

MOST DISTANT FASTNESSES

The Photography of the 1887 Yukon Expedition

by

Alexander Leif Hakonson, BFA

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Abstract

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While there has been an increasing interest in the cultural and historical importance of 19th-century survey photography, little attention has been paid to similar work conducted in Canada's north. This paper examines the photography produced during the Geological Survey of Canada's 1887 Yukon Expedition and its function as a tool of the Dominion government to exert control over the Yukon River Valley. By returning the photography to its functional roots and situating it within the larger documentary history of Canada's westward expansion, this thesis argues that the images helped to do three things: prevent the abrogation of the 1825 treaty boundary between Alaska and Canada; collect visual evidence for the public record of the Yukon and Canada's presence therein; and encourage settlement and development of the region by Canadian citizens.

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Introduction

The discovery of coarse gold in the Yukon in 1896 and the ensuing gold rush of 1898 are well studied, and books such as Pierre Berton's *Klondike* have, over the last century, continued to keep the narrative of the stampeders in the collective imaginations of many nations. Indeed, it's now difficult to find someone who doesn't associate the Yukon Territory with those three frenetic years of 1896-1899 when 100,000 people attempted to reach the gold fields of the north.

The popular view of rugged individuals pushing over the Coast Mountain ramparts to seek their wealth in *terra incognita* has led to hundreds of novels, biographies, and, more recently, movies and television series. While romantic, it's a narrative that ignores the fact that many of those gold seekers carried illustrated guides, maps, and geological reports of the area: that seemingly remote north-western corner of a nascent Canada had already been surveyed and photographed. A decade previously, the Yukon Expedition of 1887, led by Canadian geologist George Mercer Dawson and surveyor William Ogilvie, had begun the process that would eventually lead to the settlement and development of the Yukon as a territory within the Dominion of Canada.

Unlike their Gold-Rush era counterparts, the photographs of the Yukon Expedition lack the feverish energy of boomtown life. With significantly quieter subject matter, the predominantly river views are sometimes difficult to differentiate from one and other: taken from shore, water dominates much of the foreground, receding into the "V" of some distant, wooded hills. The shape of the hills changes, but the water is a constant, a reminder that the

surveyors were inextricably linked to the rivers on which they travelled. Sometimes a boat or a person can be seen, their size giving a sense of the immensity and isolation of the landscape. Interspersed throughout the roughly 200 photographs are images of the people and animals the expedition members met along the way: the fish caught that day, the trader outside his post, the indigenous packer. Once called “the most important and extensive exploration” that the Department of the Interior had ever undertaken,¹ the majority of its negatives have since been lost or destroyed. But why were these images created and how were they used?

In this paper, I posit that the photography of the Yukon Expedition was used as part of a multi-faceted attempt to assert the Dominion of Canada’s control over its most remote holdings. Firstly, the images participated in the Canadian government’s attempt to discredit the U.S. survey work of Lt. Frederick Schwatka, thereby weakening any American claim to the territory, existing or imagined. Secondly, the images acted as a surrogate for direct observation, allowing Dominion scientists and lawmakers to interact with and acquire knowledge of a remote corner of the country and so to possess it. Thirdly, they functioned to hasten settlement by appearing in popular magazines and journals as illustrations of the untapped potential within the territory at a time when the Canadian economy was in recession and immigration was in decline.

¹ *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1890* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891), Part VI pg. 29.

Literature Survey

This thesis draws on sources from several disparate yet often overlapping fields of study in an attempt to contextualize and understand the photographs produced during the 1887 survey of the Yukon Territory. Firstly, this literature survey will address the texts that allow those photographs to be situated within the larger historical timelines of Canada, surveying, and politics. Secondly, it will look at works that deal with engaging and interpreting photography. These papers come from both the fields of art history and historical geography, but are uniform in their focus on critical engagement with survey photography.

-General History-

Although many historians have written about the Yukon Territory, the majority of histories deal exclusively with the 1896 Klondike Gold Rush. Allen A. Wright's 1976 *Prelude to Bonanza* is one of the few books to address the pre-Gold-Rush era of the Yukon Territory. In it, Wright makes a broad attempt to organise the chronology of the Yukon, from Vitus Bering's ill-fated 1741 discovery of the Alaskan coast to William Ogilvie's 1897 survey of the town-site that became Dawson City. Wright, an engineer and highway surveyor, makes no overt mention of the photographs made by surveyors in the Yukon and only superficially touches on the politics of nation building in the north-west, opting for a more popular narrative of rugged men and adventure.

Lewis Green's 1982 history of the Alaska/Yukon boundary line is a more narrowly defined version of the linear history provided by Wright. In *The Boundary Hunters*, Green, a geologist himself, covers much of the same territory as *Prelude to Bonanza*, but is focused entirely on the efforts of surveyors to demarcate the Alaska/Yukon border at the 141st meridian. In writing about a national boundary line, Green necessarily addresses the political will of surveys but stops short of engaging critically with the photographs the surveyors produced. Instead, he includes images to illustrate the struggles of the surveyors and to give a face to the names he's writing about.

These two books address photography only obliquely but they remain, nevertheless, helpful in situating the 1887 Yukon Expedition and its images in an historical timeline. Taken together, they begin to build a picture of the time and space surrounding the creation of these photographs.

In his 2009 doctoral dissertation, *Making Settler Space*, Jason Grek Martin takes a critical look at the career of George Mercer Dawson, the leader of the Yukon Expedition. Martin, now an assistant professor of geography at Saint Mary's University, approaches Dawson and his work on a much more academic level than either Green or Wright. Not only does he discuss the political framework that prompted the Yukon Expedition,² he also delves into the internal struggles of the Geological Survey of Canada³ and its debate on the application of photography within Canadian surveys.⁴

²Jason William Grek Martin, *Making Settler Space George Dawson, the Geological Survey of Canada and the Colonization of the Canadian West in the Late 19th Century*, PhD diss., Queen's University, 2009 (Kingston: Queen's University, 2009), 45.

³ *Ibid.* 35.

⁴ *Ibid.* 60.

By the time the first photographs were being made in the Yukon Territory in the summer of 1883⁵, commercially produced dry-plate gelatin glass negatives were already available. This significantly reduced the weight and complexity of photography compared to the earlier wet-plate method, and, by 1886, Édouard Deville, the Surveyor-General of Canada, had begun experimenting with phototopography⁶: the first truly scientific approach to photography in the field of geography and the basis for the current practice of photogrammetry. According to Martin, it was around this time that the use of photography in geological surveys came into question, and a Select Committee was formed to investigate the efficacy of the Geological Survey of Canada. While Martin does address the photography of George Mercer Dawson, it is restricted to the anthropological work produced during an expedition to Haida Gwaii in the late 1870s⁷. Photography was rapidly changing in the 1880s, both in terms of capability and application. The simultaneous rise of the dry technologies and photogrammetry meant a paradigm shift in the production of survey photographs was on the horizon.

Understanding the political climate in 1887, both in Canada and within the Geological Survey, is pivotal to understanding the images themselves. With further reference to original sources, such as the Sessional Papers of the Canadian Parliament and the report of

⁵ Lewis Green, *The Boundary Hunters: Surveying the 141st Meridian and the Alaska Panhandle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982), 15. The photographer Charles Homan accompanied Lt. Frederick Schwatka on a US military survey of the Yukon River in 1883.

⁶ M. P. Bridgland, "Photographic Surveying in Canada," *Geographical Review* 2, no. 1 (July 1916): 19. Deville's early work with phototopography is detailed by Andrew Birrell in his 1981 paper, "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858-1900", *BC Studies* 52, (Winter 1981)

⁷ Jason William Grek Martin, *Making Settler Space George Dawson, the Geological Survey of Canada and the Colonization of the Canadian West in the Late 19th Century*, PhD diss., Queen's University, 2009 (Kingston: Queen's University, 2009), 227.

the Select Committee on the Geological Survey, a more complete impression of the era can be formed.

-Critical Engagement-

The 1887 exploratory survey took place during a time of immense change, both politically and technologically. It preceded and anticipated one of the largest mass migrations of the 19th century and undoubtedly helped shape early policy in the border territory. Because this thesis aims to explore the motivations and consequences of the Geological Survey's Yukon Expedition photography while acknowledging the survey's place within the larger discourses of westward expansion, nation building, and the observational sciences, the literature on critical engagement with photographs is central to its analysis.

Fifty years after the Yukon Expedition, Beaumont Newhall's *Photography 1839-1937* opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Included in this retrospective, and in Newhall's landmark publication *The History of Photography from 1839 to present day*, is the work of Timothy O'Sullivan, an important 19th-century western American survey photographer. The discussion surrounding the interpretation of survey photography has shifted substantially since Newhall's attempt to frame O'Sullivan as a proto-modernist⁸ but, taken as a case study, the various treatments of O'Sullivan's work are emblematic of the difficulties of engaging with images generally considered outside the realm of art.

In 1966, the newspaper editor James Horan published an illustrated biography of O'Sullivan. Much like the work of Green and Wright, the book focuses on the adventure

⁸ Robin E. Kelsey, "Viewing the Archive: Timothy O'Sullivan's Photographs for the Wheeler Survey, 1871-74," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 702.

narrative using the photographs as visual evidence to support the text. In 1982, Rick Dingus, who had spent several years working on Mark Klett's project of rephotographing O'Sullivan's survey sites, published *The Photographic Artifacts of Timothy O'Sullivan*. He approaches the photographs as "artifacts... rather than documents"⁹ and draws on his rephotographic work to talk about the act of creating images. Largely rejecting Newhall's proto-modernist interpretation, Dingus still focuses on the aesthetics, relating them to 19th-century romantic interpretations of the sublime¹⁰ and portraying O'Sullivan as an artist-scientist¹¹.

This theme of the surveyor as both artist and scientist (or at least assistant to) is echoed by Robin Kelsey in his 2007 book, *Archive Style*, where he rebuffs the arguments of both the modernists and the contextualists¹² as two extremes. Instead, Kelsey suggests that early survey photographers "had to satisfy vague and contradictory bureaucratic needs... and address viewers with disparate expectations..."¹³, leading to photography that attempted to position itself as both a work of aesthetic interest and an object of detached, scientific observation.

