot be obtained in the market with a certainty that will be what they should be. We nitrate our own cotton for the film base; we nitrate our own silver for the emulsion. We go further, we even make the acid with which the cotton and silver are nitrated. Wherever it is possible to improve the completed product by manufacturing the raw material, we erect a factory and make that raw material.

Five years ago we felt that we were approaching film perfection, but no concern, even if it could make film as good as that *was*, could compete in quality with the Kodak N.C. Film of to-day. But experience is not the only advantage that our chemists and film makers enjoy. They have access to the formulae of the chemists who make the best dry plates in the world. The Kodak films of to-day have in them the combined knowledge of the most expert film makers and the most expert plate makers.

The wise amateur will be sure that he gets the film with experience behind it. There are dealers, fortunately not many, who try to substitute inferior films from inexperienced makers, the only advantageous feature which these films possess being the "bigger discount to the dealer." Amateurs, especially those who leave their Kodaks with the dealer to be loaded, should make sure that substitution is not practised against them.

The film you use is even more important than the camera you use. Be sure it's Kodak film with which you load your Kodak.

Remember:

**If it isn't Eastman, it isn't Kodak Film**

Look for "Eastman" on the box. Look for "Kodak" on the spool end.

CANADIAN KODAK CO., LIMITED  
TORONTO, CANADA



## Appendix “D”

*Canadian Kodak Company Trade Circular*, 1-2 (February 1905), 2.

“THEY ADVERTISED. How a Western drug store built up a large Kodak business. There’s a drug store in a town out west that paid us \$2,900 last year for photographic goods. The census takers tell us that the little city in which the firm does business has less than 3,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, its not a summer resort, nor a winter resort, nor the wealthy suburb of a large city - just a good live, healthy western city. And we presume that we did not sell that concern all its glass plates and glass plate cameras, nor all its mounts and sundries. At a low estimate its purchases must have been in the neighbourhood of \$4,000, and its profit on the photographic line \$1,500. How did they do it? They advertised. They used newspaper space, they talked Kodaks, and they made Kodak window displays. They were awake to every opportunity for pushing the Kodak line. For instance, on bright mornings they hung out a sign which read “fine Kodak morning, isn’t it?” Later in the day they turned it over and it read “Beautiful Kodak day, isn’t it?”. Whenever there was a convention in town they hung out a sign: “Did you bring your Kodak with you?”. Whenever there was a ball game between the “Fats” and the “Leans” they photographed them en-masse and individually, photographed them “at bat” and “sliding for second” and hung the resulting pictures in front of their store. They “worked us” for everything we had in the way of booklets and prints and signs that we had in stock (but never asked for anything “special”), and they kept up a continued hammering in the newspapers. What this concern has done others can do with an employment of the same enterprise - the same willingness to spend a dollar with the prospects of getting two dollars back. First sell a Kodak - that takes a little effort, but the business that comes after is easy.”

## Appendix "E"

"New Signs", *Kodak Trade Circular*, 5-1 (December 1903), 6.

6 KODAK TRADE CIRCULAR.

### NEW SIGNS.

The half-tones shown herein do not do justice to the signs

The Flash that Illuminates Most  
Eastman's Spreader  
Flash Cartridges

No. 94 11 x 14

which they represent, for of course they lack the colors, and in those cases where there is

KODAKS  
AND THE NEW  
KODAK FILM

No. 99 11 x 19

embossing they lack that also. But they show the style and the reading matter and we hope

The Eastman  
Chemists make  
Eastman's Solio  
Toning Solution  
just right for  
Solio Paper.

No. 100 11 x 14

that they may serve as a reminder to you of what you need in helping to keep Kodak

As long as the paper lasts, so long will the pictures endure—11 x 14

EASTMAN'S  
PERMANENT BROMIDE  
SOLD HERE

No. 329 9 x 16

supplies before your customers. We shall be pleased to send such of these as you care for upon request. Order by number, please.

### PERSONAL ADVERTISING.

Do you Kodak?  
Do you belong to a camera club? If so, do you attend the meetings?  
Enthusiasm is as "catching" as the measles. The man who warms up on the subject of photography, who makes a good picture now and then and

\$4,850.00  
in  
Cash Prizes  
for  
KODAK  
Pictures  
ASK FOR CIRCULAR.

No. 331 11 x 14

## **Bibliography**

### **Archival Sources**

Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester (UofR), (Kodak Historic Collection #003).

George Eastman Museum (GEM), Rochester (George Eastman Legacy Collection).

