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“Images of the Acadian Valley”: The Photographs of Amos Lawson Hardy

IN OCTOBER 1935 Nova Scotia newspapers reported the death of Amos Lawson Hardy, “one of the outstanding photographers of the province”.¹ Borrowing phrases one from the other, they published brief obituaries that celebrated the “widely recognized” abilities of a quiet man who enjoyed a “wide reputation as an expert photographer”.² Fifty years later, this native Nova Scotian is virtually unknown. Listed in library catalogues as the author of a privately printed booklet, *The Evangeline Land*, and recognized by a few regional scholars simply as “one of Nova Scotia’s early photographers”, Hardy is a shadowy figure, the details of his life all but forgotten. His photographs, once “sold in all parts of the world” and instrumental in advertising Nova Scotia to Americans, have fared little better.³ Of the countless pictures Hardy made in the 43 years that he operated his Kentville studio, only a small sample survives in national and regional repositories.⁴

This paper owes a special debt to Joan Schwartz, who first interested me in the work of A.L. Hardy, and then took the time to comment on an earlier version of this paper. Barbara Wynn, who pursued Hardy’s trail with good humour in the Public Archives and on the back roads of Nova Scotia, also contributed enormously. One of the fond memories of our search is of the interest shown and help afforded by Lawson Hardy’s niece, Mrs. Amy Louise Smith of Allendale, and nephew, Irad B. Hardy Jr., M.D. of Lexington, Massachusetts. Without their kindness this study would have been the poorer. An SSHRC Leave Fellowship made the research possible. Patricia Townsend of the Acadia University Library, Conrad Byers of Parrsboro, Cecil Halsey of the Canadian Pacific Railway Archives, Montreal, Richard Collicutt of the Kentville *Advertiser*, R.A. Pope and L. Comeau of Kentville, and the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia are also thanked for their assistance.

- 1 *Daily Star* (Halifax), 2 October 1935, reporting Hardy “stricken”.
- 2 *Star*, 4 October 1935, p. 11; *Morning Herald* (Halifax), 4 October 1935; *The Advertiser* (Kentville) [KA], 3 October 1935. A.L. Hardy died on 2 October 1935.
- 3 *Morning Herald*, 4 October 1935. Two recent exhibitions have gone some way to remedying this. Approximately 15 works by Hardy appeared with those of other photographers in *The Past in Focus* exhibition in Wolfville (1983) and Middleton (1984): *Historical Photographs of the Annapolis Valley* [catalogue] (Wolfville 1983). The Public Archives of Canada made Hardy the focus of an *Aperçu* exhibition in Ottawa in the summer of 1985.
- 4 The Public Archives of Canada holds some 50 Hardy prints; the Public Archives of Nova Scotia identifies only four or five Hardy originals in its collection; the two dozen or so prints owned by Acadia University include six views of one university building and a handful of school and team photographs from Hortonville; approximately 20 works by Hardy are in the Kings County Museum in the Old Court House, Kentville; and smaller local repositories hold a handful more. Perhaps another 100 or so of Hardy’s original works are in private hands and generally unavailable to the public. This enumeration is my own, based on a wide-ranging search during which I examined several score Hardy photographs held by private in-

Both Amos Lawson Hardy and his work warrant rescue from such obscurity. The modest story of Hardy's life illuminates the Nova Scotian past; and his photographs deserve consideration for their scope and quality as well as for what they can tell us about changes in the image and appearance of the province. The circumstances of Hardy's growing up suggest the conditions of life and work experienced by countless young men coming of age in Nova Scotia in the years after Confederation. His apparently capricious choice of a career in photography reveals the ease with which people entered the photographic trade in the 1890s. His self-taught mastery of the photographer's art yielded finely composed, exquisitely detailed landscape photographs that capture much of the character of a now-altered environment. Hardy was well-situated to take advantage of the first concerted effort to develop a tourist industry in Nova Scotia, and his work helped to promote the Land of Evangeline as a tourist destination in the 20 years before 1914. Thus his photographs reveal something of contemporary artistic taste and of the creation of a marketable regional image. In addition, the range and changing emphases of Hardy's picture-making provide some indication of the role that photographic studios played in the small towns of the Maritime Provinces in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Finally, Hardy's photographic legacy offers a valuable springboard for reflecting upon the cultural transformation of Nova Scotia in the 20th century.

Born on 4 October 1860, the fourth son of Stephen and Mary Eliza (Vaughan) Hardy, at Allendale, near Lockeport on the South Shore of Nova Scotia, Lawson spent his childhood in a family that by 1868 included seven children (six of them boys).⁵ Descended from Loyalists who had come to the area three-quarters of a century earlier, this family was but one among several bearing the Hardy name spread along the sheltered, picturesque western shore of Ragged Island Harbour. The Allens, who had given their name to the community, were perhaps as numerous as the Hardys, but the two families clearly dominated the area. At the Head of the Bay stood the mill built by Lawson's grandfather and others, its dam bridging the river from Walls Lake and carrying the road eastward;⁶ in the mile or so between the mill and Stephen Hardy's smallholding there were another eight or nine Hardy dwellings, most of them the homes of Lawson's

dividuals. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS] accessioned a number of "2nd generation" and contact prints of Hardy photographs, few of which are of first class quality. My own inventory of Hardy photographs including those in A.L. Hardy, *The Evangeline Land* (n.p., n.d.) accounts for well over 200 works. In June 1985, Patricia Townsend informed me that Acadia University had located and sought to acquire approximately 50 glass negatives provisionally attributed to Hardy. By my count, in 1902 Hardy was but one of some 65 photographers working in Halifax (11) and the smaller towns of Nova Scotia.

- 5 Unless otherwise noted, information about the Hardy family is derived from my reconstruction based on diverse evidence drawn from the manuscript census for 1861, 1871 and 1881, the record of Shelburne County marriages, inscriptions on gravemarkers in the Osborne Cemetery, Shelburne County, probate records, and interviews and correspondence with Amy Louise Smith of Allendale and Irad B. Hardy Jr. of Lexington, Massachusetts.
- 6 Nova Scotia, *Legislative Assembly Journals 1834*, 16 February, 3 March 1834 and App. 32., Petition of John Hardy.

uncles, aunts and cousins.⁷ This — like others in the area — was a community oriented toward the sea. Of the 325 persons in the district reporting occupations in the census of 1861, 30 per cent described themselves as fishermen. Mariners, boatbuilders, ship-carpenters, and sailmakers made up another tenth of the total. Although 40 per cent of those listing occupations (129 persons) called themselves farmers, they had no more than 765 acres of cultivated land among them. Potatoes were the main crop and sheep outnumbered neat and milch cattle by a considerable margin.⁸ Both land and sea were exploited to yield a modest subsistence, and occupational pluralism was common in this difficult environment. Although his was one of the more productive farms in the area, Stephen Hardy was listed variously as fishermen (1878, 1882, 1888) and farmer (1871, 1881, 1888, 1891) in documents dated between 1871 and 1891; he was also associated, for a time, with the small fishing and outfitting business known as Hardy Brothers of Lockeport.⁹

Although their material circumstances were more comfortable than those of most of their neighbours, the Hardy family faced a dilemma confronting many late-19th century Nova Scotian families as their children came of age. With title to only 50 acres, Stephen Hardy was in no position to provide adequate land for each of his sons. Moreover space in the home must have been at a premium as Lawson and his siblings grew to maturity. After the death of his first wife in 1875, Stephen had married the widow Caroline Page, who brought two sons and a daughter into the household.¹⁰ By 1880, the older Hardy boys had moved out of the family home. But while the rising pressure of population on resources precipitated a growing exodus of young men and women from the agricultural townships of Nova Scotia in the late 19th century, in the South shore settlements economic involution and diversification apparently absorbed many of the sons and daughters of established families. During the 1870s, carriage-making, carpentry, and coopering provided opportunities, in the Ragged Islands area, for the first four Hardy brothers.¹¹ There is no evidence to explain the young

7 A.F. Church, *The Topographical Township Map of Shelburne County* (Halifax, 1882).

8 Enumerators' returns, Shelburne County Polling District 3, Abs. 4, #35, *Census of Nova Scotia, 1861*. See also Enumerators' returns, Nova Scotia, Shelburne County, Ragged Islands District #193, p. 52, *Census of Canada, 1871*.