In the 1975 exhibition, *Into the Silent Land*, National Archives photo-archivist, Andrew Birrell, attempted to trace the progression of survey photography in Canada from 1858 to 1900. Birrell positioned the images produced on these explorations as "objective...

⁹ Rick Dingus, *The Photographic Artifacts of Timothy O'Sullivan* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), xi.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 82

¹¹ *Ibid.* 55

¹² Robin Kelsey, *Archive Style: Photographs & Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 3.

¹³ *Ibid.* 191

visual representation[s] of the country”¹⁴ but dismissed much of Ogilvie’s work in the Yukon: “owing to the scientific nature of the work carried out by other surveyors, few of the views have any historical or aesthetic interest.”¹⁵

Joan M. Schwartz’s 1998 doctoral dissertation, *Agent of Sight, Site of Agency*, endeavours to unify much, if not all, of the above by constructing a framework with which to approach photography critically. Her key point is that, regardless of whether the image was produced for scientific or aesthetic reasons, a photograph was “created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message, to an audience.”¹⁶ She suggests that the only way to understand an image is to return it to its “functional roots” and view it within the “larger documentary universe” in which it was created.¹⁷ In her view, survey photography became a 19th-century proxy for actual observation and, when given meaning by publication in government reports, directly and indirectly led to the creation of policies concerning Canada’s north-west expansion.¹⁸

The majority of writings on the Yukon Expedition, such as those of Green and Wright, focus solely on the adventure narrative, while the more academic work of Martin only addresses a fraction of the work produced by Dawson. Additionally, texts that engage critically with survey images either stop south of the 60th Parallel at the Cariboo Rush or disregard much of the Yukon imagery as too scientific to be of historical interest.

¹⁴ A. J. Birrell, *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858-1900: A Public Archives of Canada Travelling Exhibition* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1975).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Joan Marsha Schwartz, *Agent of Sight, Site of Agency the Photograph in the Geographical Imagination*, PhD diss., Queen's University, 1998 (Kingston: Queen's University, 1998), 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 325

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Methodology

This paper applies Schwartz's framework for the analysis of photographs to a body of work by returning it to its functional roots and examining the documentary universe that surrounded its creation. The aim is to understand who authored these images; to what purpose; and to which audience. This requires an understanding of the history surrounding the photographs and the technology that created them.

In conducting research for this paper, I relied heavily on documentary analysis of records and correspondence relating to the 1887 Yukon Expedition. The bulk of these original sources are held in Library and Archives Canada, spread among several fonds related to the Department of the Interior. George Mercer Dawson's diary, in the McGill University Archives, was of great value in adding context to his photographs. The images from the 1883 Schwatka expedition were accessed through the National Archives in Washington, DC.

The Department of the Interior in the late 19th century was a complicated network of former agencies and branches, merging and dividing every other year. As this paper is not a history of the department and a full explanation would be prohibitively large, let it suffice that, under the Department of the Interior, the two branches this paper addresses are: The Geological Survey of Canada¹⁹; and the Technical Branch (also referred to as the Topographical Surveys Corps). The former was mandated to gather intelligence pertaining to the mineral resource industry, while the latter was the remains of the Dominion Lands Branch and was mandated to expedite the development and settlement of the North-West

¹⁹ For an excellent history of the Geological Survey of Canada, one of the two branches, see Morris Zaslow's *Reading the Rocks: The Story of the Geological Survey of Canada. 1842-1972*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1975.

Territories. Both branches reported to the Minister of the Interior who, in 1887, happened to be Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald.

Another point of early Canadian politics to keep in mind is that, though the Dominion government had officially been created through the British North America Act, all of the country's international relations were conducted by proxy, through the United Kingdom.

Also, though the timeframe of this expedition may suggest that the photographers were carrying cumbersome glass plates, the reality of the situation is that they were equipped with 5x7 cameras, roll-backs, and rolls of paper substrate film. The gelatino-bromide film they used was a new technology at the time, which was only marketed for a handful of years before the introduction of stripping film. A rare choice for survey photography, the Yukon Expedition appears to be the only Canadian survey to make use of the medium. While the oiled paper base supposedly printed as quickly as glass and nearly without visible paper grain,²⁰ the introduction of phototopography heralded a return to glass as the substrate of choice.

Perfecting by Surveyor-General Edouard Deville in 1888, phototopography, or iconometry as it was originally named, is a method of photographic survey in which a camera and theodolite are used to create multiple, overlapping images of distant objects from a known location. The technique freed the topographer from physically travelling to each peak and allowed the plotting and fixing of points to take place after the expedition, in the comfort of the office. Needless to say this drastically reduced the required fieldwork and cost

²⁰ William Abney De Wiveleslie, "Gelatino Bromide and Gelatino Chloride Papers," in *Photography with Emulsions: A Treatise on the Practical Working of the Collodion & Gelatine Emulsion Processes*, Third ed. (London: Piper & Carter, 1885), 190.

of surveys in mountainous terrain. In the manual on the technique, originally published in 1889, Deville stated that isochromatic dry-plates with an anti-halation coating were the preferred negatives and that while in future “films could be made as good as glass plates... it does not seem that this point has been reached”.²¹

Unfortunately for the longevity of the gelatino-bromide negatives, the oiled paper base became progressively more brittle with age and only sixteen of the more than 200 negatives made during the Yukon Expedition are known to have survived to the present day. The images that do exist have survived as prints, both photo-chemical and photo-mechanical. Like the documents surrounding their creation, they have become scattered among various collections and fonds. In an attempt to make sense of the multiple streams of information, I assembled spreadsheets, which are appended to this paper as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

Lastly, this paper focuses on early photography in the Yukon and, by extension, the explorers who brought cameras to bear on the territory. In no way does it intend to sideline the thousands of years of First Nations history in the area or suggest that the Yukon River Valley was terra incognita before the arrival of Europeans.

²¹ Edouard Deville, *Photographic Surveying: Including the Elements of Descriptive Geometry and Perspective* (Ottawa: Govt. Print. Bureau, 1895), 184.

Undermining the Americans

On Friday, March 29th, 1867, the British North America Act received Royal Assent, formally uniting the Province of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia as the Dominion of Canada. The following day, the United States finalised its purchase of Alaska, the first non-contiguous state in the union, with the less than secret hopes of eventually annexing British Columbia²² and solidifying their control of the west coast.

British Columbia, though seemingly divided on the idea of joining the U.S.,²³ was eventually coaxed into joining Confederation in 1871, and talk of annexation disappeared. That same year, the Washington Treaty ensured Canadian vessels would maintain the right to ply the cross-border Yukon, Porcupine, and Stikine rivers, cementing access to the largely unexplored and recently acquired Yukon River valley.

Articles in Victoria's *Daily British Colonist* show that, as early as 1865, British Columbians had turned their eyes north,²⁴ beyond their borders. By 1871, newspapers were suggesting that the unexplored territories would prove a continuation of the Western Cordillera²⁵ with all the mineral wealth and settlement opportunities that entailed and, in 1883, the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia approached Ottawa about funding exploration of the area. It wouldn't be until 1885 that Ottawa could be convinced to move

²² Richard E. Neunherz, "Hemmed In: Reactions in British Columbia to the Purchase of Russian America," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (July 1989): pg. 101.

²³ *Ibid.* 110

²⁴ *The British Colonist* (Victoria), October 26, 1865, The News sec., accessed January 2016, <http://archive.org/stream/dailycolonist18651026uvic/18651026#page/n0/mode/1up>.

²⁵ "The Washington Treaty," *The British Colonist* (Victoria), October 14, 1871, The News sec., accessed January 2016, <http://archive.org/stream/dailycolonist18711014uvic/18711014#page/n0/mode/1up>.

on so remote a holding, and the impetus would once again come from the fear of American expansion.

Worried about the possibility of an “Indian war” in Alaska, the U.S. Army sent Lieutenant Frederick Swatka and a survey team north in 1883 with the intention of performing a military exploration of the Yukon River valley. The army had withdrawn from Alaska in 1877, and control of the state had been transferred to the Department of Revenue. Knowing they lacked jurisdiction in either Alaska or the Yukon, the U.S. Army kept the expedition secret from both the U.S. Congress and Dominion government until it was beyond the point of recall.

As part of the military survey, Swatka attempted to determine the location of the Alaska/Canada boundary line. This he placed at the summit of the Perrier Pass (now the Chilkoot Pass) and again at Belle Isle (now Eagle, Alaska). In the final report of that survey, published in 1884, the old Hudson Bay Company trading post, Fort Selkirk, is variously referred to as “Fort Selkirk, Yukon River, B.C.” and “Fort Selkirk, Yukon River, Alaska”. Along their route, the Americans also renamed prominent features, islands, and distant mountains. Though some names, like Kitl ah-gon (now Minto Flats), were attempts to spell out phonetically those used by the indigenous population, many more (Lake Marsh, Newberry River, Hoochekoo Bluff) were based on American politicians, scientists, and popular culture.

Along with the official report, Swatka published a popular narrative of the trip, highlighting the adventures of his team and the dangers of travelling in the Yukon.²⁶ Both

²⁶ Swatka’s official report was “Report of a Military Reconnaissance in Alaska made in 1883” while the popular narrative was “Along Alaska’s Great River”

the popular and official report were filled with engravings based on the photographs by Charles A. Homan, the survey topographer and first person to photograph the Yukon interior.

In December 1885, U.S. President Grover Cleveland announced to Congress that the Alaska/Canada boundary line was geographically impracticable and that a new boundary based on obvious geographic features should be selected.²⁷ Canada declined to discuss any changes to the border until it could acquire its own information on the territory and began to compile reports and maps relating to the Yukon. With the trunk line of the Canadian Pacific Railway finished, the once remote Yukon must have seemed infinitely more accessible to Ottawa and, coupled with the ever-increasing number of mostly American miners moving into the area and the mounting pressure to rectify the 1825 boundary, the Dominion became increasingly concerned that inaction would likely lead to the annexation of what was proving to be a valuable tract of land.