Ryerson University Special Collections, Toronto (Kodak Canada Corporate Archives and Heritage Collection).

De Montfort University Special Collections, Leicester (Kodak Ltd Research Collection).

British Library (BL), London (Kodak Ltd Corporate Archives).

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa (Canadian Census records; Topley fonds R639; Frank Wright fonds, R5151; Camera Club of Ottawa fonds, R2973; Toronto Camera Club fonds, R3686; Geological Survey of Canada Fonds, RG 45; Montreal Amateur Athletics Association fonds, R3193).

City of Toronto Archives, Toronto (Weegar Drugstore, fonds 0043; W. J. Whittingham, fonds 1408; Micklethwaite Studio fonds 1497; Larry Becker Ephemera collection, fonds 0070, series 682).

Ottawa Archives, Ottawa (Historic newspaper archive; Topley file).

Canadiana.org, <http://www.canadiana.ca/en/home> (Early Canadian Periodical Collection).

Bausch & Lomb Corporate Archive, Rochester (historic collection).

Stanley Museum, Kingfield (photographic business archive).

Statistics Canada. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/101/cst01/demo62a-eng.htm> - accessed October 19, 2014.

## **Historical Published Sources**

*The Amateur Photographer*

*Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*

*The British Journal of Photography*

*The Canadian Church Magazine*

*The Canadian Illustrated News*

*The Canadian Kodak Company Trade Circular* [Toronto]

*The Canadian Magazine*

*The Canadian Photographic Journal*

*The Chemist and Druggist*

*The Kodak Company Trade Circular* [Rochester]

*The Ottawa Naturalist*

*The Photographic News*

*The St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*

*The University of Ottawa Review*

Topley, William. "Photographic Literature." *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 20-10 (1889): 312.

-- "Hints to Beginners." *The International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 5 (1892): 314.

"New studio for Topley." *Ottawa Citizen*, 6 Dec. 1875: 4.

"New Photographic Palace in Ottawa." *Canadian Illustrated News*, 15-18 (11 November 1876): 277.

"New Photographers Association Formed." *The Globe*, 25 January 1884: 6.

"Photographers at Ottawa." *The Globe*, 11 November 1887: 2.

"Photographers Grievances in Canada." *The [Toronto] Mail*, 5 June 1888: 2.

"Now Look Your Prettiest - For the Amateur Photographers are after you." *Evening Journal*, 11 December 1894: 2.

"Kodak Men Gather." *Evening Journal*, 27 April 1897: 2.

"Growth of Photography." *The [Toronto] Globe*, 14 May 1904: 3.

*Salesmen & Demonstrators General Instructions*. London: Kodak Ltd, 1908.

*Kodaks and Kodak Supplies, 1908*. Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1908.

Canada Kodak Inc. *Journey: 75 years of Kodak research*. Toronto: Kodak Canada Inc., 1989.

*Manual Containing the "Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the Second Census in Canada, 1881*. Ottawa: Department of Agriculture Census Branch, 1881.

## Secondary Sources

Ackerman, Carl. *George Eastman*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.

Asdal, Kristin and Ingunn Moser. "Experiments in Context and Contexting." *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 37, 4 (2012): 291-306.

Ashworth, Lucian. "The Poverty of Paradigms: Subcultures, Trading Zones and the Case of Liberal Socialism in Interwar International Relations." *International Relations*, 26 (March 2012).

Baillie, Juliet. "Camera Clubs, Interwar Amateurs and Photography for Profit" in *Reconsidering Amateur Photography* edited by Annabella Pollen and Juliet Baillie. EitherAnd, 2013 <http://eitherand.org/>.

Bajac, Quentin. *The Invention of Photography*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002.

Bates, Christina. "Shop and Factory: The Ontario Millinery Trade in Transition, 1870-

- 1930,” in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. Alexandra Palmer, 113-138. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Bear, Jordan. “Looking Again: The Multiples of Photographic Discernment and Production.” In *Photography & Culture* 2-1 (2009): 51-76.
- Beetham, Margaret. “In search of the historical reader: The woman reader, the magazine and the correspondence column.” *Siegener Periodicum zur Internationalen Empirischen Literaturwissenschaft* 19-1 (April 2000): 89-104.
- Belleflamme, Paul and Martin Peitz. *Industrial Organization: Markets and Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Bennett, Tony. “Making Culture, Changing Society: The Perspective of ‘Culture’ Studies.” *Cultural Studies* 21-5 (2007): 610-629.
- Bianchi, Alessandra. “What’s love got to do with it.” *Inc.*, 18-6 (1996): 76-85.
- Bijker, Wiebe, Thomas Hughes and Trevor Pinch. *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New directions in the sociology and history of technology*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.
- Birrell, Andrew. “The North American Boundary Commission.” *History of Photography* 20- 2 (1996): 113-121.
- Blackbourn, Anthony and Robert Putnam. *The Industrial Geography of Canada*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Blaszczyk, Regina, editor. *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Blaszczyk, Regina. *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.

