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I S. Maclaren

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RECEU
THE INFLUENCE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH LANDSCAPE AESTHETICS ON NARRATIVE AND PICTORIAL RESPONSES TO THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN NORTH AND WEST 1769-1872.

VOLUME I

by

I. S. MacLaren

Department of English

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
August, 1983

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ABSTRACT

This study undertakes a consideration of a century of travel writing by Britons who explored, surveyed, traded, hunted, prospected, botanized, and established missions in the British North American North and West between 1769 and 1872. Its particular concern is how Britons employed the principles and conventions of eighteenth-century British landscape aesthetics to describe and depict northern and western terrain.

An aesthetic mode of perceiving nature, as has been argued by perceptual geographers, art historians, and literary critics, constitutes one way that a society forms its understanding of reality. For the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Briton, the Sublime and the Picturesque were the aesthetic modes of perception by which he described nature. When he travelled, these made up his aesthetic baggage. Their application to new lands told him where he stood aesthetically in relation to home landscapes just as his measurements of latitude and longitude told him where he stood spatially in relation to Greenwich.

Chapter I traces the formulation of the Sublime and the Picturesque through British aesthetic philosophy, painting, landscape gardening, and poetry. Chapter II deals with the journals of British mariners who searched for a Northwest Passage from 1819 to 1859, and includes discussions of works by Arctic fur traders. Chapter III treats the journals of Britons who travelled in the West. In each case, an attempt has been made to compile complete bibliographies of works published
by the travellers or by modern editors.

Each work's narrative and pictorial descriptions of landscape are considered for their adherence to and departure from the conventions of the Sublime and the Picturesque. As well, historical and biographical details of the author's situation are considered when they impinge on his response to landscape. Although the understanding of the Sublime and the Picturesque was widespread, it was affected by other concerns. The fur trader looked for landscape qualities that promised the presence of beaver in a terrain. The prospector, the artist, the hunter, and the mariner sought particular landscape qualities as well. Taken together, the journals compile an aesthetic map of two regions in modern Canada.
To my wife, Margaret MacLaren, for allaying my perturbations and setting my affections in right tune; and to Eli and Oliver, for their refreshingly uninterested support. Also to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. MacLaren, whose love and foresight sent me canoeing across the Barrens at the age of fifteen.
A provision of endless apparatus, a bustle of infinite inquiry and research, or even the mere mechanical labour of copying may be employed to evade and shuffle off real labour—the real labour of thinking.

—Joshua Reynolds, Discourse XII
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I should like to express my gratitude to Professors D. M. R. Bentley and Ernest H. Redekop both for their unstinting support for this study and for the insightful criticisms and avid interest which they brought to it at each stage of its composition. I am appreciative also for the contributions to various ideas in this thesis that were made by a number of members of the English Department at the University of Western Ontario who shared their learning with me over the course of three degrees. A special thanks to Rev. John C. Riddle of New St. Paul's Anglican Church, Woodstock, who assisted my efforts to track down biblical allusions.

Zizi Stockwell and her assistants in the Inter Library Loans department of the D. B. Weldon Library, Lawraine Pastorius, Laura Bugg, and Linda McGregor-McKay, worked diligently to find many of the obscure texts needed for this study. Their excellent service renders research at Western a pleasant and productive endeavour. In the final stages of this project, the full and conscientious dedication of my typists, Mrs. Janice Post and her assistant, Denise Post, who offered to work extremely long hours on short notice, enabled the thesis to be submitted on schedule.

I should also like to thank the members of my family and my wife’s who supported and endured this undertaking. In particular, I owe a great debt to my wife’s aunt, Miss E. R. M. Gordon, who both made her home
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Finally, I acknowledge with gratitude the financial support during my doctoral degree of the Queen Elizabeth II, Ontario Graduate Fellowship programme, and of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
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Introduction

In his lectures entitled *Art and Illusion*, E. H. Gombrich argues that the painter's creative process is guided by the mode of perception -- the way of seeing -- practised by the society of which he is a member. This mode of perception is a particular way of ordering the visual world, one which the artist and his society subscribe to, at least to a degree sufficient to enable the viewer of the painter's work to understand the subject the painter has chosen to represent. "The artist, no less than the writer," Gombrich posits, "needs a vocabulary before he can embark on a 'copy' of reality," before he can represent it.

Any way of seeing the relations between oneself and the external, visual world involves the process of naming and articulating qualities of those relations; it does so primarily because of human ambition to control and order sensory and psychological experience. As no single mode of perception can comprehend all reality, the one chosen is, ultimately, illusory. So too is any artistic representation of the external world. But if a society accepts certain ways of seeing, certain illusions, certain kinds of art, in short, certain myths of its relation with the external world, those myths become reality for the society's members. Their social values, their sense of reason, and their perception arise from and are bound to those myths; any representation of the external world is undertaken using the vocabulary created to establish them. Claude Lévi-Strauss stresses the power
of a mode of perception once it becomes endorsed by a society: "... myth is unsuccessful in giving man more material power over the environment. However, it gives man, very importantly, the illusion that he can understand the universe and that he does understand the universe."²

It is true that an artist of any medium may deploy the vocabulary of a myth to comment ironically on that myth's validity and to test its authority, to emphasize its illusory qualities, and to accentuate the fact that it is but one of many ways of perceiving man's relations with the universe. But, generally, Lévi-Strauss's remark permits recognition of the affinity of, on the one hand, an artist's need for a vocabulary to represent the way of seeing he and his society call reality, and, on the other hand, the individual's imaginative need for a vocabulary to understand and order the external world, and to appreciate the artist's representation of it. Indeed, in eighteenth-century British society, aesthetic philosophy discovered this affinity; we may argue with Marshall McLuhan that Edmund Burke, in his famous treatise, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (1757), "arrived by a single stride at the position that the cognitive process was also the creative process."³ Consequently, representation of perceived reality in Art, and recognition of reality in life (the individual's cognition of his surroundings in terms of his society's vocabulary of perception) are, though the first is more consciously creative and the second instinctive, both processes of taxonomy which name and classify responses to the external world. Without this taxonomy we would be overwhelmed by what Gombrich calls "the flux of experience."⁴ Gombrich refers primarily to Art, but Yi-Fu Tuan, an environmental geographer, enunciates the issue on the level of instinctive cognition:
To live comfortably among the welter of sense impressions man must know how to organize them. A man without a system of values is as lost and unable to survive as an animal deprived of its instinctive patterns of behaviour. The conceptual frame is not only a shelter shielding a person from alien winds of doctrine and from anarchy, but it provides a directrix for human action: it enables a person to direct and rationalize his behaviour.

Implicit in the ideas of both Gombrich and Tuan is the notion that a vocabulary of perception is learned by the normal individual; he is not required to create it, but neither is it innate in him. He proceeds from what he observes in his society's use of this vocabulary to ensure that his mode of perception remains consonant with that of his society. As Marshall McLuhan has argued in Through the Vanishing Point, the individual's society provides the vocabulary by which each of its members understands his environment, and repeated deployment of the same vocabulary perpetuates the mode of perception, the myth, for which it was devised. In this way, "our perception of both time and space is learned. The same culture will impose the mode of making both time and space on all its members." Artists in all media will remain more or less loyal to a learned mode: even if they strive, as Margaret Avison has it in her poem, "Perspective," to "somehow slip/The mesh of generations since Mantegna,"--to open other doors of perception--their art will identify itself in terms of, even if in contrast to, their learned mode of perception.

The aesthetic appreciation of landscape represents one strain of man's relations with the external world. The very concept of geography, argues Wreford Watson, is an expression of those relations, those "notions of reality which may be more real than the reality itself," and because of which "the geography of any place results from how we ["want to"] see it as much as from what may be seen
there. The most considerable contribution made by English society to a mental mapping of nature is the interest in landscape that was shown by the eighteenth century. Its mode of landscape perception was formed from a variety of imported models which permitted the Englishman to perceive his country's geography in a manner appropriate to his country's maturing culture. The interest in land at the aesthetic level, by and large, had not been raised in the nation's consciousness or its Art prior to the eighteenth century. Milton had included "Hill and Dale and Plain" in his Paradise, and Shakespeare before him had promoted the "island gem" idea and the notion of England as a garden in Richard II, but Englishmen had not, in any significant numbers, turned to consider specific tracts of their land in any aesthetic sense--that is, as landscape. They could build allegorical and emblematic gardens in their country and in their literature but these were not predominantly, certainly not characteristically, English in appearance any more than in symbolic intention. Thus, by the eighteenth century, Englishmen required a vocabulary of perception to articulate for a maturing culture an environment still largely aesthetically unfamiliar to it.

From the popular reception of James Thomson's The Seasons (final form, 1744) until well into the nineteenth century, Englishmen responded aesthetically to landscape by a very limited vocabulary whose chief terms were the Beautiful, the Sublime, and, later, the Picturesque. As an aesthetic taxonomy, these terms became names for identifying certain types of land whose physical features were grouped, or were seen to be grouped, in a particular and recognizable manner. Although this tripartite vocabulary developed in England, it evolved, as Gombrich implies all schemata must, from previously established modes of percep-
tion imported from other cultures. For example, in terms of landscape appreciation, one such theory imported by the English during the course of the Renaissance and employed in the eighteenth century was Perspective, and the accompanying fascination with the third dimension. The importation was not conscious: simply, the two-dimensionality of the medieval representation of landscape was perceived as erroneous; so one myth was demystified and another myth was established in its place to understand space. Conscious or not, the preference signified England's willingness to share a Mediterranean worldview. In *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger describes the peculiar, illusory qualities of this mode of perception:

The convention of perspective, which is unique to European art and which was first established in the early Renaissance, centres everything on the eye of the beholder. It is like a beam from a lighthouse—only instead of light travelling outwards, appearances travel in. The conventions called those appearances reality. Perspective makes the single eye the centre of the visible world. Everything converges on to the eye as to the vanishing point of infinity. The visible world is arranged for the spectator as the universe was once thought to be arranged for God.

According to the convention of perspective there is no visual reciprocity. There is no need for God to situate himself in relation to others: he is himself the situation. The inherent contradiction in perspective was that it structured all images of reality to address a single spectator who, unlike God, could only be in one place at a time.

But, of course, despite the English ambition to embrace what the Italian Renaissance had called reality, modifications had to be instituted before an originally Mediterranean way of seeing could be made to accord with what was to be seen in England.

Every maturing society must, of course, import its modes of perception and adapt them to the variables of its environment. Those variables include: the character of the people, especially their temperament; the values and expectations of the society which, to
some extent, develop in conjunction with, as well as prior to, the importation of schemata; and the country's geography, climate, and geographic relation to the culture whose schemata are being imported.

For example, the English importation of the axial line structure of the Italian and French formal gardens was altered by the variable of England's typical rolling terrain which, too often, precluded rectilinear effect. For the Italian, the point of the axial was lost; for the Englishman, it was the first of many adaptations which led later to the preference for the serpentine line in the English landscape garden. Likewise, the Claudian cypress (called such for its frequent appearance in the landscape paintings of Claude Lorrain [1600-1682]) and the Stone Pine had to be replaced in English landscape gardens by the Lombardy Poplar and Scots Fir, owing to English differences in climate and soil conditions. As neither of these species could carry off the function of vertical control as adroitly as Claude's cypress, the vertical purity of Perspective had to be de-emphasized. As it happened, this de-emphasis accorded well with the appearance of the serpentine line in the horizontal plane. 10

The initial part of this study of the relations between eighteenth-century British Aesthetics and responses to landscape in pre-Confederation writing will discuss the rise of the Sublime and the Picturesque as consequences of the British importation and adaptation of foreign modes of perception and of the artistic renditions of those modes. The factors which most influenced the development of a British landscape aesthetic will be examined and the ways in which the importations were adapted will be traced. Forming the contents of chapter I, this study will serve to introduce the myths and modes of landscape percep-
tion brought by explorers, fur traders, mariners, soldiers, painters, travellers, naturalists, missionaries, and sportsmen to the British North American Arctic and West from 1769 to 1872. The process of importation and adaptation of a way of seeing that had occurred in eighteenth-century Britain took place again in British North America. The variables were similar: the official language did not change but, on occasion, the vernacular and idiomatic speech did; the society was at an inchoate, not a maturing, stage; and the terrain was unfamiliar, not because it simply had not been regarded aesthetically before, but because it was completely unknown to the newcomers. Whatever similarities existed between England and British North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, enough differences surfaced to suggest that eventually the imported vocabulary would have to be altered to fit these new variables. Initially, however, the English literature and art, in which the Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque had built their pervasive dominion over landscape perception, offered the cultural "shelter" required to fend off and, latterly, to order the flux of new experience that threatened to overwhelm the foreigner in a new world.

An examination of the various genres of prose literature written in British North America during this one-hundred-year period will point out which purposes these aesthetic terms were made to serve in landscape description, and how these purposes differed from those in Britain. The process of adaptation, being gradual, will not be expected to furnish sudden and distinct changes, but, on the other hand, some change will be inevitable and discernible. Clearly, a newborn society in the process of charting an unknown land will not depend on an aesthetic taxonomy in the same way that a maturing society will
rely on it to convert a familiar land into an aesthetic landscape, yet, it must employ it somehow. No society's natural and cultural character can be formed without an imaginative interaction by its people with the geography they mean to call their own. "It is generally recognized," Charles Camfield has stated in Patterns of Canada, "that the character and extent of a nation's development are largely dependent upon two main facts--its geography and its people." Northrop Frye remarks with Camfield how central the comprehension of relations between man and nature are to Canada's developing culture, and how valuable the establishment of a taxonomy for representing these relations can be, when he suggests that the fundamental cultural question in Canada, the one most needful of attention and imaginative response, is the one which asks, "Where is here?" I intend to canvas the narrative and pictorial responses to the British North American Arctic and West in order to discover how Britons asked and answered Frye's question at the time when the myths about and perceptions of the land were being formulated.

John Berger's idea that, "the way we see things is affected by what we know or want to believe," reinforces the idea that perception without the aid of some schema is virtually impossible. In the Canadian context of this study, it also introduces a last variable which needs to be kept in mind--the disposition and occupation of each respondent to the British North American landscapes. In this respect, Berger here echoes one aspect of eighteenth-century associationist philosophy, especially that of Archibald Alison, whose Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790) provide a cogent analysis of the act of perception. Culminating a generation of associationist thinking, Alison concludes that the trains of association set off by an object in an
individual's mind will reflect that individual's experience and values. What Alison suggests, and others cited above imply, to give an example from the North American context, is that a British soldier such as Henry James Warre, on a tour of duty (and there, obviously, only a temporary resident), will have landscape expectations different from a pioneer such as Catherine Parr Traill, who plans to make the neighbouring land her permanent residence. As Thomas F. Saarinem, in what seems a specific application of Watson's theory, notes, "the landscape perceived by the visitor or tourist often is entirely different from that seen by those who live and work in the country."

Nevertheless, the perception recorded in a literary response to landscape by one explorer, tourist, or settler, is influenced by more criteria than the one of residency status adduced by Saarinem. For example, an explorer such as Samuel Hearne, in the employ of a fur-trading company and with its governors as his audience, will bring a different knowledge to bear on a terrain than will an artist and traveller such as Paul Kane, and will hope to discover that the landscape includes different prospects than those which the artist expects to discover. Too, people of similar occupations, writing at different times in the pre-Confederation period, will register their responses to landscape in ways which reflect both the changing status of landscape perception and their different social situations. Consider an Englishman, acquainted at first hand with the practice of picturesque touring in England, adapting his mode of landscape perception in a country as yet without a sufficient populace to permit such a leisurely activity as touring; and consider a second-generation Canadian, more securely surrounded by a society and social values, perceiving landscape without a first-hand knowledge of the English
mode of landscape perception.

Still, the common denominator that permitted the readers, or, as was sometimes the case, the same reader, of the works of, for example, William Gilpin and Alexander Mackenzie to understand landscapes described by each of them was the common taxonomy and common vocabulary that they employed to represent landscape. Such distinctions as the "aesthetic picturesque" and the "utile picturesque" have been suggested by, among others, Esther Moir, in *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists*, and these are, to a limited extent, helpful in distinguishing the purposes and "tastes" of different writers, but the comparison is only made possible because two writers employ the taxonomy of the Picturesque convention as their mode of organizing landscapes, and the vocabulary of the Picturesque as their aesthetic metaphor.

Landscape aesthetics, then, will be the chief focus of this critical anthology of British narratives of exploration and travel in the Arctic and the West. Of course, a certain historical frame is needful in such an anthology, for aesthetic responses to nature are inseparable from the time, place, and personality of the individual involved. But this frame will not reduce the study to a consideration of the literature and art in terms of historical documents. The roots of Canadian culture, more than of Canadian history, are of primary concern: regard for the evolution of the land into landscape, rather than into territorial, colonial, or dominion status, governs this approach.
A Note on the Works examined in Chapters II and III

All published works by Britons who travelled in the North and West of British North America between the years 1769 and approximately 1872 will be considered. Chapter II deals with journals by those who travelled north from York Factory, along the fur-trade canoe routes, to Great Slave Lake and beyond, or who sailed to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Archipelago. Chapter III considers journals of travel in the West either from York Factory, the Great Lakes, or the Pacific coast.

The geographical limitations of Chapter III do not coincide quite with those of modern western Canada. Before the American warning in 1800 that the Republic would begin to enforce its jurisdiction along the 49th parallel to the Rocky Mountains, British fur traders of the North West, Hudson's Bay, and XY Companies worked the Fond du Lac district which extended west from Lakes Michigan and Superior to the headwaters of the Red River. As well, on the Pacific Slope, the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies exploited the fur-rich Oregon Territory both before and after the Treaty of London of 1818. Not until 1846 was the 49th parallel resolved upon as the international boundary on the western slope of the continental divide. Thus, the lands which are today represented by the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, and the northern extremities of California, Nevada and Utah will, where occasion arises, be included.

Not all journals written by explorers, traders, or travellers to
the North and the West will be treated, of course: only those (the vast majority) by Britons. The uniquely American response to these territories cannot be considered as part of this study's mandate, as a quite different initial study of the rise of landscape aesthetics in the eastern United States would be required. (Recent works by Stephen Fender, Wayne Franklin, and Christopher Mulvey may be consulted for considerations of the aesthetic response to the United States. These works are cited in the Bibliography.)

A difference between the organization of the material in Chapters II and III will be apparent from the Table of Contents. The journals involved in the second chapter lend themselves readily to a straightforward chronological study, largely because only two social groups--fur traders and British mariners, whose agencies worked in concert--are involved. However, the journals which cover the West represent several groups of travellers who journeyed through several distinct geographical regions. Chapter III does retain a roughly chronological approach. However, in accordance with the consideration, raised earlier, that different social groups will entertain different expectations of nature, the chapter is shaped equally by the various purposes for travel which brought Britons to the West.

This study also restricts itself to journals published by their authors or, posthumously, by modern editors. It does not attempt to assemble for consideration all available manuscripts. As for the chronological limitation of the study, the discovery of the remains of the Franklin expedition in 1859 concluded for a time the British Admiralty's and Hudson's Bay Company's involvement in the Arctic. In the West, where Confederation itself was not an issue, a clear chronological limitation
cannot be distinguished. However, a variety of factors conspire to invoke the year 1867 as an appropriate delimitation. From about 1865 onward, journals began to be written more in terms of settlement prospects, speculations on ventures in railways and nation-building, or, most importantly, in terms of the developing and distinct Victorian aesthetics of nature. The rather late date of 1872 is cited only to include an exception to these developments—the well-known journals of William Francis Butler.

The journals treated in Chapters II and III are listed as the Primary Sources in the Bibliography. All works cited in Chapter I, either from the eighteenth or twentieth centuries, together with those secondary sources consulted in the final two chapters, are included as Secondary Sources.

Finally, one departure has been made from normal MLA style: the volume of material in the thesis has necessitated a conservation of space wherever it causes the reader no inconvenience. Thus, extended quotations, while they remain single-spaced and set off from the text by triple spacing, have not been indented.
Notes: Introduction


4 Gombrich, Art and Illusion, p. 87.


Chapter 1

A study of aesthetic responses by British explorers, traders, and travellers to British North America during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries must begin with the origins of the taxonomies used in the responses. In the past, modern critics have delineated the individual terms of these taxonomies—the Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque—by following a dialectical approach. Although this approach risks the misinterpretation of an individual author’s or painter’s work in order to place it in the scheme of terminological contraries chosen by the critic, it has made these terms clearer.1 The suitability of a dialectical approach is predicated on an eighteenth-century problem, one of confusion over what exactly the Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque meant. The profound desire of the eighteenth century to arrive at a standard of Taste, and the failure of it to do so left it without a standard. Without a standard, the modern critic may draw only analogies among the various eighteenth-century attempts at setting a standard.

But the confusion that resulted from the failure of eighteenth-century British Aesthetic Philosophy to establish a standard of Taste did not affect the appreciation of landscape as profoundly. The English may not have agreed on how to articulate their aesthetic preferences, but their actual artistic responses to landscape, as distinct from their purely theoretical tractates concerned with the philosophy and, later, the psychology of response, show that they did share common
modes of perception.

Although the tripartite division of eighteenth-century Aesthetic Philosophy into the three terms—the Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque—is the common one, especially since the appearance, in 1957, of Walter John Hipple Jr.'s *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*, its use strictly in the analysis of the period's appreciation of nature tends to accord equal importance to the three terms where such equality is unwarranted. On account of its association with the idealized Mediterranean world represented in classical literature and Renaissance Art, the Beautiful enters into the discussions of the nature and literary descriptions of British landscape far less frequently than do the other two terms.

I.1--THE MEDITERRANEAN ORIGIN OF BEAUTY

For the eighteenth-century Englishman, the habit of regarding the Mediterranean world as the seat of natural beauty was commonplace. Prior to the eighteenth century in Europe, the Arts had, for the most part, celebrated the beauty of Mediterranean women, landscapes, religious shrines, and mythological and historical sites. Eden, the Elysian Fields, Atlantis, Delphi, and Venice, set amid soft, warm climes, were the symbols of beauty whose almost unctuous colours had been captured in painting at least since the late fifteenth century, when da Vinci and others began to experiment with the representation of landscape. Beauty in landscape became, therefore, inextricably bound up with artistic versions of Mediterranean geography and climate; and, because, on a regular basis, landscape did not develop from an
allegorical rôle into an art form in its own right before the seventeenth century, beauty in artistic representations of nature served only to decorate the background of works of art praising religious or secular beauty. Thus, landscape beauty was associated with the religion and culture, as much as with the geography and climate, of the Mediterranean region. This was all the more apparent to the eighteenth-century English gentlemen who travelled to Italy to discover beauty because they were familiar with Dutch landscape painting. It had enjoyed a pervasive acceptance in the late seventeenth century in England, showing Englishmen that the representation of Northern European geography, climate, and culture could not be achieved by copying a Mediterranean aesthetic. The Dutch school had attempted a more naturalistic representation of the external world that included nature's warts; it had chosen to represent its society's guildmasters as often as its women, its peasants as frequently as its queens, and had recorded contemporary life far more often than a mythical, idealized past. And in landscape painting, even such early practitioners in the Netherlands School as Jan van Eyck (fl.1422-1439) achieved, in the words of Kenneth Clark, an "empirical rendering of space," which "fulfills the needs of naturalistic painting" and which stood at odds with the desire for symmetrical beauty among "the mathematically inclined Florentines."

Englishmen could only with difficulty employ the term beautiful to name the landscapes of their own country when, especially to the eighteenth-century neo-classical mind, the idea of beauty in landscape was not dissociable from Mediterranean and classical ideas. Moreover, the ideality of landscape beauty inherited from the Classics and the Italian Renaissance meant that the beautiful natural scene was the
perfect scene, one whose form and arrangement of elements would strike
the viewer as so perfectly exquisite that they, not the elements in
themselves or the associations they evoke independently, became a
source of enchantment for him. Since such instances of perfection
seldom occur in English nature in a way that would remind the English
viewer of soft Mediterranean colours and pastoral retreats, the
Beautiful occurs much less often in English discussions of landscape
than do the two other terms which describe scenes that, while not
perfect in composition, offer agreeable and/or noteworthy aspects
to the eye pursuing aesthetic pleasures. The concoction, late in the
eighteenth century, of such hybrid terms as the 'beauteous grandeur'
or the "picturesque beauty" of William Gilpin (1724-1804) may be
regarded as an English attempt to appropriate the foreign associations
of the term--the Beautiful--to landscapes in Britain which the term
was not devised to describe. The following discussions of the Sublime
and the Picturesque trace the history of how Gilpin and many other
eighteenth-century Englishmen sought to ascertain and, gradually,
to delineate the idea of beauty in the context of English landscape
appreciation.

1.2--THE SUBLIME

'All Nature faithfully'--But by what feint,
Can Nature be subdued to art's constraint?
Her smallest fragment is still infinite!
And so he paints but what he likes in it.
What does he like? He likes what he can paint!

--Goethe, on the realistic painter 5

As Goethe's verse implies, any way of seeing is ultimately exclu-
sive; it cannot bring order to, or even encompass, all visual experience, but, rather, encourages selection of what is consonant with its precepts. As will be seen, the Picturesque came to represent visually verifiable reality in landscape to most Englishmen in the late eighteenth century, especially to those who had not travelled abroad, but many who practised this aesthetic when it came into being had already recognized that nature offered a greater variety of forms, colours, species, and attitudes than a man could satisfactorily acknowledge, digest, and communicate by means of any single mode of perception. This recognition appears formally in English aesthetic philosophy at least as early as Joseph Addison’s distinctions among the “great,” the “uncommon,” and the “beautiful,” made in The Spectator in 1712.

Where nature seemed to exhibit what an Englishman regarded as extremes of climate, geography, or density of vegetation—no variety, or else a chaos of it—a special mode of perception was required, one that could comprehend, in natural terrain, the deficiencies, infelicities, and extremities which appeared to lie beyond the ‘concealed bounds’ of decorous nature. This need was met by the Sublime.

I.2.1—Origins of Sublime Theory in Britain (1680–1712)

The Sublime had its origins in the idea of nature as represented in the Arts, rather than in nature itself. The greatest influences on its development in England were Longinus, the Bible, Milton, Thomas Burnet, John Dennis, and the Italian painter Salvator Rosa. Although the growth of the aesthetic, as Samuel Monk in The Sublime, Hippie, and Marjorie Hope Nicolson in Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory have demonstrated, was associated with many areas of concern, including.
rhetoric, painting, sculpture, music, and biblical criticism, it had an important influence on the eighteenth-century Englishman's perception of the external world. And it is as a landscape aesthetic that the history of the development of the Sublime will be followed here. In itself, that history is a complex one: for example, Monk and Nicolson, who both cut out excellent paths through the morass of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writings on the Sublime, emphasize quite different writers in their works; Thomas Burnet, whose Sacred Theory of the Earth Nicolson reads as a major development, Monk does not mention at all.

The classical fragment entitled Peri Hypsous, which was attributed to Longinus when first published at Basel by Robertelli in 1564 and when first translated into French by Boileau in 1674, is almost without reference to nature. Its concerns are the sources and appropriate artistic representations of elevated thoughts and emotions. Nevertheless, the English awareness of Longinus which resulted from the appearance of the French translation coincided, towards the end of the seventeenth century, with a growing interest in all the aspects of nature which were elevated, or whose sight induced elevated thoughts in the mind of the viewer. A mind capable of such thoughts and their expression clearly possessed "taste" in the view of the eighteenth-century gentleman. Thomas Burnet, (c.1635-1715), though not a student of Peri Hypsous, had awakened English interest in sublime nature (specifically, oceans and mountains) with his Sacred Theory of the Earth (1681-1684), during the composition of which Burnet vacillated between feelings of repulsion and reverence for mountain scenery: repulsion because he believed that the prelapsarian earth had been "even and uniform all over," and that mountains, formed at the Deluge, symbolized in
the deterioration of the earth the moral deterioration of mankind; reverence because, although mountains exhibited nothing decorous or beautiful in their irregular forms, he felt a something august and stately in the air of these things, that inspires the mind with great thoughts and passions; we do naturally, upon such occasions, think of God and his greatness: And whatsoever hath but the shadow and appearance of infinite, as all things have that are too big for our comprehension, they fill and overbear the mind with their excess, and cast it into a pleasing kind of stupor and admiration.

Wanting to settle for themselves the question of response, English tourists, including John Dennis, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Joseph Addison, all rerouted their Grand Tours to Italy in order to pass over the Alps. They took with them, not only the ideas of Burnet and Longinus but, also, as Nicolson has shown, a seventeenth-century English Platonist tradition that viewed the infinite forms of nature as metaphors for the infinite power of God. "Reading their ideas of infinity into a God of plenitude, then reading them out again," the tourists' sympathetic with this neo-Platonic doctrine, "transferred from God to space to nature conceptions of majesty, grandeur, vastness in which both admiration and awe were combined."

Thus, the indecorous vastness of mountains could be endorsed by classicism, in Longinus, and by the Bible, through English Platonist tradition. For a society as keen on justifying its opinions by citing authority for them in classical and biblical literature as the English eighteenth century was, these endorsements were crucial to the acceptance both of the legitimacy of an interest in mountains, and of an aesthetic that opposed the Beautiful. Together with Burnet's religious-scientific inquiry, the views of Longinus and of the English Platonists sponsored an aspect of eighteenth-century English landscape apprecia-
tion that was distinct from the Popian-led movement towards what became known as the Picturesque. Especially after they had been coupled, in the early eighteenth century, with a theology of benevolism by Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), in his books *The Moralists* (1709), and *Miscellaneous Reflections* (1711), the ideas of Longinus, the English Platonists, and Burnet enabled the English gentleman travelling abroad to greet the Alps, indeed all wild nature, with a feverish mixture of anticipation and apprehension. And because of Shaftesbury’s doctrine, the Sublime, unlike the Picturesque, was associated with the Deity right through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

But before Shaftesbury’s benevolent Sublimity had its effect, the writings of John Dennis introduced into a theory of the Sublime the emotions of fear and terror. For both Dennis and Shaftesbury, God was the source of the Sublime, and nature the earthly manifestation of His Sublimity. But, as Nicolson argues, "Dennis' God... was a God of Power, in the presence of whose works man felt exaltation and fear." On the other hand, "there is almost no terror in Shaftesbury's universe, and no more than natural awe in his attitude toward Deity. His was a God of benignity and goodness, delighting in creation, pouring out before his children more than they could ever need."12

Dennis, who first travelled to the Alps in 1688, recorded in *Miscellanies and Prose* (1693) a genuine admixture of "delightful Horrour" and "terrible Joy" in his response to mountains:

*I am delighted, 'tis true at the prospect of Hills and Valleys, of floury Meads, and murmuring Streams, yet it is a delight that is consistent with Reason, a delight that creates or improves Meditation. But transporting Pleasures follow'd the sight of the Alpes, and what unusual Transports think you were those, that were mingled with
horrors, and sometimes almost with despair.\textsuperscript{13}

The germs of many developments in the Sublime aesthetic during the eighteenth century are apparent in this passage. Besides the coupling of beauty with reason, and the implicit coupling of the irrational with what would soon be called sublimity, there are emphases placed on the subjective response to sublime nature, and the element of terror at the centre of that response. All these elements would be collected in mid-century by Edmund Burke and propounded as a coherent aesthetic theory. On the matter of terror, Samuel Monk's discussion of Dennis includes the following remark:

\ldots terror is the first of several qualities that, finding no very happy home in the well-planned, orderly, and carefully trimmed domain of neo-classicism, sought and found refuge in the sublime, which constantly gathered to itself ideas and emotions that were to be prominent in the poetry and prose of the romantic era.

On the matter of Dennis' emphasis rather than on the individual's response than on the character of the scene itself, Joseph Addison provided considerable elucidation. In "The Pleasures of the Imagination," Addison made, as Monk states, "the first effort in the century to build up a real aesthetic."\textsuperscript{15} Besides delineating three aesthetic categories--the great, the uncommon, and the beautiful--which never amounted in fact to more than two, Addison separated the enjoyment of greatness (sublimity) and beauty into "primary pleasures" and "secondary pleasures." Primary pleasures were the direct sense impressions of the experience of nature, while secondary pleasures were evoked by the Arts. Although it was far from Addison's intention to provide an element of subjectivity, this division did sow the seeds for the growing interest in the psychological effect of nature on
the individual mind, an interest which reached its flowering late in the eighteenth century with the school of Associationist Philosophers, and which reached full expression only in the Romantic period.

1.2.ii--Origins of Sublime Theory in Britain (1712-1750)

Addison took the ideas of Dennis and Shaftesbury another step farther by arguing that the effects on the mind of the vastness, of the variety, or of the magnitude of form in the external world were similar to the effect on the mind of the contemplation of God. Moreover, one could not witness the grandest aspects of nature without naturally reflecting upon their Creator. In the estimation of Nicolson, it was Addison's opinion that a psychological relation obtains among all these effects: "From Infinite God to Infinite Space to vast objects in the world and back again from the 'great' in external Nature through Space and infinite or indefinite worlds to Infinite God--such is the threefold process of 'the pleasures of the imagination'." Even if such a psychological relation is discernible in Addison's ideas, it is important to realize that other ideas influenced the relation between nature and man's vision of God. For example, when the Sublime came to be associated with both awful and fearful responses to great natural phenomena, the biblical tradition of associating Heaven with height and Hell with depth was important. Magnitude in height expressed elevation or magnanimity; but in depth, danger and terror. Milton in designing the structure of the cosmos in Paradise Lost had, of course, reinforced this notion. And, in terms of character, Milton's Satan evoked admiration and fear in the reader because, as Addison
remarked in "Spectator 303," he is both "the most exalted and deprived being," having made stops in Heaven and Hell. But the Sublime had more than a vertical dimension; it came, during the eighteenth century, to encompass not only the magnificent vastness of mountains and the stupendous interminableness of panoramas offered from their heights but also the grotesque abominations of form and the sterile desolation of some regions of the Earth. Milton's depiction of Hell made a large contribution to this development.

To this dichotomy between the magnificent and the desolate aspects of the Sublime in nature began to accrue moral significations, as if gigantic, elevated, natural forms were meant by God to encourage contemplation of Him, and of His power to promote virtue in man, while natural "ruins" of deformed, grotesque shapes were meant to display God's wrath at the vicious depravity of human existence, as Burnet, in fact, thought. The Bible was the source of sublime virtue, with one phrase, "Let there be light," adduced during the eighteenth century more frequently than any other single example as a source in literature of the sublimity of God's power. The landscape paintings of the Italian artist Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) and Milton's Hell of *Paradise Lost* were most frequently cited as examples of the sublimity of landscape which imply or express the idea that ruination in the natural world is what Ruskin would later call a "pathetic fallacy," an external sign of the sinfulness of fallen man. Rosa's picture of banditti ambushing unwary travellers in the wild mountain passes, including the one illustrated below, and Milton's humanized, apparently incarnate, hornless version of Satan ranging through the terrible void of chaos provided sources for the Gothic novel genre which flourished under
Salvator Rosa. Landscape with the Bandits' Attack. c.1638
canvas, 60cm. x 72cm.
Knole, Great Britain,
Lord Sackville Collection.

the pens of Horace Walpole, Ann Radcliffe, Monk Lewis, and others
at the end of the eighteenth century, and whose plots depend upon
threats made on the virtue of a virgin who is incarcerated by the
antagonist in a castle located in mountainous terrain or desolate
wastes. In terms of British landscape perception, Rosa and Milton
were of increasing use to travellers in the late eighteenth and early
nineteenth centuries for the description of the ruinous effects on
British landscapes of the Industrial Revolution. Initially regarded
as the satanic defiler of rural landscape splendour, the Industrial
Revolution produced scenes which reminded such writers as John Byng,
in A Tour of the West, 1781, of Milton's Hell. Byng describes an iron-
furnace he encounters in the Forest of Dean:
I enter'd therein, and was well receiv'd by the devils who can bear the infernal heat, which soon drove me forth; they shewed me the iron smelting, and the immense bellows moved by water, eternally keeping alive the monstrous fire: for they work day and night . . .

Yet, from these flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Serv'd only to discover sights of woe.  

Moreover, James Thomson and Mark Akenside both had cast up a Burnetian view of the rugged and vast aspects of the natural world, although Akenside, as the title of his poem--The Pleasures of the Imagination (1747, 1772)--suggests, followed Addison's less terrified and more admiring response to vastness, concocting what Nicholson has called "generic" and "abstract" landscapes. In "Spring," Thomson "had versified the thesis of the Sacred Theory".  

a deluge came,
When the deep-cleft disparting orb, that arched
The central waters round, impetuous rushed
With universal burst into the gulf
And o'er the high-piled hills of fractured earth
Wide-dashed the waves in undulation vast. . . .

(ll. 309-14)

I.2:iii--Sublime Theory: Burke and his Aftermath

As the eighteenth century progressed, a philosophy based more upon psychology than religion or ethics inquired into the causal relations obtaining between external nature and human imaginative processes. In terms of its connection with sublime landscapes, aesthetic philosophy's first step had been taken by Addison when he distinguished primary and secondary pleasures of the imagination. Akenside had aped Addison in verse, but the next inquiry came from Alexander Gerard, whose Essay on Taste was written and submitted in a competition in 1756 (thereby preceding Edmund Burke's more famous Philosophical Enquiry into
the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful by one year) and was published in 1759. In it, Gerard argues that sublimity is itself an emotion, the product of many primary associations made by the mind in response to visual phenomena:

When a large object is presented, the mind expands itself to the extent of that object, and is filled with one grand sensation, which totally possessing it, composes it into a solemn sedateness, and strikes it with deep silent wonder and admiration: it finds such a difficulty in spreading itself to the dimensions of the object, as enlivens and invigorates its frame, and having overcome the opposition which this occasions, it sometimes imagines itself present in every part of the scene, which it contemplates; and, from the sense of this immensity, feels a noble pride, and entertains a lofty conception of its own capacity.

Perhaps taking Gerard at his literal word about the mind expanding itself, Edmund Burke posited that, when the senses are either struck with or deprived of extreme size or extreme atmospheric conditions in nature, the nerves themselves, already in a state of tension, actually undergo a sort of elongation. Burke's thesis speaks very little about imagination, citing instead physiological reasons as a basis for the Sublime aesthetic.

But Burke's treatise enjoyed an influence that was disproportionate to either the quality or originality of its ideas. Simply put, the absolute distinction which he made between the Beautiful and the Sublime, and the empirical causes to which he attributed sensations of sublimity were regarded as deft cuts through the aesthetic Gordian Knots which had been created by aestheticians, poetasters, and graveyard and some topographical poets during the first half of the century.

Samuel Monk has described Burke's contribution most succinctly: "The keystone of Burke's aesthetic is emotion, and the foundation of his theory of sublimity is the emotion of terror." While Dennis
had first considered this emotional dimension of one's response to vast and rugged natural terrain, "it was Byrke who converted the early taste for terror into an aesthetic system and who passed it on with great emphasis to the last decades of the century, during which it was enjoyed in literature, painting, and the appreciation of natural scenery."24 Foremost in this system is Burke's accreditation of pain as a legitimate constituent of aesthetic pleasure. He was referring of course, to such sensations as giddiness (although it is a nice question whether or not he might have been thinking also of the irritation caused by the glare off snow-clad mountains in summer, or the shortness of breath experienced in the altitudes of mountain passes—painful experiences which British tourists would have associated with the appreciation of sublime Swiss and Cisalpine landscapes). His point was to provide a gauge for aesthetic measurement: a complete absence of terror and pain in the mind and a complete domination of the mind by terror and pain defined the emotional range between the Beautiful and the Sublime. Intermediate emotional stations included contentment, joy, respect, reverence, and admiration. As Hipple states, "the discrimination of relative pleasure, that arising from the remission of pain, from absolute pleasure is the foundation of Burke's distinction of the sublime from the beautiful."25

Incidentally, Burke also provided the justification, or at least the rationalization, that would popularize in narrative responses to landscape a convention of avowing the incapacity to describe sublime scenery. In the second major section of his Enquiry, in which he links sublimity of nature with the astonishment of the mind, Burke argues that terror in its various degrees actually suspends the motions of the "soul," at which point "the mind is so entirely filled with its
object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason 
on that object which employs it." Thus, any rational activity such 
as writing is precluded during sublime experiences of nature. In the 
light of this tenet, a traveller's admission, that 'the scene before 
me lay beyond my powers of description,' would no longer carry the taint 
of literary incapacity: if the mind was suspended from activity it 
hardly could be judged for the quality of its literary efforts. 

With the emphasis placed on fear, terror, and pain, Burke enlarged 
the province of the Sublime from grand natural scenes to any object 
or work of art productive of an acute emotional response. Yet, his 
lists of natural properties that are conducive to sublime response 
remained anchored in vastness, darkness, and obscurity. These were 
the familiar qualities which instilled in the mind contemplations 
of infinity and power in the external world and their corollaries 
in the individual's internal world—thoughts of vulnerability and 
weakness. And finally, not only the physical presence but also the 
'suggestiveness' to the mind of that presence were acknowledged by 
Burke as sources of sublimity.26 

Burke's physiological and Gerard's psychological approaches 
were supplanted, if only in academic circles, in two different ways 
by different members of the Scottish Common Sense School. (These 
refutations appeared to contemporary thinkers to mark new directions, 
but in fact they still followed the same fundamental premise. As Hipple 
has shown, "all the aestheticians from Addison to Kant and onwards 
conceive of the sublime as a feeling in the mind caused by certain 
properties in external objects."27) After Burke, Thomas Reid (1710-1796) 
and Dugald Stewart (1733-1828) called for a renewed moralist emphasis
in the aesthetic theory of the Sublime. They believed that the rational capacity of the mind to discriminate effects imposed on it by external phenomena should not be overlooked. In their opinion, Burke, and, before him, their countryman David Hume (1711-1776), in A Treatise of Human Nature (1739-40) and Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding (1748), had overlooked it. Without rational distinction, sensations of Taste become, as Reid argued in Essay on the Intellectual Powers of Man (1785), and as Stewart argued in Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind (1792-1827), confused with the qualities innate in the object which occasion them. According to Reid, whatever their intentions may have been, Hume, Gerard, and Burke had produced treatises whose implications undermined the possibility of a normative standard of Taste, a possibility which most eighteenth-century Englishmen and Scotsmen were loathe to consider. But from Reid's point of view, Archibald Alison (1757-1839) posed a far greater threat to normative philosophy. Though associated with the Common Sense School, Alison differed from his colleagues by denying that matter could have its own aesthetic value, that, for example, a mountain could, in itself, be sublime. Rather than arguing with Gerard, that immensity could produce the contemplation of immensity by the mind, or with Burke, that immensity caused the nerves to increase in size, thereby causing a tension in the mind, or with Reid and Stewart, that the mind's prior understanding of God's immensity could be used to evaluate immensity in nature, Alison argued, in his Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790), that matter in itself is unfitted to produce any kind of emotion. The various qualities of matter are known to us only by means of our external senses; but all that such powers of our nature convey, is
Sensation and Perception; and whoever will take the trouble of attending to the effect which such qualities, when simple and unassociated, produce upon his mind, will be satisfied, that in no case do they produce emotion, or the exercise of any of his affections.

External objects may express an effect, but they are not productive of one in a viewer's mind. It is the mind which decides that objects in nature are God's handiwork, and that their contemplation will elevate the mind to the contemplation of their Author. Alison understood why both natural objects and the emotions and thoughts they were seen to evoke in the minds of their viewers were both, confusedly, called "sublime," but he showed that, in neither case, was the name correct. As he viewed the question of locating the source of the Sublime, the associative processes of the mind bring to bear on landscape a way of seeing, no less than of feeling, that has been learned elsewhere—most frequently, as far as the English eighteenth century is concerned, from the Arts. His view helps to explain why Milton, occasionally Spenser, and the Bible in literature, Burke in philosophy, and Salvator Rosa in painting were so influential in the development of what, for many Englishmen, was an artistic emotion.

I.2.iv—The Sublime in the Arts: the Appreciation of Landscape

The acceptance of associationism as an element of the Sublime in landscape appreciation gained for the aesthetic a wider field of application and interpretation than would be claimed by the Picturesque. Indeed, the adjective, sublime, was used so often in reference to the thrill experienced in so many contexts, that Joseph Priestley remarked, in 1777, that it "hath been used in a more vague sense than almost any other term in criticism." The issue was con-
fused further by associationism's attendant implication—sanction of the authority of each individual's responses to nature or the Arts. This contradicted the normative intentions of most eighteenth-century aestheticians who were striving to arrive at a standard of Taste because it precluded the possibility of any one literary style becoming the authoritative and accepted mode of representing a sublime landscape. James Beattie (1735-1803), in his *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (1783), believed that the Sublime ought to be conveyed by means of "words very plain and simple," as in "God said Let there be light and there was light." But a modern critic, Josephine Miles, defines a sublime style from a statistical survey of eighteenth-century poetry, in *Eras and Modes in English Poetry* (1964), as one including, "cumulative sentence structure, piling up of nouns and epithets, participles and compounds, and by a minimum of clausal subordinations and active verbs." Whereas the Picturesque was governed, ultimately, by a conservative way of seeing which followed a limited number of artistic principles of composition, the Sublime, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was made to encompass any intense response to desolate or overwhelmingly rugged or majestic landscapes in nature, books, or paintings which was the result of the process of associating ideas and images in the mind. Where the Picturesque defined its limits (however well it concealed them), the Sublime, infused with the infinite possibilities provided by associationism, defied them.

This difference has an analogue in the works of the seventeenth-century landscape painters in Rome, an analogue which was appreciated by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English connoisseurs of their works. In the paintings of the Franco-Italians Claude (Gellée) Lorrain
(1600-1682), Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), and Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675), and the Italian Salvator Rosa, examples of which are included here.

Claude Lorrain. Landscape with Imaginary View of Tivoli. 1644
Liber Veritas 81.
117 cm. x 147 cm.
in France by 1720; in coll. of Duke of Somerset in late eighteenth-cent.

Nicolas Poussin. Landscape with the Body of Phocion Carried out of Athens. 1648
114 cm. x 175 cm.
Oakley Park, Shropshire, Earl of Plymouth.
Gaspard Dughet. Landscape. n.d. gouache, 153 cm. x 129 cm.
Rome, Colona Gallery.

Salvator Rosa. Rocky Landscape with Soldiers and Hunters. post 1644.
142 cm. x 193 cm.
Paris, Louvre.
the picturesque limits, which will be delineated in the next section, are observed and masterfully manipulated to create various effects by the three former painters; but Salvator attempts, clearly, to exceed them. Certainly Salvator, no less than Claude, Poussin, and Dughet, was led by artistic principles of composition and execution, but the effects he produced by means of his use of scenes that were vertically structured, and intensely suffused, through the use of chiaroscuro, with a sense of apocalypse, were intense as well as excessive. Seeking liberation from the classical order which Claude had brought to landscape painting, or the rational view of nature Nicolas Poussin had exalted, or the pleasantly decorative uses that Dughet had made nature serve in his landscapes, Salvator, in Luigi Salerno's words, "substituted a contrasting taste for the wild, for the shadows of the undergrowth of the forest, for shapeless rocks, for the precipice, beauty not born of rules or canons, but from their absence, that is, in a certain sense, a beauty that is born of the ugly." ^34

Exceeding the limits of picturesque moderation by appreciating landscapes whose paramount features are either the absence of detail or a chaos of detail, the mind in pursuit of the Sublime attempts to transcend imaginatively the normative mode of perception, identifying, rather, with that part of the natural world not readily conformable to the ordering procedures approved by the Picturesque. A precedent in art for the Sublime urge to go beyond order and convention was the Baroque illusionist ceiling fresco, attempted by Rubens and others, which burst its own painted borders, effecting, with the participation of the viewer's upward gaze, a grand assault on the artistic conception of spatial infinity. And the Sublime of the eighteenth century itself anticipated, as such poems as Mark Akenside's
The Pleasures of the Imagination (1744, 1772) illustrate, the Romantic movement's assault on infinity, an assault which was grounded in the revolutionary claim of the individual mind's imaginative independence from socially normative modes of perception. W. P. Albrecht offers what he calls a Coleridgian but which is, more accurately, a post-Alisonian definition of the Romantic Sublime which helps to clarify the relation between the eighteenth-century Sublime and Romanticism vis-à-vis the external world:

Sublimity is a quality, bestowed by the mind, which extends the reality of external objects by repudiating the boundaries of time and space in an intuition of endless power and magnitude; this intuition acquires content from the interaction of mind and object, as the mind, through the synthesizing power of the imagination, tries to comprehend the infinite through an awareness of the finite.

The sublime experience of landscape often leaves the individual feeling physically alone with the external world; the soul and emotions are engaged so intensely that relationship with the Deity, the Infinite and so on seems to preclude relations with other humans. The associ- tive process dwells on elevated, suprahuman apprehensions, thereby tending to ignore, not just the rest of humanity but, anything which, in emphasizing temporal, social existence, obtrudes on the individual mind's communion with nature. Nowhere is this aspect of the Sublime more noticeable than in landscape painting: whereas the foreground of a picturesque scene is peopled and animated in order to demonstrate that the landscape being represented is a "place," the foreground of a sublime scene often has no prominent figures. If it is not unin- habited altogether, it may include one solitary person dwarfed by the terrain which confronts him, or figures so dwarfed by nature, so overwhelmed by the terrain as to be themselves almost undetectable,
as in the accompanying examples by Salvator, and the English artist
John Robert Cozens (1752-1797).

Salvator Rosa. Landscape with a Rocky Arch. c.1662.
canvas, 224 cm. x 149cm.
Rome, private collection.

John Robert Cozens. Mont Blanc and the Arve near Sallanches. 1776
pencil, pen and ink, and washes, 23.4 cm. x 35.5 cm.
London, British Museum.
(three figures on shoreline, bottom left-hand corner)
As Geoffrey Tillotson has remarked in the context of the humanized landscape, in "Imlac and the Business of a Poet,"

the sublime exists as detached from man as possible. An instance, therefore, of it at its completest is that verse of Genesis, which was a favourite exhibit during the eighteenth century: 'God said Let there be light and there was light.' Man is wholly outside this. . . . It was the picturesque that welcomed man, not the sublime. . . . almost all [eighteenth-century landscape paintings] have their shepherds or girls or house or bridge or spire.

From the time of Salvator's aim, "to surprise and to involve the emotions of the spectator," to the eighteenth-century appreciation of Longinus' theory that the poetic process is neither mystical nor mechanical but, rather, the result of individual imaginative and emotive capacities, to Wordsworth's location, in 1815, of the sources of sublimity in the soul of man, the Sublime was relatively dissociated from social and public concerns. The overwhelming impression, not the wittily perceived relations among natural objects, was the sublime landscape viewer's quest; and the sublime enthusiast became he who could imagine, not lucidly but vividly, who could feel with the heart, not see with the eye, intuit, not comprehend, adumbrate, not demonstrate.

If Stendhal was accurate in naming the Picturesque as an essential aspect of early nineteenth-century England, it must be asked how the Sublime contributed to the England of that period. Certainly, part of the thrill associated with sublime emotion derived from the fact that its sources in nature were, for an Englishman, exotic (if Wales and Scotland be considered, as they were by eighteenth-century Englishmen, separate countries). The painters of sublime landscapes, including Philip James de Loutherbourg (1740-1812) one of whose pictures is represented here,
Philip James de Loutherbourg. An Avalanche in the Alps. 1803
canvas, 109.9 cm. x 160 cm.

London, Tate Gallery.
and John Robert Cozens, whom R. H. Hubbard calls "the first great exponent of the sublime in water colour," and the poets of the Sublime, including Byron, Wordsworth, and Shelley, had all travelled abroad extensively and had seen the Alps. Response to sublime landscapes meant, in large measure, response to foreign landscapes. The geography which would make the Picturesque such a natural cultural aesthetic for England could not also provide the wild extremes of nature needed for the Sublime. (Significantly, many of the major advocates and practitioners of the Picturesque, including Pope, Thomson (at least, not before 1730, when the first complete edition of Seasons appeared), Paul Sandby (1725-1809), William Hogarth, George Crabbe, William Cowper, William Gilpin, Thomas Gainsborough, and John Constable, never ventured beyond the British Isles.) When the Sublime was incorporated into English literature in the eighteenth century, it was in the Gothic Romance whose setting, as in Walpole's The Castle of Otranto (1764), Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), and Lewis' The Monk (1796), was foreign. When English tourists turned to seek the Sublime in their own islands once the Grand Tour and visits to the Alps were curtailed by the succession of European wars which began in 1740 with the War of Austrian Succession and extended through the English-French hostilities from 1755-1763, the Seven Years War (1756-1763), the French Revolution (1789), and the Napoleonic Wars (1796-1815), they found it in the Cambrian Mountains, and in the Lake District. Thomas Gray, in 1769, and Thomas West, in 1778, published guides to the Lake District, "reducing it," in the view of Esther Moir, "to a succession of carefully disposed stations from which the best views might be observed," adapting the rugged terrain with techniques of the
Picturesque. And even when Wordsworth, spurning the tyranny imposed by such techniques on the individual's appreciation of nature, offered his definitive Guide to the Lakes in 1810, he realized that to communicate the region's aesthetic pleasures to an English audience necessarily required comparing his home region to the sublimity of the Alps, which, for Englishmen, was the standard.

Despite the vogue of Grand Touring that was popular during the early eighteenth century, it may be said, as Marjorie Nicolson has said of seventeenth-century English poets, that most Englishmen in the eighteenth century had not seen mountains. When they did, they often regretted the absence of the Picturesque. W. Mávor's remark on the necessity of cottages in a scene's foreground to make it picturesque, in his A Tour through Wales in the Summer of 1805, may stand as representative of one standard English response to wild, sublime landscapes: "for what real pleasure can arise from the contemplation of wild nature, however inviting her features, if the abodes of men and the comforts of society are excluded?" Another response was wilfully to temper the Sublime. English winter weather conditions, harsh occasionally, but temperate generally, are described by Thomson as "congenial horrors," and "kindred glooms." As has been seen earlier, Thomson employs the sublime climatical excesses of the torrid zones to throw into relief the moderateness of English weather. As well, he employs, as the following lines from "Summer" illustrate, the Picturesque to compose or temper sublime landscapes:

Thus up the mount, in airy vision rapt,
I stray, regardless whither; till the sound
Of a near fall of water every sense
Wakes from the charm of thought: swift-shrinking back,
I check my steps and view the broken scene.
Smooth to the shelving brink a copious flood
Rolls fair and placid; where, collected all
In one impetuous torrent, down the steep
It thundering shoots, and shakes the country round.
At first, an azure sheet, it rushes broad;
Then, whitening by degrees as prone it falls,
And from the loud-resounding rocks below
Dashed in a cloud of foam, it sends aloft
A hoary mist and forms a ceaseless shower.
Nor can the tortured wave here find repose;
But, raging still amid the shaggy rocks,
Now flashes o'er the scattered fragments, now
Aslant the hollow channel rapid darts;
And, falling fast from gradual slope to slope,
With wild infracted course and lessened roar
It gains a safer bed, and steals at last
Along the mazes of the quiet vale.  (ll. 585-606)

As the torrent recedes from the viewer into the middle ground of the scene, its noise moderates and the Picturesque composes its "safer" course, even as the "tortured wave," at the beginning of the last verse sentence moderates, and "steals" into the landscape. 49

Although the Sublime, as an emotion, is not nearly as distant from the English stolidness of character as sublime landscapes are from England, the roots of the Sublime in English literature and painting appear to lie more in the Arts than in national character or geography. Even Milton, who had seen mountains, reverted, it has been argued by Roland Mushat Frye, to the artistic sources of the Sublime for poetic conceptions of vastness. His scenes of cosmic grandeur remind the reader of Galileo's telescopic vision, but also of Rubens' illusionist ceiling paintings in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the building in which Milton had offices while serving as Secretary of State for Latin Affairs. 50 The Sublime was an emotion most eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Englishmen experienced through Art, at a second remove from nature. Even in landscape viewing, the Sublime, as Moir shows in connection with the guide books to the
Lake District, arose, not out of contact with nature but as a result of the establishment of "stations" throughout the region which set an artistic "idiom" between man and nature, relegating the land to a picture and the traveller to an art critic. Certainly, before J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) and Lord Byron (1788-1824), the Sublime style in the Arts was not developed and extended by Englishmen, except in the minor contribution made by the Gothic Romance. In English painting, for example, there were, as Luigi Salerno points out, eighteenth-century followers of Salvator, including John Hamilton Mortimer (1740-1779), Joseph Wright (1734-1797), the Anglo-Irishman James Barry (1741-1806), and the Swiss expatriate Henry Fuseli (1741-1825, in England after 1765);

but rather than following his [Salvator's] characteristic style of painting, they imitated principally his subject matter; in other words they pursued the literary ideal he had come to represent. A Romantic legend came to surround his existence; his life, deduced from the character of his works [including poetry], was represented as that of a rebel, a musician, a swordsman, a prisoner of the bandits in Calabria [the birthplace of the Mafia], the hero of the Mansiello Revolt.