9 Enumerators' returns, Nova Scotia, Shelburne County, #193, *Census of Canada, 1871*; Enumerators' returns, Nova Scotia, Shelburne County, Lockeport District, p. 34, *Census of Canada, 1881*; *Lovell's Province of Nova Scotia Directory, 1871* (Montreal, 1871); Shelburne County Marriage Licences, 1878, p. 95 #13; 1880, p. 110 #19; 1882, p. 128 #40; 1888 p. 180 #73, PANS; Dun Wiman & Co., *The Mercantile Agency Reference Book* (January 1882).

10 Interview and correspondence with Irad B. Hardy Jr. M.D., 1982.

11 Shelburne County, Marriage Licences 1880, p. 110 # 19 [Harris Hardy], PANS; Enumerators' returns, district 193, *Census of Canada, 1871*; Shelburne County, Marriage Licences 1878, p. 95 #13 [Silas Hardy], PANS; Enumerators' returns, Lockeport district, *Census of Canada, 1881*; A.A. Brookes, "The Golden Age and the Exodus: The Case of Canning, Kings County", *Acadiensis*, XI, 1 (Autumn 1983), pp. 57-82. Similarly detailed studies of population dynamics in the fishing townships of Nova Scotia remain to be published. At present it appears that many of the sons and daughters of established families with strong and extended kin connections were

men's gravitation to the woodworking trades but, issues of demand aside, it is likely that family connections were influential. The boys' Uncle Busby was a joiner, carpenter, and wheelwright whose home and shop were almost opposite the Stephen Hardy property, and they might well have learned the skills of their new trades from him.¹²

Lawson Hardy's younger brothers — John W. and Irad — left Ragged Islands after 1885, the former to try his luck in trade, the latter to enter business college in Halifax.¹³ By doing so each would subsequently be in a position to exert a crucial influence upon the development of A.L. Hardy's career. Alert to the commercial opportunities presented by the influx of gold miners and others to the interior of Queens County, John W. Hardy entered a partnership with Duncan McAlpine of Lockeport to establish a store in South Brookfield in 1887.¹⁴ By 1889 several hundred men worked in the remote upland vicinity of this village. Sizeable towns had grown up. Caledonia had two busy hotels, a newspaper and a telegraph office. Founded in 1886 Molega was a place of 500 — some said a thousand — people with a school, meeting houses, stages and “the modern conveniences which might be expected of a village that sent abroad \$70,000 of its produce” a year.¹⁵ Stamp mills crushed their quota of quartz, steamers plied once quiet lakes on regular schedules, and local farmers profited from the new demand for their surplus.¹⁶ By 1889, too, there was a Hardy Brothers' General Store in Molega; a hotel operated under the same partnership stood alongside it; and Lawson Hardy had forsaken the cooper's craft to join John W. in the booming commercial world of upland Queens County.¹⁷

The details of the Hardy ventures in Brookfield and Molega are unclear. John was to spend the rest of his life in the area, but his partnership with Duncan McAlpine apparently dissolved early in 1891.¹⁸ During the following months he lived alongside the Medway River with his wife, the daughter of a local farmer, and operated his own store on the Liverpool road.¹⁹ He was elected an Overseer absorbed in the south shore settlements. The emigration that did occur from these areas seems to have been preponderantly from the numerically less prominent families.

12 *Lovells Province of Nova Scotia Directory for 1871* (Montreal, 1871), Shelburne County Marriage Licences 1870, p. 28, #30; *McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory, 1896*, p. 1468; *McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory, 1890-97* [sic], p. 1088.

13 Interview and correspondence with Irad B. Hardy, Jr., M.D.

14 *Nova Scotian* (Halifax), 22 June 1889. James Morrison and Lawrence Friend, “*We Have Held Our Own*”: *The Western Interior of Nova Scotia, 1800-1960* (Ottawa, 1981) is the most accessible treatment of upland Queens County during this period.

15 *Weekly Monitor* (Bridgewater), 24 December 1890.

16 *Nova Scotian*, 22 June 1889, and Maurice A. Harlow Diaries, MG 1, Vols. 1300-1302, PANS.

17 According to Dun Wiman and Co., *Mercantile Agency Reference Book*, (January 1896), and *Bradstreet's Reports of the Maritimes* (July 1889), A.L. Hardy remained a cooper of modest means in the Lockeport area until the late 1880s.

18 Deeds, Queens County, Vol. 32, p. 82, 25 April 1887, Vol. 34, p. 22, 21 March 1891, RG 47, Reels 1625, 1627, PANS.

19 Queens County, Marriage Licences, 1888, #38, p. 131, PANS; Deeds, Queens County, Vol. 34, pp. 396, 399, 403, 404, RG 47, Reel 1627, PANS.

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of the Poor for the district early in 1891.²⁰ In 1892, with his business overextended, he declared bankruptcy and moved his family into the Molega Hotel only to see it destroyed when thieves raiding the adjoining store inadvertently set it ablaze.²¹ The Hardy Brothers' firm that once operated both hotel and store had been dissolved some months earlier as the Molega mines stood idle and the economy of the town sank into depression.²² Lawson, who described himself as a merchant of Molega in January 1891, when he married 21-year-old Jennie Smith on her parents' South Brookfield farm, apparently left the declining gold-fields community soon afterwards.²³

In the spring of 1892, Lawson Hardy was in Kentville as brother Irad, fresh from business college, began the work of converting a former confectionery store into a photographic gallery.²⁴ To provide the necessary light, large frames of glass were fitted in the building's roof and other improvements were made to the interior. On 8 June the *Western Chronicle* announced the opening of a "photo and tintyping business in all its branches" with Irad Hardy the proprietor and A.L. Hardy the photographer.²⁵ For the third time in a dozen years, Lawson Hardy had embarked upon a new occupation in association with one of his brothers. There was no inherent logic in his progression from cooper to merchant to photographer. The pattern of sibling dependence suggested by these career changes was by no means unusual in the 19th century, although it was perhaps more commonly associated with the teen years than those of early manhood.²⁶ The impression, from scant evidence, is that these were uneasy, uncertain years for A.L. Hardy. Family members recall that he broke his betrothal to an Allendale woman following a physician's opinion that he had only a few months

- 20 *The Gold Hunter and Farmer's Journal* (Caledonia), 28 March 1891; he was appointed surveyor of Shingles the following year: *Liverpool Advance* (Liverpool), 3 February 1892.
- 21 Deeds, Queens County, Vol. 34, pp. 405-9, RG 47, Reel 1627, PANS. Among his creditors were two Lockeport men (one of them Hugh McAlpine) and Harris Crosby of Hebron, Yarmouth County: *Liverpool Advance*, 20 April 1892; *The Critic* (Halifax), 29 April 1892. See also Queen vs. Levi Dimock Liverpool, June 1892, Queens County Supreme Court Papers, RG 39, PANS; Mechanics Lodge, Minutes of Meeting in Freemason's Hall, Caledonia, 14 July 1892, Masonic Order, Caledonia, Queens County, Micro: Misc.
- 22 Deeds, Queens County, Vol. 34 pp. 405-9, RG 47, Reel 1627, PANS, *Liverpool Advance*, 20 April 1892. By the end of 1891, all three mines in the Molega area were idle. The Caledonia Company Mill had been destroyed by fire in 1890 and the company suffered heavy losses: *Canadian Mining Review*, IX (1890), p. 182; Morrison and Friend, "*We Have Held Our Own*", pp. 55-7.
- 23 Queens County Marriage Licences 1891, p. 146, ; *Liverpool Advance*, 4 February 1891. *The Gold Hunter*, 28 March 1891 recommended the Molega Hotel to all travellers and expressed the hope that "Messrs. Hardy Bros. will long remain in our midst to cater to the wants of man and beast".
- 24 *The Acadian* (Wolfville) [WA], 29 April, 6 May 1892, *Liverpool Advance*, 11 May 1892.
- 25 *Western Chronicle* (Kentville) [WC], 8 June 1892. The advertisement appears with only minor changes in various issues through the incomplete file of this paper until 16 November 1892.
- 26 Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977) is suggestive of the variety of these matters.

to live;²⁷ the move to Molega may, then, have been prompted by a personal desire to avoid reminders of what might have been. And the goldfields may have been left behind in the search for a more secure future for his young family. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that Amos Lawson Hardy drifted into photography in the 1890s with little, if any, training in the art that was to prove his life-long vocation.