After two years collecting intelligence from miners, trappers, and explorers who had spent time north of Telegraph Creek, B.C., the Yukon Expedition was ready to depart in April 1887. The exploratory survey (fig. 1) would be carried out under the leadership of Dr. George Mercer Dawson, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of Canada. The team would enter the territory from Dease Lake in northern British Columbia, portage across the drainage divide to the headwaters of the Pelly River and descend to the site of old Fort Selkirk. From there, they would ascend the Yukon River to the Coast Mountains, where the

²⁷ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the Annual Message of the President, December 8, 1885.* (Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 1886).

party would exit the area via the Chilkoot Pass. This route would take them roughly 2,100km in five months.

A second team, headed by William Ogilvie, D.L.S of the Topographical Survey Corps, would enter the region over the Chilkoot Pass. They would descend from the headwaters of the Yukon River, as Schwatka had in 1883, to the point where the river crossed the International Boundary. After wintering near the boundary, the team would ascend the Tatonduk, Porcupine, and Bell rivers to the Hudson's Bay post of Lapierre House. From there, they would cross the Richardson Mountains to the Mackenzie Delta, where they would turn south and begin the journey to Lake Athabasca and eventually home. A much longer route than Dawson's, Ogilvie and his crew would cover 4,800km over eighteen months.

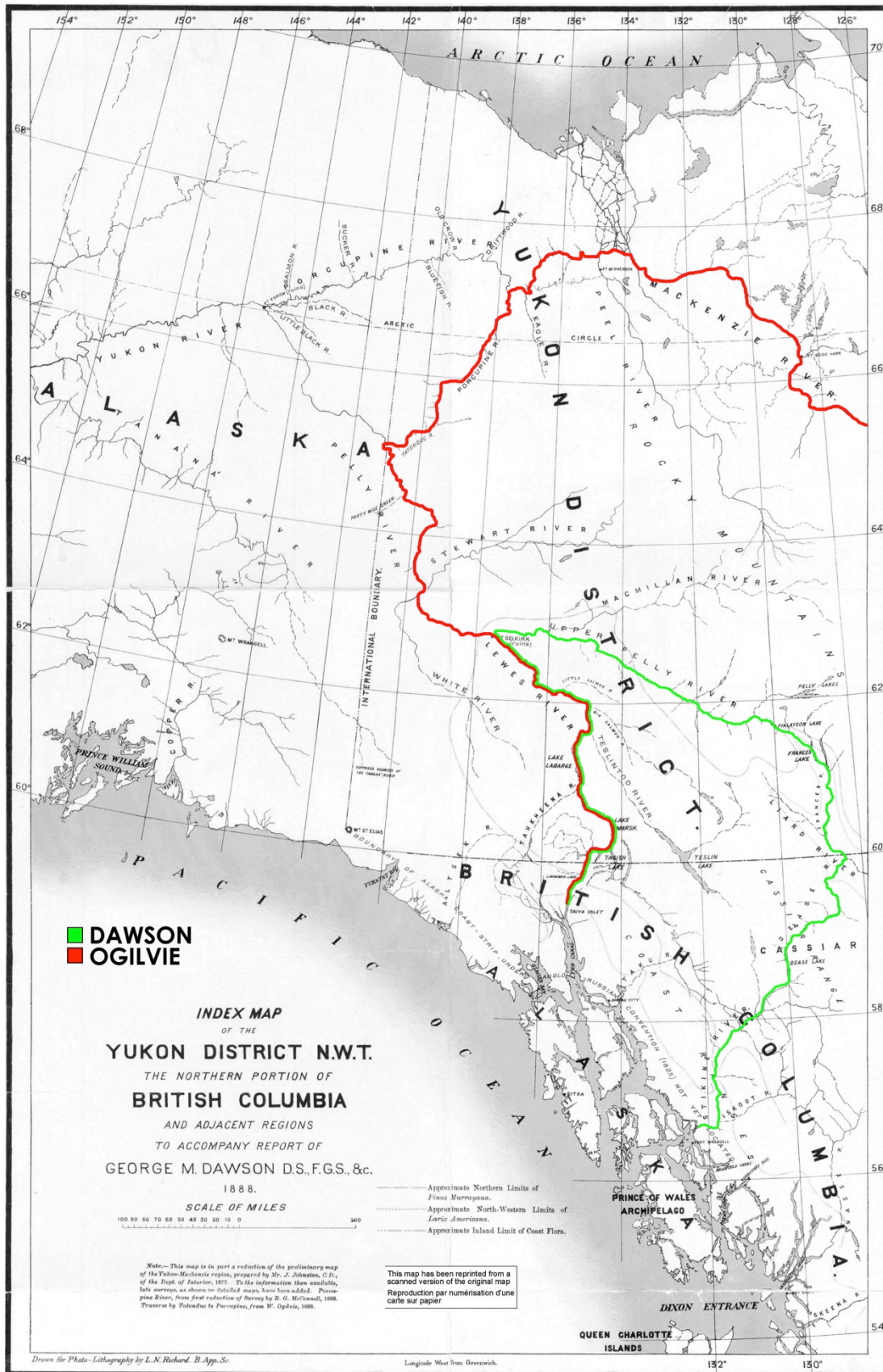


Figure. 1: 1887 Route Map

Both teams were equipped with cameras and rolls of 5x7 gelatino-bromide paper film: a relatively new technology that allowed the party to carry hundreds of frames on the months-long journey at a fraction of the weight of previous photographic systems. Late into the planning the decision was made to split Dawson's assistant, Richard G. McConnell, from the main party before crossing into the Yukon and have him descend the Mackenzie River. He was not equipped with a camera, and so his work will not be discussed in this paper, though he did return to the area with a camera in subsequent expeditions.

The three stated objectives of the 1887 expedition were:

1. "To obtain information, topographical, geological and general of this great tract of country, and particularly such facts as may bear on its economic value, the character and probable future prospects of the gold-mining already carried on, and the available and most favourable routes for commerce and communication..."
2. "An investigation of the possible position of the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia... a preliminary determination of the point where the 141st Meridian, constituting the International Boundary, crosses the Yucon [sic] River..."
3. "The work thus outlined will... [provide] the information necessary for the consideration of any propositions which may be made as to a change of the Treaty Boundary."²⁸

The first objective, I will address later. The second objective however, demonstrates the Dominion's refusal to accept Schwatka's maps as factually correct, while the third suggests that the Canadian government had heard President Cleveland's suggestion and understood the need to prepare for an impending border dispute. A letter from Lord

²⁸ "Memorandum on Proposed Organization of Survey of Survey and Exploration of Country Drained by Yucon River within Canadian Territory," Edouard Deville and George Mercer Dawson to John A. Macdonald, 1887, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, ON.

Salisbury, then British Prime Minister, to Lionel West, his diplomat in the U.S., several weeks before Dawson's return from the Yukon, reinforces both of these points:

Although Her Majesty's Government have agreed in principal to take part in a preliminary investigation of the Alaska boundary question, they are not prepared to admit that the points referred to by Lieutenant Schwatka in any way fix where the line should be drawn.²⁹

It is with these goals and in this political climate that the expedition left Ottawa and proceeded in its attempt to reinforce the Dominion's claim to the Yukon while simultaneously undermining the work of the previous American survey.

Dawson's eventual report was critical of Schwatka in several areas, not the least of which was the American's habit of re-naming geographical features: "[Schwatka] has completely ignored the names of many places already well known to miners... some of which even differ in the different versions of the map of his route... Strict justice might demand the exclusion of all these new names on the definitive maps..."³⁰

Further, both Dawson and Ogilvie criticized the accuracy of the 1883 survey in their expedition reports and in articles for popular magazines, with Ogilvie highlighting Schwatka's inability to tell the difference between an island and a peninsula³¹ and Dawson suggesting the American couldn't even determine the headwaters of the river he had

²⁹ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. 1, Dec. 3, 1888 (1889), pgs. 768-769.

³⁰ George Mercer Dawson and Richard George McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1898), pg. 143B.

³¹ William Ogilvie, D.L.S., *Exploratory Survey of Part of the Lewes, Tat-on-Duc, Porcupine, Bell, Trout, Peel and Mackenzie Rivers 1887-88* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890), pg. 20.

surveyed.³² Lastly, where Schwatka presented the Yukon as a river full of danger and adventure in his popular narrative, *Along Alaska's Great River*, the Canadians represented the waterways as almost entirely navigable and safe for commercial vessels. In the end, Ogilvie's survey determined that the boundary line was almost twenty kilometres up the Yukon River from where Schwatka placed it, or roughly ten kilometres further east: a demarcation that remained unchanged until into the 20th century and a demonstration that the Canadians were willing to surrender ground in their pursuit of an uncontested accurate border.

Although all the criticisms were levelled at Lieutenant Schwatka, it was Charles A. Homan, the party topographer, who had actually performed the 1883 survey work. Homan had also acted as the photographer. During the two years of preparation, the Canadians had acquired Schwatka's maps, which eventually accompanied them on their journey. It's therefore safe to assume that they would have also been aware of Homan's photographs, which appeared in Schwatka's official report and his popular retelling, both of which were published in 1885. As such it's worth noting the existence of some remarkably similar images taken by the two expeditions (Figs. 2a-4b). While there are similarities in the photographs of the iconic landmarks along the river, such as the ruins of Fort Selkirk or Miles Canyon, others are of relatively non-descript bends in the river. Is it possible that the Canadians actively sought to re-photograph Homan's images? When you take into account how the images were published, it becomes an enticing argument.

Unfortunately for Homan, his photographic plates were almost entirely ruined before they were processed, and the images that survived were of insufficient quality for printing.

³² George Dawson Mercer and Richard McConnell George, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1898), 16B.

Thus, engravings based on the photographs accompanied the American reports (Figs. 5a & 6a). In contrast, the photographs taken by Dawson and Ogilvie were translated to halftone blocks by George Desbarats (Figs. 5b & 6b) and so, the 1887 images, though not the first made of the Yukon, became the first photographs of the Yukon published with the believable fidelity of the newly perfected halftone process. Whether this attempt to usurp the claim of being the first to photograph the interior was conscious or not, the effect was the same: Homan's involvement in the history of the territory faded into obscurity, and it seems that, eventually, even Ogilvie forgot he hadn't been the first, as evidenced by his note on the back of a copy of his Miles Canyon photograph: "First ever picture of Cañon".