-- *The Color Revolution*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012.

Blok, Anders, and Torben Jensen. *Bruno Latour: Hybrid thoughts in a hybrid world*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Born, Georgina. "The Social and the Aesthetic: Methodological principles in the study of cultural production." In *Theory, Meaning, and Method: The Cultural Approach to Sociology*, edited by Jeffery Alexander and Isaac Reed, 77-116. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Photography: A middle-brow art*. Cambridge: Polity, 1996.

Braive, Michel François. *The Photograph: A Social History*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

Brake, Laurel and Julie F. Codell, editors. *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Braybon, Anne. "About Town: A Case Study from Research in Progress on Networks in Britain, 1952-1969." In *Photography & Culture* 1-1 (2008): 95-106.

Brayer, Elizabeth. *George Eastman: A Biography*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Briggs, Asa. *A Victorian Portrait*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.



Brock, James. "Persistent Monopoly and the Charade of the Anti-Trust: The Durability of Kodak's Market Power." *University of Toledo Law Review* 14 (1982-1983): 653-698.

Bronner, Simon. *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*. New York: Norton, 1989.

Brown, Elspeth. *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the rationalization of American commercial culture, 1884-1929*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Brown, Elspeth, Catherine Gudis, and Marina Moskowitz, editors. *Cultures of Commerce: representation and American business culture, 1877-1960*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Brown, Julie. *Contesting Images: Photography and the World's Columbian Exposition*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994.

-- "Book review: The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929." *Technology and Culture* 47 (June 2006): 648-649.

Brown, Robert. *Canada's National Policy, 1883-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Brunet, François. *La Naissance de l'idée de photographie*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2000.

-- "Inventing the Literary Prehistory of Photography: From François Arago to Helmut Gernsheim." *History of Photography* 34-4 (2010): 386-372.

-- "Nationalities and Universalism in the Early Historiography of Photography (1843-1857)." *History of Photography* 35-2 (2011): 98-110.

-- *Photography and Literature*. London: Reaktion Books, 2013.

Brusius, Mirjam, Katrina Dean and Chitra Ramalingam, editors. *William Henry Fox Talbot: Beyond Photography*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Burri, Regula. "Visual rationalities: Towards a sociology of images." *Current Sociology* 60-1 (2012): 45-60.

Buse, Peter. "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo-Magazines" <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/gear-and-galleries-aspirational-amateur-photo-maga/>

Cabral, Luís. *Introduction to Industrial Organization*. Cambridge, MIT Press, 2000.

Carbaugh, Robert. *International Economics*. Mason: South-Western College Publications, 2012.

Cartier-Bresson, Henri. *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Decisive Moment*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952.

Casson, Mark. *Multinationals and World Trade: Vertical Integration and the Division of Labour in World Industries*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1986.

Cetina, Karin. "The Epistemics of Information: A Consumption Model." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10-2 (2010): 171-201.

Chalaby, J. K. "Beyond the Prison-House of Language: Discourse as a Sociological Concept." *British Journal of Sociology* 47-4 (1996): 684–698.

Chandler Jr., Alfred. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1993.

Clark, Alison. *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999.

Coe, Brian, and Paul Gates. *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939*. London: Ash & Grant, 1977.

Coe, Brian. *George Eastman and the Early Photographers*. London: PRIORY Press Ltd., 1973.

-- "George Davison: Impressionist and Anarchist." In *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century: The Fine Art Tradition*, edited by Mike Weaver, 215-241. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Collins, Douglas. *The Story of Kodak*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990.

Collins, Harry. "Comment on Kuhn." *Social Studies of Science* 42-3 (2012): 420-423.

-- "Language and Practice." *Social Studies of Science* 41-2 (2011): 271-300.

Cowan, Ruth. *A Social History of American Technology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the 19th Century*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.