Irad Hardy's involvement in the new studio was short-lived. Advertisements published in December 1892 carried only Lawson Hardy's name, and the business remained under his sole proprietorship until 1935. Established first on Church Street, Kentville, it was moved to Main Street early in the 20th century and then located, again in a rented studio, on Aberdeen Street before the First World War.²⁸ Rated at regular intervals after 1898 by various mercantile agencies, the business always remained a low-capital enterprise with only a moderate credit rating.²⁹ When Hardy's estate was appraised in October 1935 the contents of his studio were valued at \$450; the business was purchased shortly thereafter for \$1,000 by H.H. Reid, a Windsor photographer, and Hardy's estate was settled with a net credit of \$18.81.³⁰

If four decades of photography brought little material wealth, there were other satisfactions. Lawson Hardy earned the respect of his fellow citizens. He was known as one who accomplished his tasks quietly and efficiently.³¹ Although he generally avoided public office, in 1916 he was chosen (with George E. Graham, the general manager of the Dominion Atlantic Railway) to represent Kentville on the Federated Board of Trade. It is a measure of the importance of this position that the *Advertiser* reminded its readers of the board's capacity to "wield a powerful influence in the development of...[the] fruitful and prosperous valley".³² Praise of Hardy's photographic work appeared, at intervals, in the local press.³³ Occasionally there was recognition on a broader canvas, as in 1900 when he was one of three photographers (with Notman of Montreal and Rowley of Toronto) to contribute to a series of illustrations advertised as "Canada's Scenic Splendours" in *The Canadian Magazine*.³⁴ There were also the intangible rewards that came from the successful practice of a creative art. Remembered as neat and precise to the point of being fussy, Hardy found in photography the

27 Interview with A.L. Smith, 1982.

28 *WC*, 31 December 1892; *McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory, 1902*, p. 1105, 1907-8, p. 852, 1914, p. 1219; *KA*, 22 November 1918; *A Valley Business Directory and Radio Log 1934-5*, p. 27.

29 R.G. Dun and Co., *The Mercantile Agency Reference Book*, various issues (Canada and Maritimes), Dalhousie University Archives.

30 A.L. Hardy, Court of Probate, Kings County. There is a story in Kentville of one Willie Horton who remembers, as a 15-year-old, burning countless Hardy plates and pictures in the grate of Reid's new studio. For Reid's new studio see *KA*, 14 November 1935.

31 *KA*, 30 October 1935.

32 *KA*, 19 May 1916.

33 *Acadian Orchardist* (Kentville), 18 June 1901; *KA*, 7 June 1901, 2 August 1928.

34 *The Canadian Magazine*, 16 December 1900, p. 147.

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perfect expression of his temperament. Whether in the careful posing of individuals, the deliberate choice of a distinctive vantage point, the clarity of their images, or later, the meticulous colour-tinting of his photographs, Hardy's works time and again reveal his infinite capacity for taking pains.³⁵ Then, too, this "lover of the beautiful scenery of the valley and the coastline" must have cherished the opportunity to explore and record the attractive landscapes of Kings County.³⁶

In 1892 Kentville was the capital and trading centre of Kings County. With fewer than 2,500 people, the town possessed, according to one American visitor, "a very English flavour".³⁷ Sheltered by hills to the north and south, pleasantly situated on the Cornwallis River, with tree-shaded streets and a handful of churches, the town's commercial and administrative importance was reflected in its 25 or more stores, its printing offices, and its banks. Like most towns of its day, Kentville also had manufacturing interests, among them a carriage company, two sawmills and a foundry, but they rarely caught the eye of visitors or photographers.³⁸ Although contemporary descriptions were invariably intended to reveal the best of Kentville, their hyperbole does capture something of a place whose beauty lay in "running water and leafy seclusion":

The town is packed into a couple of narrow valleys, set thick with elms. The valleys wind unexpectedly and the enclosing banks are abrupt. The tidal stream of the Cornwallis, twisting through its narrow strip of meadow, is met here by a chattering amber brook set thick with willows. The brook washes the dooryards. There are unexpected bridges and green shade dapples the streets. Every turn gives a new and haunting picture, and one feels as if the place had been planned in a dream.³⁹

Descriptions of the surrounding countryside were usually equally lyrical. Good roads led from Kentville to vantage points overlooking the Minas Basin and the rich dykelands of its borders. They offered at least one effusive commentator "a lovely panorama of pastoral beauty combining patches and fringes of the forest primeval with a wonderful variety of natural wood in varying tints intermingled in rich profusion with garden orchard and ornamental shade trees on every side".⁴⁰ Dairying, fruit growing, and vegetable production were closely integrated. Farms of 20 to 120 acres were commonly divided between grass and

35 Interview with A.L. Smith, 1982. Transcript of interview with Virginia Atkinson by Patricia Townsend, 1 October 1982.

36 *KA*, 3 October 1935.

37 Jeanette A. Grant, *Through Evangeline's Country* (Boston, 1894), p. 82.

38 *McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory, 1890-97* [sic].

39 Dominion Atlantic Railway [DAR], *Vacation Days in Nova Scotia: "The Land of Evangeline"* (n.p., n.d., [after 1906]) For an explicit statement of the importance of boosterism, see "Patriotism", *WA*, 29 July 1892.

40 Kentville Board of Trade, *Kentville* (n.p., n.d.).

arable land, with the latter including some five acres in apples. Larger orchards of 50 or 60 acres existed, but most of them were recently planted.⁴¹ In the Cornwallis Valley, it was said, apple blossoms kissed each other and the “graceful homes of prosperous men...[made] all the landscape fair”.⁴² Port Williams, where schooners loaded lumber, potatoes and apples for American and West Indian markets was nearby. Church spires rose above the white-painted houses of picturesque villages. For H.M. Clarke, who contributed a prizewinning poem in praise of Nova Scotia to the Wolfville *Acadian* in 1892, no paean was too full for this “land of fruits”: “...blest is the man who wins / A home within its borders rich and fair / For peace and plenty ever nestle there”.⁴³

Tourist promotion was the aim of much of this high-blown rhetoric. Although mindful of the “wasteful and ridiculous excess” involved in gliding the lily, boosters of the area’s attractions did just that by insisting that reality outstripped Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s picture of the Land of Evangeline.⁴⁴ Since its publication in Boston in 1847, Longfellow’s evocation of a devout and prosperous Acadian community settled on the shores of the Minas Basin and destroyed by the English in 1755 had gained enormous popularity in New England and elsewhere.⁴⁵ Passing through five editions in its first year, the compelling 19th-century morality play that was *Evangeline* excited curiosity about the lost paradise where “simple Acadian farmers — Dwelt in the love of God and of man”, free from “Fear, that reigns with the tyrant, and envy, the vice of republics”. In this happy valley, men and women lived in tranquility: “Neither locks had they to their doors, nor bars to their windows;/ But their dwellings were as open as day and the hearts of the owners;/ There the richest was poor, and the poorest lived in abundance”.⁴⁶ Interest in this Acadia was sustained by a succession of books with references to Evangeline or Acadia in their titles that appeared in the last third of the 19th century.⁴⁷ During the 1880s and 1890s this interest was parlayed into a tourist attraction by literature that made much of Nova Scotia’s historical associations while describing the province as “the tourist’s Paradise”, “the angler’s Arcadia”, the “Wonderland of Artists”, and “the sportsman’s delight” — as well as a place endowed with “the best climate on the

41 Cecil H. Hooper, “A Year Among the Orchards of Nova Scotia”, read before the Royal Horticultural Society, London, 31 January 1899 [copy], PANS.