This multifaceted attack on the quality of the American survey, though not totally dismissive of Schwatka's work, was successful enough to place Dawson and Ogilvie in the position of scientific authority on the territory and reinforce Dominion control over the area.



Figure 2a. Miles Canyon, W. Ogilvie, 1887. LAC, Ottawa.



Figure 2b. View in Grand Cañon, C.A. Homan, 1883. National Archives, Washington D.C.



Figure 3a. Junction of Lewes and Pelly from near site of old fort, G.M. Dawson, 1887. LAC, Ottawa.



Figure 3b. Looking up the Yukon from the site of Fort Selkirk, C.A. Homan, 1883. National Archives, Washington D.C.



Figure 4a. From Forks Taiya River looking up pass, G.M. Dawson, 1887. LAC, Ottawa



Figure 4b. A View in the Dayay Valley. C.A. Homan, 1883. National Archives, Washington D.C.

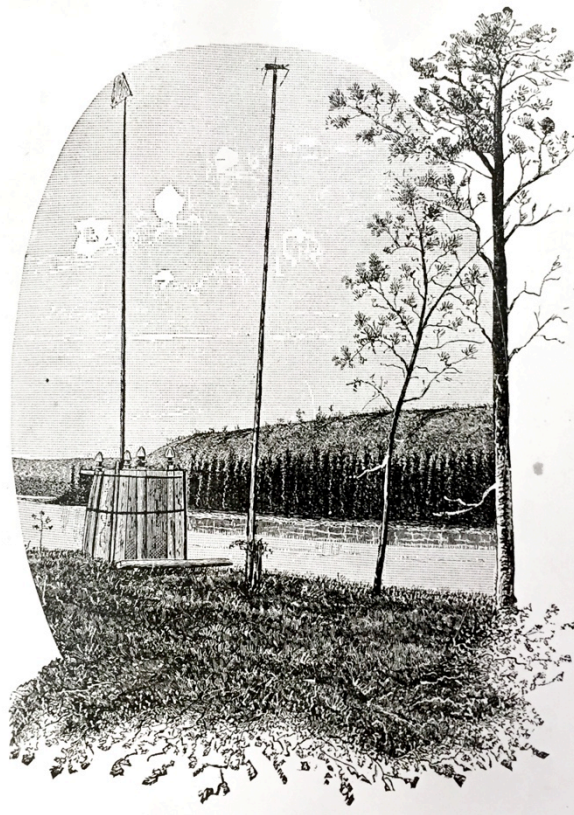
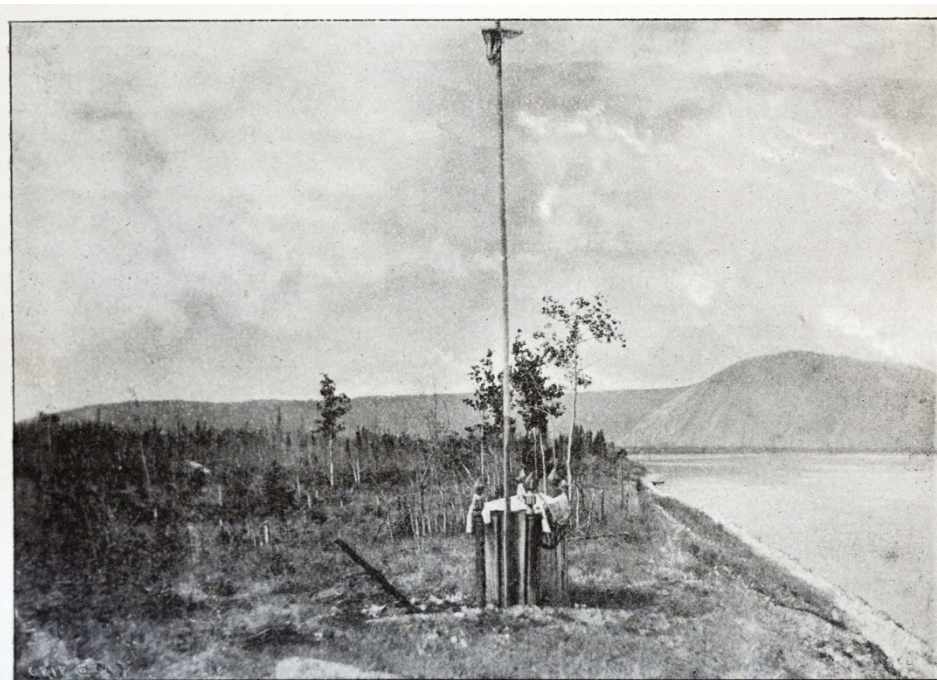


Figure 5a. Indian Grave near old Fort Selkirk. Engraving from photograph by Charles A. Homan, 1883.



INDIAN GRAVE NEAR RUINS OF FORT SELKIRK.

Figure 5b. Indian Grave Near Ruins of Fort Selkirk. Half-tone from photograph by William Ogilvie, 1887.

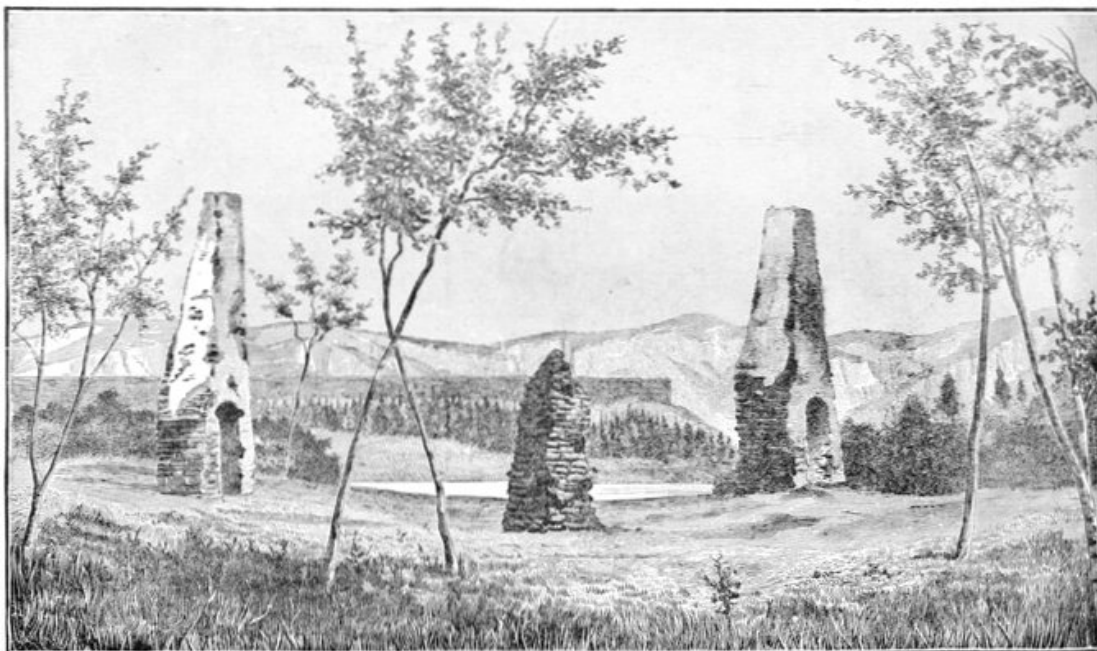


Figure 6a. Ruins of Fort Selkirk. Engraving from photograph by Charles A. Homan, 1883.



Figure 6b. Ruins of Fort Selkirk. Half-tone from photograph by William Ogilvie, 1887

Science and Collecting

In 1888, the *Journal of the Camera Club of London* ran an article by Sir Henry Trueman Wood discussing the benefits of photography to science. In it Wood stated that “The value of photography in geographical science is now so well admitted that an explorer would almost as soon think of starting without a camera as without a rifle.”³³ Canada’s Department of the Interior seemingly also subscribed to that view and began outfitting its surveyors with cameras in 1886.³⁴

Phototopography had yet to be perfected by the time the Yukon Expedition left Ottawa; nevertheless, the department acknowledged the possibilities of the medium in its 1887 annual report:

Photography permits the obtaining of topographical information more easily and economically than any other method: it is particularly convenient in a mountainous country, and is now often employed for work of that description. It was proposed to illustrate surveyors' reports by reproducing their photographic views, thus adding interest to their descriptions.³⁵

With the acquisition of an in-house photographer and lab the following year, the annual report for 1889 states: “...no report of an exploration now is considered complete without being accompanied by illustrations.”³⁶

³³ Henry Trueman Wood, "Some of the Applications of Photography to Scientific Purposes," *Journal of the Camera Club of London* 2, no. 14-26 (1888): pg. 39.

³⁴ *Sessional Papers: First Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada*, vol. 6 (Ottawa: Senecal, 1887), Part II, pg 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Sessional Papers: Third Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada*, vol. 12 (Brown Chamberlin, 1889), No. 15, xviii.

Curiously, although the photographs produced during the Yukon Expedition were considered “very interesting”³⁷ by the Department of the Interior, only six of Dawson’s 120 images accompanied his 1888 published report, and none of Ogilvie’s were included in his. The annual report for that year partly explains the lack of images: “illustrating the surveyors’ reports from the photographs they take... would have been done for the present year’s report, but for the want of proper quarter for the photographer.”³⁸ Although, when Dawson’s report was published again in 1898 for the gold rush stampeders, only two more photographs were added.

Possibly, a better explanation can be found in an inquiry conducted into the efficacy of the GSC. With the Canadian acquisition of the North-West Territories in 1870, the Geological Survey found itself struggling to produce maps of a vastly larger country without an equally large increase in budget and manpower. In 1884, this struggle came to a head when a special committee was tasked with investigating the agency. The committee produced a castigating report suggesting that the Survey seemed to lack the ability or desire to locate and aid in the development of any extensive mineral deposits.³⁹ They further determined that resources were being squandered on anthropological and documentary photography.⁴⁰ Particularly singling out George Mercer Dawson⁴¹ for his photographs of the

³⁷ *Sessional Papers: Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada*, vol. 12 (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1888), No. 14, xxiv.

³⁸ *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1888* (Ottawa: Senecal, 1889), pg. xviii.