- Cross, Gary and Robert Proctor. *Packaged Pleasures: How Technology and Marketing Revolutionized Desire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Davis, Clark. *Company Men: White-Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles 1892-1941*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Davis, Keith. *An American Century of Photography : From dry-plate to digital : The Hallmark Photographic Collection*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999.
- DeGraaf, Leonard. *Edison and the Rise of Innovation*. New York: Stirling Signature, 2013.
- Du Gay, Paul and Michael Pryke. *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*. London: Sage, 2002.
- Dudley, Sandra. *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Durden, Mark, editor. *Fifty Key Writers on Photography*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Durkheim, Emile. *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964 (originally published 1893).
- Dwyer, John Alfred. *Business History: Canada in the Global Community*. Concord: Captus, 1999.
- Easterbrook, W.T. and Hugh Aitken. *Canadian Economic History*. Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1988.

Edwards, Elizabeth. *The Camera as Historian*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

-- "Unblushing Realism and the Threat of the Pictorial: Photographic Survey and the Production of Evidence 1885-1918." *History of Photography* 33-1 (2009): 3-17.

Edwards, Steve. *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth. "Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought." *Journal of Modern History* 40-1 (March 1968): 1-56.

Engel, Elizabeth. "'Reviewed Work,' review of *Along the Archival Grain* by Ann Stoler." *Archival Issues* 32 (2010): 136-138.

Ensign, Prescott, Chen-Dong Lin, Samia Chreim and Ajax Persaud. "Proximity, knowledge transfer, and innovation in technology-based mergers and acquisitions." *International Journal of Technology Management* 66-1 (2014): 1-31.

Evans, Harold. *They Made America*. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2004.

Fallan, Kjetil. *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method*. London: Bloomsbury, 2010.

Feitz, Lindsey. "Democratizing Beauty: Avon's Global Beauty Ambassadors and the Transnational Marketing of Femininity, 1954-2010." Unpublished PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2010.

Findeli, Alain. "Design History and Design Studies: Methodological, Epistemological

and Pedagogical Inquiry.” *Design Issues* 11-1 (1995): 43-65.

Fisher, Philip A. *Common Stocks and Uncommon Profits and Other Writings*. Hoboken: Wiley, 2003.

Flukinger, Roy. *The Formative Decades: Photography in Great Britain 1839-1920*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.

Ford, Colin, editor. *The Story of Popular Photography*. North Pomfret: Trafalgar Square, 1989.

Ford, Colin and Karl Steinorth, editors. *You Press the Button, We Do the Rest: The Birth of Snapshot Photography*. London: D. Nishen, 1988.

Fox, Richard, and T.J. Jackson Lears. *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*. New York: Pantheon, 1983.

Frank, David. “Labor Movement and Social Welfare (Canada).” In *Encyclopedia of Social Welfare History in North America*, edited by John Herrick and Paul Stuart, 216-218. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005.

Freeberg, Ernest. *The Age of Edison: Electric Light and the Invention of Modern America*. New York: Penguin Press, 2013.

Freund, Gisèle. *Photography & Society*. Boston: David R. Godine, 1980.

Frizot, Michel. *A New History of Photography*. New York: Konemann, 1999.

Fukuoka, Maki. “Selling Portrait Photographs: Early Photographic Business in Asakusa, Japan.” *History of Photography* 35-4 (2011): 355-373.

- Galison, Peter. "Ten Problems in History of Philosophy and Science." *Focus – ISIS* 99-1 (2008): 111-124.
- Garfield, Simon. *Mauve: How one man invented a color that changed the world*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000.
- Gershon, Ilana. "Bruno Latour" in *Agamben to Zizek: Contemporary Critical Theorists*, edited by Jon Simons, 161-176. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.
- Gershon, Ilana and Joshua Malitsky. "Actor-network theory and documentary studies." *Studies in Documentary Film* 4-1 (2010): 65-78.
- Gertner, Jon. *The Idea Factory: Bell Labs and the Great Age of American Innovation*. New York: Penguin Press, 2012.
- Gervais, Thierry and Gaëlle Morel. *La photographie: Histoire, technique, presse, art*. Paris: Larousse, 2008.
- Ginzburg, Carlos. *Threads and Traces*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Graham, Benjamin. *The Intelligent Investor: The Definitive Book on Value Investing*. New York: Harper Business, 2006.
- Green, David. "Reviewed Work: *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris 1848-1871* by Elizabeth Anne McCauley." *Journal of Design History* 8-2 (1995): 147-149.
- Green-Lewis, Jennifer. *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1996.

Greenhill, Ralph. *Early Photography in Canada*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Greenhill, Ralph, and Andrew Birrell. *Canadian Photography, 1839-1920*. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979.