42 *Kentville*.

43 *WA*, 12 August 1892.

44 DAR, *Illustrated Guide to the Land of Evangeline* (n.p., n.d.), p. 1; H.W. Longfellow, *Evangeline* (Toronto, 1962 [1847]).

45 N.E.S. Griffiths, “Longfellow’s *Evangeline*: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend”, *Acadiensis*, XI, 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 29-31.

46 Longfellow, *Evangeline*, p. 14.

47 Griffiths, “Longfellow’s *Evangeline*”; F.S. Cozzens, *Acadia: or a month with the Bluenoses* (New York, 1859); Grant, *Through Evangeline’s Country*; E.B. Chase, *Over the Border. Acadia The Home of Evangeline* (Boston, 1884); D. Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians* (Philadelphia, 1890); M.A. Johnston, *In Acadia* (New Orleans, 1893).

footstool”.⁴⁸

Boston and Yarmouth had been linked by regular steamer service since 1855,⁴⁹ but not until the amalgamation of competing Yarmouth and Boston interests 30 years later did the promotion of tourist travel to Nova Scotia by this route gain momentum. From Yarmouth, tourists could travel by the Western Counties Railway through the Acadian settlements flanking St. Mary's Bay to Digby. At the same time, the Windsor and Annapolis Railway linking Halifax and Annapolis endeavoured to attract visitors to the province by way of the Intercolonial Steamship service to Saint John and the ferry to Digby. Until Digby and Annapolis were linked by rail in 1891, however, the two systems remained separate, independent and limited.⁵⁰ Once through passage by rail from Yarmouth to Halifax was established, both the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the Windsor and Annapolis Railway moved swiftly to capitalize on the potential for vacation travel offered by the large population of the northeastern United States. The *Boston*, at almost 1,700 tons “the largest and most up to date screw steamer” leaving the city after which she was named, was placed on the Yarmouth run.⁵¹ The “Flying Bluenose” — “as fine a train as runs on the Atlantic Coast” — commenced operation in 1892, with regular service between Halifax and Yarmouth.⁵² Both the steamship company and the railway publicized the attractions of the “Land of Evangeline Route”. According to an article in the Cambridge, Massachusetts *Chronicle*, their “wide-awake” efforts provided “thoroughly systematic, original and effective advertising”.⁵³ By inviting writers and press parties to travel the line, they also ensured that “the New England papers were seldom without some article glorifying the beauties of the Province”.⁵⁴

By 1892 Nova Scotia was “the coming vacation place for Americans”.⁵⁵ Its beauty and simplicity, and its “balmy and health giving ozone”, it was claimed, made Nova Scotia unique among summer resorts.⁵⁶ Perhaps 25,000 American tourists visited the province annually early in the 1890s. Most came from New England, but there were also sizeable contingents from New York, Pennsyl-

48 DAR, *Illustrated Guide*; *Hants Journal*, 26 July 1893. Much as they capitalized on the imagery of Evangeline, Nova Scotians were ambivalent about Longfellow's implicit assertion of British brutality, and they made some efforts to “set the record straight”. See “The Land of Evangeline”, *WA*, 19 July 1892.

49 M. Woodworth, *History of the Dominion Atlantic Railway* (Kentville, 1936), p. 114.

50 *WA*, 15 May 1891. The links between Kings County and New England are presented diagrammatically in Brookes, “The Golden Age and the Exodus”, p. 79.

51 Woodworth, *History of the DAR*, p. 116.

52 “The Land of Evangeline”, *Hants Journal*, 26 July 1893.

53 “Travel to Nova Scotia”, *Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass.), 26 August 1892, reported in *Hants Journal*, 14 September 1892. See also “Nova Scotia's Summer Resorts”, *WA*, 12 August 1892.

54 Woodworth, *History of the DAR*, p. 16.

55 *Hants Journal*, 14 September 1892.

56 *Ibid.*

vania, and points further west.⁵⁷ The tourist traffic included all classes. “Elite sport tourists”, who came for months to fish, hunt and relax at Milford House, Pinehurst, Kedge Makooge Lodge and similar establishments, were an important minority.⁵⁸ Working men and women from the shoe and textile towns of Massachusetts — some of them probably emigrant Nova Scotians — came in larger but unknown numbers and for shorter periods of time. In mid-summer 1892 the *Wolfville Acadian* reported the progress of one contingent of this group, some 40 families from Salem, Lynn, Lawrence, and Lowell “bound for Acadia to pass a summer vacation”. When their train reached Vanceboro, the two cars they occupied were “well filled with them and their lunch baskets. The people”, the report continued, “all appeared well acquainted with one another and were getting apparently more enjoyment out of the trip than do the tourists in the Pullman cars”.⁵⁹ If less ebullient, the sizeable numbers of relatively well-to-do visitors who rode the palace coaches — among them the grandly named Precious and Pomona — of the “Flying Bluenose” no doubt savoured the advantage of the \$50,000 train. Served by attendants who were the embodiment of politeness, they could choose among “a wide variety of substantials and delicacies” offered in the buffet car and “digest them on the train with perfect comfort while whirling through a panorama of beauty”. Should they tire of the view they might turn their attention to the menu card, ‘a little gem of the printer’s art’ with “illustrations of the old [Acadian] willows, Grand Pre and Blomidon” on its cover.⁶⁰

Whether by good fortune or astute judgement, A.L. Hardy’s photographic studio, only a short distance from the railway station, was ideally located to take advantage of this growing tourist trade. And the town itself was an expanding summer resort, a convenient base from which travellers might visit the attractions of Grand Pré, Gaspereau, the Look Off, Blomidon, and the Minas Basin. Given the late-Victorian enthusiasm for the photograph as record — of people and place — the potential market for views and portraits in such a town was obvious.⁶¹ Tourists might be encouraged to purchase a local scene as gift, souvenir, or *aide mémoire*; vacation freedom might stimulate the commissioning of cabinet photographs. Images of familiar views could be sold to Kings County residents for their own pleasure or for dispatch to friends and relatives. Photographs, the *Western Chronicle* informed its readers in 1892, were among “the 57 *Ibid.*, and 26 July 1893.

58 James H. Morrison, “American Tourism in Nova Scotia, 1871-1940”, *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 2 (December 1982), pp. 40-51 concentrates on this facet of the tourist trade. See also A.B. Paine, *The Tent Dwellers* (New York, 1908). C.A. Moffat, “The Development of Tourism in Nova Scotia”, in G. Wall and J.S. Marsh, eds., *Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on its Evolution in Canada* (Ottawa, 1982), pp. 123-32, is a slight piece that fails to consider railway-generated tourism.

59 *WA*, 15 July 1892.

60 *Hants Journal*, 26 July 1893.