Describing nature and people fascinated eighteenth-century Englishmen; the rise of the literary genres of the topographic poem, of biography, and of history offer copious examples of this. But feeling the power of nature overwhelm them was something most Englishmen preferred to experience through the filter of Art. Wordsworth may have desired to feel intensely the power, the Immanence of nature, in the blood, and along the heart, passing into his purer mind, but his subjective, intimate response to nature in 1798 did not, as he well knew, represent the fashion of his age. The English reader of his day, when he preferred it, preferred to be thrilled
by what Addison called the "secondary pleasures" of the imagination--someone's tranquil recollections of the experience of nature at its most sublime--than to have the experience of it himself.

Throughout the eighteenth century, a large aesthetic gap was growing between what were being considered as the epitomes of the Beautiful and the Sublime. As far as landscape was concerned both these aesthetics referred to regions outside Britain--the Mediterranean, and the Alps. As the eighteenth-century Englishman turned to consider his own country, it became apparent that a keen aesthetic pleasure could be had from landscape that was neither beautiful nor sublime in a Mediterranean or alpine sense. Nor did all landscape evoke acute emotional responses of joy or terror that made a man want to lose himself in nature. A landscape enthusiast would indulge in the appreciation of nature without desiring a "glorification or deification beyond man's scope or control." He could discover agreeable intricacies in a scene without desiring to "pierce through the substance to the Life," and feel the power of nature exquisitely and intensely. For such Englishmen, it grew increasingly apparent during the course of the eighteenth century, neither the Beautiful nor the Sublime would answer this aesthetic need. The Picturesque evolved to supply that need, and although it did not achieve the status of a discrete aesthetic theory until the latter half of the century, it had been in the process of evolution in Addison's day.

I.3--THE PICTURESQUE

The English Arts, including landscape gardening, landscape poetry,
and landscape painting, English Aesthetic Philosophy, and the "mental maps" of England which the interactions of human character and geography produce, constitute the major influences on the eighteenth-century formulation of the Picturesque landscape aesthetic. Among these influences, a common trait--propensity for intricacy--was repeatedly brought to bear on the way Englishmen chose to perceive and describe the world about them. The simplicity of Cartesian reasoning, the symmetry of the dominant-axial-line gardens of Italy and France, and the dependability of the Mediterranean climate, including the relative sameness of its seasons, all struck the eighteenth-century Englishman's aesthetic taste as inadequate demonstrations of a greater variety of existence which he perceived in England. Consideration, in turn, of these three major influences (the Arts, Aesthetic Philosophy, and "mental maps") will help to clarify how one perception of landscape developed from the Restoration through to the Victorian period, and how the vocabulary of the Picturesque developed to communicate it.

1.3.1--Origins of the Picturesque in English Landscape Gardening

Eighteenth-century English prose, poetry, and painting which dealt in whole or in part with landscape appreciation followed a path already designed by English landscape gardening. A distinctly English garden style began to appear as early as 1624 when Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), in The Elements of Architecture, remarked: "First, I must note a certaine contrarietie between building and gardening: For as Fabriques should bee regular, so Gardens should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wilde Regularitie."55 The English longing
for the informal and irregular was no better exemplified in the seventeenth century than in natural gardens whose owners repudiated the stilted symmetry of a Versailles or the less formal Boboli Gardens. By 1690, this attitude held wide currency. Erasmus Warren exemplifies it when responding to Thomas Burnet's Sacred Theory. Burnet, it will be remembered, was repelled initially by all natural scenery that was not symmetrical and decorous. Warren, in his Geologia of 1690, protests:

Were a man to contrive a prospect for himself, we may be sure he would not have it all of a piece alike throughout, but would have it cast into swamps and hillocks, bottoms and gibbosities, evennesses and aspirsties; yea, into seas and islets, and rocks if it could be, and so it would be an image, not of the primitive, but present earth. A pretty argument to prove that there is something of perfection or at least of pleasingness in this earth's disorder (if we may call it so) and that it is fitter to gratify its principal inhabitants (and so far) better in itself than if it had been regular and undiversified.56

The preference for informality and irregularity was more loudly pronounced after 1667 when Milton, following, perhaps, the influence of Wotton who had applauded the success of Comus,57 championed it in his design for Eden in Paradise Lost. Although Milton did nothing more than synthesize an established precedent in England,58 his authorization of it in the classical art form of epic poetry tended officially to sanction English taste for unadorned nature. And, maintains Beverly Sprague Allen, "this affection for the simple, unostentatious garden and for the plants and flowers that flourish in it is," from Milton's day to this, "thoroughly English."59

The seventeenth-century English perception of reality in a landscape consisted in informality; an elaborately adorned garden, however real to the French, struck most Englishmen as impractical, artificial,
and illusory. But the eighteenth century in England demonstrated a decidedly greater interest in the aesthetic aspect of landscape gardening coming from Europe. The neo-classical perception of virtue entailed conformity to precedent; in landscape gardening, where precedent for the informal could not be found except in Paradise Lost, a wholly informal garden might be thought to betray the vicious nature of its owner. In England, the formal garden was attempted by George London (d. 1714) and Henry Wise (1653-1738) at, among other places, Kensington and Blenheim. But, although the informality of the seventeenth-century garden gave way to the importation from the formal garden of such-regulating devices as the patte d'oeie, formality was not to become the overriding principle; its authority was contested by advocates of the informal throughout the eighteenth century. For example, Pope describes the contest adroitly when he imitates Horace by observing to Joseph Spence, in 1742, that, "He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds, / Surprizes, varies, and conceals the bounds."61

Irregularity pleasantly confounds, but if the whole landscape is securely bound, the irregularity only dominates a well-defined space. Pope did not deny the need for regulation, only that the regulatory feature (hedge, wall, or the sunken fence designed by Charles Bridgeman for Lord Burlington's estate at Chiswick, and called a "ha-ha") not be allowed to dominate the scene or, by implication, the mind of its spectator. Pope's notion of the natural harmony between nature and human purpose, between a world that is well-ordered and a human being who is allowed to respond creatively to the natural order he detects, underlies his remarks to Spence on landscape gardening. But this harmony is, as Nikolaus Pevsner has noted in "The
Genesis of the Picturesque, the product of a tenuous balance in Pope's work between calls for order and pleas for natural expression. Christopher Hussey, in his classic study entitled The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View, makes a similar observation: "He might inveigh against terraces 'where Grove nods at Grove,' and 'half the Platform just reflects the other.' But he only went so far as to prefer a serpentine to a straight line." Pope, Joseph Addison, Batty Langley and Stephen Spitzer concurred that in landscape gardening nature was to be neither overtly formalized as it was in the formal gardens designed by or following the practices of the French royal gardener Le Nôtre (1613-1700), nor untended, allowed to remain in its wild state: 'nature simplified' was the key. As the structure of the Popian couplet quoted above reminds the reader, the organization was not to be made formal, but it was, unmistakably, to be made. Overt symmetry might be dissolved by degrees, but a sense of balance was not to be lost. Allen points out that an overriding determinacy was operative, even when gardens in which nature did not appear wholly determined by man were being advocated:

As is almost always the case when eighteenth century writers extol nature and variety, it is necessary to be on one's guard. With admirable precision they state their reasons for admiring nature and variety, and we concur heartily. But when they cite specific examples of their principles, we experience a shock of surprise; they unconsciously reveal that, after all, they like their wine only moderately watered, and turn out to be far more conservative than their general statements lead us to suspect.

Two contemporary views of Hampton Court by Dutch artists illustrate the contrast between the formalism Pope and others repudiated, and the informal gardening they preferred. The first, by Leonard Knyff (1650-1722), celebrates the Le Nôtre-influenced gardening style,
Leonard Knyff. A View of Hampton Court (c.1700-1710)  
canvas 153 cm. x 216.5 cm.  

Hampton Court, Royal Collection  

including the dominant axial line running boldly up to and through  
the palace, the patte d’oie of tree-lined avenues, the profusion of  
parterres, the representation of the countryside following the French  
preference for the level plain and the straight, canal-like river.  

The second, by another Dutch artist, Jan Griffer (c.1646-1718), is  

Jan Griffer. View of Hampton Court Palace (c.1710) copper  
38 cm. x 50.5 cm.  

London, Tate Gallery  

a small engraving de-emphasizing symmetrical formalism. The parterres
are partly obscured by unclipped trees, and are surrounded by a winding Thames river and road, the unclipped tree in the left foreground, a hill varying the level plain on the right, and an active, cloud-filled sky whose irregular forms temper the linearity of the palace architecture and parterres because the horizon is set at almost one half the height of the view. Still, as Allen remarks, the effect is far from the wildness the reader of eighteenth-century discussions of landscape gardening might be led to expect.

However informal Pope and his colleagues believed their landscape tastes and creations were, a glance back to Wotton and Warren indicates how much neo-classicism had imported theories of order from abroad. The consequence of this importation was the sort of unintentional paradox that tends to devolve upon any culture attempting to adapt imported artistic practices and aesthetics to its own native preferences and needs. Nikolaus Pevsner notes how, "by 1720, the 'natural' style in architecture, that is, the elaborate formality of symmetrical Palladianism and the 'natural' style in gardening, that is, the elaborate formality of assymetrical Rococo" were present on many English estates. But what appears as paradox to the modern viewer signified to the eighteenth-century gardener the animating tension he sought in his scenes. The angular irregularity of a gnarled yew beside the upright linearity of a pillar may not always be perceived by a modern eye as productive of an harmonious effort; yet, Pope and, as his remark makes clear, Wotton would think it so. The tension to which such a paradox gives rise appears awkward today perhaps, but the struggle in English art and architecture between the rational, formal, and planned, on the one hand, and the irrational,
informal, and spontaneous, on the other has, according to Pevsner, always given rise to such animating tensions, ones which the Englishman does in fact prize. Illogicality upsets the rational ordering of nature in the English landscape garden and produces its salient feature—intricacy of effect. "Illogicality," insists Pevsner, "must certainly be listed as an English quality. . . . The distaste of the English for carrying through a thought or a system of thought to its logical extreme is too familiar to need comment." An enchanting example of the taste for the spontaneous, the illogical, the disordered even, is "Delight in Disorder," by Robert Herrick (1591-1674):

A sweet disorder in the dress
Kindles in clothes a wantonness;
A lawn about the shoulders thrown
Into a fine distraction;
An erring lace, which here and there
Enthralls the crimson stomacher;
A cuff neglectful, and thereby
Ribands to flow confusedly;
A winning wave (deserving note)
In the tempestuous petticoat;
A careless shoe-string, in whose tie
I see a wild civility:
Do more bewitch me, than when art
Is too precise in every part.

How the English live with such illogicality, given their other propensity for order and neatness, may be seen in the context of the eighteenth century in two respects: the doctrine of concordia discors and the appreciation of wit. The term concordia discors is itself a paradox signifying a harmony (agreeing disagreement). The use of the land in Pope's Windsor Forest (1713) both to signify pastoral retreat, and to illustrate national agricultural wealth, seems untenable and paradoxical, but the single landscape manages to evoke an harmonious effect--concordia discors--on the reader whose
appreciation of it includes recognition of the pastoral, the agrarian, and the "wild" elements:

Here waving Groves a chequer'd scene display,
And part admit and part exclude the Day;
As some coy Nymph her lover's warm Address
Nor quite indulges, nor can quite repress.
There, interspers'd in Lawns and opening Glades,
Thin Trees arise that shun each others Shades.
Here in full Light the russet Plains extend;
There wrapt in Clouds the bluish Hills ascend:
Ev'n the wild Heath displays her Purple Dies,
And midst the Desart fruitful Fields arise,
That crown'd with tufted Trees and springing Corn,
Like verdant Isles the sable Waste adorn. 68 (11. 17-28)

Harmony achieved by the conjoining of seemingly disparate elements of the external world, or of seemingly disparate uses of it by man, displays the intricacy which the English mind sought in its views of landscape at least from the time Warren states his distaste for "a prospect ... all of a piece alike throughout." Diversity, even apparent disorder, brought under some rule which, in the case of Pope, was the controlling closural effect of the couplet, produced the intricacy and tension sought in a view:

Where Order in Variety we see
And where, tho' all things differ, all agree. 69

Pope wanted to surprise visitors to his garden at Twickenham with unexpected views which, all the same, did not jar but, rather, composed the viewer's mind. Although Pope himself does not make the analogy, there is one to be made between his practices as gardener and as poet, for his idea of wit in poetry involved an exercise not unlike the gardener's manipulation of nature to create a visual effect of concordia discors—bringing into apparent relation two unrelated or previously unconnected ideas. The delight of the reader, unless he
bore the brunt of Pope's satiric wit, was delight with the discovery of a harmony among ideas previously apprehended as unassociated or contrary. Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829) was to articulate what Pope had implied. Late in the eighteenth century, he cited the discovery of unity amid variety as the chief element of the Picturesque aesthetic. And he related such a discovery of unity to the notion of wit. To follow the intricate arrangement of objects in a landscape demanded the same mental agility that was required to follow what, in some measure answers to it—the quick, lively and sudden turns of fancy in conversation. 70

1.3.ii--The Presence of Claude

However, the continuation of a chronological discussion of the development of the English landscape garden, and the growth of a native landscape aesthetic must trace, in the period between Pope and Price, the influence of Italian landscape painting on English landscape perception which appeared in the age of Thomson's The Seasons, which is to say, from the third decade of the eighteenth century. Among modern critics, Elizabeth Manwaring was the first to remark on the extent of this influence:

The difference between Denham [John Denham (1615-1669), whose Cooper's Hill appeared in 1642] and Thomson is the difference between a person slightly used to landscape pictures, and one well used to them. Denham has no sense of composing the parts of his scene into one group, nor does he even see the parts pictorially; Thomson has the sense of composition in a marked degree.

The upshot of Thomson's familiarity with the works of such seventeenth-century landscape painters as Claude Lorrain was that he could group elements of nature into verse scenes whose design was discernible by any reader familiar with landscape painting. S. Lang, in "The
Genesis of the Picturesque Garden, echoes many inaccurate observers in claiming that "nobody before Walpole mentions Claude in connection with gardening." Exclusion of the consideration of a Claudian influence from all decades and writers in which specific citation cannot be found ignores the spirit of early eighteenth-century landscape appreciation. As early as 1658, when Sir William Sanderson's Graphice: the Use of the Pen and Pencil, Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting appeared, English discussions of Art were including references to Claude, and such discussions preceded the execution by Claude of some of his most famous canvases. But, more generally, such remarks as Pope's to Spence in 1734, that "all gardening is landscape painting. Just like a landscape hung up," demonstrate the affinity which many English gentlemen recognized in the Arts. Joseph Addison had encouraged such affiliations in 1712 when he wrote in his "Spectator" column that, "... we find the Works of Nature still more pleasant, the more they resemble those of Art: For in this case our Pleasure arises from a double Principle; from the Agreeableness of the Objects to the Eye, and from their Similitude to other Objects ... "

Englishmen of the first half of the eighteenth century learned spatial organization from Italian landscape painting, especially from the Franco-Italian Claude, and the practitioners of the Claudian style. When William Gilpin, in the last three decades of the century and the first in the nineteenth, enjoyed his popularity as the doyen of
picturesque touring, he merely profited from synthesizing the English appetite for viewing nature as pictures that had been growing since Addison's day. Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1715-1783) stemmed this tide between 1750 and 1780 by reducing the English garden to the beautifully simplistic order of green, undulating lawns and green clumps of beech trees, as at Charlecote, Warwickshire. But when the English taste for greater variety in visual effect and greater intricacy of planning resumed, its model in both gardening and landscape touring became the landscapes of Claude Lorrain.

As E. H. Gombrich has pointed out, "without a knowledge of Claude's idiom, the English amateur would never have thought of discovering what he called 'picturesque motifs' in his native scenery. But this habit, and the pictures it produced in its turn, reinforced that readiness to see these cherished forms in everything that looked faintly like a landscape sketch. . . ."75 The British, especially the English, had accepted Perspective. This meant that they could regard nature as landscape art, organizing its various elements into a harmonious theme, as in a picture. An example from the Claudian "idiom" would be the view, from an elevated prospect, of a panorama consisting of: a foreground, usually in shade and populated by people and/or domestic animals; a sun-bathed middle ground, deep in the landscape from the point of view, that includes a meandering brook or river flowing towards the horizon and crossed at least once by a bridge; and a background of bluish hills. Distance is conveyed most dramatically by the play of light and shade, which attracts the eye through the stages in the landscape to the horizon. Ruins, or ideal, intact representations of famous classical or biblical buildings in either
the foreground or middle ground provide the historical theme for the picture while, usually, colouring the mood with nostalgia. The sunset or, less frequently, the sunrise glow dominates the canvas' colour scheme. The four paintings illustrated here exemplify many of the

Claude Lorrain. Landscape with Shepherds. 1644 Liber Veritas 78.
96.5 cm. X 123.1 cm.

Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

English Provenance, 1711-1928.
Claude Lorrain. View of Delphi with a Procession. 1650
Liber Veritas 119.
150 cm. X 200 cm.
Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj.

Claude Lorrain. Landscape with Hermina and Shepherds. 1666
Liber Veritas 166.
92.5 cm. X 137 cm.
Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester.
features of this style, a style which underwent no major and surprisingly few minor developments through the course of the oeuvre. However, underlying this apparently informal stylistic method of composition is a scrupulous architectonics; as Marcel Röthlisberger's valuable study has demonstrated, Claude left no proportion or placement of objects to chance:

The usual placing of the horizon at two-fifths of the height is only the most obvious feature in a consistent although not rigid system of placing the main, and in late works also the subordinate, intersections, forms, and accents at the third, quarter and/or fifth division of the width and height. Also portions within a picture, such as the length of a vista or the acre filled by the figures, are subject to such divisions of the width. This use of measurements becomes more and more elaborate, without ever being apparent to the eye as a structural scheme.

The untrained English eye may well have seen in this underlying order
a way of interpreting nature informally without controlling it overtly. Claude's composition of natural elements together with the harmony lent them by the glow seemed natural especially to the eighteenth-century English viewer who believed that harmony existed in the natural world, and that it could be discovered by man from a fixed point of view and all at one glance. As long as the sense of an ordering principle was not lost (and it never is in a Claudian picture), the eye trained to appreciate natural landscapes as paintings could seek the maximum of variety and compositional intricacy. And of course it redounded as much to the moral virtue of the eighteenth-century British gentleman as to his sophistication to be able to discover unity within great variety. Believing that he lived in harmony with nature, his discovery of unity within diversity was not only a triumph of wit but also a recognition of God's universal structure and the rôle of man in it.

Of course, the eighteenth century inherited from the Renaissance the idea of a moral dimension in the animating tension between variety and order, but the two periods did not share identical attitudes towards the external world. The determinacy of the natural order was, to an eighteenth-century Englishman, a donnée of existence. Whereas his Renaissance counterpart set his belief on the possibility of divine intervention to set aright any unbalancing or perversion of the natural order, the eighteenth-century gentleman assumed that such devices of correction were either included in the programme of nature already or were to be applied by the individual who saw a need for them. Thus, nature was a worthy equal of man: exploration of nature's
subtleties and the ordering of its variety would help a man to discover his own moral identity, but such activity was undertaken with the firm belief that the leisured classes knew, ultimately, what was best for nature, in which light and form it could be most advantageously displayed. And works of Art, more than a belief in divine grace, provided the authority and patterns for grooming and gardening the natural world. Newton had proved that man could demand the muse, if not be his own. And seventeenth-century Italian and Dutch landscape painting provided much of the impetus for this eighteenth-century English attitude, as well as the "Schema," to cite Gombrich's term, that would legitimate such a perception of man's relations with nature. As Wolfgang Stechow has said in *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, the point of view from which most landscape painting was executed was one which considered that "man does not lose himself in nature, there is no attempt at a glorification or deification of nature beyond man's scope or control." 79 Salvator Rosa stands as a single prominent exception.

There is no evidence that by 1730, when the first complete edition of *The Seasons* appeared, Thomson knew Claude's paintings. But Thomas Twining's remark, in *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry* (1789), that the ancients "had no Thomsons because they had no Clau des," 80 testifies to the affinity Englishmen saw between the way in which the Scottish/English poet and the way in which the Franco-Italian painter described the natural world; moreover, it discloses the mid- and late-eighteenth-century Englishman's habit of speaking of Thomson and Claude in the same breath. The affinity is discernible in both general and
specific ways. Certainly, Thomson bears more relation to Claude than to Milton. Milton had evoked nature to carry his theme in "l'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," as well as in Comus, and the presence of nature in those poems has a profound effect on their readers. But, as in such works by Titian as "Sacred and Profane Love" (c. 1515), nature, however vital, is not often at the centre of Milton's stage. On the other hand, Thomson, following Claude (who altered Titian's emphasis by putting biblical and classical scenes at the service of landscape interests to promote landscape as a legitimate subject for art in its own right) reversed Milton's emphasis. As Leslie Farris argues, "he [Thomson] emphatically set out from natural scenes and states to a consideration of man's place in the great scheme. What looks like cataloguing today was once an exciting redirecting of attention." \[81\] In terms of a specific affinity between Thomson and Claude, John Barrell has argued recently, and persuasively, that at least one landscape description in The Seasons, that of Hagley Park, which first appeared in the 1744 edition of "Spring" (11. 950-62), bears a structural relation to a Claudian landscape. \[82\] But whether in general or in specific terms, the significance of the Thomson/Claude affinity grew in the wake of the success of Thomson's poem. The manner of perceiving landscape pictorially, learned in the early eighteenth century primarily by gentlemen who either travelled to Italy and saw the works of Claude, and of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Nicolas Poussin, Gaspard Dughet, and Salvator Rosa, or who knew and/or owned works by the Dutch painters Salomon van Ruysdael (c. 1600/2-1670), and Meinder Hobbema (1638-1709), was made available and comprehensible after 1830 to a British audience as numerous as Thomson's readership, which, for the most part, had
little or no first-hand experience of Italian or Dutch landscape painting. And, it is no surprise to learn that with Thómson's success the demand for lithograph and mezzotint copies of landscape art grew enormously.

I:3.iii--The Emergence of the Picturesque style in Britain

Claude's influence on English landscape gardening, directly and indirectly through Thomson, was considerable. The "Picturesque" school of landscape gardening, led by Sir Uvedale Price, did no more, essentially, than follow the advice of Pope to hang up landscapes, and of Addison to make works of nature resemble works of art. It marked, however, a second eighteenth-century English aesthetic reaction against the predominance of order in landscape. Capability Brown's had been a successful gardening style, but, according to Price and Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824), it had refined the art of gardening to a tedious formula. Knight argues against it in his poem The Landscape (1794), parts of which Pevsner quotes in the following observation:

The landscape garden had originally been a protest against the formal French or Dutch garden, that is of nature against rule. Knight's protest against the landscape gardener of his time [Brown, and Brown's disciple Humphry Repton] is exactly the same on a new level. He calls William Hogarth's famous serpentine Line of Beauty just as arbitrary as the straight avenues of Versailles had been. He

rejects the pédant's chaîne;
Which binding beauty in its wav'ing line,
Destroys the charm it vainly would define. (I, 140-42)

and adds that:

The path that moves in ever serpentine
Is still less nat'ral than the painted line. (I, 145-46)

Again, Price says the same in his soberer way: 'It must be remembered that strongly marked, distinct and regular curves, unbroken and undisguised are hardly less un-natural or formal, though much less grand and simple than straight lines' [Essay on the Picturesque, I,
So Knight and Price claim for their conception of landscape a truer naturalness than Brown's. Knight demands from a master of landscape that he 'appeals from sense directly to the heart' [The Landscape, I, 114].

Rising in acceptance during the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century and enjoying widespread acceptance until the 1840's, when a variety of developments which had been interesting some gardeners for a number of years, including the invention of the lawn mower (1832) and a greater interest in exotic species of flora and fauna collected from the British Empire which made lawns, flower gardens, greenhouses, and arboretums more pervasively popular than the composition of landscapes, "picturesque" gardening advocated the scenic composition of the land. Its main tools were natural light and shade, natural ruggedness, and natural variations in elevation. Informality was again the key with, as in a Claudian landscape, the structure of the view remaining implicit and yet sufficiently apparent to guarantee perspective. The eye was led here and there through the landscape, discovering, apparently for itself, a unity in the intricate variety of objects. As the reader was led by the wit of an eighteenth-century author to discover the harmony between and among disparate ideas, so the landscape viewer was meant to discover the relations between informal ruggedness and order in a picturesque garden. Informality as a means of de-emphasizing order was invoked to introduce greater variety of form and colour in a landscape, and was effected through the deployment of unclipped hedges, sprawling bushes, and "unclumped" trees. Knight demonstrated the difference he saw between the Brownian and picturesque gardens by including in the publication of his poem two renditions of the same view.

The relation obtaining between the explicit order of the Brownian (first) view and the implicit order of the picturesque (second) view is not dissimilar to the relation of explicit and implicit orders in the views of Hampton Court executed by Knyff and Griffer respectively, at the
outset of the century. That this is so is not merely aleatory; it is apparent in such interpretations of the tension found in a picturesque landscape as the one offered by Marcia Allentuck in "Sir Uvedale Price and the Picturesque Garden: the Evidence of the Coleorton Papers."

Allentuck describes the tension as the product of "the dialectic between accident and order, between emotion and principle." 84

Variety and intricacy of detail had been championed by Spenser and Milton in their literary gardens. The neo-classical urge for a more ordered perception of nature sought a way of controlling profusion of visual detail. I have argued that Claude's idiom answered this search in mid-century, but that it continued to answer the search by Englishmen in the second half of the eighteenth century for an aesthetic proper to their mode of perceiving landscape is evidenced by such trends as the one noted by John Barrell: " . . . in the later eighteenth century it became impossible for anyone with an aesthetic interest in landscape to look at the countryside without applying [principles of composition], whether he knew he was doing so or not." 85

Why Claude's idiom remained appropriate becomes apparent when his method of subject selection and composition are considered. Luigi Salerno, in Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome, distinguishes them from the Baroque profusiveness of such artists contemporary with Claude as Rubens and Salvator Rosa (the italics are added):

Claude is classic because he does not want too many elements that would take away from the clarity of the scene. If the lack of elements gives a sense of emptiness, an excess of them destroys the sense of quiet. Between these two possibilities Claude searched for a balanced equilibrium. He searches for the same harmony in his compositions,
which are always frontal and stage-like. The drama that he presents to us is never violent, but only hinted at, suggested, something to be discovered slowly.

Still, the dissemination of a way of seeing is not automatic, even if its features of balance and harmony accord well with the preferences of an Age. In the case of the second half of the eighteenth century, the Picturesque aesthetic relied upon William Gilpin in prose to popularize the appreciation of landscape following the style of Claude. On account of this reliance, an educated Englishman's intellectual and emotional responses to all nature, not just cultivated gardens, were grounded in literature and art. Consequently, he tended to equate natural sights with artistic representations of them, as his newly formed habit of employing the word "landscape" to signify both the prospect viewed from a specific standpoint in nature, and the artistic depiction of the prospect suggests. And, of course, the word "picturesque" was employed to make the same equation. The equation was illusory, but, like all illusions invested with a society's belief, the Picturesque became the authoritative, socially acceptable way of apprehending the external world between 1770 and 1840 in England.

Rather more idealized in Claude, Thomson, and Gilpin, less so in Payne Knight, and Price, the Picturesque aesthetic permitted the application of a learned, and, indeed, learned schema of perception to a tract of land. Thomson described Hagley Park ideally, without local reference, and Hagley Park itself had been landscaped for Lord Lyttleton by William Kent to emphasize artistic ideas, not its place in England. The pleasures of the imagination, as Addison called them, not the pleasures of discovering the peculiar qualities of a place, were indulged by the Picturesque vogue. Every corner of Britain was
subjected, as Barrell notes, to "the established set of landscape patterns" which the connoisseur applied; the consequence being that "the universal landscape ... included any tract of land the connoisseur chose to examine." 88

The exercise of viewing British sites as pictures came to dominate the way in which Englishmen understood space in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. William Gilpin guided Englishmen around their island with his six published regional tours (tours made 1769-1776, and published in 1782, 1786, 1789, 1804, and 1809). It is clear that his response to nature was essentially deterministic. As John Sunderland has remarked in "Uvedale Price and the Picturesque" (1973), "When he [Gilpin] set out on his tours he already had a preconceived and clear idea of what was picturesque and what was not." 89 Gilpin advised that informality, including roughness of form and broken planes, was desirable in a landscape, but it was not to preclude the discovery of order. Delineating the qualities of a Picturesque formation in, or an artistic rendition of, landscape in 1792, Gilpin maintained that, "the various parts must be composed into a harmonious WHOLE, as that is the essence that lies behind the often used and badly understood word, PICTURESQUE." 90 A view had to be composable into one picture; that requirement met, the more variety a landscape offered in its form and colour, the more entertainment it afforded the eye trained in the Picturesque. A varied scene encouraged the viewer to make use of the painter's technique of orthogonal relations of objects, along lines of a central axis, or of the poetic technique of balancing elements in the view in clauses or phrases whose grammatical equation was enhanced by the use of pairs of directional signifiers, such
as here . . . / there . . . , as in the passage from Windsor Forest cited earlier.

Since those landscapes whose geography and vegetation offered the greatest variety of form and colour were considered the most picturesque, the barrenness of most Scottish terrain often disqualified that country from landscape appreciation by English tourists. As John R. Nabholz has observed, Dorothy Wordsworth represented the view of Scotland expressed by many English tourists in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when, in her journal of a tour of Scotland in 1803, she repeatedly expressed annoyance that the terrain's barrenness frustrated her pictorial sense of landscape composition. Wooded areas were, in the opinion of Uvedale Price, "almost indispensably necessary to picturesque" scenery, and those scenes dominated by deciduous trees were preferable, in part because their circular forms and seasonal colours offer greater variety than do those of conifers, and in part because the stark linearity of the coniferous form, as the Canadian group of Seven painters realized, militated against its use to blend or unify scenes which it dominates, except of course where the scene included no other elements but conifers (such as the coastline of modern northern British Columbia, which so dispirited George Vancouver and his crew a decade before Dorothy Wordsworth wrote about Scotland.) Simply, where visual variety abounded, the Englishman of the eighteenth century felt he could comprehend and describe space; conversely, where it did not, as in parts of Scotland, and on the Canadian prairie and barrens, he was lost—neither seventeenth-century Dutch nor Italian landscape painting had introduced uniformity as a subject for art.
The exhilaration which Gilpin and his followers sought in a landscape was that induced by the tension of variety and unity in a scene. From conifers to Palladian architecture, objects whose individual form threatened to dominate a composition's harmonious effect were censured; buildings were to appear aged; hedges trimmed but not molded. Gilpin was clear on this question of a form's domination and made it plain that some scenes required 'correction' before the exhilaration of the Picturesque could be discovered:

The whole view was pleasing from various stands: but to make it particularly picturesque by gaining a good foreground, we were obliged to change our station backward & foreward, till we had obtained a good one. Two large plape [deciduous] trees which we met with, were of great assistance to us.

For nature to become art, which, for the late-eighteenth-century English tourist, was to say, for it to become landscape, it had to be made to conform to the pictorial illusion by which it was contemplated. Correction was therefore deemed justifiable and necessary by Gilpin, who admitted in a letter to William Mason that, "I am so attached to my Picturesque rules, that if nature goes wrong, I cannot help putting her right." English landscape tourists often exercised correction through the use of a variety of devices, all of which ordered and framed the external scene into a landscape (an image recognizable as art), and some of which composed colours and altered dimensions: the camera obscura, the Claude glass, the camera lucida, the graphic telescope, and the calotype camera. For instance, the gilded convex mirror in the Claude glass coloured the chosen landscape subject with a Claudian tint, unifying for the viewer. With the black frame around the glass literally framing the view, the landscape enthusiast turned his back on the landscape and admired it, to use Addison's terms, with a
secondary rather than a primary pleasure. Selective viewing was practised by many English tourists and, as would be expected when a procedure becomes popular, was made to serve several purposes. It could eliminate disagreeable aspects from a scene, undesirable social types from a foreground, or even whole cities, as in the case of Catherine Morland's picturesque viewing of Bath in Jane Austen's ironic treatment of the convention in *Northanger Abbey* (1818). Whereas Pope had advised careful, unobtrusive ordering, combined with recognition of the peculiar beauties of a place, the late-eighteenth-century tourist perceived landscape too often with an insensitive determinacy to regulate all scenes, and to eliminate their individual features if they did not conform to the rigid formula guaranteed to produce the illusion of the Picturesque. The scenes selected were often stage-managed for a "correct" effect that was no less artificial than the gardens of Le Nôtre which Pope, Addison, Langley, and Switzer had reviled.

But landscape is, by definition, artificial because it is the product of human perception and expression. As P. T. Newby suggests, in "Towards an Understanding of Landscape Quality," it is "far from being a natural object. ... [It] is not nature but lies at the interface between nature and the activities of man." Only when its artificiality becomes obvious and predominant does a way of seeing lose its credibility and descend to mere illusion. This did not happen to the Picturesque to any widespread degree before 1840, and when it did, it was the result of many factors besides those pertaining to landscape aesthetics. Until then, the Picturesque marked a pleasurable way of perceiving nature which empowered the viewer to believe that he could control the external world.
I.3.iv--Topographical Poetry and the Fate of the Picturesque

In the late eighteenth century, topographical poetry, like landscape gardening and picturesque touring, inherited, through Claude and Thomson, the Renaissance concept of Perspective. Consultation with the genius of the place was not the picturesque topographical poem's aim; rather, it was to bring a preconceived design to a landscape, thereby rendering it a scene with a foreground, middle ground, background, coulisses, deflecting vistas, human figures, and so on. As with picturesque touring, the habit of topographical poets in the latter half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries was to "look over" landscape as if it were a series of pictures; people toured the country as they toured the private collections of Italian landscape paintings at various English estates, and the records of those tours, in poetry or prose, were written with the same notion of intricacy and variety of colour and form brought under a controlling compositional unity.

Topographical poetry had, from the time of Denham's Cooper's Hill (1642), its own controlling convention—that a moral theme be portrayed by the poem's pattern, the character of the landscape, and the virtue of the landscape's denizens. For example, Pope's balance of cornfields and pastoral groves in Windsor Forest adumbrates the economic and intellectual elements of the English nation's moral stability under Queen Anne; similarly, the oaks provide pleasant shade for contemplative swains, as well as the keels for the ships of the British Royal Navy and merchant marine who were charged with defending
and extending the commerce and virtue of the nation. Moreover, literal
space and time in the landscape and figurative space and time in the
poem interact to form the moral design. 100 The most significant
implication of this design is that the external world's perceived
harmony mirrors the justness of the social order and vice versa. This
implication persists in landscape poetry from Pope through to
Wordsworth, though, in its later stages, the implication's emphasis
shifts from society and nature to "How exquisitely the individual
Mind / . . . to the external world / Is fitted." 101

In so far as a limited number of virtues are at the disposal
of a poet, picturesque landscapes celebrating the temperance of the
English climate, geography, and people, as well as of the harmony
of the universe, tend to resemble one another regardless of from which
British hill of Truth the poet chooses to view nature's and society's
virtue. This limitation was compounded during the eighteenth century
by the sheer volume of loco-descriptive poems written—nearly two
thousand by the count of R. A. Aubin. 102 Still, this is the literature
which mapped Britain's aesthetic contours and composed their dimensions
while giving the English culture a way of living decorously and com-
fortably, if methodically, with nature. And not only the literature
was sustaining the illusion: such topographical artists of the day
as George Morland (1763-1804) were peopling their views with a parergia
or staffage representing an illusion of social life in village, town,
and city that was, as Marshal McLuhan has described it, "a cosmic
bath certified by Newton." 103 "If this topographical approach," remarks
John Wilson Foster,

too ardently and mundanely pursued, finally helped to kill topographi-
cal poetry, nonetheless without it the sense of perspective and spatial
organization necessary to an aesthetic appreciation of landscape could not so easily have been transferred from Italian painting to English poetry in the eighteenth century.

The desire for a varied but unified scene had led Pope and his "school" (if it can be called that) away from the formality of Le Nôtre, London, and Wise. Later in the century, the Picturesque aesthetic supplied a way of perceiving unity in the varied English topography as well as some of the Scottish and Welsh topography, and was therefore regarded as a "truer" method of landscaping than that practised by "Capability" Brown and Humphry Repton. But the conventions of landscape viewing practised by the Picturesque gardener and tourist began, in the early-nineteenth century, to harden into a myopic perception; so much correction was licensed that it became apparent to some people, such as William Combe, the author of the satire on picturesque viewing entitled *The Tour of Dr. Syntax in search of the Picturesque* (1810), that the natural world was being ignored rather than appreciated. Thus, William Combe's and William Wordsworth's even stronger rejection of the Picturesque, like Pope's rejection of the formal garden, and Knight's and Price's rejections of the simplified Brownian garden, were rejections of the convention of the day for the same reason—that it was no longer reflecting man's harmonious relation with the external world. It is true that the Picturesque survived long after Wordsworth's rejection of it, but that does not deny the fact that Wordsworth's relentless attack upon it marks a third reaction in English landscape aesthetics, between 1710 and 1810, against too strict reliance on order. Wordsworth's most cogent comment in this regard comes in *The Prelude*.
even in pleasure pleased
Unworthily, disliking here, and there
Liking, by rules of mimic art transferred
To things above all art; but more, -- for this,
Although a strong infection of the age,
Was never much my habit -- giving way
To a comparison of scene with scene,
Bent overmuch on superficial things,
Pampering myself with meagre novelties
Of colour and proportion; to the moods
Of time and season, to the moral power,
The affections and the spirit of the place,
Insensible. . . .
I speak in recollection of a time
When the bodily eye, in every stage of life
The most despotic of our senses, gained
Such strength in me as often held my mind
In absolutedominion. 105

In Wordsworth's view, almost identical in 1805 and 1850, 106 the genius of a place was no longer being consulted by landscape connoisseurs. However, his complaint acknowledges the problem without solving it; his poetry does not shift from the Picturesque perspective of a single station into which, as Berger images it, 107 the inverted telescope feeds the universe. And his poems do not consult the genius of the place: very little significance is accorded to the "sylvan Wye" or the abbey in "Lines: Composed a few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1798" (1798,1800). Moreover, Walter Savage Landor seems to have wondered, in his two-line memorial of 1846 entitled "Wordsworth," whether Wordsworth had ever extricated himself from the Picturesque mode of perception:

Dank, limber verses, stuff with lakeside sedges,
And propt with rotten stakes from broken hedges. 108

What Wordsworth shares with Thomson that he does not with a later nature poet such as Gerald Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) is, as McLuhan
has argued, the use of external nature as a catalyst for contemplative poetry. Generally speaking (some of Tennyson's poetry being the exception), not until Hopkins, (with his theory and poetical practice of "inscape") and Rimbaud and Mallarmé was the Picturesque convention reversed. Instead of seeking natural scenes that evoked certain effects for the viewer, they invented whole landscapes to suit the experience of a feeling. Only then did the Picturesque tradition lose its stranglehold on English poetry as the accepted way of seeing.

I.3.v--The Picturesque and the English Environment

Before moving on to consider the relation between the Picturesque and the English environment, a word on the ideological status of this aesthetic is needed. Various developments occurred with the Picturesque as a consequence of its dominion over landscape perception and appreciation between 1770 and 1840. Its popularity rendered it, like most illusions endorsed by a society, a conservative aesthetic, one that helped to establish and continued to confirm eighteenth-century belief in an harmonious world. R. A. Aubin has noted that, "most topographical poets remained captains of their souls." Moreover, in citing Thomson's eulogy of Newton, and specifically the poet's remark that Newton had "untwisted all the shining robe of day" (emphasis added), John Danby, in The Simple Wordsworth (1960), has summarized the essentially conservative purpose of the Arts during the tenure of the Picturesque:

Thomson really means it. Newton's achievement is inclusive and final. All the universe is at last known completely: for all men and for
always. Poetry now will have this certain and absolute truth to base itself upon. In a sense poetry will be secondary. It will exist to expound, to apply, to decorate or persuasively recommend those truths not poets but scientists have laid bare. . . . Thomson is glad that everything—including poetry—can now settle down: the essential work is finished.

And Thomson would seem to verify Danby's opinion when, in his defence of topographic poetry in "Notes to Winter," he states: "I know of no subject more elevating, more amusing, more ready to awake the poetical enthusiasm, the philosophical reflection, and the moral sentiment, than the works of Nature. . . . What more inspiring than a calm, wide survey of them" (emphasis added). The Picturesque is a conservative aesthetic, if by conservative is meant moderate and temperate. Seeking the "calm" between overwhelming variety and overt order in a landscape, the Picturesque moderates between what from its aesthetic viewpoint, appear as two extremes, or extreme tendencies. In the natural terrain and in the climate of England, a similar dialectic between extremes is discernible, and it affected the way in which Englishmen responded to landscape as much as the Picturesque aesthetic affected the way in which Englishmen responded to the dialectic in the English environment.

When the eighteenth-century Englishman "looked over" his country's terrain he discovered landscapes remarkably conducive to a picture-making mode of perception. Part of the process of discovery included, as J. Wréford Watson argues part of the make-up of geography must include, the application to land of the mode of spatial perception taught to the individual by his society. But part of the discovery also resides in the character of the earth and of the climate themselves. This part, in the context of the present discussion, David
Lowenthal and Hugh C. Prince describe as follows:

The visitor accustomed to sameness over space finds in England a remarkable and preeminently characteristic degree of variety. Smallness of scale, a highly varied surface geology, and an accidented terrain have led countless observers, native no less than foreign, to note how rapid the transition is from one landscape to another. Few English views do not afford a glimpse of contrasting scenery.

Single geographical forms do not dominate the land; its composition is typically varied and small in scale. Both features are readily comprehensible in the Picturesque, and replicable in the Arts governed by it. Another, related, feature consists in the geographical fact that English views often provide their own background limits, frequently permitting the viewer to consider a distance into the landscape of only a few miles. A recent edition of J. M. W. Turner's Picturesque Views of England and Wales displays, in one hundred and three plates, only one landscape—"Richmond, Yorkshire"—whose view exceeds five miles. 115 Because so many English landscape views are provided with their own natural background hills which limit vision, the English landscape tourist often could enclose one complete valley or panorama in his Claude glass or other picture-making device.

Moreover, this aspect of the physical geography has a clostral effect on spatial perception; it controls space naturally, offering myriad natural divisions of a view into foreground, middle ground and background. Thus, to a picture-making sensibility, English geography well might seem possessed of an inclination to what the painters call fitness or "Keeping," and to what may also be called decorum—an inclination to compose itself, to unite its various parts.

Apart from aesthetic responses, the eighteenth century
Englishman developed his land by means of the enclosure programmes. Within an already small-scale geography, Englishmen mapped and then fenced off small parcels of land. The hedgerow fences were then planted and, soon after, provided "natural" orthogonals when overlooked from a prospect and considered as the middle ground or background of a picture. A relevant question is how the aesthetic practice of framing off the land into landscapes relates to the agricultural-cum-landscaping practice of fencing off larger fields, both practices having enjoyed their widest popularity towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

W. G. Hoskins, in *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), considers the enclosure movement the single greatest influence on the appearance of England. The most conspicuous element in the new landscape created by the movement were the small, hedged fields—small, that is, by comparison with the vast open fields that had preceded them, which usually ran to several hundred acres unbroken by a single hedge. As far as possible the enclosure commissioners formed square or squarish fields from five to twenty acres.

That a programme involving such elements would have accorded well with the Picturesque mode of landscape appreciation is confirmed as well as absence may confirm, by what Hoskins calls the "remarkable absence of any poetry associated with the open field, any lament in literature [with the exception of John Clare (1793-1864)] for their passing." Addressing another aspect of this phenomenon, John Barrell, after quoting the remark made in 1823 by James Tyley, that "unbroken tracts strained and tortured the sight," suggests: "because of their dependence on techniques of organising and composing landscape... the cultivated classes in England felt much more at ease, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in landscape..."
which had been composed. One writer whose remarks confirm Barrell's point is Dorothy Wordsworth. In her Journals she lists "the want of hedgerows" as one of the factors precluding her discovery of the Picturesque in Stratherne, Scotland.

The uniformity of "unbroken tracts" of the English terrain was being broken down and ordered into many fields of various sizes and shapes and set off by hedgerows at the same time that the movement of Picturesque touring was seeking to compose land into landscapes. One example, in painting, of the coming together of these two activities is the accompanying picture by John Wootton, who uses the enclosed fields to vary his background, and the hedgerows as orthogonals to

John Wootton (?1686-1765). Distant View of Henley-on-Thames. 1742 canvas, 101 cm. x 156.2 cm. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection. Direct the viewer's eye into the background. The distance of the view can be gauged only with the aid of the reggressively smaller hedgerows. The hedgerows of England signified, of course, a human
influence on the land. This civilizing aspect of the enclosure movement undoubtedly would have struck the seeker of the Picturesque as interesting, animating, agreeable, and correct.

The enclosure movement made another unintentional contribution to picturesque landscaping—that of scenic variety. In ideal conditions, the programme may have produced regular, five-acre, squared fields, but in practice, accidents of history had to be accommodated. Thus, historical sites and other existing buildings produced a pattern of regular irregularity in the variously-sized fields which had to be fitted about them. Obviously, by the eighteenth century, no new land development could completely efface the character which past centuries of Englishmen had given their land. This fact, together with the irregular appearance of towns and fields that were the result of it, provided no small assistance to the Picturesque enthusiast seeking in a view both visual variety and the presence of history. As Lowenthal and Prince point out,

there are few blanks on the map of England; almost everywhere is a place, with a meaning and a character of its own. In city, town, and village the haphazard and the accidental reinforce a taste for heterogeneity, an abhorrence of straight lines and uniform spaces, to produce an abundance of intimate detail; only an overriding sense of proportion and notable restraint and conformity in the use of colour rescue many places from chaos.

The quality of intimate idiosyncracy derives also from the feeling of belonging, of connectedness in time, place, and social order, that much of England... evokes.

The tension between variety and decorum can be found in the English landscape as readily as the eye trained to seek it can find it. "An overriding sense of proportion" derives from English town and country planning despite the variety which flourishes in what, at least to a North American way of seeing, are small-scale views. And it is the
factor of scale, as much as any other, which moderates and controls the tendency towards an excess in variety of form in many English landscapes. As well, the land, Lowenthal and Prince stress, is peopled or shows the signs of once having been peopled, features which accord well with the prescriptions of a peopled foreground and an historical element in a Claudian landscape painting. The Englishman of the eighteenth century, like his counterpart of the twentieth, did not go into the countryside to be alone with wild nature: "the countryside beloved by the majority is tamed and inhabited, warm, comfortable, humanized." 122

Another moderating influence on the environment of England is its climate in which, as Dudley L. Stamp has remarked, in The Land of Britain (1948), "great extremes of all kinds are rare." 123 It is as if the climate itself conformed to the Picturesque aesthetic, Stamp describes it as "constant in its variability." 124 One day's weather may include a great variety of skies, but, on the other hand, the English farmer can depend with great assurance on a regular growing season with sufficient hours of sunshine and levels of rainfall for his crops. On the average, measurable amounts of rain fall in London, England every other day, but that city's average annual accumulation of thirty-two inches is not excessive; for example, annual precipitation is greater at such inland Canadian cities as Montreal (37") and London (36"), where precipitation occurs less often than one day in three. Thus, the variability of English weather is striking because it evolves within a climate which is generally moderate.

The sudden changes in English weather, attributable to the proximity of the sea which is no more than ninety miles from
any point in Britain, have two consequences for the aesthetic appreciation of landscape: sudden change may produce a natural atmospheric chiaroscuro—sunlight darting through the cloud cover, or ominous clouds rolling in to shut out a sun-filled day—which is itself productive of the exhilaration sought by the Picturesque enthusiast in nature; and, secondly, the change in temperature accompanying most changes in weather may produce, paradoxically, atmospheric uniformity in the form of haze or mist, either of which, as Lowenthal and Prince suggest, has the effect of softening the rough edges of the landscape and unifying its various elements.

Because rain, fog, and haze are more tangible than dry air and have a color and texture of their own, landscapes seen through them tend also to look more unified. Their diversity notwithstanding, English scenes are often composed and organized outlines are blurred, colors are softened, the whole appearance of things is more subtle, more mysterious, more romantic, than if seen under direct sunlight.


... in this branch of the art particularly, our countrymen have contented themselves with imitating the ideas of other masters, when they should have copied nature only . . . for England has undoubtedly many unrivalled and peculiar beauties, many characteristic charms and graces worthy of the pencil. Every foreigner is immediately and powerfully struck with the beautiful verdure that prevails here through the year, owing perhaps to circumstances not so favourable, to fogs and damps, to its insular situation . . . The English park and forest, afford an infinite variety of character in its trees, and endless choice of foliage. We have also a great advantage over Italy itself, in the great
variety and beauty of our Northern skies; the forms of which are often so lovely and magnificent, where so much action is seen in the rolling of the clouds; all this is nearly unknown to the placid Southern hemisphere.

Thus, the eighteenth-century Englishman was induced by three environmental factors—by a climate that is temperate, by a geography that is highly varied and small in scale, and by a pattern of human settlement that was also varied—to see his country’s terrain as a series of pictures. These factors induced him also to mirror their character by aspiring to virtue, temperature, and moderation. It is significant that Pope’s adjuration to balance, variety, and order in landscape occurs in one of his moral essays, the Epistle to Burlington. And it is significant that Thomson implies, as in the following lines about the tropical regions from “Summer,” that immoderacy of climate propagates immoderation in human behaviour:

The parent sun himself
Seems o’er this world of slaves to tyrannize,
And, with oppressive ray the roseate bloom
Of beauty blasting, gives the gloomy hue
And feature gross—or, worse, to ruthless deeds,
Mad jealousy, blind rage, and fell revenge
Their fervid spirit fires. (II.883-890)

Thus, English geography and climate helped to propagate the Newtonian illusion of the harmonious reciprocity operating between man and nature. The Picturesque was the myth which proclaimed this illusion; so widely was it proclaimed that Stendhal (Marie Henri Boyle [1783-1842]) noted it as one of the essential aspects of early-nineteenth-century England. It is important for the purposes of this study of pre-Confederation prose to realize how pervasive this myth actually was: it dominated the Arts in an obvious way, but, because it accorded so well with the natural, external world which Englishmen knew and
loved, its influence was also on the unconscious ideology of Englishmen, whether they were familiar, at first hand, with the conventions of the Picturesque in the various arts or not. Thus, the proclivity for seeking variety and for ordering it goes much deeper in the collective English character than adherence to an artistic or social convention would seem to suggest. Why an English artist like Henry James Warre and an English sailor like Alexander Fisher find a varied yet orderly scene more agreeable than any other may be more apparent to the artist than to the sailor, but that both prefer the same scene is questioned by neither of them. They do not question whether the taste of their countrymen in the early nineteenth century differs significantly from theirs, however remote they may at any time be from their green and pleasant land.

But another factor was also at work. To the English mind, England was the seat of temperate climes and pleasant scenery; exotic lands and people were to them therefore all potentially sublime. Not English, not civilized, not normal, not picturesque; therefore, sublime—this was the logic of such understanding. Thus, in the following chapters of this study, discussion of works will be undertaken with an eye on their authors' patronage of their English readership's expectations. Where emigration or an extended employ in a fur trade company are involved, and a writer's purpose for travel becomes that of a permanent, or, at the least, a prolonged change of residence, then the response to landscape will, understandably, shift from expressions of thrill to concerns for normalizing response to landscape, and for imposing a system of values without which, to recall Yi-Fli Tuan's comment, a man is unable to survive. Because the Picturesque signified "normal" English landscape and was, by extraction, the illusion which represented
for Englishmen "normal" relations with external nature—in short, reality—it may be expected that, for emigrant writers intent upon remaining, to remember R. A. Aubin's phrase, "captains of their own souls," the Picturesque would provide the requisite literary and artistic illusion. However, for most emigrant Englishmen, the question was not one of permanent adaptation to a new geography, but of temporary adaptation of the geography to their expectations of it. If Newton had, in fact, untwisted all the shining robe of day, then North America was also immersed in the same cosmic bath and ought, therefore, to be amenable to the same laws and myths as Englishmen believed were operative in the nature of their homeland.
Notes: Chapter I


7 Samuel Monk, The Sublime, p. 3.


Although this is a term that was not devised until the nineteenth century, by John Ruskin (1819-1900), it is used to define Rosa’s work by Peter and Linda Murray, *The Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists*, p. 391.


On the apparent paradox of a humanized Satan being construed as horribly sublime; see Arthur E. Barker, "... and on his crest sat horror!" *Eighteenth-Century Interpretations of Milton’s Sublimity and His Satan*, UTQ, XI (1941-42), 421-36.


Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque*, p. 32.


With respect to the part played by "suggestiveness" in the eighteenth-century history of ideas, see Walter Jackson Bate, *From Classic to Romantic*, pp. 153-55.

Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque*, p. 84.

See "Thomas Reid," chpt. 10 in Hipple.


Joseph Priestley, *A Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism* (1777; rpt. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1965), p. 160. Further confusion arose when the word "picturesque" was used as an adjective in the description of sublime natural landscapes. But in this case, "picturesque" meant simply that the scene being viewed could be imagined by the viewer as a picture, a painting. Of course, the greatest exponent of sublime landscape painting, as far as the eighteenth-century Englishman was concerned, was Salvator Rosa. Sublime natural landscapes could be pictorially represented as readily as composed natural scenery; thus, the adjective "picturesque" (not to be confused with the aesthetic theory of "the Picturesque") appears often in descriptions of grand awful, magnificent, and sublime views.


34 Salerno, II, 552.


36 Salvator reproduced from Salerno, II, 565; Cozens from Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century, Pl. 78.


38 Salerno, Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome, II, 552.


40 Remarking on the term, Martin Price suggests:  "the sublime found a new meaning, one is tempted to say, every time a critic framed a new contrast between the shapeless and tremendous, between the formally satisfying object and the overwhelming impression" (Martin Price, "The Sublime Poem: Pictures and Powers," Yale Review, LVIII [1968-69], 194.)

41 Pictures reproduced from Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century, Pl. 103A, and facing p. 120.


44 Esther Moir, The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists, p. 104.

46 Nicolson, Mountain Gloom, p. 38.


49 In the earliest edition of "Winter" (1727), this composition of the sublime scene is not completed by the Picturesque. It is written briefly and less pictorially. Clearly, the intervening years provided Thomson with the opportunity of his Grand Tour and of seeing many examples of landscape painting. Here is the first version, taken from Robertson's edition of the Works:

    Smooth to the shelving brink a copious flood
    Rolls unsuspecting, till surprised 'tis thrown
    In loose meanders through the trackless air;
    Now a blue watery sheet, anon dispersed
    A hoary mist, then gathered in again
    A darted stream aslant the hollow rock,
    This way and that tormented, dashing thick
    From steep to steep with wild infracted course,
    And restless roaring to the humble vale.


51 Salerno, Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome, II, 554.


53 Wolfgang Stechow, Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century (London: Phaedon, 1966), p. 8; quoted in Frye, Milton's Imagery, p. 219. This aspect of the Picturesque will be considered at length below.

54 Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque, p. 248. The quote is from a passage in which Hussey discusses what the Picturesque did not attempt to do.


58 Allen, Tides of English Taste, II, 119-20, argues that Milton was the follower, not the initiator, of a preference in England for an informal garden.

59 Allen, Tides of English Taste, I, 129. Thoroughly English this affection may have been, but not in Milton's case, as in that of many seventeenth-century Englishmen, its formulation owes more to Italian art and gardening than Allen's remark suggests. Like Wotton, Milton had spent some time in Florence (about four months), and had most likely visited the Boboli Gardens, at the Pitti Palace of the Medici, which were begun by Tribolo around 1550 and completed by Buontalenti by the end of the sixteenth century. The Boboli had fountains and some winding paths, the like of which appear in Milton's Eden. But beyond specific similarities with the Florentine garden, there are, in Milton's depiction of Eden, many examples of the poet's synthesis of many landscape conventions, Virgilian, Christian, and pre-Christian. (See, in this context, Frye, Milton's Imagery, p. 220.) The English preference for informality is distinctive but it is also the product of the importation and adaptation of Renaissance landscape art. This subject is explored by Henry V. S. and Margaret S. Ogden, in English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1955).

60 Literally, a goose foot, this device consisted of a number of cinder paths which, like spokes in one quadrant or one half of a wheel, converged on a single hub where there was placed a statue, gazebo, fountain, or building; on a smaller scale, the patte d'oie is similar to the plan of the avenues which converge in front of the palace in Versailles. This device was employed in French, Italian, and, to a limited extent, English formal gardens of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.