Greenough, Sarah. "Of Charming Glens, Graceful Glade and Frowning Cliffs: The Economic Incentives, Social Inducements and Aesthetic Issues of American Pictorial Photography 1880-1902" in *Photography in Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Martha Sandweiss, 258-281. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991.

Grether, E. T. "Industrial Organization: Past History and Future Problems." *American Economic Review* 60 (1970): 83-89.

Griffin, Michael Scott. "Amateur photography and pictorial aesthetics: Influences of organization and industry on cultural production." Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.

<http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI8804932>

Gunn, Simon. "The Failure of the Victorian Middle-Class: A Critique." In *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, edited by Janet Wolff and John Seed, 17-44. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

Gusfield, Joseph. *The Community: A Critical Response*. New York: Harper Colophon, 1975.

Hacking, Juliet, editor. *Photography: The Whole Story*. New York: Prestel, 2012.

Hammond, Mary. *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England*,



1880-1914. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Harding, Colin. "O Is For... The Onion Field And The Great 'fuzzy' Photography Debate," National Media Museum <http://blog.nationalmuseum.org.uk/a-z-of-photography-george-davison-pictorialism-vs-straight-photography/> accessed February 22, 2016.

-- "Popular Photography." In *Photography: The Whole Story*, edited by Juliet Hacking, 156-159. New York: Prestel, 2012.

Harman, Graham. *Prince of Networks: Bruno Latour and Metaphysics*. Victoria: re.press, 2009.

Held, David and Anthony McGrew. *Globalization / Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide*. Cambridge, Polity, 2007.

Henisch, Heinz, and Bridget Ann Henisch. *The Photographic Experience, 1838-1914: Images and Attitudes*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Hevia, James. "The Photography Complex : Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900-1901), Making Civilization." In *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in the East and Southeast Asia*, edited by Rosalind Morris, 79-119. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Hudson, Giles. "Plate Wars: Marketing Measures and Advertising Objectivity in the British Photographic Dry Plate Industry, circa 1888 to 1900." Paper presented at the annual conference for the Photographic Historical Research Centre, De Montfort University, Leicester, June 24-25, 2013.

Huyda, Richard. "Photography and the Choice of Canada's Capital." *History of Photography* 20-2 (1996): 104-107.

Inglesby, Pamela. "Button-pressers versus picture-takers: The social reconstruction of amateur photography in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century U.S." *Visual Sociology* 5-1 (1990): 18-25.

-- "'A Photograph is Not a Picture': Distinguishing Anarchy From Art in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *On the Margins of Art Worlds*, edited by Larry Goss, 167-182. Oxford: Westview, 1995.

Jenkins, Reese. *Images and Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry 1839-1925*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Joschke, Christian. "Amateurism and cultural change: Photography in Germany and Austria 1880-1900," in *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888-1918*, edited by Patrick Daum, François Ribemont and Phillip Prodger, 107-125. London and New York: Merrell Press, February 2006.

Kane, Louise. "The Little Magazine in Britain: Networks, Communities, and Dialogues (1900-1945)." Unpublished PhD dissertation, De Montfort University, 2014.

Kenyon, Dave. *Inside Amateur Photography*. London: Batsford, 1992.

Kõdar, Tiit. "The Canadian Photographic Periodical Press." *History of Photography* 20-2 (1996): 138-145.

Kohout, Amy. "There is a Witchery in Kodakery." *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16-1 (2012): 125-129.

- Koltun, Lily editor. *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada 1839-1940*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1989.
- Krahn, Harvey and Graham Lowe. *Work, Industry, and Canadian Society*. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1993.
- Kuhn, Thomas. *Structures of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Laird, Pamela Walker. *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998.
- *Pull: Networking and Success since Benjamin Franklin*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Lamoreaux, Naomi. *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Latour, Bruno. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- "On actor-network theory: A few clarifications." *Soziale Welt* 47-4 (1996): 369-381.
- "On Recalling ANT", in *Actor Network Theory and After*, edited by John Law and John Hassard, 15-25. London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999.
- *Reassembling the Social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- "Spheres and Networks. Two ways to reinterpret globalization." *Harvard Design*

*Magazine* 30 (2009): 138-144.

-- "Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor-Network Theorist."

*International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 796-810.

-- *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Law, John, and John Hassard. *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999.

Law, John. *Aircraft Stories: Decentering the Object in Technoscience*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Law, John. ed. *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage, 1994.

Lears, Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1995.