³⁹ *Report of the Select Committee Appointed by the House of Commons to Obtain Information as to Geological Surveys, &c., &c* (Ottawa: Printed by Maclean, Roger &, 1884), pg. 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 8

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 75

Haida, they suggested that geologists should focus primarily on geology, and that “photographic views... should occupy no part of the published reports.”⁴²

When looking at Dawson’s report on the Yukon, it would appear that the criticisms of the Special Committee were at least partly taken to heart. Of the six photographs included in the paper, two are captioned with reference to their geological features (Figs. 7 and 8). The other four are shown as characteristic of the general nature of the territory. In a marked shift away from his earlier work in Haida Gwaii, Dawson made very few photographs of the First Nations of the Yukon (Figs. 9 and 10), and not one of those images is presented in the government document.

To send two surveyors, equipped with cameras, to one of the most remote corners of the country suggests that the act of photographing was seen as important, and the reports and sessional papers seem to support that but, with so few images published in the scientific sphere, it’s tempting to think these photographs failed as objects of scientific communication. Instead, I would argue that communication was not necessarily the main goal, but rather the images were intended to stand in as proxy specimens of landscape in the Dominion government’s collection.

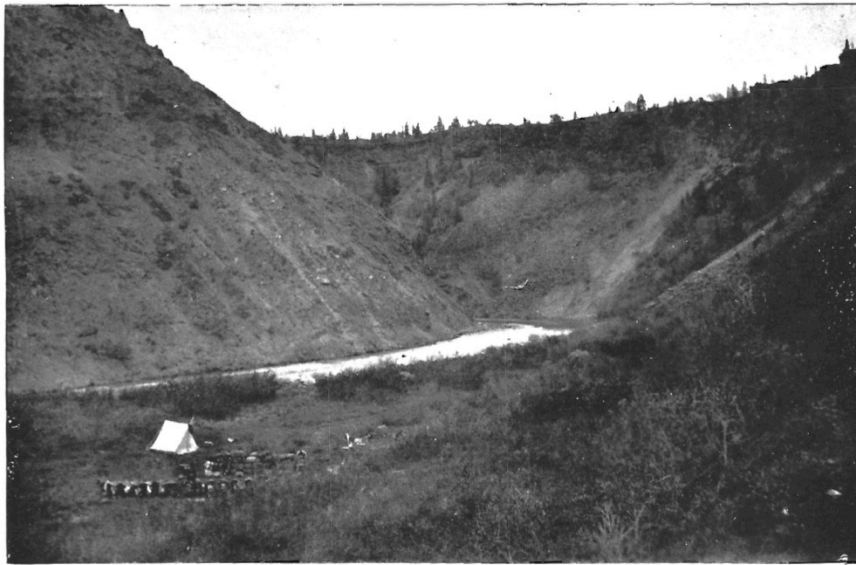
The concept of collecting, as a fundamental aspect of the natural sciences, was certainly championed by the Geological Survey of Canada, which eagerly stocked its museum in Ottawa with samples from not only across Canada, but also around the globe. Photography was seen as an extension of this collecting practice: what couldn’t be brought back for study was photographed, and those photographs were then meticulously catalogued, to act as surrogates for the absent objects, be it flora, fauna, or mountain. As an example, a

⁴² *Ibid.* 8

number of unpublished fish photographs taken by Dawson (Fig. 11a-d) were circulated, as prints, to other scientists,⁴³ where they stood in for the biological samples that would have been difficult to bring out of the Yukon.

Dominion scientists and lawmakers could then call upon these photographs as evidence to support their claims, and as Ottawa increased its physical and photographic evidence of its territories, it increased its intellectual and political hold over them. Like many of the images made by government surveyors, the work of Dawson ended up in large, authoritative albums, arranged and numbered – the physical manifestation of photography as a tool of collecting territory.

⁴³ George Mercer Dawson and Richard George McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1898), pg. 231 B.

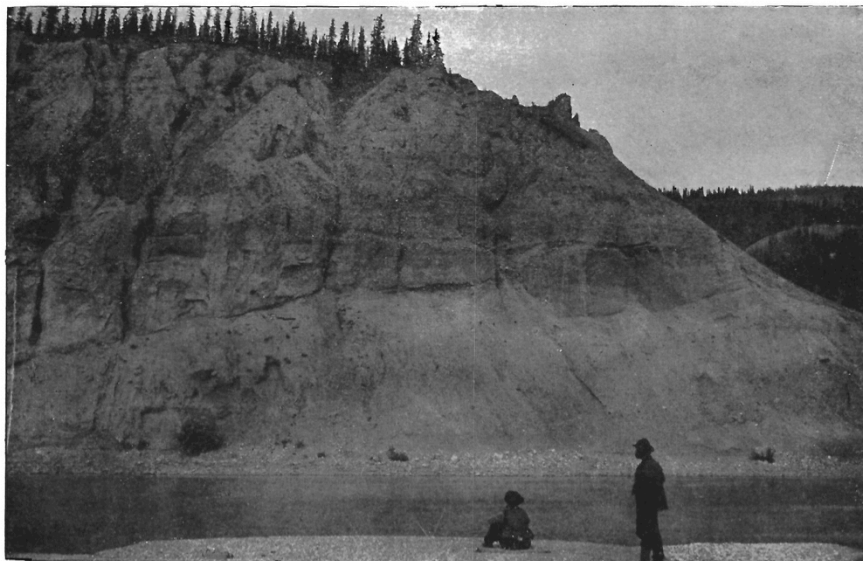
G. M. DAWSON, PHOTO., MAY 7th, 1887.

G. E. DESSARATS & SON, ENGRAVERS & PRINTERS, MONTREAL.

TAHL-TAN VALLEY, AT TRAIL-CROSSING.

Bank on the right shews basalt, capping old gravel deposit. Hill on the left composed of older crystalline rocks.

Figure 7. Tahl-tan Valley, at Trail-Crossing. Half-tone from photograph by George M. Dawson, 1887



G. M. DAWSON, PHOTO., AUG. 4, 1887.

G. E. DESSARATS & SON, ENGRAVERS & PRINTERS, MONTREAL.

DRIFT BLUFF, UPPER PELLY RIVER, AT MOUTH OF LAPIE RIVER.

Lower part of bluff boulder-clay, irregularly overlain by earthy stratified gravels, these followed in ascending order by stratified silts.

Figure 8. Drift Bluff, Upper Pelly River, at Mouth of Lapie River. Half-tone from photograph by George M. Dawson, 1887



Figure 9. Indians at mouth of Dease River, G.M. Dawson, 1887. LAC, Ottawa.



Figure 10. Indian crew at Cache Camp, Frances Lake, G.M. Dawson, 1887. LAC, Ottawa.



a. b.



c. d.



Figure 11. All photographs by George Mercer Dawson, 1887. LAC, Ottawa
Plates: a) Greyling b) Dark Variety of Trout c) Pike, 3'3" d) Whitefish and Sucker

Developing the North

While the previous section dealt almost exclusively with the photography of George Mercer Dawson, this section will look at the work of William Ogilvie and how his photographs were used to promote the Yukon as a place of opportunity and adventure. Keeping in mind the mandate of each surveyor's branch, (the GSC to encourage mining, the Topographical Corps to stimulate settlement), it makes sense that the two agencies would use the images produced by their agents in different capacities.

Returning now to the first of the stated objectives of the Yukon Expedition:

“To obtain information, topographical, geological and general of this great tract of country, and particularly such facts as may bear on its economic value, the character and probable future prospects of the gold-mining already carried on, and the available and most favourable routes for commerce and communication.”

We can see from this objective that the Dominion was looking to create a reason for people to go to the Yukon and also to illustrate how to get there. While Ogilvie's report did not include images, Ogilvie, unlike Dawson, went on to write a number of articles for popular periodicals of the day. His photographs appear in *The Dominion Illustrated*, *The Canadian Magazine*, and significantly, an 1898 manual on how to get to the gold fields, *The Klondike Official Guide*, published by authority of the Department of the Interior.

Dawson's photographs were only published to accompany his rather dense report, which, though available for purchase, would have been of relatively little interest to the general population. Ogilvie's images, on the other hand, were reproduced and distributed in

the thousands to accompany his articles on the adventure, wonder, and untapped potential of the North-west. His piece for *The Canadian Magazine*, entitled “Down the Yukon and Up the Mackenzie,” was serialized over four issues with cliffhanger endings.

This approach is clearly aimed at a broader audience than a departmental report, and, all being done with the backing of the Department of the Interior, it highlights that the Canadian government’s intention was undoubtedly to stimulate interest in the Yukon. This increased public awareness, combined with the availability of the governmental reports on the area, would, it was hoped, lead to increased Canadian migration to the territory which had, up to this point, been largely settled by Americans.

Ogilvie returned to work in the Alaska/Yukon area in 1893, 1894, and 1895, continuing to take photographs but abandoning paper negatives for glass, to take advantage of Deville’s scientific approach to phototopography. In post-1895 publications, it is not uncommon to see photographs from all four expeditions intermingled without any acknowledgment of dates or, in some cases, the wrong dates. Stripped of their original context, the photographs become illustrations of the various routes, rivers, and mountains of the territory: a visual atlas for latter day travellers.