63 Hussey, The Picturesque, pp. 30-1.


65 Pictures reproduced from Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century, Pl. 1A, 1B.


69 Windsor Forest, 11. 15-16; also in Spence, Observations (1966), anecdote no. 604, I, 251.


73 In Spence, Observations (1966), I, 252.


75 E. H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion, pp. 186-87.

76 Pictures reproduced from Tout l'œuvre peint de Claude Lorrain, Pl. XXI, XXXV, LI, LIV.


78 The analogy between a profusion of variety in nature that requires pruning and gardening, and the appetitive powers of man that require rational ordering is not exclusive, by any means, to the eighteenth century. The coexistence of variety and decorum in nature was thought, in Renaissance art, to be the cause of an enriching tension [cf. Thomas Kranidas, The Fierce Equation: A Study of Milton's Decorum (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 143], and Milton, among others, links this aesthetic of "controlled variety" to the moral disposition of man in the Eden of Paradise Lost. A sign of the virtue of Adam and Eve is their ability to garden the natural profusion that all but overwhelms them. (See Henry V. S. Ogden, "The Principles of Variety and Contrast in Seventeenth Century Aesthetics, and Milton's Poetry," JHI, 10 [1949].)
159-82; Hannah D. Demaray, "Milton's 'Perfect' Paradise and the Landscapes of Eden," Milton Quarterly, 8 [1974], 35-41; and Barbara Lewalski, "Innocence and Experience in Milton's Eden," in New Essays on "Paradise Lost", ed. Thomas Kranidas. [Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969], who remarks that, "for Adam and Eve the external paradise can be secure only so long as they cultivate and enhance the world within". Roland Mustat Frye notes Lewalski's comment, and adds that, "in Italy, gardening as such had long been taken as symbolic of the conquest of virtue over vice . . ." [Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts, p. 239].

79 Stechow, Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century, p. 8.


86 Salerno, Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome, I, 380-82.


93 As Margaret Drabble observes, this preference grew with the Picturesque movement: "An admiration for autumn tints is part of the picturesque movement's permanent contribution to our way of seeing; it is now commonplace to express pleasure in the changing colours of trees and foliage, but in the early eighteenth century this was not so. Pope would go so far only to say 'The very dying leaves add a variety of colour that is not unpleasant', and Thomson in his Autumn, despite his love of colour, makes little use of it, referring to foliage as 'dusk and dun'. Gilpin, Price, and Knight changed all that... Price considered Autumn the 'painter's season'" (Margaret Drabble, A Writer's Britain: Landscape and Literature [London: Thames and Hudson, 1979], p. 131).

94 See below, chpt. III, III.1.II. In discussing Vancouver's response to the "vast forests of dark evergreens" which confronted him in the summers of 1792, 1793, and 1794, Douglas Cole and Maria Tippett remark that Vancouver could only have viewed the conifers as sublime: "Darkness was one of Burke's Sublime attributes: 'An immense mountain covered with a shining green turf,' he wrote, was nothing in sublimity 'to one dark and gloomy..." [Enquiry, ed. Boulton, pp. 81-2]. The dusky green of the conifers helped to associate the forest with desolation and terror. The 'mournful juniper' and the 'gloomy pine' were poetic symbols of the relationship." (Douglas Cole and Maria Tippett, "Pleasing Diversity and Sublime Desolation: the 18th-Century British Perception of the Northwest Coast," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 65 [1974], 6. See also n. 33 for a helpful list of poetic sources for the sublime use of conifers in eighteenth-century English poetry.)

95 From a fragment published without reference by Carl Paul Barbier, William Gilpin, p. 177.

96 William Gilpin to William Mason, 12 February, 1794; quoted in Barbier, William Gilpin, p. 72.

97 See Leslie Parris, Landscape in Britain, pp. 124-25, for the descriptions and dates of invention of these aids.


99 Literally, the wing curtains on either side of a theatre stage, the wing coulisse, was borrowed, as Peter and Linda Murray state, "to describe the type of composition in which the effect of recession into space is obtained by leading the eye back into depth by the overlaps, usually alternately left and right, of hills, bushes, winding river, and similar devices" (The Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists [1959; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968] p. 108).

100 For discussion of moral design in topographical poetry, see


Thomas Gainsborough, Mr. and Mrs. Andrews. Autumn, 1750. canvas, 69.8 cm. x 119.4 cm.

London, National Gallery.

(Reproduced from Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century, Pl. 86.) The complacent visages of the couple mirror the prosperity of the improved natural scene of their estate behind them, the implication being that landscape may be made to reflect the level of social stature appropriate to its owner, and that it is the English gentleman's privilege to render nature harmonious with him. For a good discussion of Gainsborough's landscape portraits, see Emilie Buchwald, "Gainsborough's 'Prospect, Animated Prospect'," in Studies in Criticism and Aesthetics, 1660-1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Holt Monk, pp. 358-79.

William Wordsworth, *The Prelude: A Parallel Text*, ed. J. C. Maxwell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 1850 ed., XII, 109-21, 127-31. There is also Wordsworth's note to *Descriptive Sketches* (1793): "I had once given to these sketches the title of Picturesque but the Alps are insulted in applying that term to them" (quoted by Martin Price, "The Picturesque Moment," p. 289). Moreover, it is noteworthy that Wordsworth consciously avoids using the word, "picturesque," except in reference to weathered cottages, in his Guide to the Lakes (1810). The avoidance is clear, since the tour and genre relied heavily on the Picturesque for landscape description. As a reaction against the proponents of the Picturesque, Wordsworth's letters convey the view that Uvedale Price was deficient in his person in the same ways as he was deficient in landscape theory. In his letter to Sir George Beaumont, of August 28, 1811 (after he had published the first edition of the Guide), Wordsworth comments on Price's estate at Foxley: "... the Domain is too extensive for the character of the Country. Wanting both rock and water, it necessarily wants variety, and in a district of this kind, the portion of a Gentleman's estate which he keeps to himself, and which he devotes wholly or in part to ornament, may very easily exceed the proper bounds, not indeed as to the preservation of wood, but most easily as to everything else. A man by little and little becomes so delicate and fastidious with respect to forms in scenery, where he has a power to exercise control over them, that if they do not exactly please him in all moods, and every point of view, his power becomes his law; he banishes one, and then rides himself of another, impoverishing and monotonizing landscapes, which, if not originally distinguished by the bounty of Nature, must be ill able to spare the inspiriting varieties which Art, and the occupations and wants of life in a country left more to itself never fail to produce. This relish of humanity Foxley wants, and is therefore to me, in spite of all it recommendations; a melancholy spot."


Variants of the 1805-06 edition (whose corresponding lines are in XI, 152-64, 171-76) include: "Insensitive" (121) in place of "Less sensible," and revision at 11. 127-28, which appeared formerly as "The state to which I now allude was one / In which the eye was master of the heart, / When that which is in every stage of life."

See Introduction, above, p. 5.


112 In Robertson, pp. 240-41.

113 See Introduction above, p. 3.


117 Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, p. 32.

118 Barrell, The Idea of Landscape, p. 32.


120 Reproduced from Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century, Pl. 6.

121 Lowenthal and Prince, "The English Landscape," 310.


124 Stamp, The Land of Britain, p. 256.

125 Lowenthal and Prince, "The English Landscape," 316. A comment by William Gilpin seems to qualify his own demand for ruggedness of form in a picturesque landscape: "... It is landscape, which the picturesque eye examines; it connects them with the atmosphere, and seeks for all those various effects, which are produced from that vast, and wonderful storehouse of nature" (Three Essays, p. 44).


A corollary of this argument may be found in an Essay on Painting
(1805) by Edward Dayes. It is discussed by Bernard Smith in European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), p. 151. According to Smith, "Edward Dayes cast doubts upon the value of the Italian tour for young artists and pointed out that English scenery has its own peculiar beauties that artists should attend to: 'The vast importation of fine pictures has, in a degree, removed the necessity of the young artist going to Italy; and, in any case, he should by no means be sent there too young. . . . Almost all our landscape painters bring away as much prejudice as spoils them through life; for it is by no means uncommon to see the air of that climate brought into all their English scenes. . . . We mean the introduction of Italian skies, without considering climate. . . . Countries, as well as men, have their own peculiar character, and should, no doubt, be equally attended to" [Essay on Painting, pp. 285-86]."

But of course the neo-classical Englishman wanted to show that he was as civilized as his Mediterranean colleague. As I have argued, the Englishman required an established schema in order to regard his own land when he turned to it. Not until 1805, when Dayes wrote his essay, and when the first great achievements in the representation of English environmental qualities were being realized by Constable, were the English sufficiently confident with their aesthetic understandings to demand greater attention to unique environmental qualities around them.

127 Quoted as the epigraph to chpt. V, in Hussey, The Picturesque.
CHAPTER II

Like men of every age, we see in Nature what we have been taught to look for, we feel what we have been prepared to feel.

Marjorie Nicolson

II.1—SAMUEL HEARNE'S EXPEDITIONS (1769-1772)

The eighteenth-century British reader understood the journals of his travelling countrymen when they were communicated in terms of the schemata and taxonomies familiar to Britons. By these means, he could comprehend and appreciate descriptions and depictions of nature in foreign realms. When Samuel Hearne (1745-1792), the first explorer of the continental Arctic, took the time to translate Indian names for Arctic birds into their English equivalents, for the benefit of the reader of A Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean (1795), he acknowledged tacitly that the question of taxonomy is crucial in ornithology. He pays similar attention to the taxonomies of other aspects of his experiences in the North, including: botany, zoology, geology, and topography. In the last of these categories, Hearne demonstrates an understanding of the aesthetics of the Sublime and the Picturesque. He employs them frequently in the record of his journeys undertaken between the years 1769 and 1772, and between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-seven, thereby rendering the landscape he encounters comprehensible to the late-eighteenth-century reader accustomed to the schemata of these landscape aesthetics.
Hearne agonizes, in his first aborted journey, over the sight of the Barrens upon which he is about to venture. He records the deprivation he feels at the loss of recognizable signs of external nature in a style which he calls, as if in accordance with James Beattie's dictum (and the known standard) for the achievement of sublime Truth in literature, "plain and unadorned" (p. xlvii). While the tundra confronts him, his inhospitable Cree "guide" chooses to desert him. Thus, amidst "the cold ... now very intense, our small stock of English provisions all expended, and not the least thing to be got on the bleak hills we had for some time been walking on," Hearne watches Chawchinahaw and his mixed "crew" of Chipewyans and Cree set out toward the South West, making the woods ring with their laughter, and [leaving] us to consider of our unhappy situation, near two hundred miles from Prince of Wales's Fort, all heavily laden, and our strength and spirits greatly reduced by hunger and fatigue (pp. 2; 4).

The sublime prospects engage the reader at this juncture: the view on to the Barrens to the north—Hearne's intended direction—offers only, to rephrase Coleridge's definition of the Sublime, a boundless or endless nothingness; to the south lie the woods, permeated with the threat of the Indians' "diabolical villany," and, beyond, the Fort whose symbol as a sanctuary is undermined both by Hearne's remarks on Governor Norton's incompetence and by his personal animosity towards him, as well as by its location, though farther south, on the edge of the Barrens. Thus, Hearne, William Isbister, and Thomas Merriman, together with a few Indians, are caught at the end of November, 1769, in a void foreign to them; and, although Hearne states that, "our situation at that time, though very alarming, would not permit us to spend much time in reflection," the reader's situation is not unlike what it would be in the
sublime gothic Romances that were contemporaries of Hearne's Journey—a situation permitting what Edmund Burke considered the key element of the literary Sublime: reflection on the predicament of an innocent, vulnerable character. 5

Proceeding on to the Barrens, Hearne encounters a taxonomical crisis, the type of situation in the external world which, as Yi-Fu Tuan has argued, threatens no less than one's whole sense of self. 6 No vertical elements of landscape, such as trees, are present to reflect the mind's learned perception of spatial definition. But Hearne experiences not just the absence of phenomena whose presence would permit use of the British taxonomy of landscape composition: his dilemma is compounded by the absence of a common language between him and his "guides," the absence of sources of food, and the absence of conventional natural provisions of shelter. The threat of the explorer's alienation from his surroundings becomes actual as the threat of annihilation grows real. Faced with the prospect of consummate desolation, Hearne has no recourse but to return to the Fort. Likewise, on the second journey, the damaging of the quadrant precludes the establishment of any conventionally verifiable point of reference, a situation which again leaves Hearne destitute. His reader participates vicariously in these experiences, some of the first in non-fictional eighteenth-century British literature that isolate an individual in a foreign terrain to such a sublime extreme.

The first two expeditions of near disaster act as a prelude to the third, successful journey. In terms of narrative style, Hearne exploits the sublime aspects of the tundra encountered in the first two expeditions as the backdrop to the main body of the narrative. Because
the anxious tone of the first episode dominates the narrative from the outset, many of the subsequent episodes can be conveyed effectively by the use of understatement. For example, the semi-barren land along Hearne’s Little Fish River (probably the Thlewiaza and Thaanne Rivers, NWT, at approximately 61°-61°30’N) is characterized simply as, “like all the rest which lie to the North of Seal River [in northern Manitoba, at approximately 58°45’N], hilly, and full of rocks...” (p. 46).

In this region of hundreds of square miles, Hearne encounters a solitary Indian family, the description of whom has helped as much as any passage in literature to encourage the perception of the Barrens as an inhospitable desert:

Those people were the first strangers whom we had met since we left the Fort [forty-six days previously], though we had travelled several hundred miles; which is a proof that this part of the country is but thinly inhabited. It is a truth well known to the natives, and doubtless founded on experience, that there are many very extensive tracts of land in those parts, which are incapable of affording support to any number of the human race; and, during the short time they are passing through them, in the capacity of migrants, from one place to another; much less are they capable of affording a constant support to those who might wish to make them their fixed residence at any season of the year. It is true, that few rivers or lakes in those parts are entirely destitute of fish; but the uncertainty of meeting with a sufficient supply for any considerable time together, makes the natives very cautious how they put their whole dependence on that article, as it has too frequently been the means of many hundreds being starved to death (p. 47).

Beyond dissuading the governors of the Hudson’s Bay Company from establishing posts in the eastern Arctic mainland, this wintertime account evokes a stark prospect that is sufficiently vivid to awaken both the memories of the disappearance of the Knight voyage up the west side of Hudson Bay fifty years earlier (1721) and fears dating from the seventeenth-century of desolate regions as the natural manifestations of God’s wrath at man’s sin. Hearne, who had visited the sublime ruins
at Marble Island, and had exhumed the bodies of the Knight expedition in the summer of the year of his first journey (1769), emphasizes the "truth" and "certainty" of the picture he paints, as he equates visual emptiness with infertility, aridity, and uninhabitability. For the reader back amidst the variegated splendour of England, such an equation confirms the implication of the Picturesque aesthetic, that visual variety in landscape alone provides a comfortable environment. (Indeed, Hearne's equation anticipates the equation of the absence of trees with aridity made in the surveys of the Canadian prairies undertaken in the nineteenth century by Henry Youle Hind and Captain John Palliser.)

Hearne describes the tundra as "dreary" (pp. 39, 107), and "wretched" (p. 51); the lands about Churchill River near Hudson Bay as "nothing but a hot burning sand, like the Spanish lines at Gibraltar" (p. 134n.); and one mine on the Coppermine River as a "ruins" comprising "an entire jumble of rocks and gravel, which has been rent many ways by an earthquake" (p. 112).

Not only would Hearne's late-eighteenth-century reader appreciate the image of the earthquake as the voice of God's displeasure with man, but he would also relish Hearne's use of the ruins motif. As a literary and artistic device dating at least from Claude and Salvator, ruins lent to a scene a romantic effect by juxtaposing a present visual chaos with the suggestion of a past beauty of secular, religious, or mythical import. In Hearne's view of the Coppermine river, geographical beauty has been ruined. But Hearne also employs the motif inversely in his account of the Coppermine River, in order to describe, not a chaos but, equally sublime, a uniform geography whose appearance he attributes to the ruination of a previous geography.
The general course of the [Coppermine] river is about North by East; but in some places it is very crooked, and its breadth varies from twenty yards to four or five hundred. The banks are in general a solid rock, both sides of which correspond so exactly with each other, as to leave no doubt that the channel of the river has been caused by some terrible convulsion of nature; and the stream is supplied by a variety of little rivulets that rush down the sides of the hills, occasioned chiefly by the melting of the snow (p. 107).

Close topographical survey gives way to an imaginatively forced response which colours the scene being depicted. But there is, as well, a measure of pathetic fallacy at work in this description since its imaginative force derives, in part, from the preceding episode, the ruination of the Esquimaux encampment by Hearne's Chipewyan and a band of Copper Indians: the description of the river follows the account of the massacre on its banks. It may be that Hearne's experience of that violence governs his perception, as it did his survey, since the whole account was added to the original MS after 1783. At any rate, the massacre represents a superb adaptation of Salvator Rosa's sublime convention of the banditti ambush, while providing the North with one of its first historical ruins:

The land was so situated that we walked under cover of the rocks and hills till we were within two hundred yards of the tents. There we lay in ambush for some time, watching the motions of the Esquimaux. . . .

While we lay in ambush, the Indians performed the last ceremonies which were thought necessary before the engagement. These chiefly consisted in painting their faces; some all black, some all red, and others with a mixture of the two; and to prevent their hair from blowing into their eyes, it was either tied before and behind, and on both sides, or else cut short all round. . . .

By the time the Indians had made themselves thus completely frightful, it was near one o'clock in the morning of the seventeenth [July, 177_]; when finding all the Esquimaux quiet in their tents, they rushed forth from their ambuscade, till close at the very eyes of their tents, when they soon began the bidody massacre, while I stood neuter in the rear.

In a few seconds the horrible scene commenced; it was shocking beyond description; the poor unhappy victims were surprised in the midst of their sleep, and had neither time nor power to make any resistance;
men, women, and children, in all upward of twenty, ran out of their tents stark naked, and endeavoured to make their escape; but the Indians having possession of all the landside, to no place could they fly for shelter. One alternative only remained, that of jumping into the river; but as none of them attempted it, they all fell a sacrifice to Indian barbarity!

The shrieks and groans of the poor expiring wretches were truly dreadful; and my horror was much increased at seeing a young girl, seemingly about eighteen years of age, killed so near me, that when the first spear was stuck into her side she fell down at my feet, and twisted round my legs, so that it was with difficulty that I could disengage myself from her dying grasps. As two Indian men pursued this unfortunate victim, I solicited very hard for her life; but the murderers made no reply till they had stuck both their spears through her body, and transfixed her to the ground. They then looked me sternly in the face, and began to ridicule me, by asking if I wanted an Esquimaux wife; and paid not the smallest regard to the shrieks and agony of the poor wretch, who was twining round their spears like an eel! Indeed, after receiving much abusive language from them on the occasion, I was at length obliged to desire that they would be more expeditious in dispatching their victim out of her misery, otherwise I should be obliged, out of pity to assist in the friendly office of putting an end to the existence of a fellow-creature who was so cruelly wounded. On this request being made, one of the Indians hastily drew his spear from the place, where it was first lodged, and pierced it through her breast near the heart. The love of life, however, even in this most miserable state, was so predominant, that though this might justly be called the most merciful act that could be done for the poor creature, it seemed to be unwelcome, for though much exhausted by pain and loss of blood, she made several efforts to ward off the friendly blow. My situation and the terror of my mind at beholding this butchery, cannot easily be conceived, much less described; though I summed up all the fortitude, I was master of, on the occasion, it was with difficulty that I could refrain from tears; and I am confident that my features must have feelingly expressed how sincerely I was affected at the barbarous scene I then witnessed; even at this hour I cannot reflect on the transactions of that horrid day without shedding tears (pp. 98-100).

"Barren hills and wide open marshes" (p. 96) entirely constitute the land roundabout the scene of the massacre, but what makes the situation of the Eskimaux "very convenient for surprising them" (p. 96) is its location at the foot of a fall, "where the river was contracted to the breadth of about twenty yards" (p. 108), between walls of red sandstone. The roar of the river over the falls thus assists the Indians in their ambush as much as the cover provided by the treeless hills. For the English reader who knew his Thomson, the desolate tracts and the roaring
catastrophe provide a sublime landscape proper to acts of barbarity. Moreover, Hearne sets the scene "near one o'clock in the morning," suggesting, as his English reader would expect, that the subsequent tragedy is enacted in darkness. Significantly, only in his record of the next day does Hearne remind his reader of the brightness of a July night above the Arctic circle when no hour of complete darkness occurs.

An accomplished dramatist of the scene, Hearne pauses after setting the scene in order to heighten audience suspense. He details the preparatory rituals undertaken by the Indians to an extent sufficient to redirect his reader's attention. Then, in nine swift sentences he springs the action. Clauses build upon clauses a momentum of their own, apparently no more under Hearne's control than his "undisciplined rabble" (p. 97) of a crew. The narrator, able neither to control his charges nor to retreat from the scene of genocide, experiences a paralysis from which he proves incapable of extricating himself. Like Burke's witness to a sublime scene, he can only reflect on the predicament of others while suspended "neuter in the rear." This close association of the authorial spectator with the reader is intentional: viewed from Hearne's prospect, the "engagement" occurs at the foot of the wildest falls on the Coppermine River, thus presenting a picture of shadowed, horizontal, criminal action in the foreground that is set against a wild, vertically structured, remotely-located landscape background whose waterfall, facing the northwest, catches, with the effect of chiaroscuro, the sun's rays—in short, a scene not unlike many of Salvator Rosa's paintings.

The horror is noticeably heightened by the pathetic epithet of "poor unsuspecting creatures" (emphasis added) for the dormant Eskimaux. As well, the descriptions of the demise of the Eskimaux—"poor
creature," "fellow-creature," and an "eel," detail a further horror for Hearne as the picture of the massacre bursts out on its spectator. Like Samuel Richardson's Clarissa, Walpole's Matilda, or Radcliffe's Emily who, introduced in The Mysteries of Udolpho only a year before the publication of Hearne's Journey, must have been fresh in the British readers' minds, Hearne's innocent eighteen-year-old attempts to flee a life-threatening pursuit. But in Hearne's narrative, the literary emotion is superseded by a waking nightmare, the universally-experienced dream of an indescribable serpentine creature appending itself to one's limb, seeking to derive succour from it. The innocent heroine for whose plight Hearne feels guilt, and the frightful image of an eel for which he feels only repulsion together cast the narrator and, because his former spectatorial role allied the narrator with him, the reader into a bedlam of emotion amidst a chaos of slaughter. As narrator, Hearne prolongs the girl's life while, as participant, he seeks to terminate it mercifully. The tension arising out of this simultaneity serves to produce an interminableness appropriate to a nightmare sensation, and demonstrates Hearne's keen awareness of the conventions of the literary Sublime practised in late-eighteenth-century Britain. The whole scene is superbly staged by a narrator well accustomed to both native and, by virtue of his eleven years' service (1756-1766) as midshipman under Viscount Hood's wartime command, European bloodshed. His "shedding tears" at the recollection of the massacre consummates the picture with a last, pathetic, but wholly conventional, note.

Much of the terrain over which Hearne travels, and some of the incidents which occur can be represented to the English reader only in terms of the schema of the Sublime. But, below the treeless tundra,
the landscapes of the boreal forest/tundra transition zone differ sufficiently, not least because of the regular presence of such conifers as the black spruce, to warrant attempts to organize terrain by means of the taxonomy of the Picturesque. En route to and from the dreary and wretched wastes and the scenes of violence on the tundra, Hearne discovers more appealing and ordered scenes of open woodland. Because the Picturesque depends upon vegetation for spatial organization, and because, to a traveller, trees signify shelter, fire, and food, Hearne, finding himself below the tree-line, notices and organizes landscapes more readily. The following one-sentence paragraph from the record of the third expedition demonstrates Hearne’s use of such vocabulary of the Picturesque as "intermixture," and "here and there," to image a varied landscape:

Early in the morning of the twenty-eighth [December, 1770], we again set out, and directed our course to the Westward, through thick shrubby woods, consisting chiefly of ill-shaped pines, with small dwarf junipers, intermixed here and there, particularly round the margins of ponds and swamps, with dwarf willow bushes; and among the rocks and sides of the hills were also some small poplars (p. 43).

If not the quality, certainly the variety of vegetation and rock attracts the English eye, nourishing it with aesthetic sustenance before the push onto the Barrens and their visual uniformity. The single-sentence structure serves to integrate various landscape features that are recognizably picturesque, including a tree-lined, small area of water, even though a single scene is not composed. Indeed, the use of the preposition “through” to describe movement in the open woodlands, suggests more interaction between the perceiving eye and the terrain than do the prepositions "onto" and "across," which are used to describe tundra
treks.

On the outgoing portion of Hearn's second voyage, his guide, Conne-e-que, elects to remain below the tree-line, and to await the weather of the late spring before embarking onto the Barrens. Hearn describes in one paragraph the situation of his spring encampment in March, 1770, at, according to Gordon Speck, in Samuel Hearne and the Northwest Passage (1963), "the western end of Shethanei Lake [Manitoba] just below 59° north and 98° west": 9

The situation of our tent at this time was truly pleasant, particularly for a spring residence; being on a small elevated point, which commanded an extensive prospect over a large lake, the shores of which abounded with wood of different kinds, such as pine, larch [tamarack], birch, and poplar; and in many places was beautifully contrasted with a variety of high hills, that shewed their snowy summits above the tallest woods. About two hundred yards from the tent was a fall or rapid, which the swiftness of the current prevents from freezing in the coldest winters. At the bottom of this fall, which empties itself into the above lake, was a fine sheet of open water near a mile in length, and at least half a mile in breadth; by the margin of which we had our fishing nets set, all in open view from the tent (p. 14).

By his guide's choice not to travel, Hearn's time is freed to appreciate the terrain about him. He transforms it, by means of the Picturesque, into a pictorial landscape just as he transforms himself from an explorer into a tourist cum sportsman. With his tent on an elevated point in the foreground, he looks out on an animated falls, to one side, which is connected to the forest-lined lake in the middle ground by the unfrozen (hence, animated) river, and snow-clad hills in the offskirt or background, which contain and order the space in the scene. The picture is painted, as it were, within the frame of a paragraph. It presents a scene of "pleasant" contentment and "repose" (p. 14). Moreover, much of the variety in landscape that is so dear to the English eye
is evidenced: different kinds of vegetation; variety of topography, with the middle ground set deep in the picture and the offskip higher than it or the foreground; and contrast in colours. A steady supply of fish from a moderately large opening in the lake ice provides an opportunity for sport and sustenance, while the falls enliven an otherwise frozen view.

So attractively does Hearne paint his paragraph scene that he feels it necessary to account for the time spent at the "spring residence" to his "reader," which is originally to say, his employers. Far in kind but not in distance from the inhospitable, threatening landscapes of the Barrens, this landscape hospitably entices the Englishman to take up residence in it. Indeed, Hearne's "great surprise" (p. 15) at the discovery of empty fishing nets in April, and the "sudden change of circumstances," from pleasant repose to anxious travel, which that discovery occasions suggest that Hearne had been, to some extent, charmed by the favourable prospect he sees in the landscape. But the charming illusion of the picturesque scene at Lake Shethanei is shattered in September when Hearne's death by starvation is forestalled only by the wholly aleatory and almost miraculous appearance of Matonabee.

Two examples from Hearne's narrative indicate that the ordering of terrain reminds the English explorer of picturesque landscape features in England. The construction of a caribou pound on a frozen Kasba Lake (NWT, 60°N, 102°W) in March, 1771, seems conducive to the Picturesque; yet, Hearne remarks how the rows of brushwood resemble hedge-rows, and are employed by the Indians, not unlike the way hedge-rows are occasionally used in England, to limit the travel of animals (p. 50). However unsportsmanlike he may find the Indian practice ("This
method of hunting, if it deserves the name . . . " [p. 50]), he, clearly, is charmed by the Indians' ingenuity and resourcefulness, and by the hunting scene itself. In another instance, while traversing the Stony Mountains of the barren upper Coppermine River region, where the first Franklin expedition would encounter catastrophe fifty years later (1821), Hearne finds his perception of landscape altering with the appearance of a familiar topographical and human feature:

We . . . walked twenty-seven miles to the North West, fourteen of which were on what the Indians call the Stony Mountains; and surely no part of the world better deserves that name. On our first approaching these mountains, they appeared to be a confused heap of stones, utterly in-accessible to the foot of man; but having some Copper Indians with us who knew the best road, we made a tolerable shift to get on, though not without being obliged frequently to crawl on our hands and knees. Notwithstanding the intricacy of the road, there is a very visible path the whole way across these mountains, even in the most difficult and also on the smooth rocks, and those parts which are capable of receiving an impression, the path is as plain and well-beaten, as any bye foot-path in England (p. 85).

To be sure, this is not a picturesque landscape, but its potential sub-limity as an "utterly inaccessible" and "confused heap of stones" is tempered by the sign of human presence--at once an ordering, humanizing, and reassuring guide across a daunting terrain. In short, the path, in making the mountains a place, offers Hearne and his reader picturesque sentiment if it does not actually transform the traveller's first impression of the mountains.

Another, different, combination of form and sentiment occurs in Hearne's picture, entitled "A Winter View in the Athapuscow [Great Slave] Lake" (facing p. 180), Hearne's only landscape sketch of the expeditions, commemorating his discovery, on Christmas Eve, 1771, of the world's tenth largest lake. Perhaps the most striking feature of this picture is its unpicturesque symmetry:
although the foreground pine is not precisely centred, its absolutely perpendicular relation to the tops of the dwarf trees and the ground on its island, as well as its uniform pairs of branches stamp the scene with a formal and regular division of space. Moreover, the uniformity in the height of each island's deciduous trees (a vision of fancy in the latitude being portrayed), the unbroken "yawn" of the frozen lake, and the orderliness of the three files of islands (suggestive of a patte d'oie) all bear affinity to the formal gardens of a Le Nôtré, Wise, or London. Yet, the still, stark, vacant quality of the view, achieved by the whiteness of ice and sky, does not accord well with the scene's order. The sense of isolation promoted by the location of such small islands miles, one supposes, from either shore of Great Slave Lake,10 overwhelms the symmetry with which Hearne strives to govern the view.

Moreover, several factors preclude the contentment sought in this view by the eye trained in the Picturesque. The island in the middle ground fails, either because of its absolute size or its size relative
to the foreground conifer, to carry off its double function as both middle ground and background, and thereby fails to contain the eye stretching to the horizon. Secondly, an indeterminable spatial quality is created in the foreground because of an absence of an elevated point of view, a human figure, or footprints, or any feature which would assist the viewer with spatial orientation. Lastly, the difficulty, encountered by the viewer because of the dominant foreground conifer, of following the sight line encouraged by the coulisses upsets the apparent intention of the picture, as do the absence of a vanishing point at the end of either sight line, and the fact that the coulisses themselves fail to achieve one of their customary functions, that of containing the view to either side. Not the least important factor contributing to the picture's mysterious quality are the areas of the lake beyond the islands, to the left and, to a lesser extent, to the right of the central view. Their presence beckons the eye to the realm beyond the picture's borders. By virtue of the vastness of northern space, the visual phenomena seem to resist telescopic ingestion by the eye. The viewer of Hearne's picture is left thinking as much about the space beyond and outside the view as about the scene in it.

Finally, the icebound setting of the scene posits a curious sense of impermanency which is incompatible with the security sought by the Picturesque. Such unconventionality questions even the authority of the artist's single point of view. But rather than disappointment or failure, the picture evokes a sense of wonder, and, whether or not bafflement of the viewer is Hearne's intention, his work marks one of the first combinations of beautiful order and sublime sensation in the representation of a northern Canadian landscape. Somewhere between the north
shore's "entire jumble of rocks and hills, for such is all the land
on the North side," and the south shore's "fine level country, in which
there was not a hill to be seen, or a stone to be found" (p. 161), ap-
ppears to Hearne the aesthetic hybrid of the picturesque sublime, a
foreign, yet orderable, landscape, neither alien nor humanized, which
induces a quiet thrill of aesthetic discovery. That Hearne, his quadrant
again broken and his watch stopped, misjudges the lake's whereabouts,
lends an added mystery to the magic of the silent scene.

The depiction of the picturesque sublime reflects a transformation
that is only one of several that Hearne's sensibilities undergo. A
British officer made to haul his own baggage, an explorer who chronicles
anthropological as much as geographical discoveries, an Englishman of
gentle Dorset rearing who survives all seasons on the tundra—all such
anomalies produce the enigmas of Hearne's journal, his picture, and
the man himself. Hearne's aesthetic experience of the North, far less
roughhewn than it appears at a cursory glance, anticipates the experience
of many explorers and travellers after him. The Sublime is ubiquitous
in the region but, as we shall see, the viewer, prompted by a thirst
for the Picturesque which seems to increase in proportion to his temporal
distance from England, imbibes the meagre variety of form provided by
the tundra and Arctic seas to produce recognizable landscapes out of
voids whenever possible, even when the natural terrain displays variety
and animation to a degree which could only stimulate an enthusiast of
the paleozoic. As Al Purdy realized in his poem, entitled "Trees at
the Arctic Circle," the beauty of the land could not be found by the
eye accustomed to organizing landscapes with "tall maples waving green /
and oaks like gods in autumn gold." And as Blake saw the Sublime
in the beauty of minutiae, so Purdy learns how to appreciate aspects of a land which offers only an immediate foreground or an expansive background. Almost two hundred years before him, Hearne was learning how to adapt to northern landscapes the schemata by which he had learned to describe and identify the external world.

II.2--ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S NORTHERN EXPEDITION (1789)

Hearne's location of the Northern Ocean in 1771 made possible in the one hundred years before Confederation an astonishingly ambitious campaign of Arctic exploration by British fur traders and mariners. The literary and pictorial output of this campaign amounts to more than forty published and a dozen unpublished works. Following this campaign chronologically will expedite observation of the gradually exfoliating response to landscape in the North during this period.

The "darling project" of Alexander Mackenzie (1764-1820) to reach the Pacific Ocean in 1789 was motivated, he informs his reader, by the expectation of "commercial views," and not landscape views. "Being better calculated to perform the voyages, arduous as they might be, than to write an account of them" (p.57), Mackenzie professes himself "not a candidate for literary fame" (p. 59). He expresses apprehension at the lack of "the charms of embellished narrative, or animated description" (p. 59) furnished by his three narratives and, thus, seems aware of the prevailing taste among British readers; but he provides an apologia to readers of "romantic adventures" which emphasizes the sublime aspects of solitary travel, the vast, empty stretches of "deserts" traversed, and the threat of attack by "savage" bands of banditti (p.59).
If one judges by the notice in the first issue of Edinburgh Review, the British reader excused Mackenzie the literary deficiencies of Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans; in the years 1789 and 1793.

With a preliminary account of the Fur Trade of that country (1801):

There is something in the idea of traversing a vast and unknown continent, that gives an agreeable expansion to our conceptions; and the imagination is insensibly engaged and inflamed by the spirit of an adventure; and the perils and the novelties that are implied in a voyage of discovery.

Nevertheless, parts of the work are sufficiently "tedious and perplexing" (143) to the reviewer to warrant no higher praise for style than that it is "uniformly distinct and consistent" (142). Mackenzie's landscape observations, "though not numerous, are sagacious and unassuming" (142), faint praise at best; and the initial compliment seems to be qualified if not finally retracted by the reviewer's penultimate paragraph:

The countries which Mr. Mackenzie has brought to our knowledge by these expeditions, are certainly the least interesting of any with which modern enterprise has made us acquainted.--The barrenness of the soil, the severity of the climate, the remoteness of their position, and the small number and intractable character of their inhabitants, place them very low indeed in the scale of political importance, and reduce their influence upon the rest of the world to a very humble denomination. The believers in perfectibility expect, of course, to see the whole universe covered with the miracles of polity and art; but these regions will probably be the last to put off their original barbarity; and philosophy will have apostles among the Manchew Tartars and New Hollanders, before any progress has been made in the conversion of the Kniftenaups and the Chipewyans (158).
Despite the fact that the reviewer has other axes to grind, notably one against William Godwin's doctrine of "perfectibility," it is clear in terms of art that he does not think that Alexander Mackenzie was the right man to introduce the British readers to the landscapes of the North and the West of British North America. Mackenzie's sensibilities were too commercial, possessing neither the careful and sensitive discrimination of David Thompson, nor the artistic temperament of George Back, Robert Hood, Sherard Osborn, or even John Franklin. A lack of trees in a landscape frustrated Mackenzie's commercial, not his aesthetic eye: it meant the landscape likely did not sustain fur-bearing animals. The few concessions to "polity and art" present in his journals and history are, it may be argued, not the explorer's at any rate. Franz Montgomery's note, "Alexander Mackenzie's Literary Assistant" (1937), identifies William Combe, who, nine years after working with Mackenzie, created Dr. Syntax (1810), as the explorer's ghost writer. A "rationally structured" narrative may, as Roy Daniels has argued in "The Literary Relevance of Alexander Mackenzie" (1968), be present in Mackenzie's original MS, but even a cursory comparison of the surviving portion of the Stowe MS of the Journal of a Voyage to the Arctic Ocean with the 1801 published version indicates how frequently Combe emended Mackenzie's efforts.

On the Mackenzie River in the summer of 1789, three miles above the Ramparts, the explorer made the following simple observation: "The River appeared quite shut up with high perpendicular White Rocks, this did not at all please us." Combe alters this slightly, to read: "... the river appeared to be enclosed, as it were, with lofty,
perpendicular, white rocks, which did not afford us a very agreeable prospect. In the Mackenzie delta, the explorer remarks that the river "runs in narrow winding channels amongst low islands with hardly a Tree, and the only ones are Willows, very small and low" (Lamb, p. 198), while Combe translates it, as he did the passage above, into picturesque parlance: "... it then flows in a variety of narrow, meandering channels, amongst low islands enlivened with no trees, but a few dwarf willows" (Combe, p. 56). "Enclosed," "lofty," "agreeable prospect," "variety," "meandering," and "enlivened" represent Combe's aesthetic rendering of generally unaesthetic observations. In the first example, Mackenzie's concern lies chiefly with the discovery of the river's debouchement on an ocean: anything appearing to preclude that frustrates him, and his frustration increases as he gradually recognizes that "the disappointing river" will not deliver him to the Pacific Ocean. Combe's phrasing suggests that the prospect of the blocked river disappoints the explorer only on aesthetic grounds. Similarly, where Mackenzie records the absence of trees as a sure indicator of a paucity of beaver in the delta, Combe's alterations of the MS indicate that the delta area offers little of interest to the landscape viewer who requires "enlivened" scenes full of "variety."

In turning to the passage in Mackenzie's work most indicative of an aesthetic response to landscape—the description of the Methye Portage—one regrets the loss of the MS for the history of the Fur Trade. (The Methye, or La Loche, Portage runs for twelve miles from 56°34'N and 109°42'W, to 56°43'N and 109°52'W, over the height of land in northern Saskatchewan which divides the Hudson Bay and Arctic Ocean drainage basins.) W. Kaye Lamb has attributed this passage solely to Combe,
calling it one of his "added purple passages" (p. 34), without offering evidence. Presumably, given the sorts of changes in the northern journal that were noted above, Combe was largely responsible for the scene's colour, but he must surely have been working from some text. He had not visited the site, and Mackenzie would not have omitted from his account all description of the significant landscape feature on the Fur Trade routes from Montreal. Mackenzie's depiction may have been as dull as that of Eric W. Morse, a modern-day canoeist without a fur trader's interests, who states that "all that is offered" in the view from the northern side of the portage "is a distant prospect down a narrow valley, from a seven-hundred-foot drop..."20 Combe and, perhaps, Mackenzie saw the portage, crossed first by a white man (Peter Pond, a fellow trader) in 1778, differently. In "A General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the North-West" occurs the following single-paragraph description of the prospect looking west, down the valley of the Clearwater River, as seen from the precipice on the Methye Portage:21

This precipice, which rises upwards of a thousand feet above a plain beneath it, commands a most extensive, romantic, and ravishing prospect. From thence the eye looks down on the course of the little river, by some called the Swan river, and by others, the Clear-Water and Pelican river, beautifully meandering for upwards of thirty miles. The valley, which is at once refreshed and adorned by it, is about three miles in breadth, and is confined by two lofty ridges of equal height, displaying a most delightful intermixture of wood and lawn, and stretching on till the blue mist obscures the prospect. Some parts of the inclining heights are covered with stately forests, relieved by promontories of the finest verdure, where the elk and buffalo find pasture. These are contrasted by spots where fire has destroyed the woods, and left a dreary void behind it. Nor, when I beheld this wonderful display of uncultivated nature, was the moving scenery of human occupation wanting to complete the picture. From this elevated situation, I beheld my people, diminished, as it were, to half their size, employed in pitching their tents in a charming meadow, and among the canoes, which, being turned upon their sides, presented their reddened bottoms in contrast with the surrounding verdure. At the same time, the process
of gumming them produced numerous small spires of smoke, which, as they rose, enlivened the scene, and at length blended with the larger columns that ascended from the fires where the suppers were preparing. It was in the month of September when I enjoyed a scene, of which I do not presume to give an adequate description; and as it was the rutting season of the elk, the whistling of that animal was heard in all the variety which the echoes could afford it (Combe, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi; Lamb, p. 128).

The passage marks the first of many published responses to the Clearwater River valley as seen from the height of land. The single-paragraph structure acts as a narrative equivalent of the picture frame, controlling the view being described. The presence of such vocabulary as "meandering," "lofty," "enlivened," "charming," and "variety" appears to suggest, given the examples of Combe's alterations to the passages previously considered, that this Methye Portage scene ought to be attributed to Combe. Such an attribution is justifiable as well on the basis of its integrity as a landscape picture, such integrity seldom occurring in what the Edinburgh reviewer was pleased to call Mackenzie's "sagacious and unassuming" observations. Of course, Combe had at his disposal all the ingredients for the Picturesque: the view from a high prospect of a valley, "confined" or enclosed by natural coulisses, an "intermixture of wood and lawn," "stately forests" and "finest verdure," interspersed with all the more variety by a scene of natural ruins in the fire-ravaged "dreary void." The coulisses restrict perception while the meandering river conducts the eye through the middle ground and the distance which lends "romantic" enchantment, to the vanishing point thirty miles away. "At the same time," the foreground is "enlivened" by the movement of people and signs of humanity, the brigade's encampment replacing the English village, the elk and buffalo the English cattle, the campfire's smoke the smoke rising from the English cottage
chimney. As well, the smoke produces the added delight for the picturesque enthusiast of an artificial *sfumato* in the atmosphere. The domesticated foreground is replete with the feature of suppers "preparing," which, though a small detail, colours the whole view in a Claudian suppers time sunset (fur traders being accustomed to camping at dusk). Thus, the foreground provides a small-scale order amidst a scene whose dimensions are too extensive to be governed conventionally by the Picturesque. Combe seems to appreciate that retention of the picture's integrity depends upon some detailed focus. The extensive view is not picturesque, is not made "complete" as a picture, without the human focus.

The landscape of the Clearwater River valley held significance for the voyageur/fur trader/explorer which rendered it deserving of Combe's attention. It was a grand sight for the voyageur both because it marked the termination of the longest portage on the Fur Trade route from either Montreal or York Factory, and because it was the first sight of lands lying within the Arctic Ocean drainage basin. As well, the view of the Clearwater River affords the rare prospect of a river down which the voyageur will paddle: it marks the first such sight for the voyageur en route from York Factory, and only the third such sight for one coming from Lachine. Moreover, it signifies fewer portages and no more upstream struggles in the trip to Fort Chipewyan or down the Mackenzie River.

For the fur trader also the view holds an attraction beyond the aesthetic. As the faintly biblical tone of the Mackenzie/Combe remark, "I beheld my people," hints, and as the situation of the leader/prophet on the heights beholding his people suggests, the view confronting the
survivor of the interminable trek through the wilderness of the Methye Portage may be the reward of the sight of the Jordan River and the promised land. Lying beyond the Hudson Bay drainage basin, the westward flowing clear water drains lands beyond the control of the Pharaohs of the Hudson's Bay Company, and effectively under control of the North West Company, Mackenzie's employer at the time of his exploration, though not by the time his Voyages were published in 1801. The lands' riches were substantial, earning them the name of "the great Eldorado of Athabasca." From Mackenzie's point of view, they were indeed the promised lands.

Of equal importance to the fur trader in this sense is the presence in this picture of buffalo and elk, not because their hides were sought for trade (the beaver was the pelt in highest demand), but because these animals, especially the buffalo, provided an essential source of meat which could be prepared in advance to feed summer expeditions and brigades. Without such a ready food supply, non-stop transportation of goods, crucial in the short ice-free season, would have had to be interrupted while men hunted for their food; and exploring expeditions could neither have mapped new territories as quickly as they did nor have wintered in remote localities.

Finally, for the explorer the valley clearly represents a personal, symbolic vision. The use of the first-person singular in an account purporting to be a level-minded history of the Fur Trade belies this fact and strengthens the imaginative bond between Mackenzie and such a biblical figure as Joshua. Mackenzie, of course, urged exploration of the promising Northwest, holding that the North West and, latterly, the XY Companies' futures lay in opening up passage to the Pacific
Ocean, thereby enticing the British merchants and the British government with another route to the riches of the East while, likely, earning the company the "Charter and Exclusive Right in the lucrative Furr trade in those parts." Not only does he seem to be rejoicing in the first sight of the promising land to which he has led his people and to which he hopes to lead many partners and investors as well as the British government, but the adaptation of the Picturesque unites the geographical properties of the landscape with his vision. It is only when "[emphasis added] beheld this wonderful display of uncultivated nature," that the picture could be made "complete." Mackenzie supplies a crucial element of the Picturesque, the "moving scenery of human occupation" of the foreground, which is otherwise "wanting." But the human presence is confirmed to the foreground: this is notable because only in uncultivated nature could the beaver hunt be profitably conducted.

The specific detail in the foreground is balanced by the unpicturesque absence of a limit to vision in the background. The distant view is terminated only by the "blue mist," a mist which, given the fact that this passage occurs as almost the last, and certainly the climactic paragraph in the narrative which precedes those of Mackenzie's expeditions, can be interpreted as representing the Pacific Ocean. Failure to pursue this expansive prospect can be attributed only to a lack of vision, to "commercial views" less expansive than the ones Mackenzie claims led him "at an early period of life ... to the country North-West of Lake Superior, in North America ... " (Lamb, p. 57). There is, Mackenzie argued, no limit to the great potential to be garnered from exploring, claiming, and exploiting the resources of such a territory; for him, the view from the Methye Portage must have been
a truly "ravishing prospect." Its remoteness would not have concerned him; Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca (at 58°42'N) shares the same latitude with Stornoway (at 58°012'N), his birthplace. But to allay apprehension of the commercial viability of his "darling project," Mackenzie has Combe, in a sense his ad man, convey the prospect as a safe, secure venture; hence, the completion of the commercial view as well as the picturesque view by means of the Picturesque, the aesthetic which customarily celebrated in the eighteenth century the accord between man and nature, and the contentment of English rural life. The whistling elk step in for the lowing cattle, adding a last element of picturesque "variety," and one connoting fertility and the growth of the vast potential which even Mackenzie professes an inadequacy to project, though not to perceive.

That Mackenzie had Combe add this "purple passage" of aesthetic and commercial ravishment seems probable in view of the explorer's efforts to allay doubts and to persuade his partners of, as E. E. Rich has put it in *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (1967), "the idea that somewhere an overland passage to the Pacific must exist, and that the North West Company must discover it, must exploit it, and use it as evidence of their competence and their public spirit, to secure from the British government that monopoly of the fur trade which lay at the centre of their planning."26 Thus, the passage advertises the prospect. Like his fellow trader Peter Pond, who drew up three different maps of the northwest for his three prospective patrons—the Empress of Russia, the government of the United States, and the parliament of England—emphasizing the more attractive aspects of the region differently for each, Mackenzie knew he had some selling to do.27
Not only does the Picturesque serve to emphasize the prospect at the top of the portage, but it also manages to draw the reader's attention away from the obstacle which the portage presents. It remained the fur trader's single greatest obstacle to a single-season trade communication between the northwest and Montreal. In a letter written at Athabasca, May 22, 1789, to agents of the North West Company at Grand Portage, Mackenzie states: "The bearer Mr. Roderick Mackenzie goes in a light canoe by a new Road to L'Isle à la Crosse [via Lac La Biche] and if he finds [it] practicable for loaded canoes, they will pass that way in future, as the Portage La Loche [Methye] discourages the men very much, it being 11 1/2 miles long. We measured it last fall" (Lamb, p. 437). The diversion did not prove acceptable and the Methye Portage remained part of the main route to the northwest until supplanted by the railway. That Mackenzie's account ignores the difficult portage attests to his awareness that his promotional efforts could only suffer from any mention of it.

Robert Hood, midshipman on Sir John Franklin's first overland expedition to the Arctic, seems almost to acknowledge the success of both the advertising and commercial campaigns waged by Mackenzie and his partners, when he notes in his journal of 1820 how great an achievement the opening up of the region beyond the Methye Portage in fact was: "daring was the spirit of enterprise that first led commerce, with her cumbersome train, from the waters of Hudson's [sic] Bay to those of the Arctic Sea, across an obstacle to navigation as stupendous as this; and perservering has been the industry which drew riches from a source so remote."
II.3--EDWARD CHAPPELL'S VOYAGE TO HUDSON BAY (1814)

Born in 1792, the year Mackenzie set out for the Pacific Ocean, Lieutenant Edward Chappell (d. 1861) of the British Navy was twenty-two years of age when he sailed, on the North Atlantic station, to Hudson Bay in HMS Rosamond during the season of 1814. Although his voyage would produce the first nineteenth-century journal about the North since Mackenzie's, Chappell was disappointed not to be engaged in one of the Napoleonic battles where glorious fortunes were being won by his peers. Entitled Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's Ship Rosamond containing some account of the North-Eastern Coast of America and of the Tribes inhabiting that Remote Region (1817), his journal contains descriptions of landscape which anticipate many later works in the nineteenth century by British mariners in the North and travellers up the Hayes River to the Prairies. These landscape descriptions include the following techniques: distinction between the views of the sun in the North and in England; allusion to English poets; reference to literary or geographical landscapes in European literature, and in Europe and the Middle East; and, of course, deployment of the Picturesque and the Sublime conventions of landscape appreciation.

Chappell found himself sublimely situated on July 28, 1814, imperilled by the fog-enshrouded cliffs of the Hudson Strait shoreline while threatened by countless icebergs looming "on all sides of us, truly terrific." For sailor and landscape enthusiast alike, "the pros-
pect on every side was of the most gloomy nature." But, by evening, the fog had lifted, disclosing a setting sun which Chappell appreciates for its dissimilarities from "what it generally exhibits in England:"

The clouds, in parallel lines immediately above the descending luminary, exhibited, in the most beautiful manner, all the varieties of the rainbow; the dusky red and deep blue being the most predominant colours. If to all this we add the dazzling reflection which glittered from the snow-capped summits of the rugged mountains, and the shining fantastic forms of the floating icebergs in the Straits, the prospect will easily be imagined to have excited in our minds those feelings, which induce the mariner, as well as the poet,

"To look, through Nature, up to Nature's God!" (p. 51)

The novelty of the floating icebergs which enliven the foreground, the variety of colours reflecting the setting sun, and the background's standard glittering mountains produce a picturesque view elevated to the sublime because of its extreme novelty and intensity of effect.

The citation of Pope's Fourth Epistle (1734) from An Essay on Man (IV, 332) consecrates the scene, incorporating it, as it were, into what Chappell probably regarded as a great poet's vision of life. His choice of Pope is revealing. Shelley, who was born in the same year (1792) as Chappell, would choose to emphasize the awful sight of mountain, ice, and snow in Mont Blanc (1816) two years later. But Chappell's choice of the picturesque view remains solidly within the bounds of both the decorum of landscape appreciation and the world order to which Pope's chain of being ascribes. Moreover, in adducing God as the painter of the scene, Chappell remains conventional with sublime theory and avoids the sorts of inquiries which Shelley tackles in his poem. This emphasis is effected, not only by the reference to Pope but, also, by a composition of the scene which uses the conventions of landscape painting. The sunset strikes Chappell as different only in degree, not
in kind, from the sort of picturesque sunset he and his readers regarded as conventional: equipped with the Picturesque schema, he encounters little trouble incorporating the natural elements into a picture, noting their novelty without allowing them to greatly alter the effect of the scene. Since Shelley did not visit Hudson Strait, the question of his response to such scenes remains perpetually "pinnacle'd dim in the intense inane."

Two days later, on July 30, Chappell offers another instance of his perception of nature as a series of pictures. This time, the scene is sublime for him; rather than attempting to compose it and failing, he simply compares it to a remembered scene:

We were entirely surrounded this day with a patch of broken ice, and it extended as far as the eye could reach. The sun shining bright over the calm surface of the sea, called forcibly to my mind a description I had once read of the Ruins of Palmyra, in the Syrian Desert; the scattered fragments of ice bearing a strong resemblance to the ruins of temples, statues, columns, &. spread in confusion over a vast plain (p. 54).

This comparison goes beyond one it recalls Hearne's likening of the Churchill landscape with the sands of Gibraltar—for it brings together an Arctic scene of frozen water and, for Chappell, a purely literary landscape describing a desert scene of a ruined, man-made sight. The comparison may seem fanciful now, but to Chappell's readers, to those for whom comparing landscape pictures was a habit, the comparison is probably astute and telling.

HMS Rosamond was still engaging the treacherous currents and ice floes in Hudson Strait on the night of August 6, when the following scene "presented itself" to Chappell:

--In the middle of the night, the prospect from the ship was one
of the most awful and sublime that I ever remember having witnessed, during a life spent entirely upon the ocean: and I regret that no language of mine can give an adequate idea of the grandeur of the scene. As far as the eye could reach, a vast alabaster pavement overspread the surface of the sea, whose dark blue waters could only be seen at intervals, where parts of the pavement appeared to have been convulsively torn up, and heaped upon each other in ruined fragments. The snow-white surface of this immense plain formed a most striking contrast to the deep black clouds of a stormy night; through which, uninterrupted flashes of forked lightning succeeded each other with great rapidity, as if intending, by their fiery glare, to shew us the horrors of our situation, and then to magnify them by leaving us in utter darkness. Add to this, the reiterated peals of thunder that burst forth, in a thousand roaring echoes, over the surrounding ice; also the heavy plashing of the rain, which poured down in torrents; the distant growling of affrighted bears, the screams of sea-birds, and the loud whistling of the wind;--the whole forming a midnight prospect which I would have gone any distance to see; but having once beheld, never wish to witness again (pp. 123-25).

This single-paragraph, four-sentence scene faithfully adheres to the conventions of the Sublime: set at night, it is the scene of nature at an extreme which invokes a terror unmatched in the author's experience. The vastness of the ice and its ruined appearance, the "horrors" of the ship's navigational predicament, the chiaroscuro effect of the lightning flashes, and the added audio effects of a chorus of roaring thunder, growling bears, screaming gulls, and whistling wind all assist in heightening the sublime effect. Still, the author, treating the scene (as Hearne had the Esquimaux massacre) in retrospect, manages to disengage himself sufficiently from the sublime experience to treat it as a "whole forming a midnight prospect." Aware of his double rôle as landscape enthusiast and naval officer, Chappell perceives the event as both a thrilling picture and a mariner's navigational nightmare.

Chappell also provides a straightforward deployment of the Picturesque in his description of a Hudson Bay sporting scene. During the
Third week in September, 1814, while the Rosamond lay at anchor off York Factory, he accompanied his commander, Captain Stopford, up the Hayes River to view an Indian caribou hunt. The record of this excursion includes the following single-paragraph picture, drawn in a country Chappell regarded as "more genial" (p. 146) than the Barrens at Churchill:

At 3 P.M. we had reached a large circular island on the south side of the river, called Rainbow Island. The view from this spot was delightfully picturesque. The northern shore was bounded with high clay banks, covered with dark forests of the spruce-pine tree. Above us, upon the southern banks, five or six remarkable mounds of earth rose majestically from the river. At the termination of a long view upwards, the stream was lost in a sudden bend to the northward; and the vista in that direction was bounded by a noble grove of poplars; that stood on the declivity of the green sloping bank; and their bright yellow colour formed a fine contrast with the sable hive of a frowning forest in the back ground. Directly opposite to the place where we stood, several Indian canoes lay scattered about the shore; and the natives sat regaling themselves, around a blazing fire upon the beach. The river, glittering with the golden tints of the sun, ran smoothly beneath our feet; and a little further down foamed, in distant murmurs, over a shoal-bed of pebbles. Whilst we stood contemplating the varied objects in this interesting scene, a flock of wild geese flew screaming past; and a gentleman, who knew the country well, immediately observed, that we should have an "early fall," thereby intimating that the winter would soon make its appearance. Our admiration of the fine view before us instantly gave way to other sensations; and we could not avoid wishing ourselves speedily out of a country where the transition is so instantaneous, from the most oppressive heat to intense cold; where the ground is bound up in frost eight months of the year; and the miserable inhabitants are tormented to madness by heat and mosquitoes the remaining four (pp. 208-10).

Although Chappell concludes his picture with a hint of the sublime climatical extremes waiting to catch the unwary traveller in the Hudson Bay basin, "that ancient breeding ground of delusions," as George Malcolm Thomson has called it, in The North-West Passage (1975), the moderate features of the landscape first attract his attention as he composes this picture. The mighty Hayes River foams, but also runs
smoothly and is capable even of "distant murmurs" that attract the seeker after variety in an animated waterway. The novelty of the Indians in the picture's right foreground, anticipating the work of Paul Kane in the Canadian West, heightens the view's value in terms of curiosity. But it is important to recognize that the reposing (not lurking or threatening) Indians are positioned in a previously-arranged landscape picture, through which the Hayes River winds its course towards a "bounded" background consisting of a "noble grove of poplars," now yellowed in their autumn glory, and standing in contrast to the distant green conifers. The northern and southern banks of the river bound the view to the sides, containing the landscape enthusiast's perception to one discrete, orderable scene. Only the migrating geese dispel the charm of the picturesque moment; they caution the viewer that the scene's beauty owes much to the season of the year whose duration in the North is unpicturesquely momentary, unpredictable, unreliable, and unstable. And yet it stands, as the moderation of the Picturesque stands between the extremes of the Sublime, almost suspended between summer's heat and mosquitoes, and winter's frozen blasts.