Lipartito, Kenneth and David Sicilia. *Constructing Corporate America: History, Politics, Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Marchand, Roland. *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1998.

Marder, William and Estelle Marder. *Anthony, the man, the company, the cameras: An American Photographic Pioneer : 140 year history of a company from Anthony to Ansco, to GAF*. Fort Lauderdale: Pine Ridge Publishing Co., 1982.

Marshall, Herbert, Frank A. Southard and Kenneth A. Taylor. *Canadian-American Industry: A Study in International Investment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

Martin, Emily. *Flexible Bodies*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1994.

Martin, Joe. *Relentless Change: A Casebook for the Study of Canadian Business History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Marvin, Carolyn. *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking About Electrical Communication in the Late Nineteenth-Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Maurice, Philippe. "Snippets of History: The Tintype and Prairie Canada." *Material Culture Review* 41 (Spring 1995): 39-56.

McCauley, Anne. "The Trouble with Photography." In *Photography Theory*, edited by James Elkins, 403-430. New York: Routledge, 2007.

-- *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

McGahan, Anita. *How Industries Evolve: Principles for Achieving and Sustaining Superior Performance*. Cambridge: Harvard Business Press, 2004.

McMillian, David and David Chavis. "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory."

*Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (January 1986): 8-9.

Miles, Geoff. "An Absent Historical Condition: The Canadian Photographic Journal." *Vanguard* 12-3 (1986): 10-13.

Mitchell, Neil J. *The Generous Corporation: A Political Analysis of Economic Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Moore, Geoffrey. *Crossing the Chasm: Marketing and Selling Disruptive Products to Mainstream Customers*. New York: Collins Business Essentials, 2002.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, Vol. III 1865-1885*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.

-- *A History of American Magazines, Vol IV 1885-1905*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Munir, Kamal and Phillips, Nelson. "The Birth of the 'Kodak Moment': Institutional Entrepreneurship and the Adoption of New Technologies." *Organizational Studies* 26-11 (2005): 1665-1687.

Naylor, R.T. *The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1997.

Negus, Keith and Michael Pickering. *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value*. London: Sage, 2004.

Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography* (5th ed). New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2002.

- Nicholson, Bob. "You Kick the Bucket; We Do the Rest!": Jokes and the Culture of Reprinting in the Transatlantic Press." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17-3 (2012): 273-286.
- Nickel, Doug. "History of Photography: The State of Research." *The Art Bulletin* 83-3 (2001): 548-558.
- Noble, David. *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- Norris, James. *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Nye, David. *American Technological Sublime*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994.
- *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985.
- O'Conner, Kaori. "The Body and the Brand: How Lycra shaped America." In *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* edited by Regina Blaszczyk, 207-230. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- Oliver, Andrew. *The First Hundred Years: An historical portrait of the Toronto Camera Club*. Toronto: Aurora Nature Photography & Publishing, 1988.
- Orvell, Michael. *American Photography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Osterman, Mark. "The Technical Evolution of Photography in the 19th Century," in *The*

*Concise Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: From the First Photo on Paper to the Digital Revolution*, edited by Michael Peres, 11-12. Burlington: Focal Press, 2012.

Palmer, Alexandra, ed. *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Parkinson, C. Northcote. *The Rise of Big Business: From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day*. Faraday: Littlehampton Book Services, 1977.

Payne, Carol and Kunard, Andrea, eds. *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

Pels, Dick, Kevin Hetherington and Frederic Vandenberghe. "The status of the object: Performances, mediations and techniques." *Theory, Culture and Society* 19-6 (2002): 1-22.

Peres, Michael, editor. *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Burlington: Focal Press, 2007.

Phillips, Glen C. *The Ontario Photographers List (1851-1900)*. Sarnia: Iron Gate Publishing Co, 1990.

Phillips, Nelson and Cynthia Hardy. *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*. London: SAGE, 2002.

Pickering, Andrew. "The world since Kuhn." *Social Studies of Science* 42-3 (2012): 467-473.

Pollen, Annabella and Juliet Baillie. "Amateur Photographic Communities, Real and



Imagined: Collective Identity in Camera Clubs and Mass-Participation Events.”

*Photoworks Annual* 21 (2014): 160-167

<http://eprints.brighton.ac.uk/13393/1/In%20Conversation%20for%20Photoworks%2021%20-%20for%20repository.pdf> .

Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Porter, Glenn. *The Rise of Big Business 1860 – 1920, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*. Boston : Wiley-Blackwell, 2005.