Conclusion

The Yukon Expedition and its photographs were a product of and contributors to the geopolitics of the era. Driven by concerns of U.S. expansion and an increasing American population within such a remote corner of the country, the Dominion set out to cement its ownership of the Yukon Territory. In working to legitimize Canadian claims to the area, the Dominion government published illustrated guides, articles, and maps to show the region as a part of Canada. The Department of the Interior also actively encouraged the use of the name “the Yukon district” in an attempt to separate the Yukon from neighbouring Alaska within public parlance.⁴⁴

Dawson’s photographs added to the Government’s intellectual control over the territory through their inclusion in the Department of the Interior’s photographic collection. There, they acted as a proxy for the region, collected and catalogued by civil servants of the Dominion. At the same time, Ogilvie’s photographs, in the department-backed guidebooks and articles, worked to portray the Yukon as a safe region, with rivers ready to transport the myriad ships and provisions necessary to a growing industry. Together with their photographs, the surveyors’ reports conveyed the idea that an eventual gold strike and the ensuing rapid development were simply a matter of time. Less than a decade before the discovery of coarse gold on Rabbit Creek precipitated such an event, Dawson suggested that “we may be prepared at any time to hear of the discovery of important mineral deposits,

⁴⁴ George Mercer Dawson to Thomas White, December 12, 1887, Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

which will afford the necessary impetus, and may result, in the course of a few years, in the introduction of a considerable population into even its most distant fastnesses.”⁴⁵

Whether or not the Yukon Expedition succeeded in hastening the development of the Yukon is open to question. Since the 1860s, the territory had been viewed as the next logical progression for the series of gold strikes that had been moving up the western cordillera, so a growing number of prospectors was to be expected. Regardless, the mining population continually increased from ~300 in 1887 to ~1000 by 1896, and although the miners remained predominantly American, even through the gold rush, few questioned the fact they were in Canadian territory. The percolating boundary dispute began to boil over shortly after Dawson’s return from the Yukon when he was asked to participate in a conference as a Canadian expert on the area. The Americans selected William Healey Dall, who had explored the Yukon River valley in the 1860s, to represent their interests: noticeably absent was Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka. Although the dispute continued until it reached arbitration in 1903, the arguments focused primarily on the demarcation of the Alaska/B.C. border. The line marking the 141st Meridian, first blazed on trees by Ogilvie in 1887, remained the uncontested Alaska/Yukon boundary until 1906 when, with the introduction of the telegraph to the Yukon, a final, more precise location could be determined, several metres to the east of the existing line.









As one of the last Canadian surveys conducted before the introduction of Edouard Deville’s rigorously scientific system of phototopography, the Yukon Expedition took place during a time of immense change in the way photography was used as a tool of geographical

⁴⁵ George Mercer Dawson and Richard George McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1898), pg. 30 B.












exploration. While Dawson and Ogilvie's teams had included topographic sketch artists, within months of their return from the Yukon, photography would begin to fill that roll in a paradigm shift from photograph-as-illustration to photograph-as-datum. When Ogilvie next returned to the Yukon River valley in 1895, he was equipped with the new Canadian iconometric outfit and the techniques to capture photographically, not just the general character of the landscape, but also the complex geometric and topographic information contained within the numerous peaks of the territory.










Appendix 1: Complete List and Location of Images by George Mercer Dawson, 1887.



George Mercer Dawson's negatives have largely been lost or destroyed since their creation. Only 16 negatives remain. Thankfully at some point in their history almost all of the images were contact printed on albumen and pasted into two large books which Library and Archives Canada received from the Department of the Interior along with a master list of all the department's photographs. The columns in this table describe: the original number and caption assigned to Dawson's negatives by the Geological Survey of Canada followed by whether the print or negative still exist. The volume relates to the two books of albumen prints (possibly the only extant copy of most of these images). Print number is the assigned sequence within the volumes. PA# is the copy negative number at LAC if one exists while Box# and Box Barcode are the physical location of the volumes. Dawson kept a personal diary of his expedition, which is held by McGill University Archives: Diary Info contains excerpts from his writing that relates to the creation of the adjacent images. Thumbnails of prints and negatives are presented as available.

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
810	In front of Great glacier. Stikine R. 20 May '87	Print	Volume 1	1		P-2076	2000773108	Remainder of evening spent in getting rudders unshipped + ascertaining amt. of damage. Camped on shore as before. Day fine, scenery interesting, including Great Glacier mountains rugged + picturesque, deeply covered with snow		
		Print	Volume 1			P-2076	2000773108			
811	Looking up Stikine from Black's. 20 May '87	Print	Volume 1	4		P-2076	2000773108			
812	Great Glacier, Stikine R. BC. May 20 '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	5	PA-38069	P-2076	2000773108			
813	Looking across Stikine from left bank abt. 15m. above Great glacier. 20 May '87	Print	Volume 1	6	PA-52697	P-2076	2000773108			
814	Looking W. across Stikine 13m. below Lebar glacier. 23 May '87	Print	Volume 1	8		P-2076	2000773108			
815	Looking down Stikine from pt. 9m. below Glenora. 23 May '87	Print	Volume 1	9		P-2076	2000773108			

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
816	Looking up Stikine from pt. 9m. below Glenora. 23 May '87	Print	Volume 1	10		P-2076	2000773108			
817	Glenora Mt. Stikine R. 24 May '87	Print	Volume 1	13		P-2076	2000773108	High hills with snow back of river at both sides + one specially prominent one just behind Glenora.		
818	Looking Down Stikine R. from Telegraph Creek, B.C. 25 May '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	14	PA-38070; PA-52698	P-2076	2000773108	The town [Telegraph Creek] on a little apron-like bench in an angle of the high hills banding the valley. A dead ??? Place, but not as bad as Glenora. Steamer discharged freight + set out on way back... Take photo of river + steamer [Alaskan]		
819	Gorge of Telegraph Creek. 29 May '87	Print	Volume 1	15	PA-52699	P-2076	2000773108	Took three photos. Observed for time AM + PM + for lat. at noon. Collected a few insects.		
820	Looking Down Stikine R. from above Telegraph Creek, B.C. 29 May '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	16	PA-38067; PA-52700	P-2076	2000773108			
821	Town of Telegraph Creek, B.C. 29 May '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	17	PA-38071; PA-52701	P-2076	2000773108			
822	Junction of Tahl-tan + Stikine. 31 May '87	Print	Volume 1	18	PA-52785	P-2076	2000773108	Camp on Tahl-tan R. after travelling about six hours. Took three photos + examd. rocks,		
823	Mouth of Tahl-tan. 31 May '87	Print	Volume 1	19	PA-52702	P-2076	2000773108			
824	Tahltan Valley, Cassiar, B.C. 31 May '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1; 1887 Report	20	PA-37619; PA-52703	P-2076	2000773108			

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
825	Feeding mules. Cassiar trail. 3 June '87	Print	Volume 1	21	PA-52704	P-2076	2000773108	very barren day geologically. Collect + press a few plants. Take a couple photos. Examine banks + bars of river		
826	Mt. W/o Cassiar trail. 3 June '87	Print	Volume 1	22	PA-52705	P-2076	2000773108			
827	Dease L. from head. June 5 '87	Print	Volume 1	23	PA-52706	P-2076	2000773108	The pack train after unloading returned at once, leaving self, McEvoy, Lewis + the old prospector McNab the inhabitants of this place. Several homes here + two large sail boats hauled up + rotten now. Homes either shut up or fallen down + whole place with lamentable appearance of decay and desolation. Took a couple photos of lake...		
	Dease L. from head. 5 June '87	Print	Volume 1	24	PA-52707	P-2076	2000773108			
828	Dease Lake from head, B.C. 6 June '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	25	PA-38023; PA-52786	P-2076	2000773108			
	Boat-building Camp. Dease L. 15 June '87	Print	Volume 1	27	PA-52787	P-2076	2000773108	All day again at boats, which now under many hands approaching completion... Took photo of our shipyard today.		
829	Dease lake Landing, B.C.	Neg			PA-38024; PA-52708					
830	Dease L. from Laketon. 17 June '87	Print	Volume 1	28	PA-52709	P-2076	2000773108	"Took two sets of time observations + obsvs for lat... Took 2 photos... Laketon is fully as deserted looking as Glenora, a perfectly dead town, though evidently once a stirring place. Old houses now sometimes used as fire wood."		
831	Laketon, Cassiar, B.C. 17 June '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	29	PA-38020; PA-52710	P-2076	2000773108			









GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
832	Looking up Dease R. Cassiar, B.C. from Sta. I. June 19 '87	Print	Volume 1; 1887 Report	30	PA-37627	P-2076	2000773108	"River very crooked... all I can do to keep a decent track survey. Got a couple photos + lat. obs. at noon."		
833	Looking up Dease R. from camp. June 19-20, '87	Print	Volume 1	31		P-2076	2000773108			
834	Looking down Dease R. from camp. June 19-20. 19 June '87	Print	Volume 1	32		P-2076	2000773108			
	Dease R. looking up from Sylvester's. June 20 '87	Print	Volume 1	33	PA-52712	P-2076	2000773108	"Camped early in the evening opposite Sylvester's Post at mouth of McDame Ck. Spent some time getting information from Sylvester... Took some photos"		
	Sylvester's Dease R. 20 June '87	Print	Volume 1	34	PA-52713	P-2076	2000773108			
835	Expedition camp opposite Sylvester's Dease R. 20 June '87	Print	Volume 1	35		P-2076	2000773108			
836	Looking up McDame Ck. Valley from Sylvester's. 20 June '87	Print	Volume 1	36		P-2076	2000773108			
837	R. Sylvester + Family. 20 June '87	Print	Volume 1	38	PA-52788	P-2076	2000773108			
838	Indians at mouth Dease R. B.C. June 25 '87	Print	Volume 1	39	PA-52714	P-2076	2000773108	"Managed to get observations which will serve for lat. and time this AM. Got photo of Indians."		