II.4—THE FIRST FRANKLIN EXPEDITION (1819-1822)

When Captain (later Sir) John Franklin (1786-1847) ascended the Hayes-River five years after Chappell, and proceeded north over the Methye Portage in the winter of 1819-1820, he was neither taking an excursion like Chappell, nor being led by commercial views, as was Alexander Mackenzie. Even though the commercial dispute waged between the Hudson's Bay, and North West Companies was then at its peak and
would take its toll of his expedition in the end, Franklin was fulfilling the higher aim of Arctic exploration which John Milton had deemed worthy both of man and the North, when he criticized early English naval expeditions to the northern oceans above Russia as "an enterprise which might have seem'd... almost heroick; if any higher end than the excessive love of Gain and Traffick, had animated the design."

Franklin had arrived at York Factory in the autumn of 1819. He had been seconded to the British government by the Admiralty, and charged with the exploration of the northern coast of North America. The overland expedition was planned in concert with Edward Parry's first and most successful marine expedition to the Arctic Ocean. Parry's meeting Franklin was not held to be out of the question; nor was their joint return to England via Cathay. The post-Napoleonic world was, presumably, England's oyster. Imperial energy was the order of the day.

Franklin was an inveterate sailor who had participated at the battles of Copenhagen and Trafalgar, at the blockade of Brest, and the siege of New Orleans, and who had, in 1801, sailed to Van Diemen's Land in the Investigator as midshipman on his cousin's--Matthew Flinders'--expedition with the Scottish botanist Robert Brown. He was accompanied by three other British officers--John (later Sir John) Richardson (1787-1865), surgeon to the expedition, midshipman George (later Sir George) Back (1796-1878), and midshipman Robert Hood (1797-1821), all of whom were to make their marks on the artistic, as well as the geographical, discovery of the lands and landscapes of the Canadian North. Franklin and Back had participated in Buchan's unsuccessful marine expedition to the North Pole in the previous year, turned back by ice at Spitzbergen, east of Greenland. As for Hopd, the 1819-1822 expedition would prove
to be a permanent visit, the last gruesome experience of his short life. Richardson had had much prior naval experience, but none in the North. A Lowlands Scot who, as a boy, was highly regarded by Robert Burns, he had served as surgeon with the Royal Navy, including postings at Quebec (1809), and Halifax and Montreal (1814) during the war of 1812. He devoted himself to the studies of anatomy, biology, botany, ichthyology, and geology, undertaking the first learned studies of the North in these disciplines. This was to be the first of several expeditions to the North for Richardson; besides accompanying Franklin on his second expedition (1824-1826), he initiated in 1848, with Dr. John Rae, an overland search for Franklin's missing polar expedition of 1845. Between his second and third visits to the North, he taught medicine in England at the Naval Hospital, Haslar, where he noticed and encouraged his gifted student Thomas Henry Huxley, recommending him for the appointment as assistant surgeon and naturalist aboard HMS Rattlesnake (1848-1850).

II.4.1

Franklin's introduction to British North America was a harrowing one, even for an inveterate thirty-three-year-old sailor. Be calmed on August 7, 1819, in one of the frequent fogs between the north coast of Labrador and Resolution Island, the Hudson Bay brig Prince of Wales, in convoy with the Eddystone and Wear, was driven by the current towards the shore, failing to engage Hudson Strait:

Two attempts were ineffectually made to gain soundings, and the extreme
density of the fog precluded us from any other means of ascertaining the direction in which we were driving until halfpast twelve, when we had the alarming view of a barren rugged shore within a few yards towering over the mast-head. Almost instantly afterwards the ship struck violently on a point of rocks projecting from the island.

Any shore appearing suddenly, out of the fog would alarm a sailor, but the Sublime effect is produced here by a cliff that is barren and rugged. The obscurity produced by the fog distorts and prevents perception, casting the perceptive mind into the sort of dilemma which Edmund Burke, in his *Enquiry* (1757), found so sublime.

Franklin communicates his familiarity with the conventions of landscape aesthetics, but clearly prefers to apply his perceptual tools to less dangerous situations. Proceeding, the next month, up the "Steel" (today the Hayes) River, en route from York Factory to Oxford House, he, like Edward Chappell, exercises the landscape enthusiast's pen in a single-paragraph picture.

We made an effort, on the morning of the [September] 13th, to stem the current under sail, but as the course of the river was very serpentine, we found that greater progress could be made by tracking. Steel River presents much beautiful scenery; it winds through a narrow, but well wooded valley, which at every turn disclosed to us an agreeable variety of prospect, rendered more picturesque by the effect of the season on the foliage, now ready to drop from the trees. The light yellow of the fading poplars formed a fine contrast to the dark evergreen of the spruce, whilst the willows of an intermediate hue, served to shade the two principal masses of colour into each other. The scene was occasionally enlivened by the bright purple tints of the dogwood, blended with the browner shades of the dwarf birch, and frequently intermixed with the gay yellow flowers of the shrubby cinquefoil. With all these charms, the scene appeared desolate from the want of human species. The stillness was so great, that even the twittering of the whiskey-johnesh, or cinerous crow, caused us to start. Our voyage today was sixteen miles on a S.W. course (pp. 29-30).

Although the operative word introducing the picture is "serpentine," Franklin pays less attention to the structure of landscape than to the
colours which, though all quite different, harmonize; however, the reader is assured that the picturesque "variety of prospect" is abundantly present as successive views open at each bend in the river. Sensitivity to colour and tonal values is complemented by attention to botanical taxonomy, the influence perhaps of Franklin's companion and naturalist, John Richardson, and the result perhaps of the landscape viewer's attempt to compensate for the absence of human "species." But, interestingly, the aesthetic response does not form an integral picture: without a party of reposing Indians in the foreground, such as Chappell had, Franklin remains alert to the features of the valley which preclude picturesque sentiment, the starkness and stillness.

Although Samuel Hearne chose to sketch rather than verbalize the curious blend of the Sublime and the Picturesque he discovered in the North, the effect his picture has is, one suspects, analogous to the oddity Franklin observes. Surrounded by visual elements of the Picturesque, Franklin nevertheless does not feel the contentment any British landscape enthusiast would expect. A "narrow, but well wooded, valley," through which a serpentine river winds, conjures visions of the rivers in Thomson's _Seasons_ or, equally, of Wordsworth's Wye, but the lack of human habitation or even presence produces a "desolate" effect which all but effaces the previously delineated visual beauties. The simplicity of the concluding factual statement of distance travelled appears almost as a conscious retreat from the aesthetic bemusement Franklin feels.

Virtually the opposite response to the landscape of the Hayes River is that of the twenty-two-year-old Robert Hood. Instead of depicting a
picture and then qualifying it, Hood approaches the scene with the same expectations as his English reader: that the Hudson Bay lowlands are so remote, they will prove to be awesomely sublime. His single paragraph picture thus registers and effects a quite different impression. It is quoted from the superb first edition of his works, edited in 1974 by C. Stuart Houston, and entitled To the Arctic by Canoe:

Our astonishment at the delightful prospects of Hill River, was in proportion to the strength of our prejudices against the imagined barrenness and desolation of this country. It would, however, find admirers from every climate. Along the bank at the water's edge, the poplars are ranged, now in the fading yellow garb of autumn, but still tinged with bright orange at the summits. The larch [Tamarack] is inter-spersed among them, in the light green hue of spring, which it preserves to the last, and behind, the tall dark wintry pine lifts its head above all, its unchanging foliage defying alike the wintry blast and the summer's heat. But the original of this picture is to be found everywhere except in those places which chance or caprice has filled with burning embers. No distant hills, or mountains wrapped in clouds, are here, to give that external variety of light and shade afforded by an uneven surface, and to exercise the fancy by extensive and dubious outline (p. 27).

Hood understands that the opportunities to use his aesthetic faculty abound, but also that conventional deployment of it is not possible. The varieties of colour in the foreground vegetation present delightful and orderly ("ranged") contrasts, but the fact that Hood sees only this one view, repeated "everywhere," conditions his contentment with it. Moreover, Hood misses a sense of depth in the landscape; without varying elevations which provide a middle ground and background, the technique of Perspective cannot be exercised. Nevertheless, Hood appears to understand the aesthetic problem better than Franklin who attributes his uneasiness merely to the absence of humanity.

At the first post on the upriver journey to Lake Winnipeg, Franklin's picturesque eye finds the human presence that it seeks:
Holey [now Oxford] Lake, viewed from an eminence behind Oxford House, exhibits a pleasing prospect; and its numerous islands, varying much in shape and elevation, contribute to break that uniformity of scenery which proves so pall ing to a traveller in this country. Trout of a great size, frequently exceeding forty pounds' weight, abound in this lake (p. 37).

Not only is the foreground inhabited, but the middle ground offers a variety of heights in the land, all on a small scale, and all of which may be viewed from "an eminence," a requisite for the picture-making inclinations of the landscape enthusiast, and something infrequently offered in the lowlands around Hudson Bay which extend much of the way up the Hayes River. The view is enriched further with the prospect of fishing afforded by the lake in the middle ground. Fishing can populate the scene and support existence at Oxford House; therefore, it renders the scene picturesque while feeding Franklin's party with recognizably English food.

Perhaps expecting a more imposing sight from an establishment designated as a "house," Hood discovers in Oxford House the desolation Franklin sensed in the stillness on the river:

It is built like the rest, of wood, and inclosed by stockades. These lonely dwellings are more widely scattered than the cities of Siberia. There is no difference in them; they were raised for the primitive object of shelter; and variety is only to be found in decoration and arrangement, here neither attempted nor desired (p. 31).

In an abrupt, skeletal style, Hood marks the features of the residence which disturb him more than a complete absence of signs of human existence: its remoteness, uniformity of appearance, artlessness, and functional primitiveness. No feature provides Hood with picturesque entertainment. Had the governors of the Hudson's Bay Company only been better schooled in Palladian or Gothic design...
The first sublime prospect on the inland voyage presents itself to Franklin and Hood at Hill Gates, where the party arrived, conveniently for the landscape enthusiast, "at sunset" on October 1. Franklin's account, quoted here, conveyed in sublime tones, denotes a more intense response than does Hood's (p. 32):

Hill Gates is the name imposed on a romantic defile, whose rocky walls rising perpendicularly to the height of sixty or eighty feet, hem in the stream for three-quarters of a mile, in many places so narrowly that there is a want of room to ply the oars [of the York boats]. In passing through the chasm we were naturally led to contemplate the mighty, but, probably, slow and gradual effects of the water in wearing down such vast masses of rock; but in the midst of our speculations the attention was excited anew to a grand and picturesque rapid which, surrounded by the most wild and majestic scenery, terminated the defile (pp. 38-9).

The scene builds to a crescendo from an imagined sublimity while Franklin anticipates the view of a sublimity that is actually observed at the rapid. "Surrounded by the most wild and majestic scenery," the scene strikes Franklin as "picturesque," only in the sense that he can imagine it readily as a picture. In the next paragraph, a single-sentence picture of an uninterrupted cascade describes the following day's encounter with White Falls:

I shall long remember the rude and characteristic wildness of the scenery which surrounded these falls; rocks piled on rocks hung in rude and shapeless masses over the agitated torrents which swept their bases, whilst the bright and variegated tints of the mosses and lichens that covered the face of the cliffs, contrasting with the dark green of the pines which crowned their summits, added both beauty and grandeur to the scene (p. 39).

In each of these two passages Franklin succeeds in discovering and describing the sublimity which clearly gratifies his aesthetic appetite for inordinate visual variety. The effect of the large-scale presence
of the canyon and falls is sublime and dominates the presence of specific detail.

In contrast to Franklin, Hood combines the Picturesque and the Sublime subtly and effectively in an October 12 passage—which beautifully dramatizes the change in the seasons in the North. The sense of loss is registered acutely in this picture which vies, as it were, with the picture interrupted by migrating geese in Chappell’s Narrative, which Hood knew: 38

The lake [Cross Lake, now Cross Bay, between Lake Winnipeg and Cedar Lake] is four miles in breadth, and the river between it and Cedar Lake is very rapid, wheeling in a thousand intermingling eddies among the islands which concealed the banks. Some of these wood-crowned clusters displayed the remains of beauty which in its prime was superior to that of the prospects in Hill River. So quickly is the face of nature altered by the decay of summer, that it may be viewed each day with new interest. But this was the last scene. The yellow leaf hung quivering, though the wind was still, and the next storm left the forest bare (p. 39).

All the variety the seeker after the Picturesque might be pleased to find displays itself in a last exhilaration of autumn splendour; then, suddenly, the solemn leaf alone remains, awaiting the blast that will free its Christabellian fall. This is the last scene: scenes or pictures are not, Hood implies, possible without leafy charms. Landscapes between York Factory and Cumberland House which have attracted his aesthetic notice have been forested; without deciduous trees, visual interest disappears for the Picturesque observer, leaving him alone with the bare forest, and disoriented in a land which, for him, apparently exhibits no other remarkable qualities.
Arriving at Cumberland House in late October, Franklin realized his prospects for farther progress during 1819 were slight. Prevailing, therefore, upon the Hudson's Bay Company's grudging offer of the manpower at the post, he made his decision to winter his expedition there, and had a cabin built. He decided also to leave the men under the command of Richardson and Hood, whom he planned to meet at Fort Chipewyan once they could ferry the boats and supplies there over open water in the spring of 1820, while he and George Back set out in January, 1820, proceeding to Fort Chipewyan by cariole and on foot, in the hopes of arranging supplies and men for the departure of the whole expedition from Lake Athabasca in June.

In a letter to his wife, dated March 6, 1820, John Richardson describes the winter landscape at Cumberland House:

In this remote country, art has done nothing amiss, because she has done nothing. None of her creations chequer the face of the land, and break the sameness which prevails, particularly in the present season of the year. The miserable log houses in which we dwell are scarcely to be distinguished, in their winter dress, from the fallen trees with which the woods abound. I could find in my heart to forgo the bad taste displayed in the erection of the most fantastic building that ever was constructed, for the sake of the contrast it produces. Where there is no Art, Nature loses half her charms.

... If we pass the threshold of our hut, and enter the forest, a stillness, so profound prevails, that we are ready to start at the noise created by the pressure of our feet on the snow. The screams of a famished raven, or the crash of a lofty pike, rending through the intenseness of the frost, are the only sounds that invade the solemn silence. When in my walks I have accidentally met one of my companions in this dreary solitude, his figure, emerging from the shade, has conveyed, with irresistible force to my mind, the idea of a being rising from the grave. I have often admired the pictures our great poets have drawn of absolute solitude, but never felt their full force till now. What must be the situation of a human being, 'alone on the wide, wide sea!' How dreadful if without faith in God! An atheist could not dwell alone in the forests of America.
The absence of picturesque embellishment in the landscape, as Hood had anticipated, elicits the landscape viewer's disapprobation; but, more than this, it awakens him to the awful sublimity of an unadorned nature, without prospects, whose features that might prove of interest to the naturalist lie under three feet of snow. Richardson can identify the view only by relating the feelings it evokes to the feelings evoked by poetic scenes of solitude drawn, perhaps, by Milton in "Il Penseroso," by Gray in "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard," or, as Richardson's quotation makes explicit, from Coleridge in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." Faced with a potential vertigo, he concludes his letter with a conscious turning away from the landscape. Notwithstanding his stock attribution of all sublime nature to God, he must guard himself from (as well as convince his wife in Edinburgh that he was not) going mad: "I must not, however, go on writing in this strain; there are yet two months of winter to come, and I must endeavour to acquire and preserve that contentment which can render every situation tolerable." Remaining captain over his own soul becomes Richardson's goal. He must not permit himself to vacillate between sublime extremes as the natural world does at Cumberland House.

Not surprisingly, Franklin had no regrets over leaving Cumberland House. He lamented the clearance of timber for the purposes of construction and fuel in the immediate area of the cabins: "there is, therefore, little to admire in the surrounding scenery, especially in its winter garb; few animated objects occur to enliven the scene; an occasional fox, martin, rabbit or wolf and a few birds contribute the only variety" (p. 56). Franklin likewise regrets the absence of trees on the North Saskatchewan River (p. 101), and in the prospect from Carlton House where there is "little to gratify the eye" (p. 116). But travelling
towards Pelican Lake on February 11, he compliments nature on her taste in providing "sufficient wood for ornament, but not enough to crowd the picture" (p. 120). For Franklin, the Picturesque clearly depends, as intimated earlier, upon the presence of trees, even if they are only conifers. Their presence assures shelter, hot meals, and warmth for the traveller; but one also senses a real aesthetic need for them in Franklin's narrative. That need is nowhere more apparent or more gratified than in his single-paragraph account of the pictures met with along the twelve-mile Methye Portage:

On the 13th [March, 1820] we renewed our journey and parted from Mr. Clark, to whom we were much obliged for his hospitality and kindness. We soon reached the Methye Portage, and had a very pleasant ride across it in our carioles. The track was good and led through groups of pines, so happily placed that it would not have required a great stretch of imagination to fancy ourselves in a well-arranged park. We had now to cross a small lake [Rendezvous Lake], and then gradually ascended hills beyond it, until we arrived at the summit of a lofty chain of mountains commanding the most picturesque and romantic prospect we had yet seen in this country. Two ranges of high hills ran parallel to each other for several miles, until the faint blue haze hides their particular characters, when they slightly change their course and are lost to the view. The space between them is occupied by nearly a level plain through which a river pursues a meandering course, and receives supplies from the creeks and rills issuing from the mountains on each side. The prospect was delightful even amid the snow, and though marked with all the cheerless characters of winter; how much more charming must it be when the trees are in leaf and the ground is arrayed in summer verdure. Some faint idea of the difference was conveyed to my mind by witnessing the effect of the departing rays of a brilliant sun. The distant prospect, however, is surpassed in grandeur by the wild scenery which appeared immediately below our feet. There the eye penetrates into vast ravines two or three hundred feet in depth, that are clothed with trees and lie on either side of the narrow pathway descending to the river over eight successive ridges of hills. At one spot termed the Cockscomb the traveller stands insulated as it were on a small slip, where a false step might precipitate him into the glen. From this place Mr. Back took an interesting and accurate sketch to allow time for which we encamped early having come twenty-one miles (pp. 130-31).

Franklin's picture of the portage adapts the winter scene and method of travel by means of the conventions of the Picturesque. Nature is
complemented for her taste in the placement of the groups, or, to use Capability Brown's terms, clumps, of pines, as if her sole purpose even in northern North America were to please the landscape enthusiast. Far from being the onerous and dispiriting trek observed by the fur trader Mackenzie, the portage makes a "pleasant" outing for Franklin, Back, and their party. Moreover, by casting the scene in a picturesque mode, Franklin manages to transcend place and time (a remote locale locked in a winter freeze), achieving an imaginary summertime scene.

Given the correspondence of dates between Franklin's prose picture and Back's picture, entitled, "Manner of Making a Resting Place on a Winter Night, March 15th, 1820" (frontispiece),\textsuperscript{40} it appears that Back's work depicts one of the "groups of pines" which are characteristic of the region, and which, Franklin implies, provoke in the viewer's imagination associations of the scene with an English landscape garden's "well-arranged park." The giant pines permit passage under their lowest branches, thereby resembling, if in no other way, the English park's oaks. As well, the proximity of trees restricts the growth of underbrush.
on the forest floor, which, covered by a layer of snow, conjures up a fanciful resemblance to a lawn. The green tinge of the snow aids in achieving this apparently intentional resemblance. The situation of the reader or journalist at some distance from the fire and, like his companion behind the fire, seated on the snow, indicates a moderation of temperature despite the snow and the date of the picture's title. The arrangement of the pines has the effect of coulisses, on the right and left, but it is the picture's expression of ease and contentment, in spite of the locality, which makes it picturesque and, thus, an apt complement to Franklin's narrative picture.

The explorer's rendition of the view from the Cockscomb of the Clearwater River valley delineates the same structure as was found in the description by Mackenzie/Combe—the parallel ranges, the blue haze in the distance, the meandering river—but the winter season does not permit Franklin/Combe's embellishments. Still, he is not deterred from 'correcting' natural deficiencies, as per the convention of landscape appreciation advocated by William Gilpin: "how much more charming must it be when the trees are in leaf and the ground is arrayed in summer verdure," and cast in the recognized Claudian motif—a sunset.

Franklin's disappointment derives partly, also, from comparing the view with the one captured by, he would have thought, Mackenzie. Although Franklin does not mention the former account, he must have known it, for he refers in his next paragraph to Mackenzie's latitudinal and longitudinal notations. Does a second view of a site, taken in a different season, preclude reference to the first, or does envy exist even between exploring connoisseurs of landscapes? If the latter were true, how disappointed might Franklin have been to learn that the rival scene was.
composed by an Englishman while he was in debtors' prison, who had never seen North America? But Franklin does mention the presence of deciduous trees ("trees in leaf"), which Mackenzie/Combe oddly do not, even though their view was taken in September, when such trees might have been expected to attract the most attention. The trees are all the more noteworthy because the Clearwater River valley marks one of only two areas in the vast Arctic Ocean drainage basin (the other being the Peace River valley) into which species of deciduous trees, such as poplar, extend in significant numbers. 42.

Robert Hood offers a view of this valley that differs again from those by Mackenzie/Combe and Franklin because of the seasonal characteristics he witnesses on July 4, 1820, en route with John Richardson from Cumberland House to the rendezvous with Franklin and Back at Fort Chipewyan, Lake Athabasca. He does, however, retain the use of the sunset setting, as well as the single paragraph form—the narrative equivalent of the picture frame:

On the north side [of the portage] we discovered through an opening in the trees that we were on a hill eight or nine hundred feet high, and at the edge of a steep descent. We were prepared [probably because of reading either Mackenzie's account, or some description in Franklin's letter to them from Fort Chipewyan, which they received at Le à la Crosse] to expect an extensive prospect, but the magnificent scene before us was so superior to what the nature of the country had promised, that it banished even our sense of suffering from the mosquitoes, which hovered in clouds above our heads. Two parallel chains of hills extended towards the setting sun, their various projecting outlines exhibiting the several gradations of distances, and the opposite bases closing at the horizon. On the nearest eminence, the objects were clearly defined by their dark shadows; the yellow rays blended their softening hues with brilliant green on the next, and beyond it all distinction melted into gray and purple. In the long valley between, the smooth and colourless Clear Water River wound its spiral course, broken and shattered by encroaching woods. An exuberance of rich herbage covered the soil, and lofty trees climbed the precipice at our feet, hiding its brink with their summits. Impatient as we were, and blinded with pain, we paid a tribute of admiration, which this beautiful landscape...
is capable of exciting, unaided by the borrowed charms of a calm atmosphere, glowing with the vivid tints of evening (pp. 115-16; and quoted by Franklin, pp. 187-88).

His views more aesthetic than commercial, Hood decides to close the two ranges of hills to form a standard landscape background, rather than to extend them to a hazy vanishing point as Mackenzie had done. Indeed, rather than emphasizing the unpicturesquely extensive thirty-mile vista, Hood tries to concentrate on the "several gradations of distances" which spatially organize the landscape in terms of the colour chart. But the swarms of mosquitoes, though the pain they cause can be briefly forgotten, cloud his view, preventing him from gaining the pleasurable sensations which normally attend appreciation "of a calm atmosphere, glowing with the vivid tints of evening," pleasurable sensations which Franklin managed more readily in March. Moreover, Hood adds that he and Richardson passed over the portage during a heat wave: the thermometer read 106°F on July 6, and 110°F on July 7. Being led to expect a magnificent prospect, Hood is astonishingly resolute in his intention of finding and paying "a tribute of admiration" to it; but his admission of being "blinded with pain," catapults the passage almost into a burlesque of landscape appreciation, worthy of Combe's Dr. Syntax.

II:4.iii

After meeting up with Franklin and Back, the expedition set out from Fort Chipewyan on July 18, 1820. It was dangerously undermanned and undersupplied, all pre-expedition arrangements having been ignored by the fur traders, or else never received by those of them at the
inland posts. As well, Franklin had trouble contracting men at the 
posts; notably, three Britons, probably Orkneymen, refused to accompany 
the expedition north, "deterred by the dread of famine and fatigue, 
which they," Hood is embarrassed to admit, "thought we were doomed to 
encounter" (p. 125). The logistical harassments take their toll on 
Franklin's and Hood's responses to landscape; no longer sufficiently 
supplied to endure any weather or terrain, they concentrate their jour-
nal entries on matters other than landscape appreciation. This change 
in response is most notable once the expedition has crossed Great Slave 
Lake and begins to climb the Yellowknife River, crossing the tree-line 
on August 11, at the south end of Reindeer Lake where, as Hood puts it 
 starkly, "the woods discontinued" (p. 140). Franklin still notices 
such elements of the Picturesque as the "agreeably diversified . . . 
intermixture of hill and valley" (p. 217) seen from Prospect Hill on 
August 11, but his concerns of supply and shelter qualify his appreci-
ation of the view: "but the country in general is destitute of almost 
every vegetable, except a few berry-bearing shrubs and lichens, and has 
a very barren aspect." Three days later, Hood recognizes how his percep-
tion of scenery has begun to undergo a transformation in response to 
the Barrens:

On the borders of the first lake [unnamed] was a grove of stunted pines, 
an object now become the most agreeable to us that the prospect could 
afford. Our only fuel was the roots of decayed pines, of which we could 
not often collect a sufficient quantity. There was some relief from 
absolute barrenness on the face of the country, in the dwarf birches, 
the reindeer moss, and a variety of excellent berries (p. 141).

However, in a valley of small lakes north of the Yellowknife 
River's headwaters, the Britons are guided to a well-treed oasis which
the Indians, under Akaitcho, had chosen for the establishment of the expedition's winter residence, named Fort Enterprise. Franklin and Hood rejoice at coming once again to what is, for them, a recognizable landscape. Both writers employ the single-paragraph structural device to frame off the pictures they paint of a scene they perceive once again to be harmonious with their purposes. Here is Franklin's account:

Embarking at seven next morning, we paddled to the western shore extremity of the [Winter] lake, and there found a small river, which flows out of it to the S.W. To avoid a strong rapid at its commencement, we made a portage, and then crossed to the north bank of the river, where the Indians recommended that the winter establishment should be erected, and we soon found that the situation they had chosen possessed all the advantages we could have desired. The trees were numerous, and of a far greater size than we had supposed them to be yesterday [when he recorded his fear that a winter could not be passed in such a "scantily furnished" country (p. 221)]. Some of the pines being thirty or forty feet high, and two feet in diameter at the root. We determined on placing the house on the summit of the bank, which commands a beautiful prospect of the surrounding country. The view in the front is bounded at the distance of three miles, by round-backed hills; to the eastward and westward lie the Winter and Round-rock Lakes, which are connected by the Winter River, whose banks are well-clothed with pines, and ornamented with a profusion of mosses, lichens, and shrubs (pp. 221-22).

Hood emphasizes the size of the trees as well, and then proceeds:

The beauty of the situation far exceeded our most sanguine expectations. Behind us, the ascent of the bank closed our view, but sheltered us from the northern winds. To the eastward was the lake which we had left, and to the westward, at the distance of three miles, appeared another [Round-rock Lake], the river winding between them, bounded by sloping woods of pine and birch, and flat, sandy, eminences decked with a rich carpet of the light green reindeer moss. The sole remaining characteristic of the country we had lately traversed, was a gloomy barrier of sterile hills in front, parallel to the river, which only served to heighten the enjoyment of our retreat, by reminding us of the misery which we had escaped (p. 145).

The size and quantity of trees are not just aesthetically novel, for the trees afford sufficient building materials for cabin construction and fuel for warmth, while providing the shelter that attracts birds,
animals, and fish which are successfully hunted, trapped, and netted. But in a marriage of the functional and the aesthetic, the scene clearly delights both Franklin and Hood for its visual attributes. The small-scale lakes, the serpentine river, the ornamental colours of the vegetation, and the round-backed hills closing the view to a three-mile extent which is more typical of England than of the Arctic, may, in a fit of fancy, transport the Englishmen back to their own Lake District. Franklin implies that the site of the fort was chosen on aesthetic grounds, the hilltop providing the prospect and elevation above the middle ground, as per the dicta of the Picturesque. Hood supplies practical reasons as well (the bank was "flat and sandy"), but even they seem to have been deferred to aesthetic taste. The cost of this deferral becomes clear in the passages describing how, one year later, after the exploration of the coast between the mouth of the Coppermine River and Bathurst Inlet, and after the deaths of Hood and ten others, the surviving members were so weak from starvation that they could not crawl down the hill from the cabin to the lake to fish, making do with a "soup" made from discarded caribou skins and bones. Their rescuers had them eating trout from the lake as soon as their stomachs could accept them. Had the cabin been built unpicturesquely down at the lake; Franklin and Richardson might have been able to save themselves.

Hood's constitution and build were not that of a Hearne, Franklin, or Back. His difficulties with canoe travel were great, even though the voyageurs carried out most of the strenuous tasks. Accordingly, his description of the site of Fort Enterprize as somewhat of a sanctuary differs from Franklin's because the cabin represented to him the end of the year's travel. Like an English garden bedecked with a lawn
or "rich carpet of the light green reindeer moss," gently declining
to the banks of a Lake District-sized lake, the landscape must have
struck Hood forcibly as ideal, a type of hortus conclusus. That he dis-
tinguishes it and the restful contentment habitation of it offers from
the sublimity of the "gloomy barrier of sterile hills" beyond it through
which the expedition's miserable travel had been conducted, while Frank-
lin, on the other hand, ignores the barrenness of the hills and incor-
porates their "round-backed" appearance into his Lake District prospect,
identifies two different responses to the same scene. Both, however,
are unmistakably picturesque.

John Richardson utilizes the authority vested in him as a landscape
enthusiast, and corrects the view from the fort, improving it into a
"beautiful" sight. Writing in early December, 1820, to his mother who,
he perhaps judged, could do without any terrifying prospects, Richardson
paints the scene charmingly in a single paragraph:

That we may be as much advanced as possible when the return of sum-
mer permits us to resume our journey, we have fixed our abode upon the
verge of the woods, and indeed we could not have selected a more con-
venient or beautiful spot. The surrounding country is finely varied
by hill and dale and interspersed with numerous lakes connected by small
streams. One of these lakes, which we have named Winter Lake, discharges
its waters by a moderately sized river, whose sheltering banks are
clothed with wood. Amidst this wood, on a small and rather elevated
plain, we have erected Fort Enterprise [sic], and the situation is such
that while we have an extensive southern prospect down the wooded banks
of the river, the nakedness of the northern country is hid by a clump
of trees on the rising ground in our rear (p. 79).

Neither contrasting the tundra hills with the foreground scene, as Hood
did, nor ignoring all but their round-backed features, as Franklin had,
Richardson's picture simply corrects the view, disregarding the hills
in front and eliminating the hills in the rear by the judicious place-
ment of a "clump" of trees in the viewer's way.
Struggling back to the fort fourteen months later, all surviving members of the expedition would see Fort Enterprize as Hood had seen it—an escape from misery. But the "Fort" provided no respite from their state of starvation because the Indians, doubting the expedition's success, had not bothered to stock it. But what is underscored by making an Arctic valley into an English valley by means of the illusion of the Picturesque is the danger of not adapting a mode of landscape perception to new terrain: Samuel Hearne's experience of discovering empty fishing nets at his spring encampment, his subsequent brush with starvation, and his disillusionment at the landscape picture he had conjured up similarly demonstrate how inappropriate the unadapted convention of (or the unmodified adherence to) the Picturesque—the product of landscape appreciation by well-fed and well-heeled Englishmen—could prove to be to the traveller in a remote part of the world.

A comparison of the two pictorial renditions of the fort scene reveals that Hood perceived the landscape as more threatening than did George Back. Hood's picture, entitled "Fort Enterprize September 1820" (n.p.),
and Back's view (below), entitled "Winter View of Fort Enterprize, Snow Melting, May 13th 1821," which illustrated Franklin's official account of the expedition (facing p. 246), depict the same scene at two different seasons. Back's, rendered eight months later, includes an early-evening setting and far less concentration on the desolate country in the distance than occurs in Hood's rendition. The sense of loss conveyed by the falling tree, together with Hood's style of delineating each, single tree, serve to emphasize the limited supply of wood at the expedition's and landscape enthusiast's disposal. Conversely, Back's view de-emphasizes the barrenness in two ways: the coulisse of pines in the foreground covers much of the barren background, while, like a European castle, the fort atop the right-hand hill balances civilization against the threatening void opposite. A variety of other details in Back's work achieves the picturesque effect of harmony. The limner utilizes the advantage of the season to lighten the colour of the hills with snow, and, accurately or inaccurately, places many more trees on
the lower slopes than does Hood. Moreover, the presence of animals and hunters in Back's picture creates an atmosphere of sport and agreeable diversion that is absent in Hood's depictions of manual labour by the voyageurs (even though they present picturesque figures), and of conference among the British officers. The tobacco-like foliage provides Hood's view with a stock foreground ornamental cover that attempts to make the scene more picturesque, but it is botanically out of place in this picture. The incomplete state of the fort, and the manner in which the hills brood beyond and over the residence contribute a much less contented landscape effect, while the whole picture is dominated by the bleak upper reaches of the hills and the sky, which occupy more than seven-tenths of the height (compared to less than one-half in Back's sketch), and which cast over the Picturesque a "gloomy barrier that, notwithstanding Hood's verbal disclaimer, does not "heighten the enjoyment of the retreat" for the picture's viewer. Back's picture, on the other hand, achieves the much-sought picturesque harmony and shores •
up the expedition's official, that is to say Franklin's, account with a contentedness and confidence of outlook that is unmarked by the picturesque "tender melancholy" which L. H. Neatby, in In Quest of the North West Passage (1958), finds in Hood's landscapes. 44

The tender melancholy which pervades Hood's picture of the fort is likewise apparent in the first picture he executed after the expedition crossed the tree-line, although the engraving of it by Edward Finden (1791-1857), which appeared in Franklin's Narrative, disguises much of this quality. The picture was titled "An Evening View of Marten-Lake, 29-30 August 1820" by Hood (pl. 21, n.p.), and simply "Martin Lake, 1820" by Franklin (facing p. 233); reproduced below). The original version seems to contradict picturesque convention in many respects: the hunting scene in the foreground constitutes anything but sport, with caribou about to be shot in the water by a voyageur from an ungentlemanly distance while the rest of the herd on shore gaze innocently about them, unaware of their fate. In the second rendition (Finden's engraving) the gap is enlarged to a more sporting
distance, which thereby decreases the force of the connotation of the caribou as lambs off to slaughter. Moreover, whereas the foreground in the original is barren and unvaried, providing almost no cover for the caribou or the Indian spectators; it is liberally altered by Finden, who creates a hillock both to provide the caribou with greater cover (and the hunters—with greater sport); and to introduce the foreground foliage into the background shore in order to deepen the view. The latter aim is abetted by Finden's decision to darken the foreground, an alteration which also increases the contrast present in Hood's original. Hood did not, apparently, subscribe to the technique of varying light and shade as per Picturesque convention: his foreground is lighter than those in many paintings by Claude; his hills are not well defined; and fog obscures their sight in the background. His effect is arguably more true to nature than Finden's since Finden's foreground, though conventional, is physically impossibly dark, there being no vegetation to
supply the shade he introduces. Interestingly, the view published in Franklin's account does not include in its title the time of day, evening, or the time of year, autumn; as if it were deemed prudent in an official account to efface the picture's melancholy symbolism. Also effaced are Hood's original rays of sun. (In Finden's engraving, the sun would need to be much lower and more centrally placed to justify the foreground darkness.) These rays served to locate the sun and to hint that the upward flight of the Snow or Canada geese connoted the spiritual ascent up a sort of Jacob's ladder of any of the following: the soon-to-be-delivered caribou; the members of the expedition; or, nature itself, either in dying at the end of the year, or (in Hood's view) in-dying at the disappearance of trees.

The number and degree of changes executed by Finden in this picture are repeated in "Expedition Crossing Lake Prosperous 3 August 1820" (pl. 20, n.p., and facing p. 211, in Franklin, where it is misdated "May 30"), where scenery is decreased in size, boats are repositioned, an elevated perspective is supplied, and the general "motley" appearance of the men, as Houston phrases it (p. 183), is cleaned up. Finden's editing renders discussion of Hood's pictorial works for which originals do not exist problematical. Still, on the strength of the comparisons that are possible, it may be argued that the original of Hood's "The Expedition Discovering the Coppermine River, Sept. 1, 1820" was at least as desolate and sublime as the version in Franklin's narrative (facing p. 237), shown on the following page.
Tender melancholy or sublime apprehension, Hood's mixture of sensibilities and convention is resolved in this picture, which was executed while Hood and Back were out on a side trip after reaching the site of Fort Enterprise, but before Hood had made his picture of the fort. (The sublime landscapes he encountered at the height of land are, therefore, a partial influence on the depiction of the background in his later fort scène.) As in the "Martin Lake" picture, the foreground has, in all likelihood, been darkened, but, beyond the placement of the tiny figures (Finden's engraving has those in the foreground adopting stock poses), the scene offers little to vary. Masses of a barren, convulsed rock formation occupy an ill-defined foreground behind which lakes and mountains loom in a succession which seems endless because of its resemblance to the ensuing configuration of sky and clouds. Although providing depth into the picture, the dwarfish cliff-top figures, like the caribou at the left, give no sense of belonging to, controlling, or
enjoying the landscape; and therefore intensify the sublimity of a landscape in which man is a mere intruder.

The trip to the Coppermine River covered approximately the ground over which the starving expedition would crawl the next October (1821), groping in the snow for the way back to Fort Enterprize. Hood seems to have a premonition in this picture about the landscape that would become his last resting place. Due south of the Stony Mountains, across which Samuel Hearne reported that he crawled on his hands and knees, the scene of Hood's sketch, passed by Hearne in August, 1771, is verbally portrayed as sublimely devoid of any discernible order: 45

These hills were about 500 feet high, rocky, with some sand, and the valleys between, heaps of large bare stones, which had been the beds of temporary inundations, and mossy swamps, through which our march was disagreeable and fatiguing. We were forced to make many circuits to avoid the lakes, and rambled late in search of bushes for our fire, but without being successful (p. 150).

The landscape resists aesthetic organization as fiercely as it does penetration, offering, as Hood's picture attests, no obvious or natural pathways. The serpentine line, the natural coulisses are obliterated; the vegetation non-existent. As if to repulse human intrusion, nature complemented its scene with a gale of wind and snow on the night of September, overthrowing the tents, and actually paralysing the expedition the next day. 46

In the spring of 1821, John Richardson took an advance detachment over the same route as Hood's September side trip, and as far as the banks of the Coppermine River. Writing a letter to George Back at the fort, Richardson voices disgust with the unpicturesque tundra:

My dear Back,--[William] Gilpin himself, that celebrated picturesque
hunter, would have made a fruitless journey had he come with us. We followed the lakes and low grounds, which, after leaving Martin Lake, were so deeply covered with snow that it was impossible to distinguish lake from moor, and frequently when I was congratulating myself, I was surprised by sinking to the middle through the snow, and sticking among the large stones which cover the valleys. I have said this much that you may judge of the sameness of the views that occurred on our journey. The only variety that we had was in crossing two extensive ridges of land which lie at the distance of seven or eight miles from each other, and nearly half way to the river. . . . nowhere did I see anything worthy of your pencil. So much for the country. It is a barren subject, and deserves to be thus briefly dismissed (pp. 82-3).

Richardson shares Franklin's landscape preferences; where the Picturesque cannot be found, his interest in landscape wanes. What he said of the land around Cumberland House in 1819 may apply equally to the tundra north of Fort Enterprize, in his estimation: "art has done nothing amiss, because she has done nothing."

II.4.iv

Robert Hood's journal ends at September 1820, leaving Franklin's the sole public voice of the expedition's subsequent trip in 1821 down the Coppermine River to the Arctic Ocean, east along Coronation Gulf to Bathurst Inlet, and then overland back to Fort Enterprize. Limited supplies, miscalculation of the length of the travelling season, and the unfittedness of river canoes for ocean travel doomed the brigade. But for the sporadically tree-lined shores of the upper Coppermine River (pp. 328-29), the route ran wholly over barren land and along an inhospitable coast, in Franklin's words, "the most sterile and inhospitable that can be imagined" (p. 365). It was to be a tragic experience for the Britons and Canadian voyageurs alike. It is noteworthy that Franklin, lost without trees, is reduced almost to silence by the landscape.
He notes with distaste, on July 22, the "débris" of rocks which exclude "every kind of herbage" in the narrow valleys between some of the coastal trap-cliffs which succeed one another "with tiresome uniformity" (p. 365). The absence of vegetation has dire consequences for the men, imperilling more than their aesthetic sense of place: "the whole party went to hunt," Franklin reports on August 22, below Point Turnagain, "but returned without success in the evening, drenched with the heavy rain which commenced soon after they set out. Several deer were seen, but could not be approached in this naked country . . ." (p. 393). Conventional modes of hunting, like conventional modes of landscape perception, are useless in such an unvaried terrain.

But George Back, who in 1813-1814, at the age of seventeen, had walked through enemy France from Verdun to the English Channel, was a match for Franklin in physical endurance and aesthetic resoluteness. Besides accompanying Franklin from Cumberland House to Fort Chipewyan during the winter of 1819-1820, he made a return trip of 1104 miles from Fort Enterprise to Fort Chipewyan during the winter of 1820-1821 to obtain supplies for the expedition. As well, his exertions saved the lives of Franklin, Richardson, and the English servant John Hepburn in November, 1821. (He would return to the North for another three multi-year expeditions in the next fifteen years.) In his capacity as the expedition's topographical artist, he exhibits a perceptual resiliency to inhospitable terrain. His "Bloody Fall, July 17, 1821" (facing p. 250) commemorates in picturesque convention the sublime site of the massacre of the Esquimaux which Hearne had witnessed and portrayed precisely fifty years before to the day. Back foregoes the sublime
treatment of the falls, preferring to make as his subject the Franklin expedition's tranquil encampment on a grassy promontory. Still, his avoidance of a sublime rendition is awkward: the viewer of his picture cannot easily proceed from the foreground, down into the middle ground on the right-hand side where the shore and the water occupy the same level. This awkwardness is compounded by the presence of an oversized canoe, which has the effect of raising the level of the surface of the water in the middle ground and, thereby, of minimizing the height of the falls. The result is that the foreground seems not to decline into the middle ground, thus violating picturesque convention. (The waves in the river above the fall only add to this problem in not clarifying the direction of the movement of the water.) On the other hand, the regulating demeanour of the downstream coulisses, and the neat contrast between cliff-faces and cliff-sides contribute to a composed, picturesque
effect.

However, it may be argued that the effect of the picture was, in this case, secondary to Back's concern for commemorating the historical site. The ornamental placement of skulls and bones in the foreground adds a conventionally picturesque "ruins" motif to the scene, an historical emblem investing the landscape with temporal depth. But more importantly, it acknowledges Hearne's sublime prose picture as the precedent for Back's work, an early instance of inheritance and adaptation in the Canadian arts. Indeed, since Franklin had come across remains of the 1771 massacre, Back's artistic use of the skulls and bones is not only a legitimate, but also a needful one, complementing Franklin's recantation of his previously expressed doubts of Hearne's veracity. But Back's work is also a poignant adaptation: sublime apprehension was the last emotion that Franklin would have permitted to be expressed in his Narrative, especially on the point of embarking on the coastal
exploration. However awkwardly, picturesque repose had to be effected in Back's pictorial representation.

A similar picture is Back's "View of the Arctic Sea, from the Mouth of the Copper Mine River, Midnight, July 20, 1821" (facing p. 361). (The red tinge in the sky is more pronounced in the plate than in this photograph of it.) It is the first view of the hyperborean sea made from the mainland, and attests to this novelty in all the picturesque diversity Back's abilities can bring to the sight. The interrelation of islands and clouds is visually stimulating and contrasts effectively with the calm water, the relatively quiet flags, and the smooth carpet of Arctic grasses in the foreground campsite. The significance of the scene is heightened, that is, the place is accorded an identity, by the projection of the British flag above the line of the horizon, a projection which consecrates the arrival of the government expedition at the sea, and signals, as it were, to the marine expedition of Edward Parry, which had, though Franklin could not have known, returned to England in 1820. (Franklin did erect a post to attract Parry's attention in the event that he had worked his way down to the mainland; but Parry had not come within nine hundred miles of it, and, by July 1821, was in the mid-Atlantic, having embarked on his second expedition.) Moreover, Back's picture makes a place of the mouth of the Coppermine River in another respect: it serves the purpose (and gains by doing so both picturesque novelty and an historical dimension) of verifying Hearne's much-maligned claim that the sun did not set during the summer months at the latitude of the mouth of the Coppermine River. It might be expected that such an extreme natural event as continuous daylight would be portrayed as sublime, but this midnight scene offers, depending upon whether the carefully watched campfire pot contains breakfast or dinner,
all the "charms" of a Claudian sunrise or sunset. It is as if the outing being portrayed was not—as it is known to have been—besieged by threats of desertion by the voyageurs, the departure of the Indian hunters, an insufficient food supply, an insane itinerary, and an ice-locked route to an ocean far too turbulent to be crossed safely in river canoes.47

These latter concerns are graphically depicted in Back's four sublime seascapes:

1) "Expedition Doubling Cape Barrow, July 25, 1821" (facing p. 367);
2) "Expedition Encamped at Point Turnagain, Aug. 21, 1821" (facing p. 387);
3) "Canoe Broaching To, in a Gale of Wind at Sunrise, Aug. 23, 1821" (facing p. 394); and, from later that day,
4) "Expédition Landing in a Storm, Aug. 23, 1821" (facing p. 395).

The Cape Barrow scene (1) shows the tiny canoes absolutely imperilled, the cliffs melting into the storm clouds while the agitated ocean pounds the grounded ice floes. Franklin adds to the picture the information that the "dreariness of our prospect" was intensified by the complete impossibility of landing on that "dreary shore" (p. 367) while the birch-bark canoes were in imminent danger of being crushed by ice... which was pressing down upon us." Needless to say, the threatening scene thrills the reader with sublimity, but it also points up the fact that Back was unable to regard the ocean part of the expedition with picturesque equanimity.

The camp at Point Turnagain (2) appears to be besieged by wave and wind: the absurdity of the location for an encampment is accentuated by the presence of small tents as the largest features in the wind-swept, waveswept foreground. It is as if the expedition can barely sustain its purchase on the point; as the name of the encampment connotes,
the expedition was repulsed from the camp. Furthermore, the inland
scene to the right of the picture's subject offered no assistance or
succour, for Franklin reports that the hunters repeatedly returned with-
out success. The view struck the Canadian voyageurs, "who had not previ-
ously had an uninterrupted view of the ocean," with "wonder" (p. 386).
To compound such wonder, once the difficulties of reaching the shore
through very shallow waters, and pitching the tents in a gale were
achieved, the expedition was
assailed by a heavy squall and rain, which was succeeded by a violent
gale from west-north-west; which thrice overset the tents in the course
of the night. The wind blew with equal violence on the following day,
and the sea rolled furiously upon the beach. The Canadians had now an
opportunity of witnessing the effect of a storm upon the sea; and the
sight increased their desire of quitting it (p. 386).

The storm lasted from the evening of August 16 until the morning
of August 22, by which time Franklin also had a "desire" to get off
the ocean: the thermometer had plunged to 33°F on August 19, and stood
at the freezing point at mid-day on the 20th, when he was "presented
with the most chilling prospect, the small pools of water being frozen
over, the ground being covered with snow..." (p. 392). Departure
on the 23rd meant crossing the open stretch of sea in Melville Sound,
"where the waves were so high that the mast-head of our canoe was often
hid from the other, though it was sailing within hail" (p. 394). The
"peril of [their] situation" had been increased for the Canadian and
Briton alike by the failure of the hunting party on the Kent Peninsula
on the 22nd, and by the consequent lack of dinner the night before set-
ting out, a privation which Franklin remarks, "absorbed every other
terror" (p. 393). Thus, the rays of sunlight which dominate "Canoe
Broaching To" (3) imply that the traverse of Melville Sound on the 23rd
was made by relying on Providence, the sailors having no control over
their situation.

The fourth sublime seascape describes the rash, almost suicidal attempt made to land the canoes on the rocky coast of Buchan’s Bay. Remote from any sources of wood that could furnish materials that would be needed for repairs, the party could ill-afford to sustain extensive damage to their crafts. As well, the men, who had not eaten and were to eat only berries that night, could not long endure the freezing temperatures of the water in which they had, necessarily, to immerse themselves to effect the landing. How two men in the right-hand foreground could stand idly by points up one of the irrationalities of Back’s picture: seven men are engaged in unloading the boat, while another tries desperately to keep it from capsizing; meanwhile, two figures decorate the foreground like ornaments of stock landscape staffage, and the officer of the canoe makes a drawing. The danger of the scene is matched only by this artifice-induced incongruity, an incongruity which prompts questioning of two matters: the resolutely undaunted portrait of the English sailor presented by Franklin in his Narrative, where terror is attributed only to the Canadian voyageurs; and the insistence on the landscape enthusiast’s contemplation of a scene despite its imminent prospects of annihilation. Only Robert Hood hints at a less “official” representation of events; his paramount concern was not to remain the captain of his own soul, but to explore a different relation between man and nature offered by a unique terrain. His response to the coastal exploration, like him, has not survived; and, one cannot help wondering whether remaining captain of one’s soul was not the only way to survive the ordeal undergone by these Odyssees-like questors.

Aesthetic conventions of the Picturesque and the Sublime would
not permit a more profound account of the scenes than Back presents, any more than the generic conventions of the commander's narrative would permit of private intimations of emotions and fears. Thus, Back's serve as illustrations to an official document, project a restricted perception of nature: although he is permitted the licence of an impossible elevated perspective in "Canoe Broaching To" (3), his depictions of sublime scenes do not become, of themselves, visually wild or terrifying or apocalyptic to a degree that is comparable with, for example, the works of his famous contemporary, J. M. W. Turner. Franklin's venture had exposed twenty men to terrifying scenes because it had been poorly planned: a young commander could not afford either written or pictorial admissions to the Admiralty, the government, the reading public, or even Hood's family, that he had unnecessarily endangered the lives of his sailors. Back's "sublime" seascapes are apparently consonant with his Captain's requirements: they are tempered by a stalwart sangfroid which appropriately acknowledges their primary purpose of enhancing an official document. They confirm the illusion of reality under which the expedition was conceived—that the world map was to be completed, as if by divine commandment, by Englishmen who proved their capabilities for such a mission by remaining, when others oscillated between emotional polarities, captains of their souls. Such, too, was the British illusion of reality by which the explorers accomplished physical feats barely imaginable today. The reader could be pleased to wonder—the prose technique of understatement, and the artistic technique of controlled representation evoke such a response perhaps—but the explorer could not: it was not in his orders.

Still, events did affect landscape perception to some extent. This
is clearer in Hood's work, but is apparent also in Franklin's response to Wilberforce Falls. Franklin may perceive the falls as a picture (he describes them as though encountering them in the evening) but he does not revert to the single-paragraph framework employed earlier in the expedition when obvious landscape scenes presented themselves to his eye. Scrutiny of the description, entered under August 27, when the expedition had left Bathurst Inlet after twenty-eight days at sea, and had proceeded up Hood's River, yields the fact that Franklin is concentrating upon detail, and failing to feel or observe the effect of the natural phenomena:

In the evening we encamped at the lower end of a narrow chasm through which the river flows for upwards of a mile. The walls of this chasm are upwards of two hundred feet high, quite perpendicular and in some places only a few yards apart. The river precipitates itself into it over a rock, forming two magnificent and picturesque falls close to each other. The upper fall is about sixty feet high, and the lower one at least one hundred; but perhaps considerably more, for the narrowness of the chasm into which it fell prevented us from seeing its bottom, and we could merely discern the top of the spray far beneath our feet. The lower fall is divided into two by an insulated column of rock which rises about forty feet above it. The whole descent of the river at this place probably exceeds two hundred and fifty feet. The rock is very fine felspar and granite. It has a smooth surface and a light red colour. . . . Messrs. Back and Hood took beautiful sketches of this magnificent scene (pp. 397-98).

Although Wilberforce Falls are much higher than any previously encountered by Franklin on this expedition, they are treated far less effusively than the others, including Hill Gate and White Falls on the Hayes River. No record of the effect of the scene on the viewer is offered except perhaps in the conventional word "magnificent." It may be that the presence of the falls dejected Franklin who had hoped to find a smooth-flowing river to take him back towards Fort Enterprise; though his observation of the region's topography and his reading of Hearne
ought not to have led him to expect this. Instead, the Hood River proved unnavigable, and went almost parallel to the ocean coast. Franklin does invest the scene with some conventional vocabulary, but the arithmetic and geological detail detract from aesthetic appreciation. To find the latter, one must turn to Back's picture, entitled "The Falls of Wilberforce. Estimated at 250 feet" (facing p. 397). The vertical emphasis of the scene, the ruined aspect of the rock pillars, the conventional bottomless abyss whose dimensions are measureless to the eye, the tiny figures dwarfed by the scene and positioned at the brink of the precipices in the foreground and background--all evoke a sublime response. But Back may utilize sublime conventions: they are expected for the rendition of a waterfall the height of Niagara, and, as the scene presents no immediate threat to the expedition, it can be appreciated for its aesthetic merits, merits which Franklin, clearly steeling
himself for the one-hundred-and-fifty-mile trek across the tundra, no longer perceives. He makes the tacit acknowledgment, in referring his reader to Back's and Hood's "beautiful" sketches (the latter's has not survived), that his companions' work now aesthetically supplements, rather than complements, his narrative.

II.4.v

The return trip to Fort Enterprise meant a traverse of lands the like of which, among Britons, only Samuel Hearne (whose route the Franklin party would cross) had previously experienced. The aesthetic response to landscape in pictures or in prose vanishes from the Narrative, as the fight to remain alive physically comes to be waged with an intensity preclusive of all other considerations. Early snowfalls plagued the expedition's progress, as did unsuccessful hunting trips which, besides not sustaining the men, delayed their march. Back's solitary picture of this leg of the journey, entitled "Preparing an Encampment on the Barren Grounds. Gathering Tripe de Roche &c. Sept. 16" (facing p. 412), shows the Willingham Hills over which the men had hauled themselves on cut and bleeding feet. Celebration of clearing the hills (as well as a previous night's dinner of caribou and the unimaginable achievement of thirty statute miles that day) occasioned a cheerier prospect worthy of pictorial record. Still, lines of footprints mark the sole device at Back's disposal for introducing depth into a view which was becoming a featureless uniformity in the snow, and an interminable sight to the desperate travellers' eyes. 49

Mid-September marked the expedition's most successful travelling.
Thereafter, weather deteriorated quickly, worsening marching conditions. By the last week in the month, the five sailors, two Eskimaux, two Canadian interpreters, and eleven voyageurs were within forty miles of Fort Enterprize, having come probably eighty-five per cent of their indirect way from Wilberforce Falls. But the lack of a canoe at this point detained them for more than nine days at the Coppermine River, and by the start of October morale was at a low ebb. In that month, eleven of the twenty men perished, one by one. That only one of the five Britons died (and Hood, though about to die of starvation, was murdered at that) when they were much less robust than the voyageurs, attests in part to a steeled courage, but also in part to the fact, as observed by Thomson, in *The North-West Passage*, that "life in the navy of Nelson’s time—on weevily biscuit and the product of the occasional rat-hunt—was an excellent preparation for the rigours of the Arctic."  

The crisis with nature could only be resolved by the Britons’ returning to Britain as quickly as possible. But it was only a question of time before a whole expedition would be consumed in a quest as imaginatively wild as any that was being contemplated and articulated at the same time by Shelley, Byron, or Keats.

II.5 THE THREE VOYAGES OF EDWARD PARRY (1819-1825)
mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers as the sole geographical
features on his charts, Parry, in HMS Hecla, and Captain Liddon, in
HMS Griper, set out to sail through a void whose entrance Parry suspec-
ted to be Lancaster Sound. As it happened, the first voyage was to be
Parry’s most successful of the three attempts he would make during the
next six years.

In October, 1819, while Franklin was arriving at Cumberland House,
Parry reached 110°W longitude, on the southern shore of Melville Island.
He named the bay where his ships spent ten ice-locked months awaiting
the break-up in 1820, Winter Harbour. He and his fellow men made numer-
ous forays across Melville Island in the spring of 1820, conducting
various cartographical surveys. In addition, Parry made several land-
scape observations which reveal that the tenacity with which the mar-
ners endured a winter at 73°N Tat: extended to the defense of their
way of seeing from the awesome emptiness surrounding them. By compar-
ison, John Richardson, spending the winter at Cumberland House, which,
at 53°N, lies 20 degrees of latitude below Winter Harbour, had little
to complain about in a forested surrounding. 51

II.5.1.