61 Gus Macdonald, *Camera: Victorian Eyewitness: A History of Photography, 1826-1913* (New York, 1980).

most fashionable as well as appropriate" Christmas gifts.⁶² Portraits were invaluable records of family and friends. "Health is a great boon" announced Halifax photographer W.D. O'Donnell, seeking business in Kings County in 1894, but so too he continued, were "Photographs of loved ones lost". Who knew when the grim reaper might call? "None of us are safe", the advertisement intoned.⁶³ But if the market was evident, so was the competition. When Hardy's studio opened, Basset and Etherington ran Kentville's American studios, and Lewis Rice, a gifted photographer with studios in Truro, Windsor and Wolfville, periodically visited the town with his Railroad Studio Car.⁶⁴ Later in the decade, O'Donnell opened his Kentville studio for approximately two weeks each month, and the Platinum Photo Company, operated by the talented Saint John photographer W.I. Erb, announced the "excellency in retouching" that marked their pictures and brought out "the strong lines" to make "you look your best".⁶⁵ Nearby Wolfville also had its photographers. W.W. Robson opened Lewis Rice and Co.'s studio there one week a month between 1892 and 1896 and two days each week thereafter.⁶⁶

We have no detailed knowledge of the nature and extent of Hardy's photographic business in 1892 or later. The picture must be sketched by inference from the fragmentary information available in local newspapers and the incomplete evidence provided by Hardy's surviving work. One initial advantage possessed by the new Hardy studio was its acquisition of the stock-in-trade of an earlier Kentville photographer. Irad Hardy's first announcement of the brothers' enterprise announced their possession of "all negatives made by L.C. Swain",⁶⁷ and six months later Lawson Hardy continued to point out that "orders for pictures [could] be filled at short notice" from Swain's negatives.⁶⁸

62 WC 9 November 1892.

63 KA, 10 August 1894.

64 *McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory, 1896*, p. 415; *WA*, 8 August 1890, 1 April 1892; *WC*, 2 November 1892; *Hants Journal*, 5 February 1889.

65 *KA*, 10 August 1894; *The Wedge* (Kentville), 9 September 1899. Some of Erb's New Brunswick work is republished in R. Vroom, *Old New Brunswick: A Victorian Portrait* (Toronto, 1978).

66 *WA*, 1 April 1892, 17 July 1896.

67 *WC*, 8 June 1892.

68 *WC*, 21 December 1892. A watchmaker and working jeweller, Swain had operated the Kentville Photographic Studio next to his shop at the corner of Main and Church Streets from August 1890 if not before (*WC*, 11 March 1891). He continued to advertise "PICTURES/from card up to Life Size finished in/the most artistic manner" until at least the middle of September 1891, but appears to have left Kentville in March or April 1892 (*WC*, 16 September 1891; *WA*, 29 April, 6 May 1892). Beyond this Swain is a shadowy figure, possibly connected with the Yarmouth family of that name. One Llewellyn R. Swain worked as a watchmaker in that town in 1890, and L.G. Swain, a photograph, ambrotype and malainotype artist who inserted his work in locketts, rings, brooches, albums and cases in Yarmouth in 1886 later made some of the most striking early landscape views of southwestern Nova Scotia. (*McAlpine's Nova Scotia Directory 1890-97* [sic], p. 1146. *Hutchinson's Nova Scotia Directory for 1886-7*, p. 923). PANS holds a dozen excellent sepia views of the Weymouth Bridge area by L.G. Swain. Tentatively dated c. 1895 by archival staff they are likely earlier, for L.G. Swain does not appear in the 1890-91,

The phrasing used in advertisements for the Swain and Hardy studios in 1891 and 1892 suggests that Swain's photography was predominantly studio work. Late 19th century usage characteristically distinguished portraits or "pictures" — the term used in L.C. Swain's advertisement — from landscapes or "views". Significantly, the first announcement of Lawson Hardy's Photo Art Gallery in December 1892 informed the public that "views of all places of interest in the valley" were on sale and that "pictures" could be had from Swain's negatives.⁶⁹

Lawson Hardy committed a great deal of energy to photographing the landscapes of Nova Scotia in the decade after 1892. Much of his surviving work in this genre apparently dates from this period. In June 1901 he provided more than 100 "highly coloured" views to illustrate a local churchman's lecture on "Evangeline" in the Kentville Music Hall. So clear that their locations "could all be recognized", and pronounced by the *Advertiser* "the best we have ever seen", these photographs taken at Grand Pré the previous summer skilfully created an illusion of historical authenticity by including local people dressed in "Acadian" garb. Shown to a Kentville audience, they initially elicited expressions of personal recognition, "but when the middle and pathetic part [of Longfellow's familiar story] was reached", the audience's feeling that they "were looking at pictures of...[their] townspeople died away".⁷⁰

In 1902, or thereabouts, Hardy published, privately, a selection of almost 100 views under the title *The Evangeline Land*. Including photographs made along the length of the Dominion Atlantic Railway line from Yarmouth to Halifax, and one rather anomalous view of Caledonia Lake in upland Queens County, this work was dominated by Kings County landscapes. Here the skill with which Lawson Hardy practised his craft was evident. Clearly directed toward the tourist market, the little volume sounded most of the clichés of promotional literature and popular sentiment. There were illustrations of the Acadian willows and well at Grand Pré; pictures of Port Williams at high and low water to demonstrate the phenomenal range of Fundy tides; collages of orchards and apple trees in blossom; a view of the village of Grand Pré with sweet innocence, a child, at the focal point; and "a modern conception of the maid Evangeline", probably one of the several similar evocations shown to the people of Kentville in 1901.⁷¹ But there was much more, including some of Hardy's most striking work: carefully composed views of the varied Fundy coast, in which the sweep of the shore drew the eye into the picture; strikingly detailed and finely textured

1896, or 1902 directories. There are a few sepia prints by L.C. Swain notably of Port Williams and of St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Kentville (demolished 1890), in the Kings County Museum, but no other work by him has been identified.

69 *WC*, 21 December 1892.

70 *KA*, 7 June 1901.

71 Hardy, *The Evangeline Land*. This should not be confused with *Evangeline Land. Picturesque Places through the land made famous by Longfellow, the Home of the Maid Evangeline. Yarmouth and Weymouth, pretty Watering Places. Digby, the Saratoga of Nova Scotia. Ancient Annapolis Royal, Wolfville and the Dikes of Grand Pre and Windsor* (Toronto, 1902) which includes pictures by Hardy, Guest and others.



Figure One: Gathering the Fruit [Public Archives of Nova Scotia]

illustrations of Yarmouth, Annapolis, Wolfville, Canning and Halifax; views of land and water capturing the aesthetic appeal of particular juxtapositions; and depictions of the workaday worlds of sawmillers and farm hands.

In the well-settled land portrayed in Hardy's photographs, there is much that seems familiar to the late-20th century observer. Then as now, the Blomidon Look-Off offered a spectacular vantage point, although modern tourists are less likely to be moved by its "Historic and Romantic Associations" than were their early 20th century counterparts.⁷² Carefully tended farms dominate the valley below North Mountain, and in old photograph and current view Grand Pré is an extensive, grass-covered flat. Many buildings in Hardy's landscapes survive, or are of the same style as buildings that survive, today.⁷³ Yet the differences between past and present are equally striking. Youthful turn-of-the century orchards reflected the recent expansion of apple growing, produced by improvements in steamship service and reductions in freight rates from Halifax to Britain since the 1860s. The absence of warehouses for handling and storing apples in the 1890s reflected the small-scale, independent nature of the early

⁷² *Evangeline Land. Picturesque Places*, pp. 24-5.

⁷³ P.M. Ennals and D.W. Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces", *Acadiensis*, X, 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 86-106 offer an introductory comment on vernacular building styles.



Figure Two: Grand Pré Village showing the original French Road [Public Archives of Canada]

trade, in which farmers bared their crop “tree run” and consigned it individually to British brokers.⁷⁴ The numerous vessels in Hardy’s coastal illustrations mark the now almost forgotten importance of the Minas Basin and Bay of Fundy as commercial waterways. In the decade before the First World War, ships and schooners anchored in Annapolis Gut, sheltered in tiny coves, and lay alongside the wharf in Port Williams; tiny steam ferries, bedecked with flags, plied the coast; small skiffs and dories linked headland settlements divided by deep inlets of the sea; and small craft carried pleasure seekers off Evangeline beach.