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
839	Indians at mouth of Dease R. 25 June '87	Print	Volume 1	40	PA-52715	P-2076	2000773108	"Managed to get observations which will serve for lat. and time this AM. Got photo of Indians."		
840	Combined Parties at Mouth of Dease Lake R. B.C. 25 June '87	Print	Volume 1	41	PA-38359; PA-52716	P-2076	2000773108			
841	Francis River, Lower Canyon, Looking down Yukon. 1 July '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	42	PA-38019	T-2371; P-2076	2000773108			
842	Francis R. Canyon, looking up Yukon (first camp) 1 July '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	43	PA-38028	T-2371; P-2076	2000773108			
843	Dark variety of trout. Frances R. 2 July '87	Print	Volume 1	45		P-2076	2000773108			
844	From sta. V. Frances L. Looking up. July 8, '87	Print	Volume 1	46		P-2076	2000773108	"Continue up lake all day but not making very rapid progress as so many mountains to be sketched and fixed... Persistently clouded at noon preventing latitude obs. Took, however, three photos of lake which in its lower part is singularly beautiful... A beautiful evening with sunshine + masses of well rolled clouds reflected in the perfectly calm lake."		
845	Looking down Frances L. from Sta. V. 8 July '87	Print	Volume 1	47		P-2076	2000773108			
846	Looking across Frances L. from lower end. Sta. V. 8 July '87	Print	Volume 1	48		P-2076	2000773108			
847	Looking down Frances L. from pt. near mouth of Finlayson R. 11 July '87	Print	Volume 1	49		P-2076	2000773108			

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
848	Cache Camp Frances L. nr. Mouth Finlayson R. 11 July '87	Print	Volume 1	50		P-2076	2000773108			
849	Looking down Frances L. from near mouth of Finlayson R. 11 July '87	Print	Volume 1	51		P-2076	2000773108			
850	Pike 3'3" Frances L. 12 July '87	Print	Volume 1	52		P-2076	2000773108	"Caught a fine large ??? ??? [pike] 3'3' long and a good addition to our larder... Got azimuth obs. before leaving camp in morning, lat. at noon + took two photos at evg. camp - one of our [pike]."		
851	Looking down Frances L. from Sta. T. 12 July '87	Print	Volume 1	53		P-2076	2000773108			
852	Francis Lake, Yukon	Print & Neg	Volume 1	54	PA-38027; T-2371; PA-52789	P-2076	2000773108	"Numerous stopoffs for observations and sketches. Got a couple photos, and kept us busy as possible all day..."		
	Looking up E. arm Frances L. from Sta. W. 13 July '87	Print	Volume 1	55	PA-52717	P-2076	2000773108			
853	Looking up Frances L. from Sta. Y. E. arm. 13 July '87	Print	Volume 1	56		P-2076	2000773108			
854	Looking across Frances L. E. arm from Sta. Y. 13 July '87	Print	Volume 1	57		P-2076	2000773108			
855	Ordinary lake trout. 2'6" Frances L. 14 July.	Print	Volume 1	58		P-2076	2000773108			

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
856	Looking across Frances L. westward from lower end. July 14, '87	Print	Volume 1	59		P-2076	2000773108	"Caught a fine large lake trout shortly before reaching camp which came in very well for supplies. Took a photo of the fish and one of the mountains across lake at camp."		
857	Whitefish + sucker. Frances L. 16 July '87	Print	Volume 1	60		P-2076	2000773108			
858	Indian Crews at Cache Camp, Francis L. Yukon. 16 July '87	Print	Volume 1	61	PA-38018; T-2371; PA-52718	P-2076	2000773108			
859	Greyling. Finlayson R. 19 July '87	Print	Volume 1	62		P-2076	2000773108			
860	Finlayson Lake, Lower End, Yukon. 25 July '87	Print & Neg	Volume 1	63	PA-38026; T-2371; PA-52719	P-2076	2000773108			
861	Pelly R. Looking Down from Lunch Pt. Aug. 2	Print	Volume 2	64		P-2077	2000773109	"Got fair lat. obs. At noon, as well as a couple photos + one at evg. camp."		
	Pelly R. looking up from Lunch pt. Aug 2 (?Lat. ????)	Print	Volume 2	65		P-2077	2000773109			
862	Benches on Pelly R. looking down from Camp Aug 2-3. Aug. 2 '87	Print	Volume 2	66		P-2077	2000773109			
863	Entrance to Hooles Canyon, Pelly R. Yukon	Print & Neg	Volume 2	67	PA-38025; T-2371; PA-52720	P-2077	2000773109	"Got good lat. obs. at noon + a couple photos."		


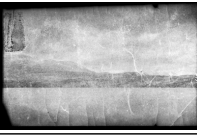


GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
864	Lower End Hooles Canyon, Pelly River, Yukon. 3 Aug '87	Print & Neg	Volume 2	67 1/2	PA-38021; PA-52721	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109	"Got good lat. obs. at noon + a couple photos."		
865	Looking Up Pelly R. from Mouth of Ross River, Yukon. 4 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	68	PA-38017; PA-52722	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
866	Looking up Ross R. (Branch of Pelly R.) from mouth. 4 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	69		P-2077	2000773109			
867	Bluff on Pelly R. OGT. 4 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2; 1887 Report	70		P-2077	2000773109			
868	Looking down Pelly from Station T, Yukon. 4 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	71	PA-38016	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
869 1/2	Looking up Pelly R. from Lunch Point. Aug 8	Print & Copy Neg	Volume 2; 1887 Report	72	PA-37560	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109	"Got good lat. obs. at noon + a couple photos of river."		
870	Looking Down Pelly R. from Lunch Point. Aug 8	Print	Volume 2	73		P-2077	2000773109			
	Confluence of Pelly + McMillan Rivers. Aug 9, '87	Print	Volume 2	74		P-2077	2000773109	"Found the Macmillan at last this morning and spent a short time ascertaining width and rate of flow + taking photo of the confluence."		
871	Looking down Pelly R. from Lunch Point. Aug 9	Print	Volume 2	75		P-2077	2000773109			







GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
872	Looking up Pelly R. from Lunch pt. Aug 9	Print	Volume 2	76		P-2077	2000773109			
873	Looking down Pelly River Camp Aug 10-11	Print	Volume 2	77		P-2077	2000773109			
874	Mouth of Lewes River Camp opposite old Ft. Selkirk	Print	Volume 2	79		P-2077	2000773109			
875	Looking down river from nr. Site of Ft. Selkirk. 17 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	80		P-2077	2000773109	"Now only waiting for Ogilvie to finish his report etc. Went over with him to south bank of river + take some photos, including ruins of old Fort Selkirk consisting of chimney and broken stump of another. Built of basalt blocks + mudded, + where the fort burnt the mud baked into a... brick... which has resisted the weather..."		
	Junction of Lewes + Pelly from near site of old fort. 17 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	81		P-2077	2000773109			
	Remains of Ft. Selkirk. Aug 17, '87	Print	Volume 2	82	PA-52757	P-2077	2000773109			
876	Looking down Lewes R. nr. Ingersoll Is. 18 Aug	Print	Volume 2	83		P-2077	2000773109			
	Looking up Lewes R. near Ingersoll Is. 18 Aug.	Print	Volume 2	84		P-2077	2000773109			
877	Hoo-che-koo Bluff Looking down Lewes R. 20 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	85		P-2077	2000773109	"Camped about 1 1/2m. Above Hoo-chee-koo Bluff of Schwatka. The bluff rather a remarkable feature. Took a photo from camp... River rather picturesque with innumerable islands."		

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
	Looking down Lewes between Hoochekoo + Rink Rapid. 21 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	86		P-2077	2000773109			
878	Looking up Lewes between Hoochekoo + Rink Rapid. 21 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	87		P-2077	2000773109			
879	Rink Rapid, Lewes River, Yukon	Print & Neg	Volume 2	88	PA-38022; T-2371; PA-52791	P-2077	2000773109	"Reached Rink Rapids for lunch stop... Took a couple of photos of rapid, which quite a picturesque bit with bold islets of conglom. + sandstone."		
	Rink Rapid. Lewes R. 22 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	89	PA-52723	P-2077	2000773109			
880	Lewes R. Looking up about 15m. Below Big Salmon. 27 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	90		P-2077	2000773109			
881	Looking up Lewes R. from 2m. below Big Salmon R. 28 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	91		P-2077	2000773109			
882	Looking Down Lewes R about 1m. below Cassiar bar 28 Aug '87	Print	Volume 2	92		P-2077	2000773109			
883	Looking down Lewes about 10m. below L. Laberge. 1 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	93		P-2077	2000773109			
884	L. Laberge Looking up from outlet. 2 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	94	PA-52724	P-2077	2000773109			

GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
885										
886		Print	Volume 2	95		P-2077	2000773109			
887	Looking up Lewes from pt. about 4m. Above Takheena R. White silt bluffs. 6 Sept '87	Print	Volume 2	96		P-2077	2000773109			
888	Looking down Lewes from lower end White Horse Rapid. Sep 7, '87	Print	Volume 2	98	PA-37985	P-2077	2000773109			
889	Looking up Lewes R. from head of White Horse Rapid. 7 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	99		P-2077	2000773109			
890	Lower end of Canyon. Lewes R. 8 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	100		P-2077	2000773109			
891	Miles Canyon, Lewes R. Looking up from lower end.	Print	Volume 2	101	PA-38015	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
892	Miles Canyon, Lewes R. Looking up from lower end. 8 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	102	PA-38014; PA-52793	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
893	Lower end of Marsh L. 10 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	103		P-2077	2000773109			










GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
894	Tagish houses ??? ????. ???. Looking toward head of Marsh L. from ??? above. 10 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	104		P-2077	2000773109			
895	Looking up long arm of Tagish L. 12 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	105		P-2077	2000773109			
	Looking across Windy Arm, Tagish L. from N. 13 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	107		P-2077	2000773109			
	Looking down Windy Arm of Tagish L. from Sta. N. 13 Sept '87	Print	Volume 2	108		P-2077	2000773109			
896	Head of Windy Arm, Tagish Lake. 13 Sept '87	Print	Volume 2	109		P-2077	2000773109			
897	Looking down L. Nares from Cariboo Crossing. 14 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2; 1887 Report	110	PA-38013	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
898	Watson Valley from lower end Bennett Lake, Yukon.	Print	Volume 2	111	PA-38012	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
899 1/2	Lake Lindeman, looking up from outlet, Yukon. Sept 19, '87	Copy Neg	1887 Report		PA-37559	T-2371	2000773109			
900	Looking across L. Lindeman westward from outlet. 16 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	113	PA-38011	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			












GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
901	Lower end + outlet of L. Lindeman. 16 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	114	PA-38010	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
902	Looking across L. Lindeman eastward (???) 16 Sep '87	Print & Neg	Volume 2	115	PA-38068	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109		 	
903	Looking across L. Lindeman eastward (???) 16 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	116		P-2077	2000773109			
904	Looking across L. Lindeman to landing. 16 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	117		P-2077	2000773109			
905	L. Lindeman, looking down from landing	Print	Volume 2	118		P-2077	2000773109			
906	Head of L. Lindeman from landing. 17 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	119		P-2077	2000773109			
907	Whitefish. L. Lindeman 18". Sep 18, '87	Print	Volume 2	120		P-2077	2000773109			
908	Lake Lindeman landing. 18 Sep '87	Print & Neg	Volume 2	121	PA-38029	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109			
909	E. Side of Chilkoot Pass, looking down from 'Last-Wood'. 19 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	122		P-2077	2000773109			