Parry describes the view from the hill above Winter Harbour, sometime,
anytime, during the winter of 1819-1820:

When viewed from the summit of the neighbouring hills, on one of those
calm and clean days, which not infrequently occurred during the winter,
the scene was such as to induce contemplations which had, perhaps, more
of melancholy than of any other feeling. Not an object was to be seen
on which the eye could long rest with pleasure, unless when directed
to the spot where the ships lay, and where our little colony was planted.
The smoke which there issued from the several fires, affording a certain indication of the presence of man, gave a partial cheerfulness to this part of the prospect; and the sound of voices, which, during the cold weather, could be heard at a much greater distance than usual, served now and then to break the silence which reigned around us, a silence far different from that peaceable composure which characterizes the landscape of a cultivated country; it was the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence. Such, indeed, was the want of objects to afford relief to the eye or amusement to the mind.

Only the presence of humans—the voices, movements, and the appearance of "our little colony"—imparts any interest to Parry's prospect; indeed, the view does not exist for him apart from the humanized "foreground." The "little" English cottage, clad in one green hue, mid the "peaceable composure" of groves and copses, with wreaths of smoke issuing from its chimney, is simply replaced here by the two ships locked in ice and snow, clad in one blinding whiteness, and sending up smoke from fires which, rather than warming anything or anyone, are kept stoked to prevent freezing. Parry finds neither visual "relief" nor mental "amusement" in the land itself, the perception of which clearly pains the viewer aesthetically as well as physically, given the glare of a "clear" day after, presumably, the reappearance of the sun in February.

Further, the difficulty Parry encounters in composing the land into a landscape leads him to aver that the foreignness of the terrain and its absence of detail are attributable to the fact that it is not "cultivated." As the Picturesque aesthetic represents a cultivated nation's way of seeing, its failure to embrace an uncultivated, remote region is patent. Seeking pictures in the land is Parry's learned mode of perception; consequently, he is made miserable in the North. Unable to discover in the space before him a foreground, middle ground, and
back ground, he feels paralysed by a space and silence which resists interpretation and communication by means of the only taxonomy he knows. His response is akin to Richardson's avowal to find "that contentment which can render every situation tolerable." He admits only to melancholy, not despair, and ekes out a picture of the two ships beset in ice and boarded over for the winter.

As with his aesthetic perceptions, so with his sensate perceptions; Parry recognizes that communication, though not paralysed, is jeopardized by the extreme cold which makes men speak as though inebriated. Adding to this alteration is the effect on the carrying distance of a voice: cold air throws a voice absurdly far, thereby disrupting normal eye/ear co-ordination for the onlooker or auditor. Similarly, refraction jeopardizes the visual identification of objects, while the "unvaried surface of snow" (I, 211) renders the estimation of distances by picturesque standards wildly inaccurate. Thus, the mariner, who is already exasperated by the ice, finds that his modes of perception are frustrated as well by the environment. Through a ten months' paralysis, the expedition is denied progress in any direction, its movements confined to neighbourhood perambulations. In many ways, then, Parry is disarmed by his situation—a sailor with a ship but no water, an explorer unable to continue his explorations, and a landscape tourist bereft of any recognizable landscapes.

Although he duly notes such remarkable phenomena as the return of the sun after a disappearance for ninety days, and the splendour of the season's only aurora borealis on January 15, 1820, his landscape observations, let alone compositions, are minimal. For example, on a side trip across Melville Island in June, he complains of walking "over
the same snowy and level plain as before, than which it is impossible
to conceive anything more dreary and uninteresting" (II, 12). But once
the ships have been released from the ocean's gelid grasp and the land
peeks through the melting snows, the mariner and landscape enthusiast
cheer up, and, although the unbroken ice fields of Viscount Melville
Sound deny Parry farther westward exploration, he is content to return
to England with his previous season's success. The change of scenery
encountered as the vessels sail eastward along the southern coast of
Melville Island attracts notice:

Immediately under the hills, which here, for the first time, in
sailing from Cape Providence to the eastward, recede about two miles
from the sea, was the most luxuriant pasture-ground we had yet met with
on Melville Island. It consisted of about a dozen acres of short thick
grass, intermixed with moss, which gave it almost the same lively ap-
pearance as that of an English meadow (II, 161).

Because he had been without it for so long, Parry's response to vegeta-
tion is thoroughly exaggerated. His comparison of the scene with an
English meadow appears absurd, but the novelty of the sight of a land-
scape bearing an animated or "lively" demeanour accounts for the compar-
ison, a comparison which comes to mind as much for the common sensations
two landscapes evoke as for their visual affinities.

Alexander Fisher, who sailed with Parry aboard HMS Alexander in
1818, and again aboard HMS Hecla as surgeon in 1819-1820, published
two journals whose treatments of landscape are remarkable only for
demonstrating, by contrast, how tenaciously Parry sought a picturesque
scene. Fisher observes sublime scenes occasionally and when he does,
he displays an aesthetic acumen sufficiently adroit to have been engaged
by any recognizably picturesque landscapes, had they appeared to him.
Yet, like the British reader of travel journals, Fisher's expectations of northern views were restricted to the Sublime. This attitude appears forcefully in a single-paragraph picture depicting the departure of Parry's 1819-1820 expedition, which highlights his second Journal of a Voyage of Discovery:

The appearance of the country along the banks of the river [Thames as we went down], was at this time [May 4, 1819] extremely beautiful, particularly on the right (south) side, where the villas, &c. that adorn that bank were seen to the greatest advantage, surrounded with groves of fruit and other trees, all in blossom, and the meadows which lay between them and the river abounding with the most luxuriant vegetation, on which were feeding numerous flocks, and herds of sheep and black cattle. In fact, nature and art seemed as if they had combined their efforts, in order to give us a beautiful specimen of the scenery of our native isle, that we might contrast it with the dreary prospects that we soon expected to see in the frozen regions we were about to visit; the comparison might, indeed, at this time, be made by most of us, as the greatest part had already seen the snow-clad mountains of the frigid zone.

As if to accentuate the contrast to which he alludes, Fisher selects a scene replete with such aspects of the Beautiful as villas and fruit groves—features of an England affecting a Mediterranean beauty. Not only will the North prove destitute of such landscapes, but, Fisher implies, it will offer only the sight of snow-capped mountains and, what Fisher connotes as well, icebergs. Furthermore, as a ship's surgeon, Fisher laments in farewell the fruit trees which adorn the scene and which also symbolize the cherished antiscorbutic necessary to combat the greatest single killer of nineteenth-century British explorers in the Arctic regions.

In both his journals Fisher is silenced by the landscapes of the North: brilliant sunsets (p. 36), the stratified rock formations of the southern coastal cliffs of Devon Island (pp. 65, 246), which occasion a comment in most journals, and appearances of the aurora
borealis are noted, but response to the land is otherwise non-existent. The absence of composable scenes results, with Fisher and many others, in the failure to mention land in any aesthetic sense at all. Only one exception from either of his journals exists, and it offers a clue to his silence. It is a single-paragraph passage from the first Journal of a Voyage of Discovery, entered under Friday, June 12, 1818, icebound in Baffin Bay, which implies that the vastness of the world about him crushes any effort to represent it in conventional aesthetic terms:

In the afternoon, a light breeze having sprung up, we cast off from the iceberg, and began again to force our way to the northward through the ice. In the evening, the weather being clear and serene, both sky and water presented the most beautiful scene I ever beheld. The former, near the horizon, was interspersed with fleecy clouds, which decreased gradually in colour and density, according to their height, until, in the zenith, they disappeared entirely, and there the sky appeared of the most beautiful cerulean blue. The water, on the other hand, or, rather the ice on its surface, presented a spectacle so superbly grand that I know of no other scene in nature with which to compare it. Let anyone fancy himself situated in the centre of an immense plain, extending farther than the eye can penetrate, filled with masses of ice whiter than Parian marble, and, presenting a greater variety of forms than the most fertile imagination can conceive, and as endless in size as in shape, from the stupendous icebergs which stood at least a hundred feet above the water, to those small fragments that were only discernible above the surface. I say, let a person fancy himself situated in the midst of a chaos of similar objects, and he will find it much easier to conceive than express the grandeur of such a scene. The sun being at the time a few degrees only above the horizon, added much to the magnificence of this sublime prospect.

Occurring early in his first Arctic voyage, the scene reduces Fisher almost to a babble. The sublime variety is too extreme to be gathered into one picture. His effort begins at the Claudian hour of sunset, with a description of the background clouds, but as he works forward, the vastness overwhelms his schema. The fifth sentence illustrates the aesthetic crisis confronting him: the sentence is grammatically complete
but its sense is not. Like the fragments of ice before him, Fisher's phrases pile atop one another in a crescendo, if not a chaos, of sense. The integrity of the picture is lost with the integrity of the sentence, and must be rescued by the penultimate sentence whose reiteration ("I say, let a person fancy himself . . . ") attempts to restore order. How a "chaos" can appear at once "beautiful" and "sublime" fascinates Fisher, but his subsequent silence regarding landscape attests to his recognition that the schema appropriate to representation of such a scene lies beyond his aesthetic bailiwick, if it exists at all. Fundamentally, he cannot express what he can perceive: he begins with specific objects which he finds beautiful but when, in the fifth sentence, he tries to delineate everything in the "immense plain," the form of the objects, their location, and their effect all loom before him and overwhelm him. He is left confronting the sort of chaotic landscape which might well remind his readers of the glacial "sea of ice" on which Victor Frankenstein met his creation in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein (1818), published the year before.57

II.5.11

The spring of 1821 heralded the departure of Parry's second expedition, he in HMS Fury, and Captain George F. Lyon (1795-1832), recently returned from a harrowing desert crossing at Tripoli the year before, in HMS Hecla. Although Parry continues to offer scant response to landscape, he leaves no doubt about what his preferences are. Looking westward and inland from a coastal hill on the east coast of Melville Peninsula, near Repulse Bay, Parry observes the sort of late-summer scene
agreeable to his landscape tastes: "On the banks of the lakes the vegetation was quite luxuriant, giving them when viewed from an eminence and assisted by bright sunshine a cheerful and picturesque appearance (III, 79). The offer of an elevated prospect usually occasions an effort at a picture from Parry, who thus follows one of the dicta of landscape composition. His tenacity of perception is like Franklin's and bears more fruit than do the perceptions of many other mariners and fur traders. This is nowhere more manifest than in his description of the path beaten between the location of his ships at Winter Island during the winter of 1821-1822 and the Eskimaux settlement on Melville Peninsula:

The path being distinctly marked out by the people, sledges, and dogs, that had before travelled upon it, one might, without any great stretch of the imagination, have almost fancied it a road leading over a level and extensive heath towards a more civilized and substantial village than that which we were now approaching (III, 263).

Viewed from the elevation of the ship's deck, the path is seen to meander into the landscape towards a distant village. The church spire may be absent from the background's buildings and the absence of trees may have to be compensated for by hummocks of ice, but the viewer still derives much aesthetic protein, as it were, from such a view, in the same way that he did from the appearance of a meadow of grass on Melville Island. But, as with the desolate prospect from above Winter Harbour, the tundra threatens continually to overwhelm perceptions based upon British landscape criteria. One way in which the threat manifests itself is in the sudden transformation of the region during the six-week period between mid-May and July. Magically and awfully, the road to the Eskimaux campment vanishes:
The whole aspect of the island was so thoroughly metamorphosed, in consequence of the disappearance of the snow, that the very spots on which we had been in the frequent habit of walking for the last nine months, could now scarcely be recognized; and, I believe not one among us, if removed from Winter Island in May and brought back in July, would, from the mere aspect of the land, have very easily discovered the scene of our winter's rambles (IV, 14-15).

Relations with nature such as those upon which the Picturesque aesthetic was grounded in England do not exist in the immoderate, volatile Arctic. The perception of the remote regions in terms of the Picturesque is a tenuous perception, betraying a fragile liaison between man and the external world. At times, this liaison reaches absurd dimensions; a chief example is Lyon's picture, entitled "Cutting into Winter Island, Oct. 1821." The agonizingly arduous labour of sawing a canal through the ice from the spot where the Hecla and Fury were beset to a secure winter harbour is here represented in conventional picturesque form. That any but the straightest, shortest line between the two points would have been followed by the cutters seems ludicrous; yet, the conventions of the Picturesque, which insist upon perceiving depth in a
landscape by means of following a serpentine line, produce, under Lyon's pencil, a channel perhaps half as long again as the distance across the ice. The men and dogs occupying the middle ground pricked across the plain in apparent merriment, pretending they have embarked on a holiday excursion. The illusion of the Picturesque, however tenuous, is completed by the placement of the two hummocks of ice on either side of the nearer ship in order to fulfill the function of clumps of trees in an English landscape garden designed by "Capability" Brown. The hummock in the centre also serves to deflect the vista down the channel, while both clumps of ice, by serving a function equivalent to trees, have the effect of transforming the plain of ice into a grassy lawn, and the canal into either a rivulet murmuring through the park of an English estate or a drive winding up to the manor house (signified by the distant flag-topped hummock). Finally, the clouds Lyon deploys are heavy, nimbus formations typical of an English more than an Arctic sky. 59

Parry and Lyon did not need to carry out nearly so much "correction" of the landscape to derive a picturesque effect from the Barrow River which they discovered (at 67°18'N, 81°25'W) while on an inland excursion during a July (1822) spring time when "numerous streams of water rushing down the hills... and sparkling in the beams of the morning sun..." relieved in some measure... the melancholy stillness which otherwise reigned on this "desolate shore" (IV, 29-30). Following the river inland on July 13, in the hopes of catching salmon, Parry and Lyon are greeted by consecutive scenes of sublime and picturesque landscapes. The pictures they paint are given here consecutively, beginning with Parry's:
On the morning of the 13th, the ice being still close in with the land just to the northward of us, I determined on examining the supposed river in the boats. . . . Accompanied by several of the officers, therefore, as well as by Captain Lyon in his own boat, I left the Fury at half-past eight A.M. . . . Landing on the south shore and hauling the boats up above high-water mark, we rambled up the banks of the stream, which are low next to the water, but rise almost immediately to the height of about two hundred feet. As we proceeded we gradually heard the noise of a fall of water; and being presently obliged to strike more inland, as the bank became more precipitous, soon obtained a fresh view of the stream running on a much higher level than before, and dashing with great impetuosity down two small cataracts. Just below this, however, where the river turns almost at a right angle, we perceived a much greater spray, as well as a louder sound; and having walked a short distance down the bank, suddenly came upon the principal fall, of whose magnificence I am at a loss to give any adequate description. At the head of the fall, or where it commences its principal descent, the river is contracted to about one hundred and fifty feet in breadth. . . . After falling about fifteen feet . . . the width of the stream is still narrowed to about forty yards, and then, as if mustering its whole force previous to its final descent, is precipitated in one vast continuous sheet of water almost perpendicular for ninety feet more. . . . The dashing of the water from such a height produced the usual accompaniment of a cloud of spray, broad columns of which were constantly forced up, like the successive rushes of smoke from a vast furnace, and on this, near the top, a vivid iris or rainbow was occasionally formed by the bright rays of an unclouded sun. "The roaring of the mountain cataract," which constitutes a principal factor of the sublime in scenery of this magnificent nature, was here almost deafening, and as we were able to approach the head of the fall, even as close as a single yard, the very rock seemed to suffer a concussion under our feet. . . .

After remaining nearly an hour, fixed as it were to the spot by the novelty and magnificence of the scene below us, we continued our walk upwards along the banks; and after passing the two smaller cataracts, found the river again increased in width to above two hundred yards, winding in the most romantic manner imaginable among the hills, and preserving a smooth and unruffled surface for a distance of three or four miles that we traced it to the south-west above the fall. What added extremely to the beauty of the picturesque river . . . was the richness of the vegetation on its banks, the enlivening brilliancy of a cloudless sky, and the animation given to the scene by several reindeer that were grazing beside the stream. Our sportsmen were fortunate in obtaining four of these animals; but we had no success with the seines. . . . The eider ducks were here tolerably numerous, and we also met with some black-throated divers, golden plovers, and snow buntings.

. . . On our return down the river Captain Lyon landed on the opposite side, for the purpose of making a drawing of the fall in the best point of view; and we then returned on board at thirty minutes past two P.M. after the most gratifying visit we had ever paid to the shore in these regions (IV, 34-9).

In his Private Journal, Lyon responds similarly to the sights.
encountered on the outing:

At this place the stream was about as broad as the Thames at Vauxhall. We here hailed the boats on the beach, and proceeded up a rising ground, in order to command a better view. Before we had advanced a mile, we heard the roaring of a cataract, and arrived at the top of a very magnificent cascade, surrounded by the most picturesque and romantic scenery.

... Before returning on board, I crossed the lower stream, in order to obtain a front view of the cascade, and found it extremely magnificent; the position of the sun creating a delicate rainbow in the immense clouds of spray which arose to the height of seventy or eighty feet.

I traced the river a short distance above the cascade, and observed three other rapids, really deserving their name; the clear stream running over them with great force. The course was in a winding direction to the westward and the banks were extremely wild and striking. Rocks of gneiss and granite sometimes hemmed the stream, but more generally its shores were gently sloping from the plains, which abounded in flowery vegetation; it was impossible to look on this first interesting country we had seen, without fancying that the air was scented and more pure than usual, and that it might, without detracting, remind us of the scenery of a better land...

We all returned on board, highly delighted with our day's discoveries, which made a stronger impression on us from comparison with the desolation and wretchedness of every other place we had before visited. If I might judge by my own feelings, every one who had been on shore went to bed a little homesick.

Evidently an aesthetic debauch (the use of the word "rambled" by Parry connotes a landscape tour through much gentler and obviously picturesque terrains, ones similar to those through which Mrs. Jameson would travel to pen her *Winter Sketches and Summer Rambles*), this excursion permits the explorers to play the rôle of landscape tourists to the full. As if writing entries for a guide book for fellow tourists, Lyon and especially Parry finally enjoy a landscape without fancying it to be more than it appears to them. The succession of the Sublime by the Picturesque in the falls and the upper river releases Parry's pen for the only full-fledged compositions of the journals of his three voyages. The vertical drop of the falls, their roar, the dashing of water, and the concussion of the barren rocks are all painted by Parry
into what he states explicitly is a text-book example of the Sublime landscape. Thereafter (progressing upstream), the river modulates, as if to echo the river of Thomson's *Seasons*, into a "smooth and unruffled stream whose serpentine route occasions a guide book's ideal picturesque view. Meanwhile, the land suddenly appears clothed in vegetation, in sharp contrast to the rocks at the falls, or the windswept coastline. Thus, a companion picturesque landscape hangs beside the sublime rendition of the falls. Significantly, it is in the picturesque scene that Parry mentions animals and fowl appearing: the sporting theme is, thereby, introduced and, in accordance with the non-violent, composed quality of the second view, the hunters become English sportsmen who do not hunt or kill but, rather, "obtain" their prizes.

Unlike Robert Hood, whose depiction of the caribou hunting at Martin Lake is rendered far less picturesquely in the original, Parry and Lyon come across their upper-river scene as though it were an oasis in the tundra, and treat it as luxuriantly as they can. Hood, on the other hand, paints his picture as the Franklin expedition was continuing north, out of treed landscapes and onto the tundra; consequently, his sporting scene appears to lament the landscape it represents as strongly as Parry's scene rejoices over what is, in all probability, an equally or more barren land.

That the scenes met with on the Barrow River lack nothing for the landscape tourists is manifest in the explorers' statements of the excursive ramble as "the most gratifying visit ever paid to the shore in these regions," one so fine as to "without detraction," or correction, "remind us of the scenery of a better land . . . ." The perceptual standard has been met by the Arctic; Englishmen have been, by turns,
unreservedly exhilarated and charmed by the landscape. Lyon's pictorial representation, entitled "The Fall of the Barrow," attempts to blend the two views by placing the sublime middle ground in contrast with the smooth river deflecting into a background closed by hills. The picturesque, elevated prospect tends to deprive the fall of its sublime, vertical effect, while the inclusion of a sportsman and his dog in the foreground confuses the sublime middle ground with a picturesque motif in a way that Parry's narrative passage does not. Yet, Lyon's station was thought by both men to afford "the best point of view" of the falls. It may be that Lyon simply made a virtue of necessity: if the shore directly opposite the falls had been too sheer to permit Lyon's descent to the water-line (and it likely was, for it had, Parry states, the resiliency to turn the flow of the river at right angles to the falls), he could not have made the sort of vertical depiction of the falls that George Back had made eleven months earlier (on the same latitude and
seven hundred miles west) in his representation of Wilberforce Falls. But it may also be that Parry and Lyon felt that the picture was well under control: Lyon's deployment of triangles—in the shapes of many individual boulders, in the portrayal of the falls, in the form of the surrounding hills, in the three pairs of birds which make a triangle pointing to the dog, linking the background to the foreground, and in the three groups of people who form a triangle around the sublime falls—harnesses the picture's sublimity, and, at least structurally, controls the visual effect of the landscape. The result is a rendition appropriate to that grey-aesthetic category of the beautiful sublime.

Observing landscapes in terms of a familiar schema becomes a thoroughly pleasurable experience for Parry and Lyon on their July outing. The less fanciful their perception needs to be to adapt a landscape to a familiar scene, the more pleasurable the scene becomes for them. Although destitute of trees and, in all likelihood, enswarmed by mosquitoes, the river views offer sufficient visual variety to merit the men's unreserved approbation. But other landscapes that gratify the explorers less can still evoke some aesthetic comment if they can be regarded, to some degree, as reminiscent of landscapes seen or read about elsewhere. Such is the terrain north of the Barrow River at the top of Melville Peninsula, where Parry and Lyon discovered the Fury and Hecla Strait six weeks after coming across the Barrow River. Lyon despairs at the desolation of the landscapes he encounters on his transmontane trek across the peninsula, but derives, as Edward Chappell had derived from comparing a view in Hudson Strait with a narrative landscape view of the Syrian desert, some satisfaction from making a
comparison between them and a literary landscape he remembers (from Sir Walter Scott's then nine-year-old poem, Lord of the Isles [1813]):

I was about to attempt describing the excessive dreariness of these mountains which I had visited before the snow fell, but recollecting a few lines which seemed almost made for the spot, I was tempted to insert them.

"But here--above, around, below,
On mountain, or in green,
Nor tree, nor shrub, nor plant, nor flower,
Nor aught of vegetative power,
The weary eye may ken.
For all are rocks at random thrown,
Deep lakes, bare crags, and banks of stone,
As if were here denied
The summer sun, the spring's sweet dew,
That clothe with many a varied hue
The bleakest mountain's side."66

With the authority of a British poet behind it, the landscape's sublimity takes on a conventional character it would otherwise lack. A common taxonomy--Scott's use of the Sublime--permits writer and reader at least to identify the northern landscape in terms of a literary landscape from "North Britain," and to respond to it in a familiar, sublime fashion, as if it also were a literary landscape.

II.5.iii

From the 24th of September, 1822, until the 9th of August, 1823, the Fury and Hecla were ice-bound off Igloolik, at the top of Foxe Basin. Returning to England in the fall of 1823, Lyon and Parry had only sufficient time to prepare their journals for publication before embarking for the Northwest Passage again, in the spring of 1824. Lyon was charged with proceeding in HMS Griper to Repulse Bay, thence overland to explore the northern coast of the continent as far as Franklin's
Point Turnagain. Parry, in HMS Hecla, and Captain Edward Hoppnar (who had been on Parry's first two "Passage" voyages), in HMS Fury, meant to plumb the depths of Prince Regent's Inlet.

Perhaps because the terrain of the Arctic appears so much alike to an English-trained landscape eye, once it has been described, and the exceptions noted, the journalist must seek novelty for his reader in other themes. Lyon, in A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through Sir Thomas Rowe's "Welcome," in His Majesty's Ship Griper, in the Year MDCXXIV, spends much of the ink in his second journal bemoaning the seaworthiness of his vessel, delineating the habits and customs of Eskimaux, and observing the migration patterns of Arctic wildlife. Landscape description is virtually non-existent: capes are noted as "remarkable" (that is, notable), but the conventions of the Picturesque and the Sublime are not deployed. Of course, the failure of the expedition to land at Repulse Bay and to proceed to conduct any overland surveys, necessarily limited Lyon's opportunities for landscape observation, but his second journal, nevertheless, displays a barren aspect regarding even the wild seascapes he encountered off the southern and western coasts of Southampton Island.

Parry's third journal perhaps offers the explanation for Lyon's as well as his own noticeably diminished response to the visual attributes of the Arctic. As if offering an apologia for landscape appreciation at such high latitudes, Parry addresses his readership:

In the description I shall offer of the appearances of nature, and of the various occurrences, during this winter [1824], I know not how I can do better than pursue a method similar to that heretofore practised, by confining myself rather to the pointing out of any difference observed in them now and formerly, than by entering on a fresh description of the actual phenomena. To those who read, as well as to those who describe, the account of a winter passed in these regions
can no longer be expected to afford the interest of novelty it once possessed; more especially in a station already delineated with tolerable precision on our maps, and thus, as it were, brought near to our firesides at home. [Parry wintered on the east side of Prince Regent's Inlet, at Port Bowen, off the west coast of what is now known as the Brodeur Peninsula of Baffin Island.] Independently, indeed, of this circumstance, it is hard to conceive any one thing more like another than two winters passed in the higher latitudes of the Polar regions, except when variety happens to be afforded by intercourse with some branch of "the whole family of man." Winter after winter, nature here assumes an aspect so much alike, that cursory observation can scarcely detect a single feature of variety. The winter of more temperate climates, and even in some of no slight severity, is occasionally diversified by a thaw, which at once gives variety and comparative cheerfulness to the prospect. But here, when once the earth is covered, all is dreary monotonous whiteness—not merely for days and weeks, but for more than half a year together. Whichever way the eye is turned, it meets a picture calculated to impress upon the mind an idea of inanimate stillness, of that motionless torpor with which our feelings have nothing congenial; of anything, in short, but life. In the very silence there is a deadness with which a human spectator appears out of keeping. The presence of man seems an intrusion on the dreary solitude of this wintry desert, which even its native animals have for awhile forsaken (V, 33-5).

It must be remembered that Parry writes during the seventh consecutive year which he has passed, in whole or in part, in the Arctic. He is aesthetically numb to the power of the Sublime, no longer capable of responding to the vastness, the stillness, even to the remoteness, of the icy world which has become his abode. He searches in vain for features of landscape which would remind him of his English home, other Barrow rivers to nurture his aesthetic needs. Like the endless fields of ice before him, the land frustrates him either from discovering a passage, or from returning to his own English fireside. As an English landscape tourist, he is threatened with aesthetic annihilation by the stillness, the "deadness" of nature. In short, he receives a welter of sense impressions which his knowledge of aesthetic conventions has not taught him to organize. Features of the scene are indistinguishable to his ways of seeing ("all is dreary monotonous whiteness"); and
he states that he can find nothing which is not anathema to life upon which to turn his eye. He is aesthetically burnt out.

Almost as if to confirm this aesthetic dilemma, a navigational crisis arose the next summer (1825) when the ice on the Inlet reared up and crushed the hopes of the mariners by smashing one of their ships against the mountainous eastern shore of Somerset Island. Depicted by H. N. Head (V, frontispiece), this sublime scene marked the catastrophe Parry seemed to anticipate with his remark that he felt like an intruder on this dreary solitude. As much as he longs to be a "spectator" of the North, seeking "pictures" in nature, he must realize that his relations with the natural world are tenuous at best; like his miserably unsuitable vessels, Parry's conventional modes of perceiving nature
fall far short of surviving the power of the Arctic. The unchanging nature of Parry's perceptual modes is a problem under which many members of the British Navy laboured. The tenacity with which Parry, Franklin, and others perceived the tundra reflects a dangerous, if unconscious, blindness to nature which could only end in such accidents as the loss of the Fury, and in sublime catastrophes. As has been seen in the preliminary chapter, the Sublime aesthetic developed out of new perceptions of the geography of the Alps. Visits to that mountain range thrilled tourists, endangering some of them. Yet, mountain excursions always started and ended at a cheerful hostel or hotel. The Arctic was another matter, and, during the next three decades, was to give British sailors another understanding of the Sublime, another reading of such vocabulary as Shelley chose to describe Mont Blanc—remote, serene, and inaccessible.

II.6—THE SECOND FRANKLIN EXPEDITION (1825-1827)

In the face of the threat of annihilation to which such Englishmen as Franklin and Parry were subjected, it is no less than astonishing that they should have returned again and again to the North. In early 1825, Franklin, Richardson, and Back set out for North America. Their second expedition was part of another Admiralty strategy of global dimensions, calling for Richardson and E. N. Kendall to map the continental coast from the Mackenzie River eastward to the mouth of the Coppermine River, and for Franklin and Back to chart the coast westward from the Mackenzie Delta as far as possible, meeting, it was hoped, HMS Blossom, captained by Frederick William Beechey, which was sent around the world and up through Bering's Straits to meet them. Moreover,
there was every possibility that Parry would have found the Northwest Passage through Prince Regent's Inlet by the summer of 1826, and would therefore be cruising the continental coast in time to rendezvous with Franklin and Beechey. Then all might make the gayest excursion to Cathay.

II.6.1

Leaving England on February 16, 1825, Franklin and his officers arrived by the packet-ship Columbia in New York on March 15, were on Lake Simcoe on April 23, at the Methye Portage on July 4, and on Garry Island in the Beaufort Sea at the Mackenzie Delta on August 16, exactly six months to the day after leaving England, and five months to the day after they had left New York. The trip from New York had taken one hundred and forty-seven days, and had covered 4626 miles (an average of more than thirty miles per day). From Cumberland House to Great Slave Lake the second expedition traced the route taken by the first. Thereafter, however, rather than crossing the tree-line onto the barren Canadian Shield, Franklin continued through the flat-beded plains and plateaux across which the Mackenzie River flows between the Shield and the Rocky Mountains. In his Narrative of a Second Expedition, Franklin pays little attention to the familiar section of the route, except to introduce George Back's sketch of the Clearwater River Valley, "one of the most picturesque scenes in the northern parts of America." 58 "Vale of the Clear Water River from the Methye Portage. Descent 1000 feet. Length of the View 36 miles" (facing p. 4), taken from the Cockscomb, follows familiar picturesque prescriptions—elevated prospect,
animated foreground, meandering river, sunset—only adapting the unconventionally long view (normally associated with the Sublime) by occupying a greater percentage of the page with land than is customary in a picturesque view. 69

Of the Mackenzie River country, Franklin has little to say, but that little is much more than Mackenzie's nothing. He comments that, "there was little in the scenery to attract our attention, . . . and we passed island after island, of the same alluvial mud . . ." (p. 20). What does spark his aesthetic interest is the sudden completion of a scene by the emergence of a background (mountains) and an animated foreground (a rapids):

From the reach here described, are seen two hills, named by me the East and West Mountains of the rapid, which seem to present a barrier to the further progress of the stream; but the river, bending suddenly between them to the north, dilates into a kind of basin, and, by so doing, opens by far the most interesting view of the Rocky Mountains which the Mackenzie affords . . . . Here too are found the first rapids mentioned by Mackenzie, which continue in succession, for two miles when the water is low (pp. 20-1).
The mountains of the background, the river flowing right up to them in the middle ground, and the rapids in the foreground providing lively movement, complete the picture for Franklin. Back, who had separated from Franklin the day before (August 8) in order to prepare the "fart" for wintering on Great Bear Lake, made a sketch of this river scene in the autumn of 1826 en route to Fort Franklin from the Arctic coast. Entitled "The Rapid in the Mackenzie River" (facing p. 45), his work reverses Franklin's, but still profits by the varied elevations provided by the mountains to close off his view to the sides and at the horizon. Moreover, Back adds the "ruins" motif by scattering driftwood across the alluvial island, thereby imparting to the vigorous play of the rapids and the energetic activity of the men who are lining one canoe upstream, a contrasting stillness and melancholy. Such contrasts, it need hardly be added, delighted the seeker after the Picturesque in landscape.

After observing the "romantic" defile at "The Ramparts" on a twilit evening, while a large group of Hare Indians, "all neatly clothed in new leathern dresses, highly ornamented with beads and porcupine quills"
(p. 22), people the foreground, Franklin reserves his aesthetic response to landscape for the view he had been anticipating since his departure from England. Whether coincidental or not, Franklin gains Garry Island in Mackenzie Bay on August 16, at the tourist's favourite hour. One can only surmise that his arrival was made to occur at sunset in deference to his readership. It is clear that the fashionable members of society, those who also toured landscapes avidly, formed part of Franklin's audience; otherwise, Franklin himself and copies of the Narrative of his first expedition could not have been in high demand they were during 1824. Roderic Owen records, in The Fate of Franklin (1978), that, "he [Franklin] told Jane Griffen [later, his second wife] that the first edition was soon selling for ten guineas a copy," an astonishingly high price to pay for a book in the 1820's, and a price which only the fashionable reader could afford to pay. To the ten-guinea reader, Franklin introduces the Beaufort Sea:

The sun was setting as the boat touched the beach, and we hastened to the most elevated part of the island, about two hundred and fifty feet high, to look around; and never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us. The Rocky Mountains were seen from S.W. to W.1/2 N.; and from the latter point, round by the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. Many seals, and black and white whales were sporting on its waves; and the whole was calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations as to our own success, and that of our friends in the Hecla and Fury. There were two groups of islands at no great distance . . . (pp. 35-6).

"Meanwhile you gain the height, from whose fair brow / The bursting prospect spreads immense around." Franklin, in describing the ascent of Garry Island, with his back to the scene and then turning to have the sunset burst upon his eyes, seems to remember these lines from Thomson's "Spring" (1744 ed., 11. 950-51). Although far from Hagley
Park, the open Beaufort Sea is as ravishing a prospect to Franklin as Lüttleton's estate to Thomson. The gratification Franklin derives from the vast prospect is sublime, differing wholly from the gratification Parry and Lyon derived from the Barrow River valley. But while Franklin was rejoicing at the openness of his view on August 16, Parry, who had been numbed by a winter of such open views, had little time for landscape appreciation. While Franklin was delighting in the whales and seals disporting in his foreground, and was completing his identification of the view by naming the islands in the middle ground ("at no great distance"), Parry, almost one thousand miles to the east, was supervising the abandonment of HMS Fury by Hoppnor's men, and anxiously awaiting any sign of abatement in the ice fields' relentless drive to crush the ship (V, 119).

Franklin's enjoyment of the sunset view is both extended and modified by the memory of Parry's expedition: extended because the global dimensions of the Admiralty's plan come to mind with the thought of Parry, and serve to protract the view before Franklin as far as Cathay; modified because, of course, not aware of Parry's location, Franklin could suppose that Parry, having already enjoyed this prospect, had sailed into it, and was at that moment amidst all the "majesty" both of the ice-free sea and the glory of discovering the Northwest Passage.

Like the different responses which the thought of Parry evokes, the prospect offers two aesthetic responses which derive from the combination of sublime oceanic and alpine vastness, on the one hand, and a picturesque sunset, islands, and frolicking wildlife, on the other. Indeed, as his description works, conventionally, back through the scene from the distance to the station on which he stands—that is, from the picture's sublime to its picturesque elements—his response modulates
Franklin promptly left Garry Island, returning up the Mackenzie River and reaching Great Bear Lake on September 5. On the north shore of the south-western arm (Keith Arm), just above the opening of the lake on Bear Lake River, Back and Hudson's Bay Company Factor Stephen Warren Dease had supervised construction of the expedition's winter quarters, and named them Fort Franklin. Satisfied with its design and state of completion, and delighted with the "pretty" (p. 52) prospect its elevated situation commanded, Franklin commenced the winter of 1825-1826 in a much happier state than he had the winter five years earlier. The second fort was situated well below the tree-line although it stood two hundred and sixty miles (by direct line) north-west of the site of Fort Enterprise. As well, Fort Franklin possessed many of the signs of a thriving community: its residents numbered fifty (24 British, 9 voyageurs, 2 Eskimaux, 5 Indian hunters, and 10 Indian women and children); its food and wood supplies were sufficient; and its culture included packets containing numbers of the Quarterly Review, Literary Gazette, and Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, which arrived in January, as well as "evenings of entertainment."

Complementing Franklin's optimism is the pictorial work of George Back. His "Winter View of Fort Franklin" (facing p. 69) presents an agreeable scene of men returning home from a trip (hunting, or checking the fish nets), winding along the frozen road in a blustery wind. Typically, Back's view is optimistic: no barren background or flat, unvaried
expanses are allowed to dominate the scene; rather, an energetic liveliness prevails in the weather, the figures, the apparent movement of the trees in the wind, the smoking chimneys, even, one imagines, in the constantly altering shapes of the foreground snow drifts. Like Franklin, Back hits his stride as a respondent to landscape when the presence of trees affords him broader use of the conventions of the Picturesque. Tree placement judiciously masks the barren horizon at the sides of his work, effectively closing the view to a single, varied scene whose dimensions the seeker after the Picturesque finds most gratifying.

II, 6.iii

Franklin's whole expedition departed for their summer expeditions to the Arctic coast on Thursday, June 22, 1826. Upon arrival at the
Mackenzie Delta, the western group, under Franklin and Back in the specially-constructed boats, named "Lion" and "Reliance," separated from the eastern group, under John Richardson and Edward Nicholas Kendall in the "Dolphin" and "Union." Any of Franklin's apprehensions regarding ocean travel in boats were dispelled by the dissimilarities between the first and second expeditions: "Instead of a frail bark canoe, and a scant supply of food, we were now able to commence the sea voyage in excellent boats, stored with three months' provision" (p. 95).

Nevertheless, Franklin's and Richardson's routes led them along absolutely barren coastlines. It was the explorers' first contact with the tundra since the gruesome months of 1820 and 1821. Franklin could find the view "picturesque" only as long as the northernmost of the Rocky Mountains remained in view (pp. 97, 125, and 140) to provide a
background. And the shore contributed nothing to a picturesque view, being sublimely inhospitable for two reasons besides its bare appearance: the shallowness of the water continually threatened to ground the boats which, foundering in an ocean gale, risked sudden capsizing; and a grounded boat was easy prey for the many Eskimaux who pursued, and, as Back’s sublime picture, entitled "The Boats getting afloat" (facing p. 106) illustrates, attacked the boats. Two weeks later, on July 21, a third coastal peril, and one which was to doom to failure Franklin’s segment of the expedition, was the crush of ice on shore. Several of Back’s pictures document this problem (facing pp. 113, 133, 142, and 151). It drained “our nearly exhausted stock of patience, as we contemplated the dreary view of this compact icy field” (p. 133).

Other factors contributed to the expedition’s general detestation of the landscape. Besides the obvious problem posed by frequent fogs, the ice-bound explorers were prevented from making inland excursions by the “mosquitoes, which were so numerous as to prevent any enjoyment of the open air, and to keep [them] confined to a tent filled with smoke, the only remedy against their annoyance” (p. 137), and by the terrain itself: “even had the mosquitoes been less than tormenting, the swampiness of the ground, in which [they] sank ankle deep at every step, deprived us of the pleasure of walking” (p. 138). "There was,” Franklin complains in an uncharacteristic moment of despair, "literally, nothing to do." He has met the sublime void which threatens to take him prisoner or drive him insane. Although a different landscape from that which evoked a similar response from Parry in the winter of 1824, its emptiness and impenetrability imperil the sensibilities of one British mariner in the same way as the winter scene does the other.
Friday, August 18 brought the decision from Franklin to relinquish all attempts to proceed westward, and to return to the Mackenzie Delta. By the next Thursday, a navigational dilemma had arisen which occasioned Back's picture of peril and sublimity, entitled "Boats in a swell amongst Ice" (facing p. 170). Franklin sets the scene in prose:

Having arrived [on the morning of August 24, 1826] abreast of Point Humphreys, we steered out to seaward, for the purpose of avoiding the shallows that extend across Beaufort Bay, intending to direct our course in a line for Mount Conyngham, which was in sight. We were then exposed to a long rolling swell, and we soon afterwards perceived that it had driven the ice upon the reefs at the eastern extremity of the bay, which would have precluded our retreat to the shore in the event of the wind rising. It therefore became necessary to penetrate into the pack, and keep by the side of the reefs; but in doing so, the boats were exposed to no little danger of being broken in passing through the narrow channels between the masses of ice which were tossing with the swell, and from which large pieces frequently fell (pp. 169-70).

Back's rendition includes grotesque ice forms towering above proportionately tiny boats whose precarious situations are intensified by the following elements: the upright position of the steersman in the
nearer boat, the effect of chiaroscuro produced by the contrast between the shafts of light and the ominous storm-clouds, and the "ruins" motif in the partial ice-arch formed by two pieces of ice between which the second boat has yet, and appears unlikely, to pass. The flock of gulls brooding over the scene suggests that their next meal lies imminently before them, while the chiaroscuro intimates the balance in which the fate of the men lies. A "retreat to the shore in the event of the wind rising," has, Franklin states, been precluded; thus, the survival of the "Lion" and "Reliance" depends upon the Providence of God whose light shines down on the scene but could be blocked by the oncoming clouds and be unable to extend to the humans in the boats. That Back again chooses an impossible station for his point of view adds to the artificiality of this seemingly unreal record of an event which did, in fact, come to pass. The artifice compounds the sublimity in the scene, investing it with a note of isolation. Had Back made the drawing from his boat and looking at Franklin's "Lion," the focus would have shifted to the outcome of the one boat's engagement with the ice; including both boats, as Back had done in two seascapes drawn during the 1819-1822 expedition, 75 evokes a powerful sense of the complete and utter helplessness and remoteness of the expedition's situation. 76

II.6.iv

Richardson's "Dolphin" and Kendall's "Union" were completing their circuit along the continental coast to the Coppermine River, and thence overland back to Great Bear Lake while Franklin and Back made their disappointed way back up the Mackenzie River. A budding naturalist on
Franklin's first expedition, Richardson responded to landscape in terms of the prevalent schemata and taxonomies. Like David Douglas, who was botanizing in the Columbia River Basin in 1825-1826, and like Charles Darwin after him, Richardson perceived other aspects of nature in terms of the same basic process used by him and British landscape tourists for viewing landscape, that is, by identifying new phenomena in terms of familiar ones. For example, once past the coastal plain whose low level expanse dominates the continental coast from the Mackenzie Delta east to Cape Bathurst, Richardson spots the cliffs of the northern extension of the interior plain and describes them as, "similar in structure to the bituminous-scale cliffs at Whitby, in Yorkshire" (p. 231).

And for the early-Victorian naturalist, a scientific taxonomy did not preclude an artistic one. Three passages, one from each of Richardson's three expeditions to the Arctic, demonstrate a naturalist's use of art to assist him in his identification of nature. The first, cited previously, is Richardson's statement in the letter to his wife from Cumberland House in March, 1820, about the phenomenon of stillness in a denuded, winter forest, and how he appreciates it in terms of poetic statements on solitude. The second example identifies landscape in terms of architecture, and comes from the narrative at present under discussion. It is Richardson's description accompanying Kendall's "The Perforated Rock near Cape Parry" (facing p. 236). Adopting an impossible, elevated prospect above the water, Kendall captures the scene at roughly ten o'clock in the evening—a wonderful hour at which to contemplate gothic ruins. (This hour can be deduced from the date of the picture, July 22, and the fact that the view looks westward, the continental coast being on the left-hand side.) Richardson's prose accompaniment follows:
The country in the neighbourhood of the encampment [on the east side of Franklin Bay] consisted entirely of limestone, mostly of the variety named dolomite, and, as is usual where that stone prevails, it was extremely barren. The cliffs and points of land present many caverns and perforated rocks, which have very strong resemblances to the windows and crypts of Gothic buildings. . . . The eastern side of Cape Parry [reached on July 23] exhibits a succession of limestone cliffs, similar to those which form its western shores; and as we continued our voyage, we passed many excavations ornamented by graceful pillars, and exhibiting so perfect a similarity to the pure Gothic arch, that had Nature made many such displays in the Old World, there would be but one opinion as to the origin of that style of architecture (p. 238).

With a naturalist's due veneration for the age of the geological formation, Richardson, contrary to the landscape tourist, sees the influence of nature on art; and it appears that in making his point, he cannot resist remarking on what a knowledge of the age of the rock points up—that to call Europe the "old world" is a great irony, since the exposed shield in the Arctic Barrens is some of the oldest rock formation on the face of the Earth. But his response also bears ironically on his comment made privately in a letter in March, 1820: now he seems to be
saying that without nature, art loses half her charms.

The third example comes from a letter Richardson wrote in the spring of 1849 from the west side of Great Bear Lake. Having spent the summer of 1848 searching the same stretch of Arctic coastline which he mapped in 1826, but for the purpose of discovering signs of Franklin's 1845 expedition, Richardson had spent the winter of 1848-1849 at Fort Confidence, on the north-east [Dease] arm of Great Bear Lake with Dr. John Rae. In early June, 1849, they crossed the lake, but were stopped by ice in the Bear Lake River. Rae was en route down the Mackenzie River for another summer search while Richardson, now age sixty-two, was returning home. The spring sun and skies of the region enraptured the naturalist as well as the landscape enthusiast in him, in a combination of science and art that is reminiscent of Constable's studies of clouds. Also notable in this description is Richardson's matured insight into the colour values and painterly prospects inherent in many northern settings. He appears in later life to see that indeed nature has done something of artistic note in the North.

The sun in the clear spring atmosphere has a power which equals that of the tropics, and although there is a great difference between the temperature of the air here and at the Equator, yet the direct rays of the sun act with greater force on the skin in Rupert's Land. When the snow is filled with water it looks like frosted silver in the sunlight, and every little rising is studded with innumerable polished facets, as if sprinkled with diamonds. The intensity of all this splendour soon becomes painful to the eye.

Here only, of all the countries I have seen, can I understand the deep blue skies of the ancient Italian masters. Two days ago I was particularly struck with the pure China blue of the whole vault of heaven, a few soft fleecy clouds floating seemingly far beneath and giving the appearance of immeasurable distance to the blue profound. Towards the horizon it gradually softened into grey, and blended beautifully with the snow of the distant hills empurpled by the rays of the nearly level sun. The depth of shade which marks out low snowy waves of the lake when the sun is low would surprise a painter brought here for the first time (pp. 236-37).
On August 8, Richardson's party reached the mouth of the Coppermine River. The coasting had been conducted swiftly and, in comparison with Franklin's difficulties, uneventfully. As reward for the success of the eastern brigade, nature offers on the last day of the sea-voyage a view which cheers Richardson and Kendall. Encouraged by a hill-top sighting of the Coppermine River, the explorers set out in their boats for the last time: "with the sails set to a fine breeze, plying the oars at the same time, and on rounding Cape Kendall, we opened a magnificent inlet, or bay, rendered very picturesque by the manner in which its lofty cliffs came successively in sight as we crossed its mouth" (p. 260). As if to provide a signature for the picture as a picture, Richardson names the first cape after the expedition's one artist, Kendall, and the inlet itself after the second, Back. Kendall's picture of the inlet, entitled "Expedition Crossing Back's Inlet" (facing p.
260), resembles a maritime version of Back's view of the Clearwater River, valley from the Methye Portage; parallel sets of cliffs recede regularly into the background as the breakers roll regularly across the foreground. The middle ground is deeply shaded so as to contrast with both foreground and background, thereby effecting, abetted by the coulisses on the left-hand side, the depth that is requisite to the conventional picturesque view. The scale of the Picturesque has been adapted to a larger view to the extent that it approaches the Sublime, and again this is reminiscent of Back's picture, but the proportions and relations of the elements in a conventional picturesque view have been retained. Furthermore, the single boat's sail-past animates the foreground in an orderly, procession style, as if part of a real Admiralty sail-past, and echoes the order which is apparent in the landscape. The placement of the clouds renders the view almost too symmetrical to be called picturesque; rather, the symmetry almost transforms the view into a stately French canal, resembling the view of the canal from the plaza behind Versailles. Presumably, the punctuality of the voyage and the smooth completion of the one-thousand-mile coastal assignment in only thirty-five days contributed to the sense of order with which Kendall invests the view on a perfect day for travelling.

Encamping on the evening of August 8, only one hundred yards from where Franklin's ill-fated first expedition had camped on July 20, 1821, Richardson cannot help but recall the events of his first tundra crossing. "Some half-burnt wood, the remains of the fires then made, were still lying on the spot" (p. 261), a morbid ruins in small testifying to the ill-preparedness of the first expedition. But rather than mentioning his former experience, Richardson, in deference to his commander
and friend, merely notes how "still fresh and vigorous, and ready to commence the laborious march across the barren grounds" his current group of men was. Only one week later, on August 15, the party was shot of the "naked" (p. 272) country and, by crossing the height of land between the Coppermine and Great Bear watersheds (which coincides, roughly, with the tree-line), the men could look down on "an extensive view of a lower and well wooded country" (p. 274). Even though possessed of a naturalist's intrepid curiosity, Richardson can only see the tundra as naked, a desolate reminder of waywardness, starvation, fatigue, and murder.

The Richardson detachment arrived at Fort Franklin three weeks before the western expedition, on September 1, 1826, after completing a four-months circuit in brilliant fashion. A landscape tourist could not choose to relax in a better manner than by sketching a charming view of the fort. Ornamented with novel signs of winter—a hint of snow
and migrating vees of Canada geese—Kendall's view, entitled "Fort Franklin, Great Bear Lake" (facing p. 53), complete with a contrast of hunting and fishing parties, creates the sensation that the Englishmen found their remote but well-wooded situation most pleasurable. The lake yielded from one to five hundred fish a day, including thirty- to forty-pound trout, and the game, unlike in the fall of 1821 and two hundred miles to the east on the Barrens, was plentiful. As Richardson toured Great Bear Lake in late September and early October (1826), he must have wondered at the difference in the season from the same period five years before. In a letter to his wife he describes the landscapes he encountered while perambulating on this specimen-collecting picturesque tour: "The trees have assumed the livery of autumn, and the leaves are falling fast; but the scenery in its present dress looks delightful, and the fall, as it is termed, is in fact the only season of the year, when, from the absence of mosquitoes and other winged pests, travelling in this country is pleasant" (p. 159). 80.

II.6.v

Frederick William Beechey (1796-1856), in command of HMS Blossom, was meant to collect Franklin and Back somewhere on the Arctic coast during the summer of 1826. His Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait (1831) recounts in bleak fashion the events of his crew's unsuccessful rendezvous attempt. On August 22, off Cape Lisburne, the boat expedition, under Mr. Elson, came within one hundred and sixty miles of Franklin's furthest westing, and then, like Franklin had been four days before, was repulsed by a frozen ocean.

Beechey's narrative is destitute of landscape response. This is
odd, for Beechey's father, Sir William Beechey (1753-1839) was a portrait and landscape painter of some note, and Beechey, himself, had sketched seascapes during Parry's first voyage. Yet, the interminably low, swampy north shore of Alaska seems utterly to have silenced him. That the Eskimaux, whom he encountered, chose to reside on these coastal plains likely did not help to improve their image with him. But, wintering, as the Blossom did, in California and Hawaii, Beechey obviously was repulsed by the climate and monotonous terrain he saw in his summer excursions to the Hyperborean Sea. A similar response is found in the only other narrative of the Beechey expedition, George Peard's To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey: The Journal of Lieutenant George Peard of H.M.S. Blossom 1825-28 (1973).

II.7--THE JOHN ROSS EXPEDITION (1829-1833)

II.7.1

John Ross (1777-1856) undertook three voyages to the Arctic: in 1819 into Baffin Bay, in HMS Isabella with Parry, under him, in HMS Alexander; in 1829-1833 in the Victory, privately sponsored by the gin-distiller Felix Booth; and in 1850-1851, in the yacht Felix, as part of the massive expedition in search of Franklin's 1845 expedition. Ross had a particularly acute insight into the problems of conventional perception in the polar regions. Beyond the most obvious one of refraction, which caused him the huge error of mistaking Lancaster Sound for a bay in 1819, Ross notes the confusion experienced by the landscape viewer because of climate. Writing on June 1, 1819, in Baffin Bay, he makes
the following observation:

Nothing can exceed the beauty of these summer evenings, while the length to which they are protracted is no less surprising to those to whom those regions are new. The contrast between the warm yellow tints of the sky, and the cold blue of the land and the floating ice, is equally striking; the whole presenting the appearance of summer with the reality of winter.

In aesthetic interpretation of nature, Ross's forte lies in his appreciation of the disparity between nature as the Arctic traveller experiences it, and the pictures of it he communicates to his reader in Britain. On September 12, 1829, while negotiating the icebergs in a tidal current along the west side of Prince Regent's Inlet, Ross introduces the problem of this disparity:

More than I among us had witnessed similar scenes, and, in some manner or other, we had been extricated; but, with all this, we could not but feel astonishment, as well as gratitude, at our having escaped here without material damage. For readers, it is unfortunate that no description can convey an idea of a scene of this nature: and, as to the pencil, it cannot represent motion or noise. And to those who have not seen a northern ocean in winter—who have not seen it, I should say, in a winter's storm—the term ice, exciting but the recollection of what they only know at rest, in an inland lake or canal, conveys no idea of what it is the fate of an arctic navigator to witness and to feel. But let them remember that ice is stone; a floating rock in the stream, a promontory or an island when aground, not less solid than if it were a land of granite. Then let them imagine, if they can, these mountains of crystal hurried through a narrow strait by a rapid tide; meeting, as mountains in motion would meet, with the noise of thunder, breaking from each other's precipices huge fragments, or rending each other asunder, till, losing their former equilibrium, they fall over headlong, lifting the sea around in breakers, and whirling it in eddies; while the flatter fields of ice, forced against these masses, or against the rocks, by the wind and the stream, rise out of the sea till they fall back on themselves; adding to the indescribable commotion and noise which attend these occurrences (pp. 151-52).

Ross does not adopt either the level-headed disciplined view, or the silence of a Franklin, nor does he complain simply of dreariness like a Parry; instead, perhaps because this voyage of five years was not
sponsored by the Admiralty or British government, he expresses his concerns with a greater imaginative force than his peers, not attempting to bring everything he witnesses under his rational control. Indeed, he recognizes in the moving icebergs a natural phenomenon for which conventional artistic perceptions have not prepared him. "A scene of this nature," as opposed to one of the nature of England, can not be articulated by taxonomies derived from relations between man and English nature. Ross chooses to document the bizarre sight of the movement of apparently secure physical entities the size of mountains by employing one long sentence of clauses building upon clauses to a sublime climactic cacophony. That the scene is sublime is, of course, implicit: the "let them imagine" rhetorical device assumes an inadequate imagination on the part of those of his readers who know only the stationary ice in a picturesque canal or lake in England, or in the landscape painting of the seventeenth-century Dutch school.

II.7.ii

As winter approached on October 8, 1829, and the Victory reached Felix Harbour, on the east side of Boothia Peninsula in Prince Regent's Inlet, Ross attempted to come to terms with the alienating character of the land:

... there was now not an atom of clear water to be seen any where; and, excepting the occasional dark point of a protruding rock, nothing but one dazzling and monotonous, dull and wearisome extent of snow was visible, all round the horizon in the direction of the land. It was indeed a dull prospect. Amid all its brilliancy, this land—the land of ice and snow—has ever been, and ever will be, a dull, dreary, heart-sinking, monotonous waste, under the influence of which the very mind is paralyzed, ceasing to care or think, as it ceases to feel what
might, did it occur but once, or last but one day, stimulate us by its novelty; for it is but the view of uniformity, and silence, and death. Even a poetical imagination would be troubled to extract matter of description from that which offers no variety; where nothing moves and nothing changes, but all is for ever the same, cheerless, cold, and still (pp. 190-91).

The paralysis of mind which Ross notes is what Parry felt and feared during each of his three voyages. The ship's paralysis, the paralysis in those men on board from October until April, even the apparent paralysis of the human tongue, induced by the extreme cold, are symptoms of a paralysis which also precludes the study, let alone the appreciation, of landscape. "Uniformity, and silence, and death," and "same, cheerless, cold, and still"—the groups of nouns and adjectives convey the unvaried monotony even as Ross disputes whether it could be conveyed. One matter is clear: the absence of "variety," and "novelty"—the mainstays of the Picturesque—precludes the composition of landscape as pictures, thus depriving the British explorer of the habitual opportunity to work out a relation to or relationship with the environment. And without that relation, he cannot understand nature in any conventional sense: he can perceive it only as existing beyond life as he knows it; as, in fact, "still" "death," the same image Parry used when he wintered in Prince Regent's Inlet in 1824.

By January 4, 1830, Ross was confronting a white, eternal radiance. He introduces the dilemma again, this time in terms of pictorial representation:

... all the landscape was one indiscriminate surface of white; presenting, together with the solid and craggy sea, all equally whitened by the new snow, the dreariest prospect that it is possible to conceive, while unaccompanied by a single circumstance of the picturesque, or any thing capable of exciting the smallest interest. Such it is, indeed, almost everywhere in this wretched country, and, above all, in winter.
The voyager may be a painter, or he may be a poet; but his talents at description will here be of no value to him; unless he has the hardihood to invent what there is not to see. Whatever may be the interest attached to the illustrations adopted in this work, it is easy at least to perceive that they owe nothing to the actual landscape; to a nature void of everything to which the face of a country owes its charms (pp. 240-41).