Yardsticks of persistence and change, Hardy’s straightforward depictions of settings and circumstances also possess charm and artistic merit. Some are memorable for their perspective, as for example the wide view of the military camp with its multitudinous ranks of little white tents drawn up across the land of Aldershot near Kentville.⁷⁵ Others are valuable for their record of a particular moment, including several views of Windsor in the immediate aftermath of the devastating fire of 1897, and a picture of Canning ablaze.⁷⁶ Some photographs

74 N.H. Morse, “An Economic History of the Apple Industry of the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia”, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1952; F.G.J. Comeau, “The Origins and History of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia”, *Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections*, (1936), pp. 15-40; W.V. Longley, *Some Economic Aspects of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia*, Bulletin #113, Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture, (Halifax, 1932), pp. 8-9, 123; Margaret Conrad, “Apple Blossom Time in the Annapolis Valley, 1880-1957”, *Acadiensis*, IX, 2 (Spring 1980), pp. 14-39, provides a good summary of changes in the Valley orchard industry.

75 Hardy, *The Evangeline Land*.

76 These works are in private hands, the Windsor photographs with Mr. H.C. Smith of that town, the Canning picture with Mr. L. Comeau of Kentville.



Figure Three: A modern conception of the maid Evangeline, c. 1902 [PANS]

are useful for what they reveal of the taken-for-granted circumstances and daily lives of Kings County residents of the period: the streets and shops of commercial intercourse, the size and settings of dwellings, or the tools and techniques of dyke repair work. Each is testimony to Hardy's sensitive appreciation of the settings in which he lived and worked.

Whatever satisfaction Hardy derived from making his pictures, his photography was a commercial venture and he fully recognized the importance of marketing. He took at least one trip to New England with a folio of his work; critics in the northeastern states were said to have "commented highly" upon his pictures of "Acadians" in the vicinity of Grand Pré.⁷⁷ And his *Evangeline Land*, with its well-worn title, its deliberate attempt to encompass the length of the Dominion Atlantic line, its ordering of illustrations in the approximate sequence of a Yarmouth-Halifax trip, its use of visual clichés, and its setting of the photographs against ornate floral backcloths, was clearly intended to appeal to tastes of contemporary travellers on the Flying Bluenose.

Hardy's initiatives were complemented, after 1895, by the publicity efforts of the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.⁷⁸ Formed by the amalgamation of the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway with the Windsor and Annapolis Railway, the company opened a New England agency in Boston with Kentville landowner John F. Masters its head. Newspaper publicity was increased; pamph-

⁷⁷ KA, 7 June 1901.

⁷⁸ Woodworth, *History of DAR*, p. 116-30.



Figure Four: Annapolis, N.S. [PAC]

lets and other literature describing DAR services were distributed; and Charles G.D. Roberts was contracted to write a guidebook that would attract tourists. The railway company established its own steamships on the Boston-Yarmouth run, engaged in a bitter rate-war with established carriers on the route in 1899-1900, and bought out the Yarmouth Steamship Company in 1901. Six years later the DAR's tourist traffic reached a peak; the company's steamships alone brought more than 30,000 visitors to Nova Scotia. Whether A.L. Hardy was employed by the company during these years remains unclear.⁷⁹ Certainly several photographs by Hardy appeared in DAR promotional literature produced after 1900. The company's *Vacation Days in Nova Scotia* by T.F. Anderson, published in 1908, carried on its inside cover a signed, coloured Hardy photograph of a young girl picking flowers in a meadow.⁸⁰ It also included, without attribution, ten views found, in whole or in part, in *The Evangeline Land*. Lawson Hardy was most likely responsible for the series of "Acadian Scenes", illustrations of Allendale and views of the fishery also included in this pamphlet. An earlier DAR pamphlet also reproduced an illustration of Yarmouth's Grand Hotel from *The Evangeline Land*. And the company's joint production with the Central Railway of Nova Scotia, prepared for free distribution in 1900, likewise included work by Hardy alongside the efforts of such competitors as Notman (Halifax), Guest, and Dodge (Middleton).⁸¹ The dissemina-

⁷⁹ Family recollections suggest some DAR connection: A.L. Hardy is said to have been the "official photographer for the DAR", etc. There is a notation recording a credit of \$5.00 to Hardy's name on the DAR account in his probate papers, but without the records of the DAR it is impossible to verify the existence or establish the nature of his connection to the company.

⁸⁰ T.F. Anderson, *Vacation Days in Nova Scotia* (1908). Hardy photographs are on pp. 30, 37, 39.

⁸¹ *Vacation Days in Nova Scotia: The Land of Evangeline; Nova Scotia: Glimpses of Halifax and*



Figure Five: Pereau River showing point of Cape Blomidon [PAC]

tion of Hardy's images in regional guidebooks and promotional literature may have enhanced the sale of mounted prints of scenes on display in his Kentville studio. There is no doubt that Hardy's work contributed to shaping popular perceptions of turn-of-the-century Nova Scotia beyond the province itself.

For all the vigour with which Hardy pursued landscape photography after 1892, the studio, portrait and vanity trade remained an important part of his business. Pictures of individuals and groups, of families and their homes, were made throughout the four decades of Hardy's photographic career. Rarely dated, their subjects only occasionally identified, and with surviving prints now scattered among private collections and in the possession of often widely dispersed families, these works are among the most difficult to survey. It is sufficient to note that Hardy's patrons included many prominent Kings County families, including the Ilsleys and the Chases, that he photographed members of the Kentville Presbytery as a group in 1909 and 1910, that he made a portrait of G.M. Munro in 1893, and that his oeuvre also includes the usual range of studio works — infants in carriages and on fur rugs; young girls in party dresses posed on and off the studio chair; young men resplendent in dark suits, hats, and canes; cyclists with their machines; and mothers, and matrons, and patriarchs. With wedding photographs made in Kentville and in neighbouring towns, and photographs of individual buildings — the Baptist Church, Canard; the Presbyterian Church, Kentville; Judge Barclay Webster's House — there was clearly a substantial, sustained market for work of this sort by a photographer of Hardy's quality.⁸² It is a measure of the steady importance of this trade that in 1901, after

surroundings along the lines of the Dominion Atlantic and Central Railways (Portland, Maine, 1900), p. 28.

82 *KA*, 18 June 1901.



Figure Six: Gaspereau River, Kings County, N.S. (White Rock Mills, N.S.) [PAC]

his studio had been closed for more than two months by illness, the *Advertiser* remarked upon the “very serious put back” in Hardy’s business.⁸³ Once reopened, the studio was rushed with custom, and in the 1920s it was Hardy’s practice to encourage early fall sittings for Christmas portraits “so there will be no disappointments as in other years”.⁸⁴

Surviving photographs and the Kentville newspapers best suggest the orientation of Hardy’s business in the 20 years before his death. After 1915, he made fewer landscape photographs. Most of Kings County had already come under his camera’s eye. Landscapes changed as the apple industry expanded after the First World War, but the transformation was incremental and in many respects, the landscapes photographed by Hardy at the turn of the century remained essentially unchanged until the 1950s.⁸⁵ Hardy, moreover, was advancing in years. In his mid-50s at the start of the First World War, he could hardly have sustained the hectic pace that characterized the early years of his Kentville career.⁸⁶ Increasingly, Hardy’s business depended upon studio and local work, and upon the sale of landscape prints from his earlier negatives. He devoted much time to colour-tinting portraits and landscape views.⁸⁷ To encourage

83 *KA*, 31 May 1901.

84 *Acadian Orchardist*, 18 June 1901; *KA*, 27 September, 31 October 1928, 3 October 1929.

85 Conrad, “Apple Blossom Time”. See also C.C. Colby, “An economic analysis of the Apple Industry of the Annapolis-Cornwallis Valley”, *Economic Geography*, I (1925), pp. 174-5.