GSC Neg #	Caption	Obtained	Print Location	Print #	PA #	Box #	Box Barcode	Diary Info	Print	Neg
910	From Forks Taiya R. looking up pass. 20 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	123		P-2077	2000773109	"Stop for noon at forks where ?Norse? River carves in. Take three photos, the scenery being very fine."		
911	Baird Glacier + ??? Valley. Head of Taiya Inlet. 20 Sept ;87	Print	Volume 2	124		P-2077	2000773109			
912	Baird Glacier forks of Taiya R. 20 Sep '87	Print	Volume 2	125		P-2077	2000773109			
913	Taiya Inlet looking up from Healey's. Sep 21, '87	Print	Volume 2	126	PA-38009	T-2371; P-2077	2000773109	" Took observations for time... took also a couple of photos."		
914	Looking down Taiya Inlt. From Healey's. 21 Sept '87	Print	Volume 2	127		P-2077	2000773109			
915	Mountains E. side Tayia Inlet from Seduction Pt. 29 Sept '87	Print	Volume 2	128		P-2077	2000773109			












Appendix 2: Non-Exhaustive List and Location of Images by William Ogilvie 1887-1897






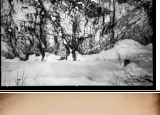





William Ogilvie's negatives from the 1887 Yukon Expedition have been entirely lost since their creation. What remains is a mix of photo-chemical and photo-mechanical prints. The two main groups of existant 1887 images are half-tone prints in an 1890 Dominion Illustrated and an 1893 The Canadian Magazine: both published before Ogilvie's second expedition to Alaska/Yukon. To confuse matters, later publications often did not date the images used or even used an incorrect date - sometimes attributing work from the 1895 trip as 1887. This table was started before the discovery that Ogilvie and Dawson used paper negatives in 1887 and was an attempt to figure out the complex coding systems etched onto Ogilvie's work. Scratched, Pen, and Edge # are three competing identifiers physically marked onto negatives (sometimes visible in prints). The W Number is a number that appears to have been assigned at a later date with no relation to image sequence while O Number seems to be a code common to other survey images (Image number - initial of photographer - date). When able, the actual date is given and where the image was published. Location and Box relate to the image's physical location at Library and Archives Canada, if applicable.









MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
	Indians at St. Michaels		23-JSD; 238097	23-O		W-5041					2000727670	P-3405	
	Chilkoot Indians, Taiya Inlet								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			
	Indian Grave Near Ruins of Fort Selkirk								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			
3389496	Old Man & Woman Rocks	1895	108-O	105-O		W-5043	10-S-O-95				2000721978	P-1452	
3367350	Indian Camp at Fort Selkirk, 1887	1887	13-O	13-O		W-5045	13-O-95-96-97		1895	Early Days on the Yukon pg. 76	2000721978	P-1452	
3389492	Mouth of Fortymile River	1895		7-O		W-5063							
3389497	Junction of Lewes and Teslin	1895	10-O	10-O	42	W-5064	10-O-95			Klondike Official Guide pg. 53	2000721978	P-1452	
3389478	Looking up Little Salmon River	1895	11-O	11-O	37	W-5065	11-O-95				2000721978	P-1452	
3372700	Sawmill at Cudahy	1895	31-O	13-O	65	W-5067	13-O-95				2000721978	P-1452	





MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
	Indian Shanties and Harper Trading Post, Selkirk		14-O	14-O		W-5068		Verso marked 1895	1895		2000727670	P-3405	
3324972	Joe Ladue's House at Ogilvie, 1895	1895	16-O		49	W-5071	16-O-95			Early Days on the Yukon pg. 120; Trimmer Yukon Territory	2000721978	P-1452	
3389491	Looking up from Fort Reliance	1895	17-O	17-O	52	W-5072	17-O-95				2000721978	P-1452	
3389479	Mouth of Fortymile River. P.B. Weare, Cudahy	1895	24-O	24-O.95	54	W-5076	24-O-95			Trimmer Yukon Territory	2000721978	P-1452	
3389490	Gardens at Cudahy, P.B. Weare. 1895	1895	25-O	25-O.95		W-5077							
3368884	Police Barracks Cudahy, 1895	1895	32-O	32-O	62	W-5079	32-O-95						
3386558	One half of the previous day's bag	1895	33-O	33-O	74	W-5080	33-O-95		1895	Early Days on the Yukon pg. 134; Klondike Official Guide pg. 127	2000721978	P-1452	
3389484	Ogilvie's party on the Yukon, 1887	1887		39		W-5087		Verso marked 1887	1887	Klondike Official Guide pg. 59			
3325050	Break up of Ice on Yukon	1895	44-O	44-O		W-5088							
	Miles Canyon					W-5090		Verso marked 1887	1887	Royal Geographic 1898 pg. 25; Trimmer Yukon Territory; Klondike Official Guide pg. 49	2000727670	P-3405	
	The Great Cañon on the Yukon								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			

MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
3358362	Chief Charlie	1895	53-O	53-O		W-5092	53-O-95			Early Days on the Yukon pg. 72; Klondike Official Guide pg. 9	2000721978	P-1452	
3389486	From Top of Mount Morisson	1895		11-O.95	78	W-5093	11-O-95				2000721978	P-1452	
3389487	Police Barracks Cudahy, 1895	1895		120-O.96		W-5094							
3389488	Coal Creek Valley, 1895	1895		111-O.95		W-5096		Verso marked 1895					
3328518	Fortymile, 1895	1895		5-O.95	60	W-5098	5-O-95			Early Days on the Yukon pg. 68	2000721978	P-1452	
3389489	Police Barracks Cudahy, 1896	1896		105-O.96		W-5100							
3328520	Mouth of Fortymile River	1896		129-O.96		W-5104							
3325049	Break up of Ice on Yukon	1896		138-O		W-5106							
	Ruins of Fort Selkirk					W-5107			1887	Dominion Illustrated 1890, The Canadian Magazine, 1893	2000727670	P-3405	
3389480	Unalaska from east end across the bay	1897	71 JSD	71-O.97		W-5110							
3389481	Dutch Harbour, Unalaska	1895	72 JSD	72-O.97		W-5117		Verso marked 1898		Klondike Official Guide pg. 135			

MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
3389482	Unalaska, 1897	1897	69 JSD	69-O.97		W-5118							
3389485	Looking up Bonanza and Eldorado Valleys, 1896	1896		164-O.96		W-5140				Early Days on the Yukon pg. 226; Klondike Official Guide pg. 71			
3407233	A.C.Co. Warehouse Construction, Dawson, 1897	1897		177-O.97		W-5150				Klondike Official Guide pg. 105			
3407427	Dawson seen through Smoke, July 1897	1897		178-O.97		W-5151							
3407428	Dawson, 1897	1897		165-O.97		W-5152							
3389493	A.C.Co. Wharf, St. Michael, 1897	1897		183-O.97		W-5155				Klondike Official Guide pg. 129			
3389494	St. Michael's from the east, 1897	1897		188-O.97		W-5158				Klondike Official Guide pg. 128			
3389495	S.W. into Alaska from Bald Mountain, 1896	1896		64-O.96		W-5211							
3389483	North from the 141st Mer.	1896		71-O.96		W-5216							
3389476	Looking up Dyea Pass from First Bridge	1897	No1. O	1-O	36		1-O-97			Early Days on the Yukon pg. 40		P-1472	
3389469	Looking down Yukon from Mountain	1895	9.O.95	9-O.95			9-O-95					P-1472	

MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
3389474	Looking Down Lake	1895	No4. O	4-O	30		4-O-95					P-1472	
	Lake Lyndeman								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			
3389470	Looking west; Selkirk; Joseph Taylor's Building			172-O.97			172-O-97						
3389471	Canada-Alaska Boundary	1895		12-O.95			12-O-95						
3389472	Canada-Alaska Boundary	1896		96-O.96			96-O-96						
3389498	Rock Cliff on Glacier Creek, 1896	1896		102-O.96			102-O-96			Klondike Official Guide pg. 94			
3407596	Looking down Yukon. Cudahy in foreground.	1895		119-O.96							2000727670	P-3405	
3407600	Fortymile Mining Town	1896		122				Verso marked 1896			2000727670	P-3405	
3216607	Frederick W. Hart, a Yukon Pioneer	1896	54-O	54-O.96			54-O-96			Early Days on the Yukon pg. 102; Klondike Official Guide pg. 11			
3642429	Mrs. Harper & Husband & Mrs Walker	1896	52-O										
	Presbyterian Mission, Anvick, Lower Yukon			181-O.97				Verso marked 1897			2000727670	P-3405	

MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
	Miles Canyon, water very low										2000727670	P-3405	
	Miner's cabin with pickle jar window										2000727670	P-3405	
	Ogilvie's Party at Winter Quarters							Verso marked 1895			2000727670	P-3405	
	Winter Scene, Upper Taku River							Verso marked 1895			2000727670	P-3405	
	Moonlight photo on Upper Taku River, February, 1895. Exposure 1h 10min.							Verso marked 1895			2000727670	P-3405	
	Midwinter scene in the Yukon							Verso marked 1895			2000727670	P-3405	
	Fortymile from Mountan behind Cudahy			114-O.96							2000727670	P-3405	
	Foot of Fortymile Canyon							Verso marked 1896			2000727670	P-3405	
	Eagle Nest Rock, Upper Yukon							Verso marked 1895			2000727670	P-3405	
	The Eagle's Nest								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			
		1895	12-O.95	12-O.95								P-1472	

MIKAN	Description	DB year	Scratched	Pen	Edge #	W Number	O Number	Alt dates	Actual date	Published	Location	Box	Photo
	Confluence of the Pelly and Yukon								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			
	Looking up Dyea 1 1/2 miles above tide water	1897		10A-O.97			10A-O-97					P-1472	
	Looking Down Taiya Inlet								1887	The Canadian Magazine, 1893			
	Looking down Dyea 1 1/2 miles above tide water	1897	3	12A-O.97			12A-O-97					P-1472	

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