Ever the picturesque seeker after views (although here a distinctly more Romantic than Neo-classical one); the British mariner is made wretched by what he perceives as nature's refusal to play the perceptual game by conventional rules. Not a question, as it was for Wordsworth, of a mutual reciprocity between landscape and the imagination, Ross's idea is that nature ought to fit the perceptual framework which he and his readers have grown accustomed to identifying as reality. That he must invent charms of his own disturbs Ross who, like his colleagues, resists the Wordsworthian ideal of allowing nature to open his mind, and does not anticipate the Hopkinsian ideal of making nature up to suit himself, preferring anxiously to remain, like the topographical poet, the captain of his own soul.

The situation is nevertheless a curious one, for it was this very expedition which learned, of necessity, how to survive (for four winters) by living off the land as the Eskimaux did. A nineteenth-century precursor to the theory of Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1879-1962) which propounds the notion of a "friendly Arctic,"#4 Ross's enforced experiment with foreign modes of physical survival succeeded, but nothing could have induced a nineteenth-century Briton to adopt the intellectual and aesthetic casts of mind of a people whom he considered contemptibly primitive in those regards.
On August 31, 1831, facing the prospect of a third winter beset in the ice, Ross gave vent simply and tellingly to his growing aesthetic anxiety:

... there were not materials from which any thought, keeping clear of the equal hazards of falsity or romance, could have constructed an interesting narrative. On the land there was nothing of picturesque to admit of description: the hills displayed no character, the rocks were rarely possessed of any, and the lakes and rivers were without beauty. Vegetation there was hardly any, and trees there were none; while, had there even existed a beauty of scenery, every thing was suffocated and deformed by the endless, wearisome, heart-sinking, uniform; cold load of ice and snow. On the sea, there was no variety; for here, equally, all was ice during the far greater part of the year, and it was thus indifferent what was water and what land. Rarely did the sky show ought to replace this dearth of beauty and variety below; all the means of picturesque display were wintry ... (p. 598).

Denying himself an imaginative latitude, that is to say, conforming to the inherent-conservatism of both the Picturesque mode of perception and the generic conventions of the naval officer's journal, Ross attempts another tack, but with it can, finally, only submit to the landscape. He notes only what there is not in the view before him. Remaining on board ship much of the time, while his nephew James Clark Ross (1800-1862) explored the peninsula and discovered the Magnetic North Pole on various sledding expeditions, Ross could only lament what he considered both a navigational and an aesthetic incarceration and prospective annihilation.

Fearing that his reader would misjudge the meagreness of his landscape description, Ross set out, on September 14, 1831, an aesthetic apologia which at once demonstrates his appreciation of the Picturesque
and the Sublime in snowy landscapes and landscape paintings familiar to his reader, while it argues that snow in the polar regions precludes all qualities of the Picturèsque, including animation and "keeping."
The extended apologia deserves full inclusion here because its eloquence derives from Ross's prose mimesis of the endless tracts recollected by him:

The new ice was thick enough to skate on: but it was an amusement that we would gladly have dispensed with.

Hyde Park is doubtless a great regale to those who can exhibit their attitudes to the fair crowds who flock to see that which the sex is reputed to admire: and it is a regale, in a better sense, when the power of flying along the surface of the glassy ice, as the fishes glide through the water, and the birds float in the air, with a velocity that requires no exertion, is of an occurrence so rare, and is confined to so short a season. In another way, is this almost supernatural mode of motion delightful not less than useful, when the milk-maids of Holland can thus sail with their commodities to a market, the rivals, not of steam-boats and mail-coaches, but of the birds and the fishes. Yet more than delightful is it, to see the ice holidays of Sweden and Russia, when all the world is in motion, as well by land as by water, yet where land and water are but one element; when all the chivalry of each sex, all thoughtless of anything beyond the present moment, is absorbed in the minutes that pass, as if the whole world had no other occupation than to fly from all care and thought, to leave every thing behind them, even as the lightning flashes through the regions of space, heedless of all that exists beneath its burning career.

But what had we to do with all this? To us, the sight of ice was a plague, a vexation, a torment, an evil, a matter of despair. Could we have skated the country over, it would not have been an amusement; for there was no object to gain, no society to contend with in the race of fame, no one to admire us, no rivalry, no encouragement, no object. We had exercise enough without this addition: and worst of all, the ice which bound us and our ship in fetters of worse than iron, which surrounded us, obstructed us, imprisoned us, annoyed us in every possible manner, and thus haunted and vexed us for ten months of the year, had long become so odious to our sight, that I doubt if all the occupation which the skating on it could have afforded us, would not rather have been a grievance than an enjoyment. We hated its sight, because we hated its effects; and every thing that belonged to it, every idea associated with it was hateful.

Is there any one who loves the sight of ice and snow? I imagine, now, that I always doubted this: I am quite sure of it at present. The thought of ice may possibly suggest agreeable sensations in a hot July day; the sight of a Swiss glacier, in the same weather, is "refreshing" I doubt not. This also is picturesque, I admit, as are the frozen summits of the Alps, particularly under the rosy tints of a rising or a
setting sun. These, and more, are beauties; and they are not the less beautiful that they are, to some, rarities, while they are also characteristic, and are portions of a general landscape, to which they give a new and peculiar interest, as they add to its varieties. In the present days, it is not also a little in praise of ice, that the traveller can say, I have visited Switzerland, I have scrambled across a glacier. I have seen the sun rise on Mont Blanc while the earth below was still in shade, I have ascended it, I, even I, the fearless and enterprising, have ascended the father of mountains, yea, even when the guides hung back in fear. Even thus is ice beautiful, regaling, acceptable.

Thus, too, is snow the delight of schoolboys: have we not all hailed the falling feathers, because we should now make snowballs and pelt each other, and erect a statue of heaven knows who, a colossus of snow, to melt away, like the palace of the great female autocrat, before the sun. Is it not, too, the emblem of virgin purity and innocence, and might not much more be said in praise and admiration of snow? It is an evil, however, to balance against all this, that it deforms all landscape, destroys all "keeping," by confounding distances, and with that, proportions, and with that, too, more and worse than all else, the harmony of colouring; giving us a motley patchwork of black and white, in place of those sweet gradations and combinations of colour which nature produces, in her summer mood, even amid the most deformed and harsh of landscapes.

These are the objections to a snow landscape, which even the experience of a day may furnish: how much more, when, for more than half the year, all the element above head is snow, when the gale is a gale of snow, the fog a fog of snow, when the sun shines but to glitter on the snow which is, yet does not fall, when the breath of the mouth is snow, when snow settles on the hair, the dress, the eyelashes, where snow falls around us and fills our chambers, our beds, our dishes, should we open a door, should the external air get access to our "penetralia;" where the "crystal stream" in which we must quench our thirst is a kettle of snow with a lamp of oil, where our sofas are of snow, and our houses of snow: when snow was our decks, snow our awnings, snow our observatories, snow our larders, snow our salt; and, when all the other uses of snow should be at last of no more avail, our coffins and our graves were to be graves and coffins of snow.

Is this not more than enough of snow than suffices for admiration? is it not worse, that during ten of the months in a year, the ground is snow, and ice, and "slush:" that during the whole year its tormenting, chilling, odious presence is ever before the eye? Who more than I has admired the glaciers of the extreme north; who more has loved to contemplate the icebergs sailing from the Pole before the tide and the gale, floating along the ocean, through calm and through storm, like castles and towers and mountains, gorgeous in colouring, and magnificent, if often capricious, in form; and have I too not sought amid the crashing and the splitting and the thundering roarings of a sea of moving mountains, for the sublime, and felt that nature could do no more? In all this there has been beauty, horror, danger, every thing that could excite; they would have excited a poet even to the verge of madness. But to see, to have seen, ice and snow, to have felt snow and ice for ever, and nothing for ever but snow and ice, during all the months of a year, to have seen and felt but uninterrupted and unceasing ice and snow during all the months of four years, this it is
that has made the sight of those most chilling and wearisome objects an evil which is still one in recollection, as if the remembrance would never cease (pp. 600-03).

The snow-encrusted desolation in which the all but victorious victory sits is thrown into relief by Ross's recollections of artful scenes of ice and snow: the milk-maids of Holland in picturesque Dutch landscapes, and the sublime summit of Mont Blanc perceived either literarily, in countless guide books by 1835, or actually, while the tourist was on what for him was art in motion—a landscape tour. For Ross, the falling snow offers the only natural animation but, by falling, confounds his perception of distances, precludes "keeping," destroys the harmony of natural colours, and, all in all, tyrannizes the natural world and the mind of the traveller with a palpable horror. The one-sentence paragraph, beginning "These are the objections..." bears an eloquently tortured testimony to the aesthetic apprehension of the landscape connoisseur.

Deprived of animation, perspective, variety, or even the normal occurrence of unforeseen events, Ross feels the external world closing in on him. The snow on his eyelashes symbolizes his inability to keep nature at bay, in focus, and distinct from himself. Without such a needful distance between man and nature, man cannot order the phenomena beyond himself. The me and the not-me begin to melt in a horrifying evolution of the self into a product, not of civilization but, of nature. As the force of nature has physically seized Ross's ship, and has begun the relentless process of absorbing the vessel into itself, so it has seized the traveller's mind, and has begun to alter and distort it. Instead of a landscape traveller, applying an a priori ukase to nature in order to take its aesthetic measure, Ross is a prisoner
of the external world whose measure risks being overwhelmed by nature. That Ross's rescuers found him and his crew unrecognizable, suggests the outward manifestation of the inner metamorphosis that has occurred over four winters.

II.7.iv

Abandoning their ship in the early summer of 1832, the Ross expedition trekked north, up the coasts of Boothia Peninsula and Somerset Island. They did not reach Lancaster Sound, and, so, returned south as far as Fury Point, where the men could supply themselves from some of the foodstuffs still remaining from the cargo of HMS Fury, abandoned by Parry eight years before. In the winter of 1832-1833, faced with the very real prospect of death now, Ross prepared his men for the final attempt to reach the whaling ships in Baffin Bay the next summer. Ross delays the conclusion of his apologia for a chapter-ending, a four-years-imprisonment-ending paragraph that reiterates the features of the aesthetic hell he hoped to leave behind. "He and his comrades," observes George Malcolm Thomson, in The North-West Passage, "had endured all they could of the sublime beauties of the Arctic." 85

Let him who reads to condemn what is so meagre, have some compassion on the writer who had nothing better than this meagreness, this repetition, this reiteration of the ever resembling, every day dulness to record, and what was infinitely worse, to endure. I might have seen more, it has been said: it may be; but I saw only ice and snow, cloud and drift and storm. Still I might have seen what I did not; seen as a painter, and felt as a poet; and then like painter and poet, have written. That also may be, but let painter and poet come hither and try: try how far cold and hunger, misery and depression, aid those faculties which seem always best developed under the comforts of life, and under that tranquility at least, of mind, if not much more, which the poet and the writer require to bring their faculties into action.
Our "facund calices" were cold snow-water; and though, according to Persius, it is hunger which makes poets write as it makes parrots speak, I suspect that neither poet nor parrot would have gained much in eloquence under a fox diet, and that an insufficient one, in the blessed regions of Boothia Felix (p. 696).

Finally the landscape turns Ross's attention inward. The profusion of the first-person singular in this paragraph indicates how the perception of terrain that defies organization in terms of the Picturesque becomes a perception of the landscapes of one's own being: without visual correlatives to confirm his identity, and with the deprivation of his senses, Ross begins to question the very soul of that identity.

That Ross and his crew survived (but for three men) to tell the tale, remains to this day an immense feat of fortitude. The coincidence of hailing the Isabella, the very ship which Ross had captained to Lancaster Sound on his first polar voyage in 1819, marked a staggering coincidence and a fitting restoration to civilization after a miraculous five years spent on the shores of Prince Regent's Inlet.

II.8--THE BACK RIVER EXPEDITION (1833-1835)

In the spring of 1833, the Admiralty commissioned its first Arctic expedition in eight years. George Back was to explore a river that existed only in Indian legend--the bony Thlew-ee-cho-dezeth, or Great Fish, or, by today's maps, the Back River. His efforts ostensibly took the form of a rescue expedition in search of Ross's Victory crew, but when, in the spring of 1834, Back received word at Fort Reliance (at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake) that Ross had been found, he was freed to undertake a wholly exploratory voyage through the centre of the tundra tracts of the continental northeast.
Already the veteran of Franklin's two expeditions as well as Buchan's 1819 voyage to Spitzbergen, Back travelled through a greater part of British North America during his lifetime than any man before the age of rail, with the exception of David Thompson. Still, the 1833-1835 river expedition marked the first for which Back furnished a narrative, as well as a pictorial, record. And since Back had spent some of the intervening years between 1827 and 1833 studying in Italy in order "to improve himself in the arts," his *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River* (1836) presents him at his aesthetic apex, capable, as the best travellers were before the days when the artist was meant to dissociate himself from society, of amassing a record of his experiences that was at once functional and aesthetic. His *Narrative* often reads as much like a guidebook as a journal.

II.8.1

Setting out from Lachine in the spring of 1833, Back leads his reader as a guide would a landscape tourist: "turning off to the right, we entered the Ottawa, which (like the Moselle after its confluence with the Rhine), for some distance below the junction rolls on its brown waters unmixed with the clear stream of the St. Lawrence" (p. 32). The European allusion initiates an analogy, which Back maintains throughout his account, between the European Grand Tour and his continental tour of British North America. He also differentiates the purposes of the two types of tour by making reference to European culture, through an adroit use of art, to signal his departure from civilization and his
subsequent entry into the oblivion of uninhabited landscapes:

Leaving the Ottawa, we divurred to the left, up a deep and black stream [Mattawa River], so overhung by sombre rocks and withered trees, and so bleak and lifeless, that it seemed the very home of melancholy, and despair, and forced upon my recollection an admirable painting representing Sadak in search of the waters of oblivion (p. 35).

The allusion to an artistic landscape bears a minimal significance initially, but, as the paragraph develops, the reader is made aware that Back's rendition of the Mattawa River is coloured by his regret at leaving behind him civilization and its attendant culture. Unlike the rambler on the European Grand Tour, Back will be leaving all culture behind rather than steering for its meccas. Thus, the regret is conveyed poignantly through the cultural symbol, as well as John Martin's single example, of landscape painting. Moreover, Back intimates an identification of his quest with the rite of passage on which Sadak is embarked, remembering particularly perhaps October, 1821, when he and the other members of Franklin's first expedition groped and crawled their way, Sadak-like, across the Barrens.

Predictably, Back makes an entry (under July 21, 1833) upon the expedition's arrival at the north side of the Methye (which he now calls by the French name of La Loche) Portage, but his remarks do not simply rehearse the scene's picturesque properties; rather, Back reflects the change that has gradually occurred in the sensibilities of the age with a personal and almost romantic response that is not apparent in his eight-year-old picture:

After labouring, with frequent halts, through the thick woods, we came suddenly upon the spot from which the picturesque and beautiful view from Portage La Loche bursts upon the sight. A thousand feet below, the sylvan landscape lay spread before us, to the extent of
thirty-six miles, in all the wild luxuriance of its summer clothing. Even the most jaded of the party, as he broke from the gloom of the enchanting scene, seemed to forget his weariness, and halted involuntarily with his burden, to gaze for a moment, with a sort of wondering admiration, on a spectacle so novel and magnificent. My own sensations, however, had not the keenness of those of a stranger to the sight; and it was not without a sort of melancholy, such as results from satiety, that I contrasted my present feelings with the rapture which I had formerly experienced. It was, to me, Portage la Loche, and nothing more,—the same beautiful and romantic solitude through which I had passed and repassed on two former expeditions. There was nothing new to excite surprise, or quicken delight; not a spot or latent beauty, not even a gleam of light glancing across the valley, which had not been well noted before, and diligently treasured in the memory. I looked upon it as I should look upon an exquisite but familiar picture,—with pleasure, but without emotion.

There is something appalling in the vastness of a solitude like this. I had parted from my companions, and was apparently the only living being in the wilderness around me. Almost unconsciously I reloaded my gun; and then, stepping cautiously along the narrow ridge of the descent, glided silently into the valley, as if afraid to disturb the genius of the place. It was a positive comfort to hear, now and then, the hollow tread of the men as they passed rapidly through the thicket which screened them from sight; and when the white tent was pitched, and the curling smoke rose through the dense green of the forest, it seemed as if the spell of the desert was broken, and the whole landscape was suddenly animated into life and cheerfulness (pp. 71-2).

Perhaps a fifth visit to this view awakens in Back, now age thirty-seven, a sense of his own life passing before him. At the ages of twenty-three and twenty-nine, he would doubtless have been sparked by the thrill of the scene, but its familiarity and his maturity have altered his perspective. Now struck less by the picturesque surfaces of the visual world, he feels himself enchanted by the "spell" of "the genius of the place," which enshrouds him just as its natural vestiges deck the scene in its "summer clothing." The vastness is not something to be sketched, but wondered at, and extolled, and finally to be kept at a distance. Heights of land, as D. C. Scott discovered, can evoke in the sensitive individual an insight into the power of nature, through
a spell
Golden and inappellable
That gives the inarticulate part
Of our strange being one moment of release
That seems more native than the touch of time.

Where the commercially-minded Mackenzie perceived this power as commercial potential, Back, and perhaps Hood before him, sensed the tremendous spiritual power invested in this thirty-six-mile vista which dominates the aesthetic map of the North. Significantly, it is the picturesque domesticity of the campfire which returns Back to the functional realm of geographical exploration and diurnal cares.

II.8.ii

Back's extended descriptions of Arctic terrain are all articulated in terms of the Sublime and the Picturesque. On August 18, 1833, he encounters Beverly Falls, at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake, and still manages to create a conventional, composed rendition of landscape in both literature and art: "we opened suddenly on a small bay, at the bottom of which was seen a splendid fall, upwards of sixty feet high, rushing in two white and misty volumes into the dark gulf below" (p. 111). Like Richardson's rounding of Cape Kendall to discover Back's Inlet in 1826, Back's sudden discovery, together with the novelty it provides after the lengthy traverse of Great Slave Lake, readily identifies a picturesque scene, and occasions a drawing, entitled "Beverly's Falls, Mouth of the Hoar Frost River" (facing p. 112).

Although a canoeist might be expected to be crestfallen at the sight of such an obstacle, Back was not because he had seriously doubted
the existence of any river that would take him north-east out of the lake. Thus, the falls reveal to him the incarnation of a hope which dispels the doubt he had been harbouring since his departure from Montreal on April 24, four months earlier. In the drawing, the coulisses on the right-hand side of the picture draw the eye towards the foot of the falls. Acting as a classical portal, the two perpendicular black spruce trees on either side of the falls then conduct the eye vertically towards the vanishing point. To the right, the humanized foreground camping scene, to the left, the regularly broken cliff-face, and in the immediate foreground, the "lawn" of moss declining gently to the shore all contribute to a picturesque effect, which translates the particular location, embracing the sight within the tradition of British landscape aesthetics. Still, the unique feature of the picture is its openness, the consequence of having only conifers to serve the screening role of Claude's cypress or the English beech and oak. Less interchange
between light and shade, and the bareness of the hill-top suggest—but, at a point when the expedition had not yet crossed the tree-line, only suggest—the starkness that awaits the aesthetic eye once it ascends Beverly Falls and the Hoar-Frost River, and crosses the watershed into the Back River basin.

The feature of the landscape back on Great Slave Lake which most struck Back's artistic sensibilities is contrast. Hearne before him had contrasted the terrain on the north and south shores, and Back makes a similar observation (p. 97), but as he proceeds at 4 a.m. on August 14, in 30°F weather and on lightly ice-encrusted waters, down Hearne Channel, paddling between the north shore's rocky but wooded slopes and the sheer cliffs of the Peth-the-nu-eh Peninsula, which extends twenty miles north from the south shore, his attention is attracted specifically by the contrast in landscapes. His observations are recorded in a single paragraph:

The country to the left [the north shore] became gradually less rugged, subsiding into round-backed hills, whose sloping sides were covered with wood; the uniformity being agreeably broken by two light columns of smoke issuing at separate points, most likely from the fires of some straggling hunters. But the scenery to the right increased in grandeur and boldness; and never, either in Alp or Apennine, had I seen a picture of such rugged wildness. Rising to a perpendicular height of upwards of twelve hundred feet, the rocks were rent, as if by some violent convulsion, into deep chasms and ragged fissures, inaccessible to the nimblest animal. A few withered pines, grey with age, jutted their shrivelled arms from the extreme ridge of the abyss: on one of which a majestic fishing eagle was seated, and there, unscared by our cries, reigned in solitary state, the monarch of the rocky wilderness. Salvator alone could have done justice to the scene (pp. 98-9).

The picturesque, horizontal landscape features of round-backed hills and sloping sides are contrasted with the sublime, twelve-hundred-foot verticality of the opposing cliffs; the "subsiding," "gradually" moderating shoreline effects a more composed scene on the north shore, while
the chasms, fissures, and abyss dominate the sublime peninsula. Where the north shore's ample woods offer shelter and fire, in short, human habitation (the smoke rising to animate the scene), the peninsula's barren rocks, permitting only the occasional blasted pine (stock Salvatorian staffage), are "inaccessible," and certainly uninhabitable for all but a solitary eagle. That the sublimity of the scene rivals any European landscape Back knows, is sufficient reason for its amenability to Salvatorian depiction. Brought together by the single-paragraph structure, the two views form a contrasting pair, the epitome of delight for the landscape enthusiast.

II.8.iii

Back's expedition spent the winter at Fort Reliance, on the shores of Great Slave Lake where supplies of wood and fish appeared sufficient to sustain the men. But before winter set in with a vengeance, Back explored the height of land between Aylmer and Sussex Lakes. Then, on the way back south, Maufelly, the guide, conducted him around the unnavigable Ah-hel-dessy River, along a route which revealed, at sunset, a new intensity in the Sublime:

The march was resumed, sometimes in valleys heaped with confused masses of debris from the surrounding granite, at others along narrow shelves of perpendicular rocks, not unlike some of the passes of the Alps, and threatening the same disastrous consequences from a false step. Our route seemed even more perilous...[but] when Maufelly pointed to Artillery Lake on the far horizon, and to another at the extreme south, I rejoiced that, whatever the motive might have been, he had chosen that steep and weary track. It was a sight altogether novel for me; I had seen nothing in the Old World at all resembling it. There was not the stern beauty of Alpine scenery, and still less the fair variety of hill and dale, forest and glade, which makes the charm of a European landscape. There was nothing to catch or detain
the lingering eye, which wandered on, without a check, over endless lines of round backed rocks, whose sides were rent into indescribably eccentric forms. It was like a stormy ocean suddenly petrified. Except a few tawny and pale green lichens, there was nothing to relieve the horror of the scene; for the fire had scathed it, and the grey and black stems of the mountainous pine, which lay prostrate in mournful confusion, seemed like the blackened corpses of departed vegetation. It was a picture of "hideous ruin and combustion" (pp. 177-78).

Neither the sublimity of the Alps, nor the picturesqueness of England could furnish the schema for delineating the barren scene. First, employing the noun "nothing" in a superlative sense ("I had seen nothing in the Old World..."), Back employs it twice again to connote the scene's emptiness; together with the emphasis on the "endless" scene, this achieves the idea that, if degrees of absence are possible, then the nothingness confronting him is more barren than anything seen by any of his readers. Not surprisingly, his only literary recourse is to call forth the one landscape, real or fanciful, which can assist in conveying the visual chaos confronting him: he quotes from Milton's Paradise Lost (I, 46), as well as incorporating into his description Milton's likening of the prostrate Satan of Book I to the "blackened corpses...which lay in mournful confusion" before him.

Although Back may cast himself, in this passage, in the rôle of landscape enthusiast, the toll which his trek overland took on the expedition's members was more serious than any mere veteran of conventional landscape tours could imagine. Physical fatigue and mental disorientation might meet abundant recompense in the sight of such a scene, as Back says, but the immediately necessary assistance presented itself in the form of winter shelter. Fort Reliance was being constructed under the supervision of A. R. M'Leod on McLeod Bay during Back's trip to the height of land. Like his companions who seek familiar ground, Back
too professes his, relief at returning to shelter and aesthetically identifiable scenery:

... we soon came to a bay, where, in agreeable relief against the dark green foliage, stood the newly-erected framework of a house ... The site of our intended dwelling was a level bank of gravel and sand, covered with reindeer moss, shrubs, and trees, and looking more like a park than part of an American forest (pp. 181, 190).

Vegetation permits habitation, and the two furnish a picturesque landscape. One single-paragraph scene stands out in Back's narrative as a morsel of picturesque sustenance, feeding the hungry eye during the residence at Fort Reliance with the "here/there" compositional features found so alluring by Englishmen:

The men were divided into parties, and appointed to regular tasks: some to the felling of trees, and squaring them into beams or rafters; others, to the sawing of slabs and planks: here was a group awkwardly chipping the shapeless granite into something like form; and there a party in a boat in search of mud and grass for mortar. It was an animated scene; and, set off as it was by the white tents and smoky leather lodges, contrasting with the mountains and green woods, it was picturesque as well as interesting (pp. 190-91).

Not unlike George Morland's scenes of village life,\textsuperscript{95} Back's narrative picture, complete with background "mountains," which he heightens fancifully out of the region's hills, succeeds in keeping the sense of desolation from impinging on the underfed sojourners. The urge to order a scene in terms of the Picturesque aesthetic here meets with it pragmatic equivalent—the urge to compose physically an identifiable place, "chipping the shapeless granite into something like form." A veteran of winter residences at Forts Enterprize and Franklin, Back seems acutely aware of the need to utilize the land to sustain the imagination as well as the body. With such days as January 17, 1834,
when the temperature plummeted to $-70^\circ F$, Back had to know what he was about in order to survive.

II.8.iv

In the early summer of 1834, Back and his support party, led by M'Leod, reached Sussex Lake. From there, on July 4, Back set out along the watercourse which now bears his name, while M'Leod and his hunters returned to Fort Reliance. At their separation on July 3, a week-long fog lifted, revealing what to a landscape enthusiast dependent upon sunlight in order to take his bearings and to permit the search for food, must, indeed, have seemed a propitious omen of success:

The scarcity of animals in the neighbourhood created no little doubt in the minds of the hunters as to the best route to be taken on their return with Mr. McLeod to the Fort; and they had half decided on going a day's journey to the north to kill musk oxen, when the fog clearing away discovered the branching antlers of twenty reindeer spread over the summits of the adjacent hills. To see and pursue was the work of a moment, and in a few minutes not an active hunter remained in the encampment. It was a beautiful and interesting sight; for the sun shone out, and lighting up some parts cast others into deeper shade; the white ice reflected millions of dazzling rays; the rapid leap of the antelope in little ripples, which melted away into the unruffled surface of the slumbering lake; abrupt and craggy rocks frowned on the right; and, on the left, the brown landscape receded until it was lost in the distant blue mountains. The foreground was filled up with the ochre-coloured lodges, contrasting with our own pale tents; and to the whole scene animation was given by the graceful motions of the unstartled deer, and the treacherous crawling of the wary hunters (pp. 307-8).

In this single-paragraph, chapter-ending picture the various contrasts sought by the eye trained in the Picturesque mode of perception order the scene while presenting, in the agreeableness of weather and sources of food (caribou being a delicacy in comparison with musk ox, which the hunters had planned to obtain), the prospects most prized by
travellers, landscape tourists and explorers alike. A variety of contrasts structures Back's paragraph as it structures his perception of the scene: the atmospheric contrast resulting from the sudden change of weather, the _chiaroscuro_ it produces, the contrast of the rapid's moving water with the "slumbering" lake, the contrast between the vertical landscape on the right and the level plain on the left, the conventional contrast between "brown" middle ground and "blue" background, the contrasting tones in the Indian and European tents, as well as the distinction in prostrate and upright motion between the hunter and the hunted in the foreground dominate the paragraph, rendering it meaningful and recognizable, aesthetically as well as geographically. The conversion of caribou to "deer" completes the illusion. Again, it is a height of land which attracts Back's devoted attention.

As Back's party descended the eighty-six sets of rapids and falls on the Great Fish (Back) River, from the height of land and across the Barrens to Chantrey Inlet on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, they encountered "an iron-ribbed country without a single tree . . ." (p. 390), featuring hills "so thickly strewn with grey rocks and stones as to have the appearance of an immense quarry with loose rubbish about it" (p. 317), and others having "the same sterile appearance" (p. 319), which put Back in mind of "the lava round Vesuvius" (p. 328). Many natural views which, in themselves, resist organization in terms of the surrounding terrain, are perceived and imaged in another conventional way—in terms of their resemblance to better-known landscapes: "the most conspicuous eminence we had seen" is likened to Auld Reekie, Edinburgh (p. 370); pack-ice on the Arctic coast "was so wedged, that for miles it was thrown up into perpendicular pieces, like a vast area
of large upright slabs, or a magnificent Stonehenge" (p. 415); "sand-hills of the most fantastic outline... resembled parts of old ruins or turrets, and would have offered pleasing subjects for sketching" (p. 331); part of the sea-coast at Point Ogle, of which Back made a sublime sketch, entitled "Thunderstorm near Point Ogle" (facing p. 408), had a "desert-like character... and had it not been for a rill of water, the meandering of which relieved the monotony of the sterile scene, one might have fancied one's self in one of the parched plains of the East, rather than on the shores of the Arctic Sea" (pp. 408-09); and the "hollow" roar of the Rock-rapid, encountered at the exit of Lake McDougall on July 22, 1834, is likened to the "confusion worse confounded" (p. 357) enjoyed by Chaos at the expulsion of the satanic angels in Paradise Lost (I, 996).

The technique of likening Arctic landforms to European scenes from geography and literature, a technique which began, as far as this study
is concerned, with Hearne and Chappell, and which is comparable with the Picturesque habit of comparing scenes, attains its apogee with Back's visit to Parry's Falls in the spring of 1835, following his return to Fort Reliance in the autumn of 1834. But such comparison foregoes specific precise description as the effect of the scene on the viewer's emotions becomes the paramount concern. Accuracy is sacrificed, not, as L. H. Neatby has claimed, in "Mr. Back of the Expedition," achieved. Indeed, Back's account, which follows, attempts to out-sublime the Sublime in its accumulation of superlatives:

The road to it [the falls], which I then traversed in snow shoes, was fatiguing in the extreme, and scarcely less dangerous; for, to say nothing of the steep ascents, fissures in the rocks, and deep snow in the valleys, we sometimes had to creep along the narrow shelves of precipices slippery with the frozen mist that fell on them. But it was a sight which well repaid any risk. My first impression was of a strong resemblance to an iceberg in Smeerenberg Harbour, Spitzbergen. The whole face of the rocks forming the chasm was entirely coated with blue, green, and white ice, in thousands of pendant icicles: and there were, moreover, caverns, fissures, and overhanging ledges in all imaginable varieties of form, so curious and beautiful as to surpass anything of which I had ever heard or read. The immediate approaches were extremely hazardous, nor could we obtain a perfect view of the lower fall, in consequence of the projection of the western cliffs. At the lowest position which we were able to attain, we were still more than a hundred feet above the level of the bed of the river beneath; and thus, instead of being narrow enough to step across, as it had seemed from the opposite heights, was found to be at least two hundred feet wide.

The colour of the water varied from a very light to a very dark green; and the spray, which spread a dimness above, was thrown up in clouds of light grey. Niagara, Wilberforce's Falls in Hood's River, the falls of Kakabikka near Lake Superior, the Swiss or Italian falls, --although they may each "charm the eye with dread," are not to be compared to this for splendour of effect. It was the most imposing spectacle I had ever witnessed; and, as its berg-like appearance brought to mind associations of another scene, I bestowed upon it the name of our celebrated navigator, Sir Edward Parry, and called it Parry's Falls (pp. 451-53).

Back has no other purpose for visiting the falls than his aesthetic one. Therefore, he plays purely the role of the landscape enthusiast in this passage. He sees his role as a world traveller to all the great
falls by identifying it with Childe Harold's, quoting from Byron's most
guide-bookish poem (Canto 4, st. LXXI). Like the landscape tourist,
he describes one scene in terms of others by summoning all his own
experiences, together with all that he has "heard or read" about other
sublime landscapes. The sublimity before him consists in several
features of the landscape, as well as the associations they evoke.
These include: the excessive variety in ice formations; the mystery of
the falls, which comes from their invisible lower reaches; the ice mask
which renders them an obscure hieroglyph of nature; the dim spray which
enshrouds them; the optical illusion of their magnitude; and the hazard
encountered in visiting them. To Back's artistic sensibilities, what
counts most is the force of impression which a landscape has on its
viewer: the principal cause for Back's depiction of Parry's Falls is
that they exceed all others in their "splendour of effect." And, by
extension, much of the "aura of romanticism and mystery" which the tun-
dra, in the opinion of William C. Wonders, retains to this day in the
minds of most people is attributable in some measure to the odysseys of
the Hearne and the first Franklin expeditions, but, also in some
measure, to Back's narrative and his pictures of many of its land-
scapes.

II.8.v

Richard King (1811-1876), surgeon on Back's river expedition, pub-
lished his own two-volume account of the three-year journey. Known for
his love of truth and scorn of protocol, King managed to alienate most
members of the Admiralty, a tragedy in light of the fact that his proved
to be the only accurate surmise of the fate of the 1845 Franklin expedi-
tion. The doctor's appreciation of landscape, like most explorers', pales beside the example of Back; yet, it is discernible in his Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean (1836). His description of the view, at the tree-line, of Artillery Lake and the Lockett River (at 63°27'N, and 107°40'W), in the spring of 1834, displays King's infrequent aesthetic comments regarding the terrain over which he journeyed:

The country we passed along was less bold than the opposite [eastern] shore, and merely consisted of rounded hills, covered with lichens, moss, and dwarf-birch; while here and there the scenery was relieved by rich meadows, from which an occasional rivulet was seen winding a serpentine course, marked by two distinct lines of willow clothing the banks. In preventing the growth of trees, Nature has indeed deprived these parts of their softest beauties; and with justice procured them the epithet of barren. Nevertheless, their gigantic features, in many cases, amply repay the loss of the pleasant feelings arising from such beauties, by calling forth emotions of a far higher order...

King's distinction between soft beauties and pleasant feelings, on the one hand, and gigantic features and emotions of a "far higher order," on the other, clearly reflects the aesthetic principles of the Picturesque and the Sublime. While the effect of the Sublime dominates the landscape in the passage above, yet King discovered, as many explorers and artists right up to and including Al Purdy have discovered to their surprise, that the sublime North has also its share of tender beauties. During the month of January, 1834, encamped at Fort Reliance, King makes such a discovery:

I was astonished at myself, while sporting in a country always portrayed as unfit either for man or beast; but, what was my astonishment, when, hopping before me from bough to bough, the lesser redpole caught my sight,—the little bird that so frequently adorns, in England, the cottager's room! If so small a creature can find the climates of England and Great Slave Lake equally congenial to its constitution, surely may man exist there (1, 200).
King discovered also how the features of the Sublime in the Barrens can modulate their sublimity. Ascending the Great Fish (Back) River in the autumn of 1834, he was astonished to discover the transformation of the Rock Rapids, at the eastern exit of Lake McDougal: "this overwhelming torrent, so fearful and appalling an aspect at first view, had now subsided into insignificance; and, in fact, the whole of the rapids were so changed [from their appearance six weeks before, when the brigade descended the river], that it became a matter of considerable difficulty in very many instances to recognize them" (II, 74). Such extreme modulation between seasons is noted elsewhere by King; as in the picturesque scene of springtime at Fort Chipewyan, which is entered, interestingly, under June 22 (the first day of summer), 1835:

... the winter had been milder than usual... As might be expected, therefore, the spring set in early[11], and vegetation made progress. affording agreeable employment to the women of the fort in collecting as a substitute for sugar the sap of birch... The earth was teeming again with the fragrant offspring of the season; and it required no great stretch of the imagination to fancy oneself surrounded by the charms of an European garden, or amid the beauties of a southern climate,—gifts of Nature little valued until they have been for a time withdrawn (II, 211-12).

II.9--BACK IN HMS TERROR (1836-1837)

George Back spent only the winter of 1835-1836 in England before setting out, on June 14, 1836, in HMS Terror to accomplish what George Lyon had failed to achieve in 1824: the completion of the coastal survey between Hudson Bay and Point Turnagain. His first journal still in the press, Back was eager to undertake his fifth polar expedition, spurred on by his recent discoveries of the Arctic coast at Chantrey Inlet.

Apprised of all Ross's new charts, he set off to reach Point Turnagain
where he had encamped with Franklin fifteen years before. But, steering for Repulse Bay, his grand plans were foiled in Hudson Strait and Föxe Channel where a massive floe of ice was to incarcerate the vessel from August 1836 until August 1837. HMS Terror was, in those twelve months, dragged in icy chains by the currents in a southeasterly direction along the northeast coast of Southampton Island, from Middleton's Frozen Strait down past Nottingham Island, before finally being released in a barely seaworthy state in late August, 1837. 103

II.2.i

Although his aesthetic senses were less taxed by one icebound winter than John Ross's had been by four, Back's capability for finding pictures in icescapes is still impressive. In Föxe Channel, northeast of Frozen Strait, on August 25, 1836, he manages to create a pair of views—the first, a picturesque sunset, the second, a subsequent sublime nightfall—out of the distant shoreline of Southampton Island:

Towards evening a light air, together with a "slack" among the ice, allowed a trifling distance to be made; but at sunset we were stopped near to an extensive floe, where, from the effects of pressure, some ponderous masses had been heaped up, like Titanian ruins, to the height of thirty feet. The land, blue from distance, and beautifully soft, as contrasted with the white cold glare of the interminable ice around, reflecting by the setting sun the tints of the intervening masses thrown into the most picturesque groups and forms—spires, turrets, and pyramids, many in deep shade—presented together a scene sufficient for a time to cheat the imagination, and withdraw the mind from the cheerless reality of our situation (p. 69).

But soon after, the ship was driven much nearer the land with two sublime consequences, one functional, the other aesthetic. The ship now (September 6) risked grounding on the east coast near Cape Bylot, and
the coastal hills, which had provided the background to a picturesque view at sunset, now presented from their proximity and a recent snowfall, a menacing foreground which also blocked the view of the setting sun: "the soft blue tint which, twenty-four hours ago, had cheated the imagination was gone; and now there was the chilling reality of precipitous black rocks streaked with snow, and a mantle of the same cold whiteness spread over the whole of the head land" (p. 87).

A "walking tour" north of Cape Fisher in mid-winter (January 14, 1837, when the thermometer hovered around -30°F) provided Back with a looked-for sublime treasure, but one whose elements are anything but conventional. One cannot help admiring the explorer's perceptual resourcefulness:

Along the beach between the jutting rocks the ice appeared to have been forced up full twenty feet; and, where the resisting barrier was precipitous, huge masses had been successively lifted up, pile on pile, until they presented the appearance of bergs, for which indeed they were taken. A stranger combination of ruin and confusion with the softness and harmony of the most beautiful tints, from the faintest emerald to the deep cerulean blue, it would have been difficult for the most imaginative mind to conceive. Then from the sterile summit of the hill to gaze, far as the eye could stretch upon a dreary plain of ice relieved only by the frost-smoke issuing here and there from a few holes or lanes of water, and suddenly to turn to the small dark speck which denoted the ship, the abode, alas how frail! of living men imprisoned amidst the 'abomination of desolation.' What a multitude of reflections rushed into the mind!--the might of nature--the physical feebleness of man--and yet again the triumph of spirit over matter--man, trusting in his own unquenchable energy and the protection of an omnipresent Providence, braving nature in the very strongholds of her empire, and if not successful in the encounter, yet standing up unvanquished and undismayed! It was indeed a scene not readily to be forgotten (pp. 188-89).

The sublimity of the view occasions, as in Thomson's Seasons, an apostrophe to the Creator which, in redounding to the sublime achievements of man, may not recall Thomson's ideology but does suggest Thomas
Carlyle's views of the hero which are contemporary with Back's. Like a modern Noah, Back surveys the flood of ice, and marvels at the power of his Master. Fundamentally romantic, the vision is not dissimilar from Back's previous epiphany of the genius of the place at the Methye Portage four years before: seeing into the nature of things, he goes beyond the picturesque arrangement of the icescape's surface textures and tonal values, although he starts with it. But perhaps the schema of the Picturesque, which proceeds out from the mind and is applied to the scene, meets, and is overcome by a reciprocal natural force which "rushes into the mind," triggering an epiphany. The function of topographical survey sponsors a reflexive aesthetic of imaginative perception that appears to celebrate God-like Nature and Odysseus-like heroic Man, locked in an epic struggle that reminds one of such poetic struggles as Shelley's Mont Blanc. One is alerted by this passage to such a poem in part because the apparent celebration of God is surely qualified by the particular biblical phrase which Back echoes—"'abomination of desolation'." The phrase is Daniel's, used by him in foretelling the destruction of the temple. It is repeated by Christ (King James version, Matthew 24:15). Such a phrase does, at the least, apprehend the power of Nature as a judgemental, if not uncontrollable force; does, at the least, question whether Nature never betrays the heart that loves Her.

Such epiphanic moments occur less frequently in the official narratives of explorers than they do in the verses of poets, if only because the Admiralty sanctions, oversees, and rewards geographical, not imaginative, exploration. Still, where aesthetics are not dissociated from the functional world, as they are not when the conventions of the
Picturesque and the Sublime are deployed in order to perceive nature in terms of art, such moments of imaginative insight are genuine and frequent. Again, caught in the perennial "migration of ice" down the Foxe Channel on February 20-21, 1837, Back becomes a spectator of nature's power, but this time, the power overwhelms any reciprocity with a learned way of seeing tame nature:

Though I had seen vast bodies of ice from Spitzbergen to 150° west longitude, under various aspects, some beautiful, and all more or less awe-inspiring, I had never witnessed, nor even imagined, any thing so fearfully magnificent, as the moving towers and ramparts that now frowned on every side . . . and drove with accelerated and almost irresistible force against the defenceless vessel . . . Of the awful grandeur of these no language could give an adequate description, and even the more effective pencil has been able only to catch one momentary aspect of a scene, the terrible sublimity of which lay chiefly in the rolling onward of these mighty engines of destruction (pp. 233, 236).

The natural powers in which Back and his crew were caught in February were not ones for which the aesthetic of the Picturesque was devised to describe. Clearly, the relation obtaining between man and nature in this scene was one beyond the imagination of a Pope, a Gilpin, perhaps even of a Shelley. Not surprisingly, and typical of the conventionally sublime response to nature, Back admits to the complete inadequacy of either the linguistic or pictorial schemata he knows in the face of this aspect of the external world. (At best, he can make an analogy between the icebergs and the satanic engines which, "approaching gross and huge," alarm the celestial angels in Milton's war in Heaven (VI, 552). Such an analogy conventionally captures the aura of Miltonic sublimity, but also connotes a relation between a natural force and a satanic, rather than a providentiial, design.) And such an admission comes from a man who had walked the length of enemy France in 1813-1814, had been beset in the ice off Spitzbergen in 1818, had struggled in a state
of starvation-induced shock across the tundra in 1821, had fought off ocean breakers in tiny boats in 1821 and 1826, and had conquered the eighty-six falls and rapids on the Great Fish River twice in 1834—such an admission comes from a man who might justly have believed himself to have taken the measure of nature.

II.9.ii

On the night of February 22, off Point McMurdo, the ultimate sublimity that Back could have imagined almost came to pass. The relentless parade of ice now nipped the vessel, inducing Back to order the clearance of the ship's provisions. The following forms part of his extensive report:

There had been, indeed, an immense pressure on the starboard bow, as may be conjectured from the fact that a huge mass had been thrown up fully nineteen feet above the level. The remnant of the wall across the bow had been thrown down, and the ice there so broken as to present a most ruinous and desolate appearance. The whole scene, indeed, far as the eye could stretch, was confusion worse confounded. Broken parts at every angle, from the perpendicular to the nearly horizontal, hummocks, mounds, jagged and warded masses, splinters, walls, and ramparts, with here and there, at far intervals, the remains of some floe not yet entirely broken up;—such was the picture which saluted us on every side, teaching the lesson of humility and resignation to the will of Heaven (pp. 238-39).

The echo of the fallen angels' descent into hell as described by Milton's figure of Chaos in *Paradise Lost* (II, 996), marks Back's second use of the phrase, and ushers in a God-forsaken scene of midnight destruction. Not only ice, but, ironically, the appearance of water pose real threats to the sailors on the ice. A similar scene is sublimely sketched by Captain Smythe, and entitled "The Crew of H.M.S. Terror Saving the Boats and Provisions on the Night of the 16th March" (facing
The manner in which Smythe, who had sailed with Beechey in 1825-28, depicts the exodus of the British tarṣ, while the ice appears on the verge of crushing the ship in the background, and perhaps breaking apart to engulf the men in the foreground fissure, captures the momentary terror of the imperilled captain. In between, two men (or bags, their shapes are nebulous) are apparently being snatched from an icy vice while the crush of ice advances from the right. No apparent sanctuary presents itself in the picture; the men's destination seems non-existent. Keeping ice under their feet appears to be their sole purpose in this ominous scene.

Interestingly, Back, who had little time to mention anything but damage to the ship's infrastructure, does stop to lament the disappearance of the ice-garden which nature and the crew had made on a nearby floe:

... another rush drove irresistibly on the larboard quarter and stern, and forcing the ship ahead raised her up on the ice. A chaotic ruin followed; our poor and cherished courtyard, its wall and arched doors, gallery and well-trodden paths, were rent, and in some parts ploughed up like dust (pp. 279-80).
The sense of identity which the Britons had extended over the icescape by means of 'cultivating' a picturesque landscape garden is unceremoniously effaced by the onrushing natural force unconcerned with such vestiges of man-made order which prove as frail as the vessel on which the men had set out to chart, if not to order, the external world. Back ironically borrows a term of cultivation—"ploughed"—to intensify the sense of loss at the hands of an apparently Demogorgonic force. That the ice forces the ship to destroy the garden represents a bitterly ironic token of how little control the mariners had over the world about them.

II.9.iii

The long looked-for release of the ship hardly provided the voyagers any assistance; indeed, the most perilous period of the expedition occurred at the summer break-up of the ice floe. Smythe's picture, entitled "The Disruption of the Ice Around the Ship" (facing p. 393), which represents the events of July 11, when the Terror had been driven back into Hudson Strait, between Salisbury and Charles Islands, may serve as a companion to his moonlit picture of March 16, (see page 246), depicting as it does the equal danger to which the sailors were exposed in the opening seas. Stranded on a hummock, the tiny figures are portrayed in wonderful helplessness. The whole scene appears to lie beyond the realm of human imagination, somewhere in the province of Shelley's intense inane. That Back limped back to England, a burnt-out case, is no surprise. After the 1836-1837 expedition he never returned to the Arctic: his physique, no less than his perception, had been permanently impaired. An heroic career was concluded at the age of thirty-nine. HMS Terror did return, transporting, along with HMS
Erebus, Franklin's third expedition to its grave in 1845-1848.

While the English Romantic poets were striving to map the Sublime, the awesomeness of the imaginative realm, their naval peers were striving to map the geographical and aesthetic sublimities encountered in their pursuit of another enchanting dream—a route to the Orient. Like the internalized quest romance, the externalized quest romance cost nothing less than life. The history of nineteenth-century Arctic exploration is strewn with a litany of abandoned ships and shattered dreams: for every Providence Point, and Bay of Gods Mercy, there is a Point Turnagain; a Return Reef, a Repulse Bay, a Starvation Cove. No less than the poets', the explorers' is a history of arrested quests and ruined lives. Each of Back's magnificent expeditions and the works they engendered must be recognized; but what should also not be overlooked is that the power of nature repulsed him in 1818, 1821, 1826, 1834, and 1836.
II.10—EXPEDITIONS BY HUDDON'S BAY COMPANY TRADERS (1836-1843)

In the summer of 1836, just as HMS Terror was engaging Hudson Strait, the Hudson's Bay Company determined to attempt a completion of the survey of the continental Arctic coastline. The expedition consisted of twelve men, including the co-leaders, Thomas Simpson (1808-1840) and Peter Warren Dease, and a motley crew of highlanders, half-breeds, Canadians, an Orkney sailor, and a Canadian highlander, three of whom had journeyed with Back in 1833-1835, and one, François Felix, with Franklin in 1825-1827. Simpson's journal, entitled Narrative of the Discoveries of the North Coast of America (1843), is the only published account of this most successful three-year expedition. As well, it details the author's snowshoe trip from Fort Garry to Fort Chipewyan, a distance of twelve-hundred-and-seventy-seven miles, which was undertaken between December 1, 1836, and February 11, 1837 (an average of more than twenty-five miles per day). Simpson, a twenty-eight year old Masters graduate from Edinburgh, recapitulates his aesthetic response to the terrain covered in this prelusive journey by stating starkly: "In the wilderness time and space seem equally a blank, and for the same reason—the paucity of objects to mark or diversify their passage.

106

II.10.1

Aesthetic descriptions of landscape occur less frequently in the fur trader's journal than in the accounts written by many British mariners, often because the trader travelled less than the sailor. But Simpson's aesthetic descriptions of landscape seem to be reserved for
the milestone achievements of the expedition, a feature of his writing which suggests the importance he accords a picture-making mode of perception. For instance, "a very imposing effect" (I, 92) is produced by the scenery of the Mackenzie River at sunrise of June 28, 1837, when the expedition reached "the picturesque River of the Mountains [Liard River]" and Fort Simpson, which marked the completion of the first étape of the journey north from Fort Chipewyan: "the morning sun shone brilliantly, tinging the broad waters and the wood-crowned cliffs with golden hues. The verdure on the banks was luxuriant...in that glowing light" (I, 92-3). On July 3, 1837, the brigade divided into two groups at the confluence of the Mackenzie and Bear Lake Rivers; Dease and Simpson continued down to the sea and westward to chart the 160 miles of coastline not seen by Franklin, from the east, or Beechey, from the west, in 1826; and four members ascended to the north-east (Dease) arm of Great Bear Lake, there to establish the whole expedition's winter quarters, which were named Fort Confidence. At this significant separation (and aware that it replayed a similar separation in Franklin's expedition in 1825) Simpson offers the following scene, which is composed of a series of animated images, beginning with the sight of the burning wood coal on the river banks:

The jets of smoke, issuing in many places from the perpendicular face of the clayey cliff, presented a singular spectacle. The combustion had in many places scorched the layers of unctuous earth that interstratify the coal formation, and turned their surface to a lively red colour. After spending some time ashore in the examination of these curious phenomena, we parted from our comrades with three hearty huzzas, displaying the British ensigns as we launched into the broad, swift, stream. On either hand rose the Rocky Mountains and the Eastern Hills, now shadowed by floating clouds, now reflecting from their snowy peaks the dazzling sunshine. The scene was to me enchanting, and its excitement was increased by our rapid descent of the river. We saw a few Indians during the day, from whom we procured some of the fish called Back's grayling, the "wing-like fin" of the Esquimaux. Our progress was continued, as usual, all night (I, 98).
None of the five images—the burning shore, the farewell, the Rockies, the encounter with the Indians, and the night afloat—forms a complete picture, but, together they present a romantic river cruise, perhaps adapting the highlights in cruise guide books for the Rhine, the Hudson, or the St. Lawrence, to a northern excursion on a great river. As well, Simpson manipulates the static aspect of a landscape painting by linking together the images, and, thereby, effecting a landscape in motion. Franklin by contrast, although he notes each of these images, does not bother to compose a picture until the mountains appear to form the background, and Indians appear to animate the foreground of a single landscape view. 107 As well, Simpson conveys the scene more romantically than Franklin. The hero departs to the salute of vocal trumpets, an "enchanted" scene that is complete with snow-capped mountains, fountains of smoke, and "floating clouds." His adventure will lead him downstream into a fairy (because unknown) land, on a quest for the last clue to the continental map.

Pictures are similarly formed from the landscapes Simpson encounters at the Mackenzie Delta on July 6 (1, 102), and, after a successful return from the attainment of Point Barrow on August 4, at the reappearance of the northernmost Rockies on his return to the Delta on August 12:

It was now 3 P.M.; and, incited by the beauty of the weather, I ascended the nearest hill, six or seven miles distant, when I enjoyed a truly sublime prospect. On either hand arose the British and Buckland Mountains, exhibiting an infinite diversity of shade and form; in front lay the blue boundless ocean strongly contrasted with its broad glittering girdle of ice; beneath yawning ravines a thousand feet in depth, through which brawled and sparkled the clear alpine streams; while the sun, still high in the west, shed his softened beams through a rich veil of saffron-coloured clouds that overcanopied the gorgeous scene. Bands of reindeer, browsing on the rich pasturage in the valleys, and along the brooks, imparted life and animation to the picture. Reluctantly I returned to the camp at sunset (1, 178-9).
The elevated prospect provides a limitless view, which must be regarded as sublime, but many elements of the Picturesque abound as well. Apparently recalling Franklin's view of the Beaufort Sea from Garry Island in 1825, Simpson, who would have been following Franklin's journal for obvious navigational reasons, and who alludes to it throughout this segment of his journal, intently seeks a view like Franklin's, that is to say, a sublime panorama featuring picturesque elements. Where seals and whales animated Franklin's sunset view, reindeer enliven Simpson's. The Hudson's Bay Company officer also deploys the Thomsonian feature of describing a scene in one verse or prose sentence, a stylistic device found throughout Franklin's landscape responses. Simpson's sentence beginning, "On either hand . . . ," blocks in the mountain ranges as coulisses, the ocean as middle ground, the ice as background, the animated rivers and caribou as the foreground, and the colouring of the whole scene by the Claudian sun. But Simpson's inclusion of "a rich veil of saffron-coloured clouds" extends the view even farther than Franklin's in that its hint of Eastern exoticism suggests the extension of the vision to the veils and saffron of the East, the rich silk and spice trade of Cathay. As much as or perhaps even more than an explorer, a trader would cast an attentive eye on such visions, and would delight in the discovery of a navigable Northwest Passage for the commercial prospects it would open.

With neither a Franklin narrative nor vegetation to assist him in his composition, Simpson ceases to form landscape pictures in the section of his journal detailing the next two years' efforts to map the coastline east from Franklin's Point Turnagain to Back's Chantrey Inlet. After passing the winter of 1837-1838 at Fort Confidence, Simpson
and Dease were unsuccessful in penetrating the icebound shores of the continent past the Kent Peninsula during the 1838 season. Leaving their boats, the "Castor" and the "Pollux," at the mouth of the Coppermine River, they returned to Fort Confidence for the winter of 1838-1839, but, setting out in the snows of April 1839, they sailed the barren but now ice-free coast and attained the east side of Chantrey Inlet on August 20, 1839. Significantly, Simpson verifies his whereabouts, not only by astronomical calculation, but also by reference to a drawing George Back had made of the coastline of Chantrey Inlet five years before: "a fog that had come on dispersed towards evening, and unfolded a full view of the picturesque shores of the estuary. Far in the south-east, Victoria Headland stood out; so boldly defined that, even without the help of the chart, we should have instantly recognised it from Back's exquisite drawing" (II, 372). This drawing, entitled "Victoria Headland, Mouth of the Thlew-ee-chô-dezeth," had appeared in Back's Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition (facing p. 390). Nothing had
occurred to Simpson as "picturesque" during the course of either voyage which had not been deemed so by Franklin or Back. Thus, the preliminary impression given the reader of Simpson's work regarding the author's reservation of landscape description for the milestone achievements of his journeys undergoes an important revision: not the significance of the landscapes themselves, but the significance that had been accorded them by Simpson's precursors in exploration makes them important for the Hudson's Bay Company trader. His aesthetic eye sees, it may be said, only what it has been prepared to see. The landscapes of the North which existed in paragraphs and pictures form as significant a map as the cartographical map he is striving to complete: his sense of place derives from a combination of aesthetics and geography.

II.10.11

While Simpson and Dease were charting the barren coastline of the continent, another Hudson's Bay Company factor was exploring an equally desolate region sixteen hundred miles away. The mystique of the barrenness of the Ungava region, attributable, in part, to the disregard paid it by British explorers bent upon passing it and discovering a Northwest Passage, is attributable as well to the failure encountered by the Hudson's Bay Company in establishing trade in such a vast region of its chartered lands. Literary records of the region's discovery are almost non-existent, and those which do exist are sparsely written. The one exception is John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory (1849), in which the author, as well as describing the frustrations encountered in establishing trade, describes the formidable sublimities of the Ungava region.
A landscape connoisseur who had, in previous postings in the upper Ottawa River and New Caledonia Districts, displayed a sensitive appreciation of terrain, McLean frequently casts himself in the rôle of exile from nature while in Ungava. Exploring inland from Fort Chimo (at the bottom of Ungava Bay, on the Koksoak River) in February, 1838, McLean makes the following entry for Friday, the second: "pursued our route over extensive swamps and small lakes, where there is scarcely any wood to be seen. The face of the country being level, the least elevation commands a most extensive view; but the eye turns away in disgust from the cheerless prospect which the desolate flats present. Vacant space frustrates the fur trader, no less than the explorer or traveller, offering nothing upon which to build an enthusiastic economic or aesthetic prospect. Furthermore, year-round residency, as opposed to the landscape traveller's or (apart from John Ross) the explorer's seasonal and often brief visit to a sublime terrain, clearly threatens the fur trader's sense of identity: the schemata by which he has learned to order his relations with the external world are silenced by the continual absence of orderable elements, or of any seasonal, various relief from visual desolation. Only extremes seem to exist, especially in winter. Mclean writes from Fort Chimo with intentional irony:

At this point I have neither seen, read, nor heard of any locality under heaven that can offer a more cheerless abode to civilized man than Ungava. The rumbling noise created by the ice, when driven to and fro by the force of the tide [coming up the Koksoak River towards Fort Chimo], continually stuns the ear; while the light of heaven is hidden by the fog that hangs in the air, shrouding everything in the gloom of a dark twilight. If Pluto should leave his own gloomy mansion in tenebris tartari, he might take up his abode here, and gain, or lose but little by the exchange.