Porter, Michael. *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. New York: Free Press, 1998.

-- “Clusters and the new economics of competition.” *Harvard Business Review* 76-6 (Nov/Dec 1998): 77-90.

-- “Location, Competition, and Economic Development: Local Clusters in a Global Economy.” *Economic Development Quarterly* 14-1 (2000): 15-34.

Porter, Michael and Cynthia Montgomery. *Strategy: Seeking and Securing Competitive Advantage*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Pritchard, Michael. “The development and growth of British photographic manufacturing and retailing 1839-1914.” Unpublished PhD dissertation, De Montfort University, 2010.

Prodger, Phillip. “A Transatlantic Art: European Pictorialism in the United States,” *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888-1918*, edited by Patrick Daum, François Ribemont and Phillip Prodger, 232-249. London and New York: Merrell Press, February 2006.

- Richards, Thomas. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Richardson, Sarah. "The Kodak Shops (1898-1902): George Walton, designer and George Davison, photographer: A Working Relationship Revealed." Unpublished BArch Thesis, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1989.
- Ricketts, Martin. *The Economics of Business Enterprise: An Introduction to Economic Organization and the Theory of the Firm*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2002.
- Robinson, Gerald. *Photography, History & Science*. Nevada City: C. Mautz, 2006.
- Rodger, Andrew. "William Topley: Reflections on a Capital Photographer." *Photography*, Library and Archives Canada (archived) website: <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/topley/index-e.html> accessed November 13, 2011.
- "Topley, William James." In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol 15. Toronto: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003.
- Rosenblum, Naomi. *A World History of Photography* (4th ed.). New York: Abbeville Press, 2007.
- Ross, Kerry. *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Camera and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Rothschild, Emma. *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.

- Ruane, Christine. "Spreading the Word: The Development of the Russian Fashion Press." In *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*, edited by Regina Blaszczyk, 21-43. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- Sandweiss, Martha. *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991.
- Sarvas, Risto and Frohlich, David. *From Snapshots to Social Media: The Changing Picture of Domestic Photography*. New York : Springer, 2011.
- Scanlon, Jennifer. *Inarticulate Longings: The "Ladies' Home Journal," eader, and the Promises of Consumer Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Schaffer, Simon and Steven Shapin. *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*. Princeton: Princeton University press, 2011.
- Schwartz, Dona. "Camera Clubs and Fine Art Photography: The Social Construction of an Elite Code." *The Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 15-2 (July 1986): 165-195. doi: 10.1177/089124168601500202.
- Schwartz, Dona and Michael Griffin. "Amateur photography: The organizational maintenance of an aesthetic code," in *Natural Audiences: Qualitative Research of Media Uses and Effects*, edited by Thomas Lindlof, 198-224. New York: Ablex, 1987.
- Schwartz, Joan. *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.
- "Felix Man's 'Canada': Imagined Geographies and Pre-Texts of Looking," in Payne

and Kunard (eds), *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, 3-22.  
Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

-- "The Archival Garden: Photographic Plantings, Interpretive Choices, and Alternative Narratives," in Terry Cook (ed.) *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions: Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels*, 69-110. Society of American Archivists, 2011.

-- "Complicating the Picture: Place and Memory between Representation and Reflection," in James Opp and John Walsh (eds), *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, 292-312. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

-- "Overlapping Ambiguities, Disciplinary Perspectives, and Metaphors of Looking: Reflections on a Landscape Photograph," in *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds Geography and the Humanities*, edited by Stephen Daniels, Dydia DeLyser, Nicholas Entrikin, and Douglas Richardson, 227-236. London: Routledge, 2011.

Schwartz, Joan and Terry Cook. "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory." *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 1-19.

Schwartz, Vanessa. *It's so French!: Hollywood, Paris, and the making of cosmopolitan film culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

-- *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siecle Paris*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1998.

Schwartz, Vanessa and Przyblyski, Jeannene., eds. *The Nineteenth Century Visual Culture Reader*. London: Routledge, 2004.

- Schwartz, Vanessa and Jason Hill, editors. *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Scranton, Philip. *Figured Tapestry: Production, Markets, and Power in Philadelphia Textiles, 1885-1941*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- *Endless Novelty: speciality production in American industrialization, 1865-1925*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Sennett, Robert. *The Nineteenth-Century Photographic Press: A Study Guide*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1987.
- Seiberling, Grace. *Amateurs, photography and the mid-Victorian imagination*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Sheehan, Tanya and Andres Mario Zervigon, editors. *Photography and Its Origins*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Sheehan, Tanya. *Photography, History, Difference*. Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2015.
- *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Shepherd, William. *The Economics of Industrial Organization*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2004.
- Shiga, John. "Translations: Artifacts from an Actor-Network Perspective." *Artifact* 1-1 (2007): 40-55.