86 Possibly Hardy’s photographic excursions were taken by bicycle. A bicycle often appears in his pictures.

87 Transcript of interview with V. Atkinson; Interview with A.L. Smith.



Figure Seven: Sheep-washing [PAC]

studio custom, one tinted photograph was given free with every dozen ordered in September for pre-Christmas delivery. Kings County residents were urged to give “that gift that you can only give, your photograph” and warned that there was no time to lose in ordering a tinted landscape picture that would be appreciated as a gift.⁸⁸ Group photographs — of school classes, of the Kentville Amateur Athletic Association baseball team, of the Kentville Wildcats in street dress — were taken at all times of the year. There was also a certain amount of work for the *Advertiser*. When the newspaper moved into new premises in 1929, Hardy was called upon to provide a front page illustration of the building.⁸⁹ During the festivities marking Kentville’s centenary in 1926, Hardy was “assigned especially by the *Advertiser* to take specially posed photos of the ladies” vying for the title of Carnival Queen.⁹⁰ And he was quick to solicit additional business from the occasion; his advertisement in the centenary and summer carnival number of the *Advertiser* urged readers to: “Call at HARDY’S STUDIO and select some nice photograph from his collection that will please you and remind you of the day for the next hundred years, when you will want to come again. Or have your own photo taken as a reminder of the event”.⁹¹ Perhaps most revealing of Hardy’s mastery of the technical aspects of his trade, however, was his

88 *KA*, 13 October 1928, 3 October 1929, 4 September 1930, 17 September 1931.

89 *KA*, 24 October 1929.

90 *KA*, 27 October 1926.

91 *KA*, 6 August 1926.



Figure Eight: Building a dyke at Long Island, Kings County, N.S. [PAC]

work in producing “a framed group of photographs of the 16 mayors of the town since incorporation” for presentation to the town in 1928. The labour and patience entailed in his achievement were readily recognized: many of the finished pictures were enlargements of figures cut from old groups and re-photographed, but by all accounts Hardy executed this difficult job “to perfection”.⁹²

When Hardy did venture abroad with his camera it was now most often to record human activity or specific buildings. His 1919 panorama of the four-masted barque *Huntley* under construction remains one of the finest depictions of a common (and much photographed) maritime industry. In the same year he captured the essential characteristics of the Bay of Fundy fishery with his photograph of Hall’s Harbour fishermen returning with their catch.⁹³ A few years later there were striking pictures of people packing apples, and strawberry plants, on the Manning and Cyrus Ells farm; of a Norwegian steamer loading crates in Port Williams; of the visit of Lord and Lady Byng to Kentville in 1923; and of the people and floats in the town’s Centenary Parade during the summer of 1926. Photographs of the Acadia University campus in Wolfville were made in 1925 and before; the new agricultural experimental station and its staff were recorded; and there were pictures of a Royal Bank building, the Sanatorium, a Kentville drug store, and an unidentified general store, as well as several building interiors. Although Hardy produced a panorama of Kentville in 1922, and a small handful of general views in the vicinity of the town likely data from the same decade, his declining commitment to landscape photography seems clear.

92 *KA*, 2 August 1928.

93 This photograph was published in *KA*, 2 May 1935. A mounted print is in the Old Kings Court-house Museum, Kentville. Most of the photographs mentioned below are in private hands.

A.L. Hardy, Photographer 79

Few of Hardy's earlier views remained much in the public eye after 1920. With the effective takeover of the DAR by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1912, promotion of tourism in the Land of Evangeline was less intense.⁹⁴ Although the DAR name was retained, and the new General Manager George Graham moved to develop hotels and a formal park at Grand Pré, tourist initiatives by the railway company and others were more widely directed after the First World War. Literature produced by Eastern Steamship Lines to capitalize on the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation in 1927 indicated the change. Entitled *Waterways to Vacation Land* and *Eleven Coastwise Services*, these pamphlets dealt particularly with steamship services from New York and Boston to the Maine Coast, Saint John and Yarmouth. "Mention is made", noted the Kentville *Advertiser*, "of Nova Scotia's famous 'Land of Evangeline' and the many summer resorts reached by the DAR".⁹⁵ A joint production of the Boston and Yarmouth Steamship Company and the DAR gave more attention to the "wonderful summer attractions" of the Land of Evangeline but also lauded other tourist destinations in the province.⁹⁶ Similarly, "Acadia" was recognized and described in Canadian Pacific literature treating Nova Scotia and the railway's "Atlantic Coast Resorts", but it was only one among a cluster of vacation opportunities.⁹⁷ Reflecting changing public attitudes toward nature and changing vacation preferences,⁹⁸ these booklets emphasized new themes and used the work of new photographers. Only one of the illustrations in the CPR works, for example, can be ascribed to Hardy with assurance.⁹⁹

One or two of Lawson Hardy's early landscapes were incorporated into an immigration pamphlet prepared for the Minister of the Interior in 1914.¹⁰⁰ And a few of his views were turned into postcards by companies in Toronto, Montreal and Moncton.¹⁰¹ Again, the "Village of Grand Pré", photographed in 1900 with a

94 Woodworth, *History of the DAR*, p. 130.

95 *KA*, 17 March, 5 May 1927.

96 *Ibid.*

97 *Nova Scotia by Canadian Pacific* (n.p., n.d.); *CPR Atlantic Coast Resorts* (n.p., n.d. [1927]); both are held at the PANS.

98 G. Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 11 (August 1976), pp. 21-35.

99 The known Hardy photograph is of "Sam Slick's Residence", p. 13 of the 1927 publication, *Atlantic Resorts*. Other possible Hardy photographs are on pp. 13-15 of this publication and on pp. 3 and 20 of *Nova Scotia by Canadian Pacific*.

100 *Nova Scotia, Canada. Fertile Productive Land, Free School System, Contented and Law Abiding People* (Ottawa, 1914). "Sheep Washing" appears also in *The Evangeline Land*; the illustration on p. 26 is likely a Hardy rendering of Moore's Falls also in *The Evangeline Land*; several illustrations in the earlier *Nova Scotia, Canada. The Country and its People and the Opportunity it offers to other people* (Ottawa, 1907, and in revised version, 1909), are likely by Hardy. It has been impossible to ascertain whether Hardy worked for the Ministry of the Interior or whether these pictures are indeed his.

101 Postcards by the Novelty Manufacturing and Art Co. (Montreal), The McCoy Printing Company (Moncton), Warwick Bros. and Rutter Ltd. (Toronto) and Valentine and Sons Publishing Co. (Toronto and Montreal) are in the Old Kings Court House Museum, Kentville.

young girl posed in the mid-ground, figured prominently. One in a series of “12 Real Photographic Snapshots, Evangeline Land, Nova Scotia”, most of them dating from the 1920s, produced by the Novelty Manufacturing and Art Company of Montreal, and also issued separately as a post-card, this was probably Hardy’s most commercially successful work.¹⁰² If its repeated publication is an accurate measure of public taste, this photograph may be said to epitomize the romantic sentiments associated with turn-of-the-century tourism in the Land of Evangeline.

In 1935, when Hardy invited visitors to his studio to “inspect the Finest Collection of SCENIC VIEWS, OIL TINTED and PLAIN to be had in our Land of Evangeline”, he conjured up a regional image whose brightest days were past, but he by no means exaggerated the value of his work.¹⁰³ Although never more than a part — and perhaps financially the lesser part — of his busy and diverse photographic business, Lawson Hardy’s landscape photography is an important and lasting legacy of his 40 years in Kings County. The product for the most part of the two decades before 1914, but amplified by a limited amount of later work and elaborated by the colour tinting that Hardy practised in his declining years, this oeuvre can be divided into two parts.

Commercially most important were those photographs that capitalized on and contributed to the Evangeline myth. Evocative rather than documentary and focusing on the chosen themes of popular sentiment and promotional literature, this work was unashamedly directed to the tourist market. It romanticized — yet seemed to give credence to — an imagined past, conveying an image at once Acadian and Arcadian. Nostalgic, occasionally even lachrymose, the pictures in this group were, nonetheless, carefully executed. They undoubtedly reinforced the widespread and oft-cultivated early 20th century view of the Annapolis Valley as a place of peaceful innocence, serene beauty, and historic charm.¹⁰⁴ For Hardy, who arrived in Kentville with the first flood of the tourist-tide, the terminology and associations of this regional image were clearly important. He had built his business upon them; his visual renditions of some of its more striking themes had won him acclaim; and he continued to use them even as he aged and their lustre dimmed.