"The parched ground burns frore, and cold performs
The effect of fire" -- Milton

When the river sets fast, the beauties of the winter scene are disclosed—one continuous surface of glaring snow, with here and there a clump of dwarf pine, or the bald summits of barren hills, from which the violence of the winter storms sweep away even the tenacious lichens (II, 249).
Unable to relate the appearance of Ungava to any other terrestrial scene (except by deploying such vocabulary of the Picturesque as "beauties," "here and there," and "clump," ironically in the second paragraph), McLean resorts conventionally to scenes of Hell as described in Roman mythology, and in the second book of Paradise Lost (l. 594). The Miltonic allusion is altered from the original "parching Air," to the "par-ched ground," the effect of which focusses the reader's attention on the analogy between the visual aspects of Hell and of Ungava.

Milton's verse occurs in his description of the "frozen Continent" (II, 588), lying beyond the river Lethe in Hell. Thus, McLean identifies his banishment from landscape appreciation with Milton's haunt for the exiles, which is described by the poet thus:

Beyond this flood a frozen Continent
Lies dark, and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire Hail, which of the firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,

where

the parching Air
Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of Fire.
Thither by harpy-footed Furies hal'd,
At certain revolutions all the damn'd
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging Fire to starve in Ice
Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immovable, infixed, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire,
They ferry over this Lethean Sound
Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment...

(II, 587-91, 594-605)

Besides the "dark and wild" aspects of Milton's scene, hidden as it is from the light of heaven, McLean's scene is also full of heaped ice which "thaws not," moving to and fro before him. That McLean considered himself unjustly denied preferment and advancement by George Simpson,
the chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's "harpy-footed Furies," is explicit in several passages (II, 234-35), and appears to be adumbrated in his selection of Miltonic allusion. "Consigned to [his] fate" (McLean, II, 238) in desolate exile at Fort Chimo, McLean's only regular communication with the outside world was by means of the Hudson's Bay Company brig, which ferried supplies "every alternate year" (McLean, II, 238), that is to say, "at certain revolutions," augmenting the torture of the posting, in so far as the provisions delivered never sufficed to support successful habitation or commerce. Thus, like the Lethean ferry, the brig only prolonged what McLean considered at the time, and history proved to be, a fruitless venture into an unearthly dominion.

McLean appears to have imagined that Milton had Ungava in mind when describing the atmospheric tortures—"the bitter change / Of fierce extremes"—in the frozen Continent: immediately preceding the Miltonic allusion, he discusses the unearthly one-hundred-and-fifty-degree range of temperatures recorded in an Ungavan year, and lists the dates when the thermometer varied almost one hundred fahrenheit degrees in twenty-four hours.¹¹¹ Worse perhaps than Cartier's conjecture that Labrador was the "land God gave to Cain,"¹¹² McLean's description, together with his quotation, vividly attest to the existence on earth of a landscape Milton had sublimely envisaged at the back of Hell.¹¹³

The sublimity of McLean's descriptions of landscape take on an expectedly more conventional tone when the explorer turns from sublime absence to sublime presence with his discovery of the Grand (now Churchill) Falls on the Hamilton River in 1841. The passage builds on the contrast between an initial, pleasurable picture of a sporting party
and a subsequent, sublime, almost apocalyptic, vision replete with fear and pain. This contrast comes in response to the change in the character of the river:

After one day's rest [at Fort Nascopi on Lake Pettisikapau] we embarked in a canoe sufficiently large to contain several conveniences, to which I had been for some time a stranger—a tent to shelter us by night, and tea to cheer us by day; we fared, too, like princes, on the produce of 'sea and land,' procured by the net and gun. We thus proceeded daily on our downward course without meeting any interruption, or experiencing any difficulty in finding our way; when, one evening, the roar of a mighty cataract burst upon our ears, warning us that danger was at hand. We soon reached the spot, which presented to us one of the grandest spectacles in the world, but put an end to all hopes of success in our enterprise [of finding a navigable route from the interior of Ungava and Labrador to the ocean].

About six miles above the fall the river suddenly contracts from a width of from four to six hundred yards, to about one hundred yards; then rushing along in a continuous foaming rapid, finally contracts to a breadth of about fifty yards, where it precipitates itself over the rock which forms the fall; when, still roaring and foaming, it continues its maddened course for about a distance of thirty miles, pent up between walls of rock that rise sometimes to the height of three hundred feet on either side. This stupendous fall exceeds in height the Falls of Niagara, but bears no comparison to that sublime object in any other respect, being nearly hidden from the view by the abrupt angle which the rocks form immediately beneath it. If not seen, however, it is felt; such is the extraordinary force with which it tumbles into the abyss underneath that we felt the solid rock shake under our feet, as we stood two hundred feet above the gulf. A dense cloud of vapour, which can be seen at a great distance in clear weather, hangs over the spot. From the fall to the foot of the rapid—a distance of thirty miles—the zig-zag course of the river presents such sharp angles, that you see nothing of it until within a few yards of its banks. Might not this circumstance lead the geologist to the conclusion that the fall had receded this distance? The mind shrinks from the contemplation of a subject that carries it back to a period of time so remote; for if the rock, syenite, always possessed its present solidity and hardness, the action of the water alone might require millions of years to produce such a result! (II, 229-30)

After sublimity of "endless nothingness" in the Ungava region, the spectacular phenomenon of endless allness "bursting upon" him issues in a burst of prose sufficiently conventional to be reminiscent of Back's prose picture of Parry's Falls. Deprived, as Back was, of a prospect by the canyon's form (and, perhaps, by his sublime approach
to the falls in the failing light of evening), McLean responds through the senses of touch and hearing. One long sentence describes the water's tortuous course from unimpeded river to abyss, as the mind is transported from gay enjoyment of the present to awful conjecture of prehistoric ages almost beyond time. That "you see nothing of it" until achieving its brink, suggests the power of an all but invisible terrestrial force, which yet intrudes powerfully, as Edmund Burke argued invisible forces will do, on the mind shrinking from its contemplation. As the vapour manifests the "mighty" cataract's visible identity, so conjecture of its origins must stand for survey of its features. Besides its correspondence to the Burkean notion of obscurity, the falls conform to the Sublime because of their excessive profundity and vast distance (thirty miles), as well as these two features in contrast to its proportionately slight breadth, the upshot of which is that spatial emphasis is thrown on the vertical rather than the horizontal plane. Moreover, "the zig-zag course of the river" is an image of tortuous and violent nature, and, as such, parodies the image of the serpentine course of the murmuring stream in the conventional, picturesque scene.

Finally, in 1842, McLean gained permission to take a long-overdue furlough. Emerging from five years of isolation in Ungava, he travelled to England to visit his mother, and to restore himself to civilization. He notes the effect of picturesque scenes on his mind:

I remained a few days at Plymouth, to feast my eyes on scenery such as I had long been a stranger to—scenery, I may say, unrivalled by any I had every beheld at home or abroad. What spot in the world, in fact, can present such varied charms, as the summit of Mount Edgecumbe? where the most refined taste aided by the amplest means, has been employed for a thousand years in beautifying the glorious landscape. To me, just arrived from Ungava, the beauties of the scene were undoubtedly heightened by the contrast; and one short visit to Mount Edgecumbe effaced
from my mind the dreary prospect of bleak rocks, snow banks, and ice-
bergs, with which it had been so long and so sadly familiar, and in-
spired it with a rapture and delight to which it had long been a
stranger (II, 288).

McLean has, evidently, regained the paradisal garden, happier far after
exile in a desolate landscape. Accustomed to describing nature in super-
latives, he represents a picturesque view in Devon in the vocab
ulary of the Sublime—"unrivalled." His is a visual feast of English land-
scape, indiscriminate but understandable given the contrast to which
he alludes. Yet, like so many Hudson's Bay Company traders and British
explorers, McLean is soon lured back to service by the call of the wild,
the visit home merely assisting in throwing into relief the livelihood
and landscape in terms of which he has grown to adulthood, and has come
to identify his relations to the external world:

A Cockney may well boast of his great city, its wealth, its vast
population, and its magnificent buildings; but with regard to the
Thames, of which he is equally proud—he that has seen the St. Law-
rence, the Hudson, the McKenzie, and many others, compared to which
the Thames is but a rivulet, may be excused if he cannot view its not
very limpid waters with the same extravagant admiration as the Londoner,
who calls the Serpentine a river, and dignifies a pond of a few roods
in extent with the name of a lake (II, 290).

Beside providing his reader with an apt comparison of scale, McLean's
observation underscores the graduation of his spatial expectations of land-
scape have undergone in North America. The small, tidy, neat scene,
cultivated,"for a thousand years," may attract the eye, but "extravagant
admiration" ought to be reserved; McLean implies, for extravagant dis-
plays in nature.
II.14--SEARCHING FOR FRANKLIN: THE 1848 EXPEDITIONS

The Admiralty had not sponsored an expedition to the North since George Back's nightmare voyage in 1836-1837 when, on May 26, 1845, Franklin's third expedition sailed out of the Thames, its mission nothing less than the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Sighted by the whaler, Prince of Wales (on which Franklin had sailed to York Factory in 1819, when it was in the fleet of the Hudson's Bay Company), in Baffin Bay on July 26, HMS Erebus, under Captain James Fitzjames (d. 1848), and HMS Terror, under Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier (1796-1848), sailed under Franklin's command into Lancaster Sound, never to be seen again. Arctic vastness thus realized its sublime potential to swallow a whole expedition. Eleven years passed before any remains of the expedition were discovered and thirteen before Francis Leopold McClintock (1819-1907) and Lieutenant W. R. Hobson came across the remains of the majority of the one hundred and thirty-eight sailors strewn across the west and south sides of King William IV Island. The horror of the disappearance extends to this day, for only a single paper was ever found to help decode the mystery of the men's fate.\footnote{117}

For all the picturesque description of Arctic scenes which former expeditions had reaped, the British public still saw the region as the frozen continent and, at least imaginatively and aesthetically, if not scientifically, located it, as Milton had, somewhere on the far side of Hell.\footnote{118} Franklin sailed in a ship named after the son of Chaos, brother of Night, and father by her (Night) of Aësther ("Air") and Hermes ("Day"); in it he sailed into the impenetrable darkness that is the home of Erebus. Thus was the macabre stage upon which the fate
of the expedition was played out.

History has uncovered the lamentable probability that all Franklin's men were dead before the first of thirty-four search expeditions arrived in the Arctic. In 1848 searches were initiated on three fronts: from the Pacific, from the Mackenzie River, and from the Atlantic. Each of these expeditions furnished published accounts. In the Pacific, Lieutenant William Hulme Hooper (1827-1854) sailed under Commander Thomas E. L. Moore in HMS Plover, and continued, on July 25, 1849, with Captain W. S. J. Pullen in four boats along the Arctic coast to the Mackenzie Delta. They wintered on Great Bear Lake in 1849-1850, and then, in 1850, traced the coast from the Delta to Cape Bathurst before returning to Fort Simpson at the end of the season. Shortly before dying in 1854 from his exertions in the Arctic, Hooper published Ten Months among the Tuski (1853). Also in 1853, Berthold Seemann (1825-1871), who was aboard HMS Herald, under Henry Kellett, published his Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald. On the mainland, Sir John Richardson's Arctic Searching Expedition (1851) describes his overland journey to the Mackenzie Delta, and, with Dr. John Rae (1813-1893), his subsequent search along the coast from the Delta to Point Turnagain. Finally, in the Atlantic, William Henry James Browne, who sailed under James Clark Ross (himself a veteran of an extraordinary nineteen navigable seasons and nine winters in Arctic and Antarctic realms) in HMS Enterprise and HMS Investigator in 1848, provided a portfolio of Ten Coloured Views (1850) of Ross's unsuccessful attempt to penetrate past North Somerset Island. The case for an artistic response to the North is rendered in prose by Robert Anstruther Goodsir, who sailed to Baffin Bay in 1849, and whose An Arctic Voyage was published in 1850.
II.III.i

William Hooper's account has, as its title suggests, more of an anthropological than an aesthetic bent, even though the narrative is highlighted by such scenes as "the sublime and awful magnificence" of the aurora borealis, which appeared on December 9, 1849, and the "exquisite combination of still and animated scenery," encountered at the "Cassette" rapids on the Slave River during the boat expedition's return to England via York Factory in 1851. Another salient feature of his account are the fanciful pictures of Eskimaux life made by F. Skill. Highly symmetrical in their rendition, they stylize native life, rendering it, as in "Winter Quarters, Emma's Harbour" (1848), most civilized.

The caribou and huskies prance, like horses along a serpentine path, across the smooth 'lawn' of ice, to the winter-enclosed ship in the
middle ground. The resemblance of the foreground scene to an English is marked, however unintentional it may be, and the technique of the artist shows a similarity with that of George Lyon.

Berthold Seemann, a German-born naturalist who studied at Kew, accompanied Kellett on the Pacific cruise of HMS Herald, which departed England in 1845 and did not return until 1851. The summers of 1848, 1849, and 1850 found the Herald in the Chuckchee Sea tracing the north-west coast of the North American continent. In September, 1848, Seemann recapitulates the naturalist's/traveller's general disgust with the gravel beaches and hilly tundra of the coastline, a landscape upon which, further east, Franklin rarely commented in 1826, unless he could see the Rocky Mountains of the interior behind it:

The whole country from Norton Sound [below Bering's Strait] to Point Barrow is a vast moorland, whose level is only interrupted by a few promontories and isolated mountains. The rain and snow-water, prevented by a frozen soil from descending, forms numerous lagoons, or, where the formation of the ground opposes this, bogs; the general aspect and vegetation of which do not materially differ from those of Northern Europe, being covered with a dense mass of lichens, mosses, and other uliginous forms. . . . Wherever drainage exists, either on the shores of the sea, the banks of rivers, or the slopes of hills, the ground is free from peat; such localities are generally clad with a luxuriant herbage, and produce the rarest, as well as the most beautiful plants.

The aspect of some spots is very gay. Many of the flowers are large, their colours bright, and, though white and yellow predominate, plants displaying other tints are not uncommon. Cape Lisburne, one of the most productive localities, looks like a garden. . . . But such spots are rare, they are like oases in deserts. The flora cannot be said to possess an imposing aspect. There is nothing to relieve the monotony of the steppes: a few stunted coniferous trees and willows afford little variety, and even these, on passing the boundary of the frigid zone [the tree-line, presumably], are either transformed into dwarf bushes, or disappear altogether.

The naturalist sees specific and small elements of a landscape, which
the landscape connoisseur passes over in quest of the general effect. Yet, Seemann's final and general impression is like Franklin's, that a lack of variety precludes landscape composition or landscape appreciation.

II.11.ii

The sixty-two-year-old Sir John Richardson left England on March 25, 1848, landing at New York, and proceeded, as on Franklin's second expedition, up to the Mackenzie Delta, arriving on August 4, 1848. Travelling through the Saskatchewan River valley on June 17, Richardson observes springtime with a dual perception: as a naturalist, he is, like Seemann, sensitive to specific botanical and arboreal details; as a landscape tourist (the 1848 trip was his fifth along this valley), he is conscious of the effect of the scene before him:

The woods, being now in full but still tender foliage, were beautiful. The graceful birch, in particular, attracted attention by its white stem, light green spray, and pendent, golden catkins. Willows of a darker foliage lined the river bank; and the aspen, and here and there a tapering larch, gay with its minute tufts of crimson flowers, and young pale green leaves. The balsam poplar, with a silvery foliage through an ungainly stem, and the dank elder, disputed the strand at intervals with the willows; among which the purple twigs of the dog-wood contributed effectively to add variety and harmony to the colours of spring.

The variety of flora strikes Richardson no less than the variety of colour produced; but, also, the harmony of colour—a requisite of a unified composition of landscape—is sought, found, and celebrated. Richardson writes beautifully here, his adjectives selected for a poignancy of audio and visual effect which is not apparent in his narrative technique at an earlier period. That he dismissed landscape so quickly
in his youth, shows the alteration in his perception over a thirty-year period.

The device of the single paragraph structures both this view along a "strand" (river bank) in the river valley, and his subsequent description of the celebrated Clearwater River Valley, reached after crossing the Methye Portage (June 28 to July 6):

The valley of the Clear-water River, or Washakumnow, as it is termed by the Crees, is not excelled, or indeed equalled, by any that I have seen in America for beauty; and the reader may obtain a correct notion of its general character by turning to . . . a drawing of Sir George Back's. The view from the Cockscomb extends thirty or forty miles, and discloses, in beautiful perspective, a succession of steep, well-wooded ridges, descending on each side from the lofty brows of the valley to the borders of the clear stream which meanders along the bottom. Cliffs of light-coloured sand occasionally show themselves, and near the water limestone rocks are almost everywhere discoverable. The Pinus banksiana occupies most of the dry sandy levels; the white spruce, balsam fir, larch, poplar, and birch are also abundant; and, among the shrubs, the Amelanchier, several cherries, the silver-foliated Eleagnus argentea, and rusty-leaved Hippophae canadensis are the most conspicuous [i, 116-17].

Rather than upstaging Back, Richardson refers to picturesque features of the view by way of Back's engraving, and dwells, apart from mentioning the "beautiful perspective" of the whole view, on the arboreal elements. His naturalist's eye descends from the notice of the perspective to the depths of the middle ground, following a path similar to the one taken by the landscape tourist's eye, but, thereafter, the items noted are not perceptible from the original prospect, one thousand feet above the bed of the valley. The reader is left to imagine that the tourist/naturalist has descended from the Cockscomb to the river banks. This is a new technique, not conventionally picturesque because it does not take in all elements of the scene from one station; instead, the effect of a grand picture, as in Back's work, is largely sacrificed.
for minute observation and cataloguing. Yet, the use of the single-paragraph structure remains, and mention of Back's picture as giving the "general character" of the river valley presupposes that the naturalist's notes belong still within a picture-making sensibility. 128

For the man who, it will be recalled, understood the paintings of Italian masters in terms of the colours of northern skies, 129 the aesthetic sensibility does not long remain sublimated. At the "Cassette" portage on the Slave River (July 22) where, travelling from the opposite direction three years later, Hooper noted an "exquisite" view, Richardson's penchant for the pictured view resurfaces and dominates subsequent notations of rock formations:

A rocky chasm at this place, being one of the numerous channels through which the water flows, encloses a perpendicular cascade upwards of twenty feet high; beneath which an isolated column of rock divides the current into two branches, which eddy with great force into the niches and recesses of the stony walls. Huge angular blocks obstruct the water-course, and drift trees, entangled among them, partially denuded of their branches, and wholly of their bark, point in all directions. The overhanging woods almost seclude this gloomy ravine from the sun; and it presents such an aspect of wildness and ruin as rarely occurs even in this country (I, 141-42).

Richardson employs chiaroscuro, as well as the landscape tourist's habit of comparing views. The effect of sublime natural chaos is focussed on the ruins of deranged trees at the edge of the abyss, which contrast in their dead habit to the living woods overhanging the abyss.

Richardson and John Rae were unsuccessful in finding Franklin's expedition: in two summer searches along the coast from the Mackenzie Delta (the second, in the summer of 1849, undertaken only by Rae) no evidence was turned up. Perhaps the lack of success coloured the terrain for the searchers, for few instances of landscape appreciation or,
even, deprecation occur in the remainder of Richardson's work, or in Rae's reports. 130.
A similar lack of success at finding the 1845 expedition did not deter William Henry James Browne from responding imaginatively to the Arctic lands. Accompanying Sir James Clark Ross on the 1848-1849 naval expedition through Lancaster Sound, which set out on June 12, 1848, Browne participated in the sledging expedition from Port Leopold, at the top of (North) Somerset Island, and part way down the island's east coast in the spring of 1849, while Ross explored the west coast down as far as 72°38'N. No published narratives were forthcoming of this frustratingly unavailing voyage which escaped from the ice of August 28, 1849, and was back in the Orkney Islands in September, but Browne's pictures, published as Ten Coloured Views (1850), fill the void admirably.

The conventions of the Sublime—emphasis on vertical expanse, tiny human figures, extremities of novelty—structure Browne's views and influence his subject matter; nevertheless, the aesthetic considerations do not impede fulfilment of the pictures' functional roles as documentation of locations reached and phenomena witnessed. Darkness at noon provides Browne with the opportunity of exhibiting perhaps nature's own most sublime example of chiaroscuro: entitled "Noon in Mid-Winter: H.M. Ships "Enterprise" and "Investigator" in winter quarters; Port Leopold, North Somerset—Noon in December" (1), the scene's moonlight and the slightest hint of sun on the horizon combine with the stars to provide the most uncommon array of lighting witnessed by a British painter. The castellated appearance of the columns in the painting, entitled "Termination of the Cliffs near Whaler Pt. Port Leopold" (2), provides the leitmotif of a gothic ruin and renders this perhaps the most conventional of Browne's ten views. In "The Bivouac (Cape Seppings): The Party,
under command of Lieutenants Robinson and Browne, at Dinner on the Ice, After the First Southern Deposit of Provisions, May, 1848. Temperature (3)

Forty Degrees" (3), a meal on the ice contributes more novelty to a picture already made sublime by its extreme verticality. In each of these three views, the horizon is set so low in the vertical layout of the painting as to suggest how slight the purchase is which the travellers have on the face of the terrain/ice in the polar realm. The possibility that Franklin's men had encountered difficulty but were managing to survive in such desolate lands seems all but precluded by the sublimity depicted so dramatically by Browne.132
As if to bear witness to Browne's work, Robert Anstruther Good sir, who commanded HMS Advice into, but not through, Baffin Bay in 1849 in search of his brother, Harry, who was with Franklin, states unequivocally in An Arctic Voyage (1850): "I do not think there is any region in the world where the landscape painter could enjoy better studies than in the Arctic regions." Good sir's own picture-making sensibility is highly developed, and is attracted most by the picturesque variety of the ice formations seen in Baffin Bay.

There is always something new to be seen by those who will look out. The water beneath is alive with the most beautiful forms, and the most brilliant colours. The scene around is constantly varying, for from the immense 'floe' down to the little 'sconce piece,' each succeeding one seems to assume a different aspect; and you pass one berg of fantastic form, only to come to another still stranger. One berg which I saw here was perforated by an arch of the most perfect outline. The berg itself was of immense size, and I am not exaggerating when I say that a pretty large vessel could pass through it with all sails set. But it is impossible to describe the beauties of these ice islands. Many of them have caverns worn in them, within which the ice appears of the most brilliant blue and green, whilst without it, all is of stainless white, the entrance's curtained, as it were, with gathering icicles. The imagination of Poet or Painter never fancied grotto fitter for a Fairy Queen than these would be, could but the beauties of the Floral world be associated with them.

All that has been said of the coral reefs of the Southern Seas may well be applied to the icy masses of the Northern; but I must suspect it must be with the accompaniment of such weather as we at this time enjoyed, for a whistling north wind soon drives one to look for the picturesque in the neighbourhood of the cabin stove (pp. 22-4).

While the weather initially induces and latterly curtails Good sir's celebration of the moving islands' picturesque features, the collision of several icebergs awakens simultaneously a captain's concerns, but also, the landscape traveller's eye for the Sublime:

And hark! the lengthening roar continuous runs
A thought the rifted deep: at once it bursts
And piles a thousand mountains to the clouds.

One might almost think that the poet of the "Seasons" had witnessed such a scene. Great misshapen columns, like those of Stonehenge are
not infrequently seen reared on end, on the top of these ramparts, poised so delicately, that a slight touch will send them thundering down on either side (pp. 51-2).

Just as Thomson had utilized the sublime chaos of the floe ("Winter," 11. 1001-03) to depict foreign regions, Goodsir, more than one hundred years later, quotes Thomson to embellish his guide book to the Arctic. Likening the slabs of ice to the most primitive but, at least, familiar architecture, as George Back had done (Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition, p. 415), he also intimates from the allusion that the delicate assembly of the ice appears both chaotic and "not without a plan," divinely ordained it not contrived. The sublime thrill that he experiences derives as much from the positioning of the massive pieces on the brink of annihilation as from their appearance. In short, the associations arising in the mind contemplating the scene are as powerful as the effect directly on the mind of any of the natural elements.

The power of associationism is given free play by Goodsir on several occasions (pp. 79-80, 133), but perhaps nowhere is it more fancifully displayed than in his aesthetic response to "one of the most beautiful icebergs" encountered by HMS Advice:

It was of immense size. The south side, on which we advanced towards it was almost perpendicular, as if a recent split had taken place; but on rounding the corner and coming abreast of the west side, which we did almost within arm's-length, we found it to be wrought into ledges, ledge above ledge, each festooned with a fringe of crystal icicles, which here and there reaching the ledge beneath, formed columns slender as those of a saracenic mosque; within them ran a gallery green as emerald. Two or three tiny cascades were tinkling from ledge to ledge, and fell with a soft plash into the water beneath, sending the pearl-like bubbles dancing from them over the smooth surface. All was glancing and glittering beneath a bright sun, and if I had had it in my power I could have stood for hours to gaze at it. Passing the corner, the north side was seen to be cut into two deep little bays with sloping
shores, a long point running out between them. The lowest ledge of the west side, rounded the corner and inclined down towards the nearest bay, if so it may be called, and ending in a broad platform. This little bay seemed so snug, and lay so beautifully to the sun, that, unnatural as it may appear, one could not help fancying it, as a fit site for a pretty cottage (pp. 61-2).

Turning the corner from a sublime, vertical, south side to a picturesque, horizontally-ordered western scene, and a cottage dell on the northern side, Goodsir practises a sort of imaginative sculpting, creating the columns of a mosque in which the ice is magically "green as emerald" (as it was in the dream Coleridge recorded as "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" [II. 53-4]), a "tinkling" fountain, bays (as if the ice were, indeed, an island), and a neighbourhood for an English cottage. The matter is perhaps so foreign but, for the moment, so innocuous, that he is capable of making it over into familiar sights.

Although he refrains from making a picture, he does render the berg more art than nature, and, in so doing, follows the normal and, for a reader, most effective procedure of identifying an unfamiliar visual phenomenon by means of familiar images: a saracenic mosque or a Lake-District cottage brings the sight of the iceberg closer to the experience of the British reader. What is noteworthy, then, is not that Goodsir practises such correction, but that he transforms nature to such a great degree. His scene is more fanciful than many of the picturesque scenes envisaged by previous Arctic explorers, and it introduces a trend towards the more fanciful scene in the works of what may be called the second generation of maritime, polar explorers during the period under study—explorers who were either not yet born or who were very young when Franklin made his first expedition in 1819.
II.12--SEARCHING FOR FRANKLIN: THE 1850 AND 1851 EXPEDITIONS

The trend towards a more fanciful picturesque view of the North continued through the artistic works by members of the Arctic expeditions of 1850 and 1851. In these years, Lancaster Sound became the haunt of many British mariners. The Austin expedition of 1850-1851 (one of six expeditions to set sail in 1850\textsuperscript{136}), consisted of four ships: HMS Resolute, under Sir Horatio Thomas Austin (d. 1865) who had been 1st Lieutenant on HMS Fury when it was wrecked in 1825 during Parry's third voyage; HMS Assistance, under Captain Erasmus Ommanney (1814-1904); and two screw-steamers, the Pioneer, under Captain Sherard Osborn (1822-1875), and the Intrépid, under Captain Bertie Cator. These four ships produced three newspapers among them: the Aurora Borealis, published aboard the Assistance at the 15th of each winter month (Nov. 1850-March 1851), and republished in London under the title of Arctic Miscellanea (1852); the Illustrated Arctic News, edited by Osborn and George F. McDougall, published at the end of each month on board the Resolute (Oct. 31, 1850-March 14, 1851), and republished in facsimile form in London in 1852; and a few issues of a rare paper, titled Minivalis.

The Resolute and Pioneer wintered at Griffiths Island, while the Assistance and Intrépid wintered twenty-eight miles away at Assistance Bay, Beechey Island, at the south-east extremity of Wellington Channel. There, the two ships were joined by the Lady Franklin and Sophia, under the command of the whaling captain William Penny, by the Felix and Mary, under the command of the seventy-three year old Sir John Ross, and by the ships of the American expedition under Captain de Haven.
In the face of the horror of Franklin's fate, the Austin expedition built with their newspapers and theatrical productions a morale-boosting, illusion-confirming view of their habitation of the gelid zone. Osborn and McDougall, the joint editors of the Illustrated Arctic News, saw as their publication's purpose the need to show "that in the desolation of Land & Ice around us, the gentle lily Wisdom can still be culled--either in the contemplation of the ruins of the Old World, or in the strange, & ever changing phenomena of nature." In an article entitled "Notes from the Plank," Osborn demonstrates that the lily Wisdom of nature, which the culter is meant to seek, are the novel and picturesque aspects of the terrain:

... if nature here does not assume those rich & gorgeous forms under which the imagination becomes entralled in more genial climes, yet the sweet and delicate tints thrown by her across the heavens, and filling up the background of some of her most striking tableaux leave a pensive and reflective effect upon the mind which cannot be well expressed or easily forgot (no. 2, Nov. 30, 1850, p. 117).

Over in the Assistance, the reinforcement of the illusion of the Picturesque took on a humorous but no less fanciful tone, in the form of a newspaper advertisement of real estate:

To be sold or let, with immediate possession. Two new cottages, called Marble Villa and Cerulean Cottage, situated a short distance to the southward of 'Assistance,' in a very picturesque neighbourhood; they both face to the south, having extensive undulating grounds in front, over which fine healthy exercise may be taken; the climate is so well known, that it does not require the flowery language of a Robins to say anything in its praise.

N.B.--There are good quaries of building material close to the cottages, and any quantity of water can be obtained by sinking wells of a few feet.
Landscape appreciation takes an obvious jibe from such a passage, but it is clear that the joke is possible because the British mariners found that when they surveyed the fields of ice from the elevated prospect of their ships' decks, they were inclined to transform desolate wastes and hummocks of ice into "undulating grounds" and cottages, induced by the spontaneous exertion of the aesthetic will to survive. Numerous fanciful pictures are made in prose by "A.B." whose journal extracts appeared in *Aurora Borealis*, and were hailed by the editor as the most valuable sort of submission to the paper that the officers could make. 139.

In the *Lady Franklin*, which was commanded by William Penny, Dr. Peter Cormack Sutherland answers the advertisement, as it were, with the following single-paragraph description of the animated prospect he views in Assistance Bay from the deck of his ship on September 23, 1850:

Assistance Bay was beginning to show signs of life and activity. On this point a party of strollers; on that level plain two boon companions with their guns; wending his way in a rugged ravine; charmed with its iron cascades, and wretchedly dreary, wild, and barren aspect, a solitary individual; and, chasing one another playfully along the beach, the dogs, were the objects that now began to meet and please the eye. 140

The here/there composition of the second sentence parallels the orthogonal structure of a picturesque view. The humanized, animated foreground contrasts ideally with the "wild, and barren aspect" of the ravine through which the solitary traveller wends his way in the middle ground. Not unlike, but perhaps more fanciful than Lyon's picture of the ships at Winter Island, twenty-nine years before, Sutherland's view attracts and merits attention not so much for the landscape as for the human activity going on in it. Such is also the case with J.
Coventry's picture, entitled "Assistance Bay 24th February 1851, The Coldest Day, Mercury Frozen" (below), which was selected as the frontispiece for the first volume of Sutherland's *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits* (1852). Its rendition of landscape, apart from the successful execution of the Claudian convention of hiding the sun on the horizon and behind a headland, offers less interest than does the chronicle it provides of pedestrian excursions and games of field hockey taking place amidst temperatures sufficiently cold to freeze mercury, and in a country whose windswept barrenness is destitute even of a cover of snow. As well, the picture is interesting for its inadvertent suggestion that the Marble Villa and Cerelean Cottage of the advertisement in *Aurora Borealis*, refer, humorously, to the two icesheds in the foreground, built for the storage of explosives and flammable matériel. Coventry in art and Sutherland in prose, like the tars in action, throw the illusion of picturesque reality over
Fanciful too are many of the responses to landscape appearing in *Voyage of the Prince Albert in search of Sir John Franklin* (1851), by William Parker Snow (1817-1895). Commanded by Charles Codrington Forsyth, the Prince Albert explored Prince Regent's Inlet during the 1850 season because Lady Franklin (who funded the voyage) believed Franklin's men would have travelled towards the Boothia Peninsula in the hopes of sanctuary with the Eskimaux who had befriended John Ross's 1829-1833 expedition. Lasting only four months, Forsyth's expedition was chronicled in prose and pictures by Snow, who had been employed formerly as the amanuensis to the historian Thomas Macaulay during his compilation of the first two volumes of his *History*.

Snow, who uses the third to last stanza of Byron's *Childe Harold* as the epigraph to his work, occasionally fancies himself a roaming child, charmed to a "pleasing fear" by the global oceans, in a work whose structure bears several signs of the sort of guide book *Childe Harold* in some ways is. One such sign is the recognition of a point of land (near Leopold Island) because of its similarity to one of the landscapes painted by William Henry James Browne for Robert Burford's Panorama in Leicester Square. Another is the comparison of a new landscape with a familiar one. Near Cape Graham Moore, at Admiralty Inlet on the top of Baffin Island, the Prince Albert lay fogbound on August 28, 1850:

Once or twice it cleared enough for us to see our way, and to make out two or three angular capes or high rocky points on our bow. These, we
thought, were the mere projections of indentations in the coast. One of the clearer intervals suddenly opened out to us a low oval-like valley, presenting every appearance of great verdure and fertility. Upon it I fancied I could make out some Eskimo huts, but no signs of animal life were visible. The sudden manner in which the curtain was drawn aside from this valley gave to it a far superior aspect to what perhaps it really merited; but I could not help for the moment assimilating it, however great the difference might really be, to the far-famed Val d'Ossola first seen from the Simplon Pass in Italy. This arctic vale certainly gave as bright and pleasing relief at that moment, and among those wild and rugged scenes, as the other could in its own neighbourhood.

A scene complete with vestiges of staged artifice, the valley is unveiled as if for the sole pleasure of the landscape enthusiast. The viewer discovers almost a fairy land, a secret garden oasis which, in the middle of a wilderness, is populated perhaps by magical people and animals. Like the majestic vales which Childe Harold discovers after treks across "wild and rugged" mountain ranges, the fog-enshrouded "arctic vale" which Snow sees framed by clouds, whatever it "might really be," brings "bright and pleasing relief" to the weary sojourner.

II.12.iii

At Griffiths Island, Osborn found time to keep a journal as well as edit the Illustrated Arctic News. His entries reveal the diverse effects which the extremes of Arctic daylight have upon response to landscape. In the summer period, when the (Claudian) sunset/sunrise extends over six hours, Osborn speaks enthusiastically of the region:

Nothing strikes the traveller in the north more strongly than the perceptible repose of Nature, although the sun is still illuminating the heavens, during those hours termed night... and the subdued tints of the heavens, as well as the heavy banking of clouds in the neighbourhood of the sun, give to the arctic summer night a quietude as marked as it is pleasant.
But, several months later, by which time the ships were beset in the ice for the winter, the novel quietude has worn into a sense of solitude. On a five days' slogging excursion to Cornwallis Island on October 10, 1850, with Walter May of HMS *Resolute*, Osborn went off alone with his gun after discovering the ruins of a former Esquimaux encampment. He tells himself and his reader that, "like other things, in time the mind became accustomed to it [the landscape]; and, by comparison, one soon learned to see beauties even in the sterility of the north."

But he soon loses comprehension of any meaningful relation between man and nature, and cannot understand the purpose of what the advocate of the Picturesque can only regard as a fruitless void beyond the reaches of art:

> No pen can tell of the unredeemed loneliness of an October evening in this part of the polar world; the monotonous, rounded outline of the adjacent hills, as well as the flat, unmeaning valleys, were of one uniform colour, either deadly white with snow or striped with brown where too steep for the winter mantle as yet to find a holding ground. The very wind scorned courtesy to such a repulsive landscape, and as the stones rattled down the slope of a ravine before the blast, it only recalled dead men's bones, and motion in a catacomb.

Whereas newspaper submissions published on board during the expedition display a view of the desolate tundra landscapes adapted to picturesque illusion, the annihilating threat of space is not allowed to filter through, as it does in Osborn's journal, as long as the searchers for Franklin continued to hold out hope for finding his crew. Even in *Stray Leaves*, Osborn forces himself to turn his thoughts to "rosy ones," in a way that is reminiscent of John Richardson's "endeavour to acquire and preserve that contentment which can render every situation tolerable," during his winter residence at Cumberland House in 1819-1820.

The rattling of dead men's bones is a far cry from the "pleasant" quietude of "the arctic summer night," mentioned by Osborn in his
description of the summer period. His response to landscape oscillates with the extremes of the seasons and, therefore, does not provide the security upon which either identifiable relations between man and nature or aesthetic principles can be formed. Both the fanciful Pictur-esque and the maudlin Sublime reflect the mind of an individual who is bored by and wary of the external world and, thus, not at ease with it.

II.12.iv

The view of the North as a "repulsive landscape" is not held by Osborn in his contributions to the Illustrated Arctic News. Nor is it evident in his edition of the journal of Captain Robert John Le Mesurier M'Clure (1807-1873), his friend who had sailed with George Back in HMS Terror in 1836-1837, patrolled the Great Lakes on board HMS Niagara in 1838 and 1839 after the Upper Canada Rebellion, and who had commanded HMS Investigator to the North via Bering's Strait in 1850, departing five months prior to the Austin expedition. M'Clure, a strong-headed, exceedingly capable commander, had an apparently common Irishman's disregard of landscape. The passages of his own work quoted at length by Osborn in The Discovery of the North-West Passage (1856), attest almost not at all to the character of the region through which he travelled from 1850 to 1854. Likely, M'Clure recognized Osborn's own talent for the "correct" picture, and left it to his friend to embellish his own notes to suit public taste.

Because he published the journal in 1856, before discovery of the Franklin crew, Osborn still strikes the fanciful note in many of the descriptions of landscapes he himself had not seen. By way of picturing the icescapes over which a sledging party, led by M'Clure, passed on
October 22, 1850, en route from the winter quarters of the *Investigator*, up Prince of Wales Strait to the top of Banks Island and Barrow Strait, Osborn employs a telling analogy: "after some difficulty in crossing ridges of broken ice--the hedge-rows of an arctic landscape,--they reached vast fields of smooth ice..." 148 This instance of fancifully identifying a feature of the Arctic landscape as English is not unique. At the top of Banks Island, the prospect extended out across the polar ice-pack in Melville Bay and over to Melville Island, seventy-five miles distant. The view is sublime not just for its vastness, but because it represents the first published sighting of a Northwest Passage: 149 in the distance lay Winter Harbour, where Parry's first expedition spent the winter of 1819-1820. Osborn enlarges the dimensions of the conventional picturesque representation, but his description is not suitably sublime: he retains an England-based schema for the view: "great hills and dales of blue crystalline sea-ice rolled on before them" (p. 137).

To obtain the sublime response to this view from Banks Island, one must burn to the work of Samuel Gurney Cresswell, the expedition's artist, and, specifically, his work, entitled with a sublime simplicity,
"Melville Island from Banks Land." The tiny pair of explorers gaze off into the interminable north from a cliff which, Osborn notes, reaches six hundred feet above the sea: the succession of headlands on Melville Island rises like a series of spectres out of the refracted distance. But the erubescent skies of a late October sunrise which present the view's most sublime aspect show Cresswell's adaptability to a vermillion-lucidity of atmosphere not commonly found in English skies nor in his other works. Such adaptation is fitting for an important painting of an imaginatively and topographically significant view, which charts one location on the aesthetic map of the North.

McClure's Investigator passed the winter of 1850-1851 below Princess Royal Island, in the Prince Of Wales Strait. Still awaiting release from the ice the next summer, the expedition witnessed the natural wonder on the arrival of spring in the land. Osborn, who was not with the mariners, creates a fanciful, romantic, and especially luxuriant picture of the awakening landscape:

It is July in Prince of Wales Strait, the summer season of latitude 70° north: the "Investigator" has bent sails, hoisted up her boats, and keenly eyes from the mast-head watch the daily increase of water, which is detaching the flow from either shore. The russet tints of the land on both shores [the Strait averages a picturesquely moderate breadth of ten miles] have replaced the tiresome white of winter; the ravines are again silent, the débacle has passed, and the waters only run now in modest trickling streams. Here and there along the edge of some deep cleft in the land, the white streak of a pygmy glacier shows where the summer heats cannot penetrate; but on the sunny slopes, or in the sheltered valleys, the modest Flora of the North spreads her short-lived store—lichens and moss—in rich profusion of species and colour. The lovely golden hue of the anemone and poppy, the purple-blossomed saxifrage, and white flowerets of the London-pride, appear interlaced with the rich green of ground-willow, and rose-tinted leaves of sorrel, all relieve the wanderer's eye, and carry him back with softened feelings to some work in his own dear land, where the flowers, and trees, and herbs, though far surpassing in loveliness those before him, are yet not half so much appreciated.
The plover, the phalarope, and bunting, here rear their young untroubled by man; around the margin of the petty lakes formed by melting snow upon the terraces, wild-fowl of many sorts—the king and common eider, the pintail duck, and the Brent goose—form their simple nests, in spite of the prowling fox and piratical boatswain-bird. And then along the face of some beetling cliff, which fronting the south gives good promise of having water early at its base, clouds of shrieking gulls, kitiwakes, and burgomasters, hold a noisy parliament. There was no night to overshadow the scene... Nothing can be more lovely than this Polar night, which is not night... They who have once looked at such a landscape can never forget it, and though perhaps the penalties attached to such a visit to these scenes may serve to check enthusiasm upon the subject of their attractions, yet those least susceptible to the impressions of the wonderful and beautiful, must, when standing among the marvels of those distant regions, have felt emphatically the truth of those eloquent sentences in the Bible in which the Creation is described and every phrase of it declared to be good and perfect (pp. 194-96).

From the notion of the presence of sorrel, an anti-scorbutic which would relieve more than the eye, to the recollection of the great touch-stone of the eighteenth-century Sublime ("And God said, Let there be light: and there was light"), is rather a tremendous aesthetic leap for a single landscape's depiction and contemplation, a leap of the magnitude perceived by Wordsworth in the "meanest flower," in "Intimations of Immortality" (1807). It is also a leap in time, as the analogy between the week of Creation and the pure, innocent Arctic eloquently bears witness. The concluding lengthy, expansive sentence attempts to capture the two extremes of an Arctic summer landscape: the re-emergence after ten months of the small, specific instances of natural beauty, and the total impact of the sudden transformation of the land under continuous sunlight. 152

Two members of M'Clure's expedition, its surgeon and its minister, produced journals that were published. The minister was Johann Mieritzsching, a Moravian missionary in Labrador, who was born in 1817. In 1967, L. H. Neatby translated Mieritzsching's journal, entitling it,
Frozen Ships: The Arctic Diary of Johann Miertsching 1850-1854. Not surprisingly, the missionary's chief concern was for contact with the "Eskimaux" of the western Arctic, but his complete lack of interest in landscape shows, by contrast, how intensely concerned with it the British officers, for the most part, were. Miertsching speaks baldly of the various "frightful" situations of the *Investigator* in pack-ice, and the "pleasant" Arctic sunsets, his avocation for landscape touring virtually undeveloped.

Alexander Armstrong (1818-1899), on the other hand, follows the impressive aesthetic response to landscape by such Navy surgeons before him as Richardson and Sutherland. Off the northern continental coast, west of Point Barrow, on August 6, 1850, he demonstrates a keen perception of how his aesthetic habits tend to make over the natural phenomena before him, transforming and composing them into a recognizable picture:

The position from whence these fears [of becoming icebound] were entertained, could scarcely be supposed to have existence in the frigid regions of the north, from the picturesque beauty and loveliness of the scene which then met the eye; but when I say that ice and water alone contributed to form the landscape, it must be equally difficult to fancy that these elements could so closely imitate true lacustrine scenery. We lay with all our canvas set, hanging sluggishly from the yards on the glassy surface of a sheet of water some two or three miles in diameter, apparently ice-locked. The sun shone forth brilliantly, imparting to us all, the delightful warmth of his rays, and to the icy regions in the distance, that peculiar splendour produced by their reflective power in a highly refractive atmosphere. Masses of snow-white ice, in form resembling little islands were interspersed around, with intervening spaces of water. Numerous as they were, there was light sufficient to display the outline of each as they floated motionless on the surface of the sleeping sea, with the distant and uneven pack all around, forming a land-like but ice-locked boundary resembling one of our own northern lakes in its wintry garb. There a vivid imagination might readily have taken a flight far from the Polar Sea, in contemplating the icy scene which surrounded us, the novelty of which was only surpassed by its beauty.
Like Snow, who likens a Baffin Island valley to Val d'Ossola, or Back, who thinks of Alpine scenes when viewing the tundra, or Chappell, for whom the powerful summer sun striking a calm Arctic sea reminds him of a description of the Syrian desert, or Franklin, Hood, and Richardson, who recall the picturesque aspects of the English Lake District when viewing the prospect from Fort Enterprise—indeed, like almost any explorer whose visual mode of perception involves the composition or, at least, the identification of landscapes—Armstrong perceives nature in terms of the natural world familiar to him and his readers. But his practice differs from some others in its degree of fancifulness, since, as he notes, he finds himself making a terrestrial scene from an aqueous one; that is to say, making a landscape from a seascape. The motionless ship in the foreground, the island-dotted (or lake-dotted) ocean in the middle ground, and the delimiting "distant and uneven pack," resembling hills in the background comprise a view sufficiently similar to its attributes to a winter scene of the Lake District as to enable Armstrong to chart it aesthetically.

But picturesque illusion of a highly fanciful sort, however reassuring it may be momentarily, endures only as long as the "landscape" does; and with the ice continually in motion, Armstrong soon finds himself greeting other prospects. The fear to which he alludes at the outset of his Lake-District paragraph becomes a profoundly-expressed emotion throughout the narrative account of the next three years. On the night of October 8, 1850, in Prince of Wales Strait, HMS Investigator was thrown up on the ice amid
a general movement in the pack; this commenced with a low rumbling noise, resembling the distant roar of the ship, when we were amazed at seeing immense masses of ice slowly and gradually raised to different degrees of elevation, others crumbling to pieces, or packed on each other, and the same force slowly but surely approaching ourselves. Our astonishment rapidly changed into intense anxiety for our own safety (p. 248).

Clearly a landscape enthusiast who prefers his views kept at a distance (no J. M. W. Turner strapped to a ship's mast during a tempest he), Armstrong tends to renege on his self-proclaimed role as the expedition's aesthetic voice once the harrowing litany of ice descends upon the ship.

Yet, just at this point of Armstrong's abdication, Samuel Gurney Cresswell comes into his own. Three of Cresswell's paintings depict the struggle waged between HMS Investigator and the pack-ice. These paintings cover the period beginning with the night Armstrong's aesthetic eye shrinks away, October 8, 1850, and extending one year, until September 23, 1851, during which time the expedition coasted south, out of Prince of Wales Strait, and west, around the southern, western, and northern shores of Banks Island, to the Bay of Mercy, the ship's winter harbour and its grave. Set in landscapes rather than seascapes
in two pictures—"H.M.S. Investigator in the Pack. October 8th 1850" (1), and "Critical Position of H.M.S. Investigator on the North-Coast of Baring[Banks] Island, August 20th 1851" (2)—the ship is a navigational anomaly, involving its sailors in an aesthetic and navigational crisis. Indeed, the whole scene in each case is sublime in the sense that it lies beyond the realm of the human imagination. This sense of the absurdly inconceivable actually being realized changes Cresswell's achievement with a distinctly profound gloom which is evoked by the curious glow of the cabin lantern, shining against the moonlit onslaught of nature in the first work and the tiny figures climbing the mountainous iceberg in desperation in the second (2, detail). The sense of "darkness visible" in the third picture, entitled (2)
"H.M.S. Investigator Running Through In a Narrow Channel in a Snow Storm Between Grounded and Packed Ice. September 23rd, 1851" (3)
together with the sense of impending doom, which suffuses all the works and is effected, principally, by Cresswell's achievements with the technique of chiaroscuro, mark a degree in the rendition of natural sublimity previously unattained in Polar Art.

Armstrong's concerns as a doctor become paramount in his journal from the winter of 1851 onwards. The Investigator remained beset in the Bay of Mercy through 1852, and M'Clure planned to send out the weaker half of his scurvy-ridden crew to seek the continental coast at the Mackenzie Delta in April, 1853. This misguided and disastrous plan was only averted through the sudden arrival on April 6, nine days ahead of the scheduled departure of the infirm, of Bedford Pim, from HMS Resolute, which had wintered twenty-eight days' march away, off Melville Island.

(Coincidentally, Pim was aboard HMS Herald, under Henry Kellett, from 1846 to 1849, and transferred to HMS Plover, under Commander Moore in 1849-1850; thus, he had seen HMS Investigator pass his ship and enter the Beaufort Sea in the summer of 1850. Then he returned to England, only to come back to the Arctic via Baffin Bay in 1852 with the Belcher expedition in HMS Resolute. Upon the discovery of a note which M'Clure had encashed on Melville Island during a sledge expedition in 1852, detailing his intentions of sending the infirm down to the Delta, Pim was sent across Barrow Strait in wild March weather to prevent their departure in April, 1853. In making this journey, he thereby connected explorers from the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans to prove the existence of a Northwest Passage [however un navigable future discovery might prove it to be]; as well, he became both one of last people to whom
McClure's officers bade farewell in 1850 and the first they greeted since, in 1853.

Cresswell led the first sledge expedition from the ship on April 15, heading for the sanctuary of HMS Resolute, twenty-eight days' slogging distant for men in a healthy condition. The providential arrival of Pim did not end the debilitated group's problems, as Cresswell's picture, entitled "Sledging over Hummocky Ice April, 1853" (4),
testifies. The insurmountable state of alien, not to say annihilating, nature did not of a sudden disappear once news of rescue reached the mariners. As the detail shows, Cresswell captures the enormous exertions required of the weakened men to save themselves from the all but overwhelming terrain. The juxtaposition of this scene with Sherard Osborn's fanciful description of such hummocks as hedgerows, points out the vast range of response to polar nature.

II.12.v

When Charles Forsyth and William Parker Snow returned to England in September, 1850, Lady Franklin immediately planned for another expedition to embark the following spring. Thus, on May 22, 1851, a new crew set out under the command of William Kennedy (1814-1890), who had been born at Cumberland House five years before Franklin's first expedition arrived there. The crew included as well John Hepburn, now aged sixty-two, who had been with Franklin, Richardson, Hood, and Back in 1819-1822. Kennedy and a French volunteer, Joseph René Bellot (1826-1853), contributed accounts of the expedition's journey to and winter at Batty Bay, north of Fury Point, on the east coast of Somerset Island (on the west side of Prince Regent's Inlet), and the subsequent spring's sledge journeys across Somerset Island and Peel Sound, to Prince of Wales Island, and back to Port Leopold—a duplication of regions covered by James Clark Ross's expedition in 1848-1849.

Kennedy's response to landscape appears destitute and forlorn in A Short Narrative of the Second Voyage of the Prince Albert; it is the familiar response induced in each of the British mariners who wintered in Prince Regent's Inlet and the Gulf of Boothia—Edward Parry, on his
third voyage, and John Ross, on his second. Kennedy sets the stage with one terse comment, made on viewing the western shores of Greenland:

"but bleakness, barrenness, and famine, this is the general aspect, and anything but an inviting-looking foretaste it was of what we were to expect in those regions. . . ."160 But the Prince Albert, the only ship to winter in the eastern Arctic that year (1851-1852), survived an extremely rigorous winter and an unusually late spring in 1852. As if to give vent, in February, to his distaste for what appeared to be a continuous gale which blew from December through to April, Kennedy fashions a singular outcry, echoing John McLean's lament of a winter spent at Fort Chimo by quoting the same Miltonic passage:

The terrible enemies of travelling parties were the snowstorms and furious gales which prevailed with us during the greater part of the winter. A low temperature, even the lowest recorded in the Arctic regions, is elysium compared with a piercing nor'easter driving the sharp keen spiculae of snow-drift, like a shower of red-hot sand in your face and through every pore of your body. The comparison may seem Hibernian, but nevertheless gives a very good idea of one's sensations under the pitiless discharge of a hurricane of snow-drift in these regions, where as in Milton's Pandemonium,

Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire."

I have a strong opinion that old AEolus, with his den of ruffianly winds, that so shamefully belaboured the pious AEneas, must have emigrated to North Somerset since the days of Virgil.

A deeply religious man, Kennedy appears to doubt the existence of Providence. Short of an outright expression of such doubt, he alludes to the region as a pre-Christian domain, where a "pitiless discharge" of climatic havoc is wreaked by a pagan god who seems bent on presenting a series of "terrible enemies" to "travelling parties." A native of Cumberland House and a resident of England, Kennedy's allusion to Ireland recalls a view of it as a God-forsaken country in the minds of many Englishmen.
Joseph René Bellot can sound like Kennedy, but also responds enthusiastically to the novel scenes about the Prince Albert when it is beset in ice in Baffin Bay on July 29, early on in the voyage:

The sun is taking his revenge for yesterday's eclipse, and is gilding the mountains of ice that surround us and glitter like a cuirass: it is like a sea of glaciers, as thick and golden as a ripe field of wheat .... There is more poetry in this than in the burning lava crust of a volcano. What pencil could reproduce the thousand beauties of the sun playing amid the ice? What pen could describe the thousand sensations experienced by the intellect and the heart? ... 182

But the novelty of being icebound soon wears thin, and, by the rain-drenched 9th of August, Bellot sounds more like Kennedy, Parry, and Ross:

I cannot find hard words enough to say of these icebergs, for which I panted so long at the period of my feverish admiration for the sublime scenes of the north. The sense of its own impotence reacting on the human mind, makes it regard with rage mingled with terror and scorn ... this ignoble triumph of number and of mere physical force. ... But Nature no longer feels her heart beat in the slumber of the north ... Moral nature seems to have abdicated, and nothing remains but a chaos without a purpose, in which everything clashes confusedly and by chance. 183

The Frenchman's landscape concerns strike a new chord, taking Parry's and Ross's complaints of monotony and uniformity to a more profound level. The Frenchman's inquiry, however casual, into the moral character of Nature was not indulged in by his British counterparts because of two aspects of the Picturesque aesthetic: its tendency to keep, as Christopher Hussey maintains, the landscape viewer's attention on the surfaces of nature, their textural values, tonal relations, and compositions; 164 and the faith, still prevalent in early-nineteenth-century Britain, in a basic harmony between man and nature. For the most part, the response to nature by such pre-Darwinians as John Richardson and
David Douglas took the form of belief rather than inquiry. But British explorers who were exposed, not to moderate conditions of nature but to chaotic and desolate extremities of climate and geography do begin to voice doubt. Equipped only with the illusion of reality which was formed in response to moderate English nature, and which produced descriptions of northern landscapes that were more or less fanciful, the British explorer could not stand an indefinite time in realms where nature relentlessly assaulted his prior conceptions of it. Sooner or later he would come to doubt a faith he rarely had reason to question at home, a faith that nature never betrays the heart that loves her. One finds this process of doubt most openly in the work of John Ross, but in others' writings the doubt takes the form of silence; in either case, a fear is registered over the ability of the Picturesque to represent reality, and a recognition is made of the possible existence of a natural force divested of moral purpose—a Demogorgon of raw potentiality, without a cultivated, beneficent character—which appears to be as capable of annihilating man as of protecting and nourishing his physical and aesthetic needs.

—II.13—SEARCHING EXPEDITIONS FOR FRANKLIN; THE 1852 EXPEDITIONS

The spring of 1852 saw the Admiralty launch another large-scale expedition. It was to be the last grand search for the crews of the Erebus and Terror, for after 1854 the Crimean War made its claims on Navy matériel and manpower; with the Arctic expeditions proving repeated failures, their continuation could not be countenanced against an arguably greater need. Captain Edward Belcher (1799-1877), who had sailed
with Beechey aboard HMS Blossom in 1825-1828, headed the 1852-1854 expedition, commanding HMS Assistance. Accompanying him were Kellett in HMS Resolute, and Commander Francis Leopold McClintock (1819-1907) and Captain Osborn, in the screw steamers, Intrepid and Pioneer. Belcher and Osborn proceeded up Wellington Channel, while Kellett and McClintock wintered off Melville Island, whence the rescue expedition at the Bay of Mercy to save M’Clure and company the same fate as Franklin was initiated. As well, the HMS North Star, under Captain Pullen, wintered at Beechey Island, ready as a supply ship to the other four, if need arose; and need did arise.