Shy, Oz. *Industrial Organization: Theory and Applications*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.

Skidmore, Colleen. "Women Workers in Notman's Studio." *History of Photography* 20-2 (1996): 122-128.

-- "Women in photography at the Notman Studio, Montreal, 1856-1881." Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1999.

Slater, Don. *Consumer Culture and Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997.

-- "Marketing Mass Photography." In *Visual Culture: The Reader*, edited by Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall, 289-306. London: SAGE, 1999.

-- "Consuming Kodak." In *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography*, ed. Jo Spence and Patricia Holland, 49-59. London: Virago, 1991.

Smith-Doerr, Laurel and Walter Powell. "Networks and Economic Life", in *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, edited by Neil Smelser and Richard Swedberg, 4-5. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Sprague, Douglas. *Post-Confederation Canada: The Structure of Canadian History Since Confederation*. Toronto: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1990.

Stacy, Sarah. "The Economic Nationalism of *Weekend Magazine*" in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, edited by Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, 136-152. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

Star, Susan Leigh. "Power, Technology and the Phenomenology of Conventions: On

Being Allergic to Onions.” In *A Sociology of Monsters: Power, Technology and the Modern World*, edited by John Law, 26-56. London: Routledge, 1991.

Stebbins, Robert. *Amateurs: On the Margins Between Work and Leisure*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979.

-- *Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Stoler, Ann. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Strandvad, Sara. “Materializing ideas: A socio-material perspective on the organizing of cultural production.” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 14-3 (2011): 283-297.

Strasser, Susan. *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market*. New York: Pantheon, 1989.

Strathern, Marilyn. “Cutting the Network.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (1996): 517-535.

Suisman, David. *Selling Sound: The Commercial Revolution in American Music*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Sullivan, Arthur and Steven M. Sheffrin. *Economics: Principles in Action*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2003.

Swasy, Alecia. *Changing Focus: Kodak and the Battle to Save a Great American Company*. New York: Random House, 1997.

- Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Taylor, John. *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co, 1989.
- Taylor, Kenneth. "Tariffs", in *The Encyclopedia of Canada* , Vol. VI, ed. Stewart Wallace, 102-108. Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America : Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.
- Triggs, Stanley. "The Notman Photographic Archives." *History of Photography* 20-2 (1996): 180-185.
- *William Notman, The Stamp of a Studio*. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach House Press, 1985.
- Triggs, Stanley, Gordon Dodds, and Roger Hall. *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master Lens*. Toronto: David Godine Publishing, 1993.
- Tucker, Jennifer. *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Van Houten, Gerry. *Corporate Canada: An Historical Outline*. Malta: Progress Press, 1991.
- Vernimmen, Pierre, Pascal Quiry, Yann Le Fur and Antonio Salvi. *Corporate Finance: Theory and Practice*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2009.



Vertovec, Steve. *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Warner Marien, M. (2010). *Photography: A Cultural History* (3rd ed.). London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2010.

West, Nancy Martha. *Kodak and the lens of Nostalgia*. Charlottesville : University Press of Virginia, 2000.

White, Randall. *Fur Trade to Free Trade: Putting the Canada-U.S. Trade Agreement in Historical Perspective*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.

Whitten, David and Whitten, Bessie. *Handbook of American business history*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

-- *Manufacturing: A historiographical and bibliographical guide*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Wikström, Patrik. *The Music Industry: Music in the Cloud*. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2014.

Williams, Carol. *Framing the West: Race, Gender and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific NorthWest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

-- "Economic Necessity, Political Incentive, and International Entrepreneurialism: The "Frontier" Photography of Hannah Maynard." In *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, edited by in Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, 23-42. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

Williams, John Burr. *The Theory of Investment Value*. Burlington: Fraser Publishing Co,

1997.

Willsey, Ralph. "Lord of the Lens: William Topley's works from the cornerstone of the pictorial history of Canada." *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 2, 2000.

Willumson, Glenn. "Making meaning: displaced materiality in the library and art museum." In *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 62-80. London: Routledge, 2004.

Wilson, Robert. "William Notman's Stereo Perspective: The Victoria Bridge." *History of Photography* 20-2 (1996): 108-112.