But Hardy was more than a purveyor of easy romantic sentiment. He was a skilled artist and much of his landscape photography is notable for its lack of sentimentality and its apparently straightforward depiction of Kings County. Of course, Hardy’s photographic treatment of the county was neither complete nor unbiased. The careful control demonstrated in his work suggests the exercise of judgement in the selection and composition of images. Only a handful of the

102 “12 Real Photographic Snapshots”, “Grand Pré”, Vertical File, PANS.

103 *Annapolis Valley Business Directory and Radio Log, 1934-5*, p. 27.

104 See “Nova Scotia. Land Without a Night Club. Natural Beauty, Good Climate, and Play Opportunities Give Pleasure. Summertime visitors agree that Nova Scotia has no need of Artificial Entertainment. Scenic Beauty and Historic Charm Combine to Provide Allure of Province”, *KA*, 25 July 1935.

varied workaday environments of Kings County were captured by Hardy. There is little suggestion in his photographs of the range of material circumstances that marked the population of the area, of the relative stagnation of older centres such as Canning compared with those along the railway line, or of bitter weather in the Cornwallis Valley. Hardy clearly favoured the sweeping panorama made from an elevated vantage point. Characteristically, his townscapes reveal more of rooftops than of street life, his rural scenes more of the broad configuration of fields and fences than the clutter of the farmyard. Such emphases were facilitated, if not encouraged, by the configuration of the county, with North and South mountains offering broad vistas of valley, basin, and bay. But more significantly they accorded with the canons of Victorian and Edwardian taste. Catering to such sentiments, Hardy imparted a pastoral quality to many of his photographs. Nonetheless, these detailed illustrations of shore-lines, countryside, towns, villages, valleys, dykelands, rivers and ponds offer a more candid view of the local scene than those inspired by the clichés of tourism. Whether pictures of nature unblemished by man, of landscapes that reflected the efforts and achievements of successive generations of settlers, of contemplative individuals on the shore, of the settings of everyday existence, or of the activity of men and women at work and play, they are a rich record of the landscapes of this part of turn-of-the-century Nova Scotia.

Brief comparison of these photographs with the works of Hardy's close contemporaries in other parts of Canada is revealing. Despite the importance of the railway in bringing tourists to the region, there is little evidence in Hardy's photographs of that "popular enchantment with the romance of train travel" that dominated photography in the mountains of British Columbia in the 1890s.¹⁰⁵ Nor is there much overt celebration of man's triumph over nature in Hardy's work. Where man had tilled the soil for centuries, and in an area from which the sons and daughters of established families were emigrating in remarkable numbers, perhaps there was less reason to regard change as improvement than there was in the west where rugged wilderness was being subdued.

Taken together these are significant characteristics of Hardy's work. His photographs are not an objective record of land and life in Kings County; they inevitably reflect the tempering of his artistic creativity by environment, circumstance and market taste. But they do suggest that Kings County residents had developed a firmer sense of their relationship to this long-settled, agriculturally-productive area than marked the connection between people and place in many parts of English-speaking Canada. Rather than asserting man's prowess in making the land his own, many of Hardy's images convey the sense

105 J.M. Schwartz, "The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia 1858-1914", *BC Studies*, 52 (Winter 1981-82), p. 12. This issue contains much that warrants comparison with the work of A.L. Hardy: M.H. McDougall, "R.H. Trueman. Artist and Documentarian", pp. 129-141, is especially pertinent, and Stanley G. Triggs, "Alexander Henderson: Nineteenth Century Landscape Photographer", *Archivaria*, 5 (1977-8), p. 45-59, is also worth note here. E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada* (Banff, 1983) is also useful for its analysis of the CPR's involvement in tourist promotion.

articulated by regional novelist Ernest Buckler that the land "Fits...loose and easy like...old clothes".¹⁰⁶ They capture something of a bygone era and suggest the distinctiveness of local life, and in doing so they remind us how fully the 20th century has transformed life in the Maritime Provinces. This is an important legacy. In countless ways, modern Kings County is far more closely tied to the rest of North America than it was in Hardy's day, and the landscapes, society and culture that he knew have been made over by technological development, improved communications, government policy, and national integration.¹⁰⁷

Before 1930, most residents of the Annapolis Valley lived on farms. By 1940 rural farm and non-farm populations were approximately equal. In the 1980s perhaps two-thirds of all residents of the valley (including those in the towns) are in the rural non-farm category. Farms have been consolidated and their number has been reduced as capital has been substituted for labour.¹⁰⁸ The farm population is now less than 10 per cent of the valley total. Marginal land has gone out of production and there is more woodland in the Valley than there was in 1890. Yet wood is no longer cut from North and South mountains, as it was before the Second World War, to make the millions of barrels required for apple shipments. Sturdy, ocean-going vessels are no longer built in local yards to carry Valley produce abroad. Fishermen from neighbouring communities no longer provide the seasonal labour required by the apple industry.¹⁰⁹ The early 20th century Annapolis Valley was no rural utopia, but its regional economy was well-integrated and relatively prosperous.

Today these patterns have largely disappeared. Field and pasture have been obliterated by multi-lane highways. Supermarkets, set with fried chicken and root beer franchises in sprawling roadside ribbon developments, provide much of what used to be grown on family farms. Those farms that survive are commonly specialized, subsidy-dependent or contract-tied operations, not the locally-capitalized mixed enterprises with a commitment to commercial orcharding that dominated the turn-of-the-century scene. Families have been pushed to the economic margins. As farms have been abandoned, "mobile" homes have provided cheap convenient shelter along country roads and on the outskirts of settlements for people who commute to urban jobs. And the expansion of modern automobile tourism has spawned a plethora of souvenir shops, motels and other services with generic counterparts across the continent.

The imperial reach of modern financial and commercial systems, the homo-

106 Ernest Buckler, *The Mountain and the Valley* (Toronto, 1961), p. 157.

107 S.G. Ryle and P. Gervason, *The impact on agricultural land use of federal policies and programs in Kings County, Nova Scotia*, Lands Directorate, Environment Canada Working Paper #5, 1980. Graeme Wynn, "Forging a Canadian Nation", in R.D. Mitchell and P.A. Groves, eds., *The Shaping of North America* [forthcoming] offers broad commentary on this theme.

108 H. Blackmer, "Agricultural Transformation in a Regional System: The Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia", Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1975.

109 Conrad, "Apple Blossom Time", p. 17.

genizing influences of modern communications and, ironically, the tourist tide encouraged by the work of Hardy and contemporary publicists, have eroded the fabric and much of the uniqueness of regional life.¹¹⁰ Observing the process, one resident and close student of the Annapolis Valley concluded that "local social and cultural organization...[had] become as vulnerable and as dependent as agriculture".¹¹¹ At their extreme, the consequences have been tragic.¹¹² Yet views of life in the Valley are still influenced by Longfellow's transformation of harsh fact into romantic legend. Modern tourist brochures still encourage visitors to follow the Evangeline Trail. Local photographers find a market for colour prints of Blomidon and Grand Pré. If the poem *Evangeline* is less familiar to visitors than it once was, the complacent nostalgia that allowed it to shape regional imagery in the 19th century persists. And so far as it continues to do so, the realities of regional land and life are likely to be obscured by conceptions that owe more to ideology, and the economics of tourism, than they do to the experience of Nova Scotians past and present.

110 See L. Turner and J. Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (New York, 1976).

111 Blackmer, "Agricultural Transformation", pp. 102-8.

112 J. Sacouman and T. Thompson, "The State vs. the South Mountain", *New Maritimes*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (February 1985), pp. 4-6.