II.13.i

Belcher’s name lives on, principally for the notorious command to abandon ship which he gave to the whole expedition in 1854. His decision was effected but received little support, especially little from one of the deserted ships, HMS Resolute, which, true to its name, drifted on its own out of the ice of Barrow Strait and Lancaster Sound, and down into Davis Strait where, at 67°N, it was picked up by an American whaler on September 10, 1855, and subsequently returned, to Belcher’s great embarrassment, to Queen Victoria. His journal, The Last of the Arctic Voyages (1855) (certainly his last), spends much type in a defense of its author’s many questionable decisions.

Belcher perceives the environment factually: ice-conditions, daily, even hourly, temperature readings, and so on. His interest in nature extends only to geographical discovery, even though discovery was not, according to his orders, the purpose of his voyage. As the sole written
account of the Wellington Channel segment of the expedition, Belcher's narrative is aesthetically barren. Fortunately, F. McDougall (not, presumably, George F. McDougall, who was at Melville Island with Kellett) supplies some visual interest with several drawings. His two picturesque renditions of naval activities document two modes of making places out of Arctic tracts. The pictures are entitled, "Crystal Palace Winter Quarters 1853-4" (1), and "Duck Shooting in Oomiak" (2). Both the Crystal Palace, after the edifice at the London Exhibition of 1851, and the duck shooting scenes highlight human activity to a degree that the landscapes themselves almost become humanized. Such sublime natural features as vertical cliff-faces are well balanced in "Duck Shooting" by the leisurely posture of the figures at both ends of the oomiak: one takes his ease, while the other, in an act connoting the
fecundity of the surrounding country, scoops a bird from the water. The events transpire either at sunset or sunrise, thereby suiting the prescriptions of the Picturesque ideally.

One further source sheds much light on the aesthetic charts of the Belcher expedition up Wellington Channel. Commander Walter W. May, who had a serious falling out with Belcher during the voyage, produced *A Series of Fourteen Sketches* (1855). Two of these views depict novel occurrences in the landscapes of the North. 168 The first, entitled "H.M.S. Assistance and Pioneer in Winter Quarter, Returning Daylight" (1), displays the curious phenomenon, anticipated in Browne's "Noon in December," 169 of two equal, weak sources of light illuminating a winter-bound snowscape (in Queen's Channel). May annotates "Returning Daylight" as follows:

This plate is intended to represent a curious effect of the power of the moonlight before the return of the sun. On a clear day in the end.
of January, when the sun was below the horizon, but sufficiently strong to give a beautiful tinge of pink over that part of the landscape, I was walking on the floe, and observed that all the shadows were the wrong way. I immediately saw that the moon was more powerful than the returning sun, and with the two lights, one at each end of the picture, a very remarkable effect was produced. The "Pioneer's" fine rigging was thrown out strong against the clear pink sky, while the cask shadows were sharply marked on the field of ice around me.

Not properly picturesque (there is no descent into the middle ground, and no background), the view qualifies as picturesque because of the "uncommon" (to recall Addison's pre-Picturesque phrasing) or "novel" feature of nature it portrays: May's statement clarifies that he had no difficulty in perceiving the "wrong way" scene as a picture.

The second novel scene, entitled "Sledge Party Returning Through Water During the Month of July" (2), records an Arctic corollary to Christ's promenade upon the waters. The sunset glow colours the miraculous act which, however readily explicable as the traverse of a pool that has been formed by the July sun on the surface of an ice-floe, testifies to the amazing feats achieved by the sledding expeditions from all four ships on the 1852-1854 campaign. This picture does not offer the intricate ice formations or variations of light captured so well by Creswell in his picture of sledding across Barrow Strait in the same year (1853), but a subsequent view, entitled "Sledges in a Fair Wind, Going over Hummocky Ice" (3) does. The sense of exposure to the elements is keenly portrayed in the sky and billowing sails: the weather appears on the verge of enveloping the icescape; it has effaced already any distinction between middle ground and background, and threatens to throw over the adventurers a sublime obscurity. "The drift is so strong," writes May, "that it makes some of the objects appear quite indistinct, and with the sky, drift and sledges all going together,
a different picture is presented to any of the rest of the work.

May must be distinguishing icescapes from seascapes, for his picture, entitled "Perilous Position of H.M.S. Assistance and Pioneer on the Evening of the 12th of October, 1853, Disaster Bay" (4), displays a similar natural sublimity in a Turneresque vision of apocalypse at sea. The Assistance threatens to capsize while the Pioneer is barely distinguishable from the sky in a picture almost wholly executed with black and white. The event occurred after Belcher had determined that the Assistance and Pioneer were beset for the winter of 1853-1854 in Wellington Channel. The ships' decks had been housed in and hawsers connected to the grounded ice on shore. But a fierce gale and snowfall rent the ice between the ship and the land, propelling Belcher's vessel out to sea; still attached to the shore ice, it began to heel dreadfully. "The Sketch," May states with dramatic simplicity, "represents the ship on her broadside, before the hawsers were let go." 172

Two more pictures serve to display the range of execution in May's Fourteen Sketches. These are entitled, "H.M.S. Assistance and Pioneer Fast to the Floe, off Cape Majendie, Wellington Channel, 1853" (5), and "Division of Sledges Passing Cape Lady Franklin; Extraordinary Masses of Ice Pressed Against the North Shore of Bathurst Land" (6). May offers a guide-book-like entry for the first of these paintings:

... Cape Majendie is the northern boundary of Wellington Channel, fifty miles to the northward of which, in the Queen's Channel, H.M.S. Assistance and Pioneer wintered in 1852-3. The Sketch was made at midnight, the red cliff being covered by a table-cloth of white mist. There was about two miles of floe between us and the shore, which, together with Dundas Island on the left, completed the scene.

Perceived as a picture, the channel is portrayed like many of Claude's seascapes, the declining (here, the declined) sun hidden behind the
coulisse on one side while the headland on the other rises precipitately from the ocean floor. The intricately shaped ice in the right-hand, and the scene-enlivening ducks in the left-hand foreground echo the contrast perceptible in the geography in either side of the background. The stillness of the open water and the slumbering state of the ships with their sails reefed spread an impressive quietude over this picturesque midnight view.

"Division of Sledges" (6) illustrates several conventions. The variation in shade cast on the foreground and middle ground provides a depth into the picture, which, in turn, intensifies the height of what May, in his notes, calls "this tremendous barrier." The sublime force of nature is explicit, for the sea ice has been thrust against the cape with a force sufficiently strong to thrust peaks of ice above the cape itself. As well, May depicts the route of the journey in a serpentine line, again, probably in order to emphasize depth into the landscape, since his concern in several of the sledging scenes was to define the space through which the voyagers journeyed. This concern arises out of the artist's fear that the sameness of the snow-covered landscape or icescape would strike the viewer of his work (as it struck the voyager) as a two-dimensional absurdity.

Identifying a middle ground proved a continual problem for sledgers: only what was right before them or far in the distance was visible, but because space could not readily be demarcated and approximated between the immediate foreground and distant background, many sledgers found themselves approaching for days a headland they believed no more than twenty miles distant. Of course, the fact that the characteristic English view does not exceed five miles fosters
a perceptual habit of expecting objects in the distance to be only so far away. The English reaction to repeated disillusionment in the landscape was, as May's picture of the north shore of Bathurst Land illustrates, to superimpose on a given terrain or stretch of ice the conventions with which he was familiar: the serpentine line and varying bands of light and shade are what Thomson saw from the hill overlooking Hagley Park, and they are brought forcibly into play in the Arctic for the Englishman's aesthetic nourishment, and in order to make somewhere a place, to make it mean something. Such illusions rendered such "excursions" as McClintock's wondrous one-hundred-and-five-day, twelve-hundred-mile trek across Melville Island, Fitzwilliam Strait, Eglinton and Prince Patrick Islands in the spring of 1853 aesthetically bearable.

II.13.ii

Francis Leopold McClintock was based in the screw steamer Intrepid, wintering with Kellett's HMS Resolute off Melville Island, at Dealy Island, in 1852-1853, and east of Byam Martin Island but still in Viscount Melville Sound in 1853-1854. The record of this portion of the Belcher foray was published in 1857 by George F. McDougall as The Eventful Voyage of H.M. Discovery Ship "Resolute".

Including some of his own sketches, McDougall's work expends much ink on the practical affairs of the expedition: the composition and achievements of the various sledding parties embarking from the Resolute and Intrepid, the effects of scurvy, the examination of Belcher's decision to abandon ship, and a detailed account of the recovery of the Resolute. Perhaps because he had also accompanied Osborn in the Resolute
in 1850-1851, McDougall finds polar landscapes no longer hold the allure of novelty for him that they did when he co-edited and illustrated the Illustrated Arctic News. His narrative effort of the latter expedition is disappointingly unresponsive to nature. One explanation for this is that the arduous, life-endangering work of sledging sapped the intellectual and physical strength of many of the men on the Belcher vessels. They covered all the islands on the north shore of Viscount Melville Sound (M'Clure's Barrow Straits). The drain on the physical network of the European constitution which such travelling exacted colours the little landscape description found in McDougall's journal.

Discussing the comparatively large numbers of animals on Melville Island, McDougall argues that this profusion marks an exception to the proofs from other expeditions of the paucity of wildlife on most of the islands in the polar archipelago. This fact, together with the deposition made by the sailors lately rescued from M'Clure's Investigator (that game was available in abundance on Banks Island, but that the debilities brought on by scurvy prevented the men from profiting from the game because they were too weak to hunt), leads McDougall to assert the following:

even amidst comparative plenty (so far as animal life is concerned) the approach of a third season brings with it a depression of spirits which few minds are strong enough to bear up against, more particularly when scurvy... appears amongst them; the blood becomes stagnant, teeth loosened, gums and palate black and sore, flesh softened, all animation ceases, and with the sun, as he sinks beneath the horizon, leaving the dark and gloomy night of three months duration to usurp His throne, the last ray of hope departs.

Then, contemplating the fate of Franklin's expedition—a subject which, of its own, could colour any Briton's response to polar nature—in light of the consequences of this physioaesthetic atrophy, McDougall concludes
reluctantly:

It must be apparent to the reader that I despair of Sir John Franklin and his brave companions still existing within these regions, the more so as the graves and other relics on Beechey Island prove that their first winter was spent in one of the most unproductive places within the arctic circle.

Whilst fitting out, I overheard a very amusing discourse between an eccentric but talented Scotch gentleman (connected with one of the most important of our public institutions) and a young officer about to make his first trip to the Northern seas.

"Now," said he [the Scotsman], "I see no reason for supposing, that Nature has entirely excluded the northern regions, from participating in the gifts so lavishly displayed, in the more favoured regions of the south. Not that I would have you expect an English landscape, with its meadow lands and picturesque groups of trees; but I venture to predict, that during the summer and autumnal months, you will find the shore of North Devon [the large island forming the north coast of Lancaster Sound and the east side of Wellington Channel, beside which is the tiny Beechey Island] abounding in rich vegetation, which forms the food on which the numerous animals in that locality exist. There, interspersed with gay mosses, you will find brilliant lichen, and luxuriant saxifrage, with the arctic poppy; the whole forming a delightful picture and instructive study to the inquiring mind."

I leave the sojourners at Beechey Island, on board the "North Star," to confirm or refute the above statement. The numerous animals have dwindled down to an occasional solitary bear, whose flesh, even to hungry men, is anything but palatable; and the above description is far too glowing and imaginative, for the scanty portions of the floral world at Beechey, or in its neighbourhood; although it is true that gay mosses and brilliant lichens are to be found there, specimens of which, obtained by Dr. McCormick, may be seen in the Arctic collection at the British Museum.

McDougall pinpoints the important aesthetic thesis on which, as Yi-Fu Tuan states, the identity of man in relation to the external world is based. Ordering sense impressions is a vital procedure in human conduct, but when the order being cast (in this case, by the Scotsman) bears little relation to the phenomena of the external world, it becomes questionable whether that order may stand for reality, and whether it can stand the burden of expectation which the illusions one calls reality must bear.
The "eccentric but talented Scotch gentleman" to whom McDougall alludes is, in all probability, the Dr. McCormick to whom he refers latterly. As the surgeon with Parry in his 1827 effort to reach the North Pole via Spitzbergen (when Parry kept pushing his men northwards day after day, only to discover by astronomical computations that they were travelling southwards, he having mistaken a migrating ice-field for land), and again with James Clark Ross, on his expedition in HMS Erebus and Terror to the Antarctic from 1839 to 1843, Dr. Robert M'Cormick (1800-1890) accompanied Captain W. S. J. Pullen on the supply ship HMS North Star, stationed at Beechey Island during the Belcher expedition. The North Star performed, with the assistance of the smaller vessels, Phoenix and Talbot (which arrived under the command of Edward Inglefield and Captain Jenkins in 1854), the awesome task of ferrying the officers and crews of the Investigator, Resolute, Intrepid, Assistance, and Pioneer back to England in the fall of 1854.

In the summer of 1852, M'Cormick made an open-boat expedition up Wellington Channel, to rendezvous with the Assistance and Intrepid. Two incidents, occurring on successive days, act like companion pictures in demonstrating how prominent the aesthetics of the Picturesque and the Sublime remained during the voyage, in the mind of this "eccentric" and fanciful Scotsman. The first occurs at midday on Sunday, August 22, 1852, and describes the contemplation of a scene:

To the north-westward Baillie Hamilton Island loomed like a dark bank of clouds above the horizon: three or four glistening patches of white light, reflected upon the surface of the dark water through some hidden aperture in the clouds, shone with the brightness of molten silver amid the surrounding lurid atmosphere, rendering the whole scene
altogether a fit subject for the pencil of a Claude. 175

The effect of light and shade is viewed passively and evaluatively by the landscape enthusiast. Yet, by Monday, M'Cormick's strenuous participation in his surroundings transforms him from the passive viewer to the desperate actor, as the Sublime supplants the Picturesque:

When we had got about midway between Cape Osborn and this point [Owen Point, on the west coast of Devon Island] our situation became a truly perilous one; the boat was taking in water faster than we could bale it out, and she was setting down so much as not to leave a streak free; labouring and rising heavily and sluggishly to each successive sea, so that all expected every moment that she would fill and go down the first sea that struck her, from which only the most careful and watchful attention to the helm preserved her. Fortunately for us, at this critical moment, two small bergs aground providentially appeared on the port-bow, and I immediately ran for them, in the hope of finding the water smooth enough under their lee to enable us, by lowering the sail and lying on our oars, to thoroughly bale out all the water from the boat, which was nearly full; in this we happily succeeded whilst lying only a few feet from the bergs in comparatively quiet water, protected by their blue hard washed sides from the seas which broke over them to windward, rebounding upwards in foaming columns of serf [sic] and spray, which dashed high above their summits from forty to fifty feet in height, presenting a wild scene, at once grand, sublime, and awful. 176

The immediate danger of being engulfed in freezing waters, the intervention on man's behalf of a supreme Providence, and the post-crisis description of the violent scene from a secure vantage point are all conventionally set out in two lengthy sentences whose momentum builds to a climax of action and visual splendour, the tokens of which are the three words--'grand, sublime, and awful'--which vie with each other for the descriptive apogee. To the tourist in quest of the Sublime, the danger of an encounter with nature can reach greatest intensity when a picture adumbrating that danger can be formulated. As late as 1884, when M'Cormick's passages were published, the aesthetics of the Picturesque and the Sublime remained the appropriate modes of perceiving
nature. McDougall may begin to view as "eccentric" one who can limn the terrain of Beechey Island on picturesque terms, and, even, on terms of the providential Sublime, but, clearly, M'Cormick felt his methods of landscape description were those that his British readers still expected and accepted. 177

II.13.iv

Sir Edward Augustus Inglefield (1820-1894) made three seasonal trips to the Arctic in 1852, 1853, and 1854. The 1852 expedition was carried out in Lady Franklin's steamer, Isabel (or Isabella), and reached the upper exit of Baffin Bay at Smith Sound, whence later expeditions would make their pushes to the North Pole. Like M'Cormick, Inglefield still retained the Picturesque and the Sublime as the controlling modes of perception in his narrative response to the Arctic. Without the influence of a winter in the region, his 1852 account, entitled A Summer Search for Sir John Franklin (1853), shows Inglefield as a decided landscape connoisseur, as well as a talented painter. 178 Like M'Cormick and so many others, he was supporting the British expectation that the exotic land held sublime fascinations, but, also and equally, that the presence of Britons in the region would serve somehow to transform it into a cultivated realm. This expectation, however ill-founded, remained strong, even past 1859, when, on September 21, Captain Francis Leopold M'Clintock (1819-1907) arrived in London on the Fox with the news that the remains of many of Franklin's men had been discovered on the west and south sides of King William Island. 179
II.14—CONCLUSION

As the Picturesque permitted the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Briton to see the world with an English eye, and to show off his landscape learning, it provided the nineteenth-century imperialist with a way to make other parts of the world British, and to show that he was abetting the effort to impart British/Christian values to foreigners and English scenes to foreign lands: Pope's and Thomson's intentions of making English views worthy of the Arts grew, with confidence, into the urge of the Victorian generations of imperialists to make other parts of the world identifiable by "correcting" them in terms of an English concept of nature. Voyagers embarked, leaving behind what Charles Dickens, in writing about them, called "an English hearth and Devon's waving trees," and, coming face to face with another form of nature, they attempted to "correct" it; first, by decoding the inscrutable terrain, or, as Dickens phrased it, "the secrets of the vast Profound"; then, by making a garden of the desert wide in the name of British aesthetic principles, British science, and a British God. What the tenacious voyagers met was a resilient land which, like the sea, gave up its secrets very grudgingly. Through no fault of their own, the Britons' aesthetic tools were ill-fitted, and, because they were unadaptable, their deployment caused severe perceptual mistakes and consequences which left their marks on the aesthetic map of the North.

Finding picturesque views is, as has been seen throughout the examination of these pictorial and narrative responses to northern British North America, an aesthetic practice which conserves the Briton's idea of how space and time in foreign realms exist in relation to what
he knows. But continuing to find picturesque views where they do not exist, or where the relations between man and nature which underlie the Picturesque aesthetic do not obtain, opens a dangerous abyss between illusion and nature which is not easily bridged. And a perversion in response to nature, that is, increasingly fanciful responses, will, rather than sustain the viewer's sense of identity, imperil his chances for understanding what changes an altered state of nature demands in his relations with it. As George McDougall implies, fanciful pictures produce graves; or, as John Ross noted, snow and ice in a Dutch landscape painting are not the same snow and ice which beset a scurvy-ridden crew of incarcerated Arctic sojourners at the greatest odds with the surrounding terrain and ice.

The unquestioned belief in a harmony operating between man and nature promises a certain blindness to the threat posed by a natural order which does not appear to be guided by the beneficent hand of the Deity. The journalists under study in this chapter who referred what they saw to Milton's conception of Hell may have understood this. Among Canadian writers, E. J. Pratt best understood the consequences of at least one facet of this unswerving belief—the disparity between Christian belief and survival in a remote landscape, whether in Brebeuf and his Brethren, or in "Newfoundland"; and had he lived to proceed from the former poem, through the story of the C.P.R., to the completion of his proposed poem on the Franklin expédition, the fear of an unseeing God which Ross intimates and Bellot contemplates might have been regenerated by Pratt's rich powers of poetic narration.

Arctic exploration pointed out the shortcomings of the Picturesque and the Sublime; the one dependent upon nature as it was structured
in England, the other developed out of literary and artistic representations of nature outside England. Neither aesthetic proved adequate to represent the terrain. Nor did they meet the British explorer's imaginative needs in the North: only the efforts in the poetry of Byron, Shelley, and Keats display an imaginative scope commensurate with that of the explorer, whose map, at least when Franklin and Parry set out in 1819, was a veritable tabula rasa; the mouths of the Mackenzie and the Coppermine Rivers, and the east coast of Baffin Island provided the only markings on the void. Charting the map, realizing the dream of the Northwest Passage—like the Romantic poets' struggle to map the imaginative provinces of the mind—would cost the dreamers their lives. Shelley's epitaph for Keats in Adonais—"Die, / If thou wouldest be with that which thou dost seek!"—appears to be poignantly remembered in another line of heroically alliterative monosyllables, Tennyson's epitaph for the Franklin cenotaph—"They forged the last link with their lives." It was Franklin's crews who discovered the navigable Northwest Passage, but the discovery was like Adonais' staining of the white radiance of eternity, for they died with the consummation of the dream. Adonais was Shelley's understanding of Keats's imaginative quest. Duncan Campbell Scott's comes in his poem, entitled "Ode for the Keats Centenary" (1921); not surprisingly, perhaps, Scott gives Keats's soul the "fields of arctic moss," as a topographical haunt in which to seek "The wonder of the various world, the power / Of seeing great things in loneliness." 181

Between 1770 and 1860, explorers of northern British North America did not perceive the region's vastness in terms of its unique landscape properties—eskers, tarns, permafrosted valleys, gravel beaches of
immense sizes, badlands erosion, glacial flutings, tundra polygons, ice-covered pingos, and more fresh water lakes than in the rest of the world put together. Rather, the Picturesque and the Sublime dictated the way land was perceived, and although, along with astronomical computations, they told Britons where they were relative to the nature and geography of England, they pointed out what the nature of the North did not possess. It was nowhere suggested, for example, that the region be named the Lake District. But, just as the British explorers brought with them all their food and supplies, stubbornly yet understandably resisting adaptation to such proven survival techniques of the indigent peoples as a diet of pemmican and blubber (although the Ross expedition of 1829-1833 survived only because of forced adaptation to this diet), so they brought with them a perceptual mode which they felt was elemental to their aesthetic survival, but which proved adaptable only with difficulty. Distance in a view could only be measured where a foreground was succeeded by a middle ground, and a middle ground by a background. Where this did not occur, the Britons quite naturally complained of monotonous, dreary extents, lacking in variety and uncomposable by conventional techniques. Just as Franklin, in 1825, insisted upon using specially-designed boats, fabricated in London and tested on the Thames, to coast the north shore of the continent, when Eskimaux advised that ice conditions necessitated sledge travel along the shore, so British explorers insisted with a wonderful tenacity upon making their landscape observations based upon made-in-England customs, made in England, where rock seldom meets sky without an intervening band of treetops, hedge-rows, or, at least, a plant- or soil-covering over the bare landform.
Undoubtedly, the tenacity with which Britons attacked their perceptual dilemma compensated, in part, for the unsuitability of their techniques; however, it left for subsequent generations a legacy of landscape perception which could only see the Arctic, almost without exception, as a vast, inhospitable, and annihilating realm. The development of aerial photography and, as in Purdy's poem, the appreciation of minute flora and fauna have suggested new ways of seeing the domain which Canadians have yet to appropriate into their imaginative nationhood. Studies of the Arctic are still being called The Unbelievable Land.
Notes: Chapter II

1 Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory, p. 1.


3 Beattie's call for "words very plain and simple," is quoted above, chpt. 1, p. 34.

4 Coleridge emphasizes the extreme of excess of visual phenomena in his definition of the Sublime as, "boundless or endless allness," but, as I have argued in the preceding chapter, the Sublime represents both extremes of visual detail--profusion and paucity. See Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Biographica Literaria... with Aesthetical Essays, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907), II, 309.


6 See above, Introduction, p. 3


8 Indeed, at the mouth of the Coppermine River, the sun does not dip below the horizon during the month of July. This fact is witnessed by the accompanying multi-exposure photograph of the sunset and sunrise at the mouth, taken by the Hudson's Bay Company, and reprinted in Gordon Speck, Samuel Hearne and the Northwest Passage (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1963), p. 251.
9 This suggestion of the location is offered by Speck, Samuel Hearne and the Northwest Passage, p. 128.

10 Such was, perhaps, not the case, since Hearne seems to have crossed Great Slave Lake near its eastern end, where the southern peninsula extends almost to the north shore.


15 Given the reviewer's conclusion, it appears likely that Mackenzie's account of the North and West reinforced the myth of the
regions as, largely, a wasteland. For a discussion of this myth in the context of the West, see Doug Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of West 1856-1900 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1980), chpt. 7.

Although further discussion of Mackenzie's influence will be included in the next chapter, it may be mentioned here that speculation has arisen that Mackenzie's favourable account of the Red River Valley induced Lord Selkirk to press ahead with the establishment of a settlement in the region; See John Perry Pritchett, The Red River Valley 1811-1849: A Regional Study (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; Toronto: Ryerson; London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1942), p. 26; cited in W. K. Lamb, The Journals and Letters of Alexander Mackenzie, p. 111n., and Owram, Promise of Eden, p. 226n.

16 Canadian Historical Review, XVIII (1937), 301-04.


18 W. Kaye Lamb, The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, p. 190. Lamb prints the MS version of the northern narrative. It is the only part of Mackenzie's work which has survived in a pre-Combean state. Subsequent references to this edition of Mackenzie's works will appear in parentheses in the text, with the designation, Lamb, preceding the page number.


21 Roy Daniells has asserted, without evidence, that Roderic Mackenzie, Alexander's cousin, and the owner of an extensive library at Fort Chipewyan, Lake Athabasca, probably wrote the preliminary "A General History of the Fur Trade." See the Introduction to the Hurtig edition, p. vii. James K. Smith has disputed the claim for Roderic's authorship on the grounds that when the Voyages were being compiled, that is, in the last years of the eighteenth century, the cousins were not on speaking terms, Alexander having dropped out of the North West Company in 1799, and having failed to entice Roderic to join him in the XY Company. See James K. Smith, Alexander Mackenzie; Explorer: The Hero Who Failed (Toronto: McGraw Hill-Ryerson, 1973), pp. 3, 136.

22 My allusion is to Thomas Campbell's Pleasures of Hope (1799), a moral didactic poem, contemporary with Mackenzie's work, in the manner of Mark Akenside's The Pleasures of Imagination (1744, 1772).
Campbell's famous lines read:
'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountains in its azure hue (pt. i, 1. 7).


25 Unlike the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company opposed Lord Selkirk's settlement of the Red River Valley because they perceived settlement as a threat to their concerns.

26 The Fur Trade and the Northwest, to 1857, p. 185. The following account from James K. Smith testifies to the fact that Mackenzie had no intention of allowing his "darling project" to die a quiet death: "Mackenzie was not content to enlist the sympathy of the general reader, who probably enjoyed an adventure story that reflected the hard-driving nature of its author and missed the economic pleas. In January 1802, barely a month after the publication of the Voyages, he submitted a detailed plan of imperial and commercial expansion to Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. Entitled 'Preliminaries of the Establishment of a Permanent British Fishery and Trade in Furs &c. on the Continent and West Coast of North America,' it is Mackenzie at his shrewddest and his most persuasive. The scope both of his thinking and his ambition was bold" (Alexander Mackenzie, Explorer, p. 153).

Mackenzie urged the establishment of a military base at Nootka Sound, the repeal of the trade monopolies granted the East Indian and South Seas Companies, the repeal of the Hudson's Bay Company's transit rights in its territories, and the grant of such rights along the Pacific Coast to a London-based fishery and fur-trading concern. As Smith observes: "Mackenzie was proposing nothing less than the occupation of part of the North Pacific coast by the British government and a linkage of that coast with the St. Lawrence via a unified, regulated trade. His plan combined imperial interest and private enterprise... his solution was to establish yet another chartered company under the aegis of the British government" (p. 154).

27 For a discussion of Pond, the first white man to cross the height of land at the Methye Portage, see Roy Daniells, Alexander Mackenzie and the North West (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp. 35-40. Daniells suggests that Pond's marketing skills influenced Mackenzie.


29 Chappell had travelled already to the north-east coast of North America, in 1813. The Rosamond was sent to protect the fishing fleet...
in Labrador and Newfoundland waters. See Edward Chappell, *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coast of Labrador*, of which no account has been published by any British traveller since the reign of Queen Elizabeth (London: J. Mawman, 1818).

30 Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's Ship Rosamond containing some account of the North-Eastern Coast Of America and of the Tribes inhabiting that Remote Region (London: J. Mawman, 1817); facs. rpt. (Toronto: Coles, 1970), p. 50. Subsequent references to this journal will depend on the 1970 edition and will appear in parentheses in the text.

31 George F. Lyon (1795-1832) sailed with Edward Parry to Repulse Bay in 1821-1824. He makes a similar distinction regarding the sun. His remarks are entered under December 22, 1821, while only a few degrees of latitude north of Chappell's situation in 1814: "As we now had seen the darkest, although not by many degrees the coldest season of the year, it may not here be irrelevant to mention the beautiful appearance of the sky at this period. To describe the colours of these cloudless heavens would be impossible; but the delicacy and pureness of the various blended tints exceeded anything I ever saw, even in Italy. The sun shines with a diminished lustre, so that it is possible to contemplate it without a painful feeling to the eyes, yet the bluish colour, which in severe frost always accompanies it, is, in my opinion, far more pleasing than the glittering borders which are so profusely seen on the clouds in warmer climates. The nights are no less lovely, in consequence of the clearness of the sky. The moon and stars shine with wonderful lustre, and almost persuade one to be pleased with the surrounding desolation. . . ." (The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon of H.M.S. Hecla, during The Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry [London: John Murray, 1824], pp. 99-100.)


33 John Milton, Moscovia: Or, Relations of Moscovia, As far as hath been discovered by English Voyages; Gather'd from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses: And of other less-known Countries lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, lately discovered at several times by Russians, in The Works of John Milton, 18 vols. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932), X, 363. This work was first published posthumously, in 1682. Critics disagree on its date of composition, usually arguing for its placement somewhere in the 1640's.

34 See below, pp. 206-13 and 265-68.

35 It was this experience which, in the words of Huxley's grandson, Julian, "was to have so profound an influence upon his [Huxley's] life." (Thomas Henry Huxley, *I. H. Huxley's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, ed. from unpub. ms. Julian Huxley [London: Chatto and Windus, 1935], p. 9) "Without that [experience]," Julian argues, "he
would in all probability have remained a medical man, his scientific talents perhaps afforded an outlet in human psychology of the more medical sort... the opportunities and duties provided by the voyage, of becoming acquainted with lower forms of life not easily accessible to stay-at-home naturalists, led directly and immediately to his achieving distinction in comparative morphology."


37 That Hood intended his journal for publication, is indicated by his addressing "the reader" (To the Arctic by Canoe, p. 51).

38 Hood mentions Chappell's Narrative, in To the Arctic by Canoe, pp. 14, 18.


40 For Back's springtime rendition of the Methye Portage, made during the second Franklin expedition (1825-1827), see below, p. 197.

41 Among the many poetic pictures Back's picture calls to mind is the first stanza of Duncan Campbell Scott's poem, "Night and the Pines" (1893):

   Here in the pine shade is the nest of night,
   Lined deep with shadows, odorous and dim.
   And here he stays his sweeping flight,
   Here where the strongest wind is lulled for him,
   He lingers brooding until dawn,
   While all the trembling stars move on and on.

   (In Selected Poetry Of Duncan Campbell Scott, ed. Glenn Clever [Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1974], 11. 1-6.)


43 Houston's note on this passage discusses the apparent northerly movement of the tree-line in the century and a half since the location of it by members of the Franklin expedition, in 1820.


45 Samuel Hearne, A Journey to the Northern Ocean, p. 85.
46 Even in midsummer, on July 5, 1771, forty-nine years earlier, while crossing the Stony Mountains, Hearne had faced "weather so bad, with constant snow, sleet, and rain, that we could not see our way, we did not offer to move. . . ." (Samuel Hearne, A Journey to the Northern Ocean, p. 85.)

47 That Back's view picturesquely corrects the prospect at the river mouth, is suggested inadvertently by Richardson's epistolary account of the scene. Writing on July 18 (presumably to his wife, McIlraith does not say), he states: "The islands about the mouth of the river are so numerous that we do not know as yet whether we have come to a deep inlet or arm of the sea running east and west, or merely a coast lined by an assemblage of islands, which, crossing each other, look, from a distance, like a continued shore. . . . At the mouth of the river and round the islands there is a small channel of open water, but, farther off, the ice extends in a continued field, although we are led to expect that it will soon break up." (McIlraith, Life of Sir John Richardson, p. 88.)

Apparently, Back felt that the variety presented by so many islands had to be decreased to allow a picturesque organization of the view. Whether he also floated out from the view all the ice to which Richardson refers, or whether nature had performed this service during the intervening two days between the written account and the date of Back's picture, is difficult to know. Since the expedition embarked on July 21, it would appear that nature may have performed this navigational and aesthetic office of correction.

48 The dating of this picture calls into question Franklin's report that the party did not set out on August 23 until "two P.M." (p. 393): the sunrise picture could have been made only if the party had departed at two a.m.

49 For a discussion of the distance covered on foot, see Houston (ed.), To the Arctic by Canoe, p. 159. Houston also points out the navigational confusions which so delayed the march. Quite probably, the uniform appearance of the terrain to the picturesque eye contributed to the navigators' disorientation.

50 George Malcolm Thomson, The North-West Passage, p. 177.

51 See above, pp. 142-43.

52 William Edward Parry, Journals of the First, Second and Third Voyages for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific in 1819-20-21-22-23-24-25, in His Majesty's Ships Hecla, Griper, and Fury, 5 vols. (London: John Murray, 1828), 1, 209-10. Subsequent references to Parry's works will depend on this edition and will appear in parentheses in the text.

Also published by the first Parry expedition was the ships' newspaper, which appeared irregularly during the winter months. See The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle, ed. Sir Edward Sabine (London: John Murray, 1821).
53 The matter of refraction as an obstacle to perception receives much discussion in the journals of Arctic explorers. On July 4, 1818, in Baffin Bay, at 72° N 56° W, John Ross, commanding his first expedition to the North, in HMS Isabella (with Parry, in HMS Alexander under him), noted the following phenomenon: "A remarkable appearance of unequal refraction was observed here in the ships near us, and also in those at a distance [i.e. the ships of the whaling fleet off Greenland]. Those within two or three miles seemed to be extended to a monstrous height; while those at double the distance appeared to be drawn out in a horizontal direction, even to flatness upon the water." (Captain John Ross; A Voyage of Discovery, made under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's Ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Enquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage, 2 vols. [London: Longman, 1819], I, 91.) The problem of refraction accounts, in all likelihood, for Ross's mistaken conclusion that Lancaster Sound was a bay (I, 241), a conclusion which doomed his career as an explorer for the Admiralty. That Lancaster Sound never shrinks to less than a fifty-kilometre width, suggests how powerfully refraction hinders accurate perception in high latitudes.

The landscape viewer and explorer are influenced to an indefinite degree by refraction: whereas the knowledge of the shape of a ship permits the mariner to correct his perception of a vessel whose appearance is altered by refractory forces, the ignorance of the terrain in remote regions renders landscape perception in refracted situations problematical. Moreover, refraction all but precludes the possibility of the elevated background which closes the conventional picturesque view, because, as Ross mentions, objects or landforms at a distance are protracted horizontally to an acute degree, robbed, as it were, of their vertical stature. Thus, the closed view becomes almost an impossibility, while the vastness imposes itself as the salient feature of the land. (See, as well, Sir John Ross, "Terrestrial Refraction," in Appendix to the Narrative of a Second Voyage in search of a North-West Passage . . . [London: A. W. Webster, 1835], pp. cix-cx, wherein Ross states that, in the North, "it is quite impossible to take correct sketches" [p. cix].)


55 See Journal of a Voyage of Discovery, to the Arctic Regions, Performed Between the 4th of April and the 18th of November, 1818, in His Majesty's Ship Alexander, Wm. EDW. Parry, Esq. Lieutenant and Commander. [London: Richard Phillips, 1819], p. 87.


57 While Parry and Fisher spent 1819-1820 at Winter Harbour, and the Franklin expedition wintered at Cumberland House, James Clouston (1787-1839) was making the first explorations of the Ungava Peninsula for the Hudson's Bay Company. An Orkney schoolmaster who had left home
to take up the position as schoolmaster at Eastmain Factory (on the
east coast of Hudson Bay, at 52°8'N and 78°45'W) at the age of twenty-
one, Clouston's responses to the interior of this giant peninsula were
not unlike Fisher's to Melville Island.

Not intended for publication, the two Journals of James Clouston
1819-1820 are sparsely written, taking, not surprisingly, more the form
of a report than a full-fledged journal. Nevertheless, Clouston's work
is interesting for its occasional remarks on the regions of open wood-
land and tundra through which he passed in search of fur-bearing animals
and Indian hunters. For instance, even to one who calls the desolate
landscapes of the Orkney Islands home, Ungava appears starkly barren:
"July 21 [1820]. Went WbN 15 miles [from Kenogamis] to Seal Lakes, over
the height of land and across the tree-line for the only time during
the course of his travels]. We have passed through creeks and small
ponds these two foregoing days, to-day we have walked carrying the
canoes over the most barren country imaginable. The rocks seem as if by
some great convulsion of nature they had been shaken to pieces a few
years ago. No verdure, nor even white moss to be seen on them, and
lying like stones thrown out of a quarry; which made the walking ex-
Journal of James Clouston 1819-1820," in Northern Quebec and Labrador
Journals and Correspondence 1819-39, ed. R. G. Davies and A. M. John-
son, intro. Glyndwr Williams [London: Hudson's Bay Record Society,
1963], vol. XXIV, p. 60.) Reminiscent of some of Hearne's descriptions
of the tundra landscape, Clouston's "convulsion" theory recalls the
late-seventeenth-century idea, articulated by the early Thomas Burnet,
that mountains and rocks were the product of God's wrath. The chaos of
ice that overwhelmed Fisher has become a chaos of Precambrian rock in
Clouston's travels, as inhospitable and almost impassable for Clouston
in a canoe as the ice of Baffin Bay proved to be for Fisher.

Clouston's guess that not even native people could survive in such
terrain was correct. That the Hudson's Bay Company insisted upon estab-
lishing posts in the region over a twenty-year period, from 1820-1840,
remains testimony to Governor George Simpson's Scottish stubbornness.
After Clouston, William Hendry, in 1828, Nicol Finlayson, in 1830, and
Erland Erlandson, in 1832-33, reported ever more desolate terrain and
bleak trading prospects in increasingly barren journals. (These "journ-
als" are included in Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals.) Only John
McLean, whose work was written for publication, and will be considered
in this chapter in its chronological order (see below, pp.254-60.),
managed both to paint the region in all its lurid chaos, and convince
Simpson to close down operations in the only region of the company's
territories which the governor never visited.

58 In Edward William Parry, Journal of a Second Voyage for the
Discovery of a Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific (Lon-
don: John Murray, 1824), facing p. 118.

59 The landscape is made English to an even greater extent in
Lyon's view, entitled "Situation of H.M. Ships Fury and Hecla at Iglool-
lik 1822-23." (In Parry, Journal of a second voyage [1824], frontis-
piece.) Again, the ice floe is transformed into something resembling
a lawn at the base of the ship, serving as the moment of the picture
as a cricket pitch. The genre of this picture is more that of the
sighting scene than the landscape painting, yet, the landscape (or ice-
scape) has been, as in "Cutting into Winter Island," altered consider-
ably.

60 Captain George Francis Lyon, *The Private Journal of Captain
G. F. Lyon of H.M.S. Hecla, during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under


62 See above, pp. 156-58.

63 In Edward William Parry, *Journal of a second voyage* (1824),
facing p. 266.

64 See above, pp. 172-74.

65 See above, p. 130.


67 This is a paraphrase of Yi-Fu Tuan's statement; see above;
Introduction, p. 3.

68 *Narrative of a second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea
in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827* by John Franklin, Captain, R.N., F.R.
S. and commander of the Expedition; including an Account of the Progress
of a Detachment to the Eastward by John Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S.
surgeon and naturalist to the Expedition (London: John Murray, 1828);
facs. rpt., (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), p. 4. Subsequent references will
depend on the Edmonton edition and will appear in parentheses in the text.


70 Interestingly, when Franklin passed these rapids on August 29, while returning from the sea to winter at Great Bear Lake, he remarks how the effect of refraction "distorted" the view by grossly elevating the mountains and river banks (p. 46). At sunset, when the decrease in air temperature decreased the refraction and restored the scene to its "proper form," the sojourner states that he once again "enjoyed the prospect." The bias in his way of seeing is patent: had he first encountered the rapids on a day of high refraction, the scene may not have attracted his eye. The proportions among the scene's elements, one can only deduce, must play a large part in Franklin's aesthetic perception.


72 David Duncan, a whaling captain who was also in the Arctic during the summer of 1826, makes liberal use of Thomson's Seasons in his journal, entitled Voyage to Davis' Strait. Beset in the pack ice in Davis Strait from August, 1826 to April, 1827, Dugan's ship, the Dundee, was the first whaler to winter as high as 74°N latitude. Duncan uses passages from Seasons as epigraphs on his title page and chapter pages. See Voyage to Davis' Strait, by David Duncan, Master of the Ship Dundee. Sailed from London 3rd April, 1826, and returned 25th June, 1827; having been beset by ice more than eight months; during seventy-five Days of which, the Sun never rose above the Horizon: with an account of the hardships and dangers sustained by the Crew, and many miraculous escapes (London: E. Billing, for the author, 1827), title page, and pp. 26, 67, and 101. The passages quoted are from "Winter," 11. 794-98, 1004-08, 920-25, and 1020-24.

73 Back's selection of prospect in this sketch, as in some of the seascapes included in Franklin's first Narrative, is absolutely fanciful. Not only was Back not on shore at the time (he gave the order to aim at the Eskimaux from the "Reliance" [p. 106]), but, even had he there was no eminence from which the viewer might look down on the scene. Yet, had Back drawn the scene from water-level, he could not have combined the foreground attack with the desolate emptiness in which it occurred: the complete absence of shelter enhances the sublimely perilous situation of the expedition on July 7, 1826.

74 See above, pp. 192-93.

75 In "Expedition Doubling Cape Barrow, July 25, 1821," and "Canoe Broaching To, In a Gale of Wind at Sunrise, Aug. 23, 1821" (see above, pp. 167, 168). In the latter, Back had also employed the motif of rays of sun, as Hood had, in the original version of "An Evening View of Marten Lake,
29-30 August 1820" (see above, p. 156). The technique of omnipotent viewer is adopted also by E. N. Kendall, in "Boats running for shelter in a Storm, into Refuge Cove" (facing p. 205), and in "Expedition Crossing Back's Inlet" (see below, p. 210), where an elevated, picturesque prospect was required to effect the conventional representation of the view.

76 Apparently, Franklin's editorial control has slackened since his first voyage. The portrayal of quite such an uncontrolled situation now seems permissible, at least in pictorial form.

77 See above, pp. 142-43.

78 McIlraith does not state to whom this letter was addressed. Interestingly, Richardson made his first Grand Tour fourteen years later, in 1862, at the age of seventy-five. He toured the galleries of Florence and Rome.

For further discussion of the 1848 searching expedition, see below, pp. 265-68.

79 See above, p. 197.

80 This letter is quoted also by Robert E. Johnson, Sir John Richardson: Arctic Explorer, Natural Historian, Naval Surgeon (London: Taylor and Francis, 1976), p. 58.

81 See above, n. 53.

82 John Ross, A Voyage of Discovery, I, 28. While on his second voyage, Ross made a similar observation: "[August 21, 1829] as Sunday rose on us, it proved a beautiful day, with a sky of the utmost serenity; the atmosphere transparent and the sea so smooth, as almost to leave us without motion. But for one iceberg that was in sight, we might have imagined ourselves in the summer seas in England, though the air was only at 45° as the water was at 43°." {Narrative Of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage, and of a Residence In the Arctic Regions, during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833. By Sir John Ross, C.B., K.S.A., K.C.S., &c. &c. Captain in the Royal Navy. Including the Reports of Commander, now Captain, James Clark Ross, R. N., F.R.S., F.I.S., &c. and the Discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole [1834], 2 vols. in one [London: A. W. Webster, 1835], p. 84.) Subsequent references will depend on the 1835 (authoritative) edition, and will appear in parentheses in the text.

83 The self-deprecation of Ross's remark masks his very serious artistic efforts to represent the landscapes of the Boothia Peninsula. Three examples are reproduced below: "Christian's Monument. Hamilton's Bay and Island" (facing p. 155) (1); "Felix Harbour" (facing p. 194) (2); and "Victoria Harbour" (frontispiece) (3). In each, there is, to a greater or lesser degree, a foreground enlivened by sailors in motion, and a background including skies filled with animated clouds. As well, a flag pole assists in connecting the foreground and background in each.
Yet, the pictures do not impart to the landscape any idea beyond that of barely contained natural chaos. The profusion of mountains in the first and third pictures overwhelms the perspective, while the openness of the second renders the ship vulnerable in anything but secure winter quarters. Whether because these views were made of events early in the expedition (all prior to 1831) or for another reason, the note almost of resignation to the natural world, which pervades the latter half of the narrative, has not yet clouded Ross's pictorial perspective. Still, a lack of definition characterizes these views, confirming, as it were, Ross's stated concern over the relation between his pictures and the character of the terrain, which also brings to mind his comment in the appended essay on refraction that correct views are an impossibility (see above, n. 53).


85 George Malcolm Thomson, The North-West Passage, p. 228.

86 It appears that at least one enterprising individual, Robert Burford, felt he could transpose the natural beauties of the Boothia Peninsula to canvas. Though not taking up Ross's challenge to respond artistically to nature while resident in such alien, remote, lands, Burford saw the possibilities for lionizing Ross's efforts and miraculous return from what all presumed had been his grave. In his Descriptions (1834), Burford articulates with no schematic difficulty or unease the panorama he painted and exhibited at Leicester Square in 1834. Him-
self a firm believer in the Picturesque and the Sublime, he ran rough-
shod over the aesthetic and epistemological dilemmas delineated by Ross,
rendering the explorer's descriptions merely in the fashion of the age:
"The present Panorama, taken from drawings made by Capt. Ross, has been
painted under his immediate inspection. It represents the winter quar-
ters of the Victory, in 1830, in latitude 70°, north, longitude 92°, west; and the spectators are placed in the actual tent in which the
gallant Captain passed the nights during his long and dreary journey
of nearly 500 miles from Victory Harbour to Batty Bay. The dismantled
vessel firmly beset by the ice in Felix Harbour, every part of her
masts, yards, and shrouds, on which it could lodge, covered with snow,
forms a conspicuous object, and gives cheerfulness to the scene, by
affording certain indications of the presence of human beings. The sea
around presents one continued field of ice--towering icebergs of gigan-
tic size and singularly fantastic form--immense masses thrown up by
pressure, called hummocks, together in wild disorder, from some huge
stalactitae, are gracefully pendant; others are surrounded by sparry
crystals and brilliant icicles, the prominent surfaces tinged with
the most vivid emerald and violet tints, and the most intense blue
shades lurking in the recesses, presenting a splendid exibition [sic]
of icy grandeur.

"The Continent, called by Capt. Ross, Boothia, and some small Is-
lands, present nearly the same appearance, and are only distinguishable
from the Ocean, by the bare sides of steep and precipitous rocks, which
occasionally rise to a great height, presenting horizontal and
perpendicular strata of primitive [sic] granite; in some places vast
masses are piled with extreme regularity, in others so confused, that
they evidently mark some violent convulsion of nature. These dark and
frowning precipices, without the least marks of vegetation, form a
singular contrast with the pinnacles of ice, and the sparkling whiteness
of the surrounding snow. At a short distance, an Esquimaux village rears
the dome shaped tops of its snow built huts, and a party of these inter-
esting people are represented on their way to pay their first visit
to the ship; whose extraordinary appearance and dress, and grotesque
manners, considerably relieve the scene. Beyond, on every side, the
eye stretches over one interminable field of ice and snow, whose very
barrenness is beautiful, but which conveys a feeling of total privation
and utter desolation. Towards the south the horizon is overspread by
an arch of bright and splendid crimson light, which was always visible
about noon, even when the sun was at its greatest southern declinations;
... The opposite portion of the hemisphere is splendidly illumined
by that extraordinary and beautiful phenomenon, the Aurora Borealis,
vividly darting its brilliant coruscations towards the Zenith in end-
less variety, and tinging the ice and snow with its pale and mellow
light; the remaining portions of the sky, are clear, dark, and un-
clouded, thickly studded with numberless stars, shining with peculiar
lustre; the whole forming a striking and romantic scene, difficult to
conceive, and impossible to describe [for anyone other than Burford,
presumably]; the awful grandeur and sublimity of which, cannot be con-
templated but with the most intense interest, and enthusiastic admir-
ation." (Robert Burford, Descriptions of a View of the Continent of
Boothia, discovered by Captain Ross, in his late Expedition to the Polar
Regions, now exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square. Painted by
the Proprietor Robert Burford, from Drawings by Captain Ross, in 1830
(London: J. and G. Nichols, 1834], pp. 4-6.)

87 "Sir George Back [1796-1878]," DNB, I, 79; quoted, without
reference, by William C. Wonders, in Captain George Back, Narrative
of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River,
and Along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean in the Years 1833, 1834, and
1835 (London: John Murray, 1836) facs. rpt., intro. William C. Wonders
will depend on the Edmonton edition, and will appear in parentheses
in the text.

88 Indeed, the review of Back's Narrative which appeared in the
Edinburgh Review, LXIII (1836), 151-67 (American edition pagination),
simply jumps from one aesthetic moment to the next in its quotation
of the work it calls, "as a composition, superior to every similar work"
(164). A typical paragraph in the review is the following recapitulation
of Back's ascent of the Hoar-Frost River in August 1833: "After sur-
mounting sunken rocks and fresh rapids, which damaged the canoe, and
carrying their whole matériel over three distinct falls, rising like
huge steps to the height of forty-five feet, they completed the last
ascent of this turbulent though romantically beautiful river, diversi-
fied in endless succession with all the finest elements of the pictur-
esque" (155).

89 The painting, by English artist John Martin (1789-1854) and
entitled "Sadak in Search of the Waters of Oblivion," was first displayed
at the Royal Academy in 1812. (See DNB, XII, 1168.) Based upon one of
the stories by James Ridley (1736-1765), entitled Tales of the Genii,
or the delightful lessons of Horam, the son of Asmar. Faithfully trans-
lated from the Persian Manuscript, and compared with the French and
Spanish editions published at Paris and Madrid, by Sir Charles Morell
the painting met with great public acclaim, and gave rise, on April
11, 1814, to an anonymous theatrical production at Covent Garden, which
was enacted thirty-three times but never printed, entitled Sadak and
Kalasrâde; or, The Waters of Oblivion. (See Some Account of the English
stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830, ed. John Genest [1832] Facs.

Having escaped from prison in Verdun, France in 1813, Back was
in England in early 1814. Before being assigned as the midshipman aboard
the Akbar in 1814, he may have attended one of the performances of the
play. The picture is here reproduced from Peter Quennell, Romantic
England: writing and painting, 1717-1851 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson,
1971), p. 238. Both Martin's painting and Ridley's Tales remained
popular through the period of Back's expedition: the twenty-fifth edi-
tion of Tales of the Genii appeared in 1825; Martin's major paintings
were exhibited between 1825 and 1835.

But Back, who had not travelled along the lower reaches of the
Fur Trade route before, finds himself surprised when he meets with a
picturesque scene of "civilization" on a familiar section of the route's
upper reaches: "In the river Saskatchewan, I was not more pleased than
surprised to behold, on the right bank, a large farm house, with barns
and fenced inclosures, amid which were grazing eight or ten fine cows,
and three or four horses" (p. 65).

91 See above, p. 197.
92 "The Height of Land," in Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell
Scott, 11. 51-5.
94 See above, p. 116 At Hearne's point of crossing, the two shores
displayed the opposite landscapes to the ones Back notes: in Hearne,
it is the north shore which is sublime.
95 See above, chpt. 1, p. 74.
96 This scene shows the additional training Back had had in Italy
since the second Franklin expedition. Less clearly defined landscape
features, a much greater sense of obscurity, and of wonder are conveyed
in this scene than in any coastal scene sketched during either Franklin
expedition.
97 L. H. Neatby, "Mr. Back of the Expedition," The Beaver: Magazine
of the North, 294 (Summer 1963), p. 17.
98 Back saw Niagara Falls during the second Franklin expedition's
trip from New York to Lake Simcoe. See Back's picture of Wilberforce Falls, above, p. 173.

99 Back had been to Spitzbergen, on the Buchan expedition of 1818.


Much less interested in landscape for its own sake or any other is James Anderson, whose journal of an expedition down the Back River in 1855 nevertheless throws into relief various qualities of Back's Narrative. While applauding Back for his "most correct" description of scenery on the river, and his "minute and correct" record of the route ("Chief Factor J. Anderson's Back River Journal of 1855," Canadian Field Naturalist, LIV [1940], 134, 135. This journal appeared sequentially in: LIV, 63-7, 84-9, 107-9, 125-26, 134-36, and LV [1941], 9-11, 21-6, 38-44. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses.), he qualifies what appears to be Back's tendency towards exaggeration: "I however think that he has estimated the heights of the Rocks too highly" (85); and "all the rapids mentioned by Back were run without difficulty" (126).

Differences in water levels may account for the latter observation, but the former suggests that Back may have employed some correction of landscape for the purpose of sublime description. Indeed, a good example of how landscape is altered when depicted by imported conventions is found in Anderson's own work: borrowing the term most often identified with Lancelot "Capability" Brown's theory of the placement of trees in a landscape garden, Anderson records, on the point of venturing onto the tundra, that "we saw a clump of small spruce about 16 inches in height" (108). Brown's clumps of oak, and beech, set on an English lawn, appear to be recollected at the sight of the last vestiges of vertical vegetation, set in a vast lawn-like carpet of moss.


102 See above, pp. 116-17.

103 The winter's ice had accumulated on the ship's hull, so that, when released from the ice, the Terror was without its natural stability, its balance jeopardized severely by the ice clinging to one side. Almost capsizing, it had to heeled to its free side in order to permit tars to stand on the clinging ice and to cut it away from the ship's hull. Once this manoeuvre was accomplished, of course, the Terror suddenly righted, almost drowning the ice cutters, and snapping the frozen masts. This is Captain Smythe's picture of this exercise, entitled "Situation of H.M.S. Terror, on the 14th July, 1837." (Captain George
Back, Narrative of an expedition in H.M.S. Terror undertaken with a view to geographical discovery on the Arctic shores in the years 1836-1837 (London: John Murray, 1838), facing p. 404.) Subsequent references to this work will depend on this edition, and will appear in parentheses in the text.

104 See above, pp. 226-27.


The snowshoe trip did include a traverse of the Methye Portage, in the account of which Simpson pays due homage to Back's pictorial rendition of the Clearwater River valley (see above, p. 197) (I, 59).

107 See above, pp. 197-98.

108 See above, p. 199.

109 See above, n. 57.

110 John McLean, John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), facs. rpt., ed. W. S. Wallace, 2 vols. in one (Toronto:
Champlain Society, 1932), II, 211. Subsequent references to this work will depend on the 1932 edition, and will appear in parentheses in the text.

111 The passage reads: "It need scarcely be observed that, in so high a latitude as that of Ungava, the climate presents the extremes of heat and cold; the moderate temperature of spring and autumn is unknown, the rigour of winter being immediately succeeded by the intense heat of summer, and vice versa. "On the 12th of June, 1840, the thermometer was observed to rise from 10° below zero to 76° in the shade, the sky clear and the weather calm; this was, in fact the first day of summer. For ten-days previously the thermometer ranged from 15° below zero to 32° above, and the weather was as boisterous as in the month of January, snowing and blowing furiously all the time. The heat continued to increase, till the thermometer exhibited from 85° to 100° in the shade" (II, 248). "During my residence of five years at Ungava, the thermometer fell twice to 53° below zero; and frequently ranged from 38° to 48° for several days together; the extreme heat rose to 100° at noon in the shade" (II, 250).


113 It is worth considering whether Milton had the region of Ungava in mind when painting the picture of the frozen Continent. His list of sources consulted, which appears at the end of his Brief History of Moscovia (see above, n. 33), includes Richard Hakluyt's Divers Voyages (1582), which included the accounts of Martin Frobisher's and John Davis' voyages to the polar seas. Whether Milton's boyhood imagination was stirred by the story of Henry Hudson, who had examined Ungava Bay and the east coast of Hudson Bay two years after Milton's birth, and who wandered aimlessly to his death with his son and five other mariners in the neighbourhood of Ungava, is a question wanting too much speculation, but it is safe to say that Milton had an abiding interest in Arctic exploration. He chose the subject of the Arctic naval discovery of Moscovia as a five-finger warmup to his history of England when he could, presumably, have chosen any region's history as his subject. And, although most seventeenth-century British exploration of northern North America occurred in the first two decades of Milton's life, narrative accounts did not appear before Samuel Purchas' Hakluytus posthumous in 1625, and Luke Foxe's list of the histories of earlier voyages, which prefaced his own journal, entitled North-West Fox, published in 1635.

But the most important and sublime expedition was recorded by Thomas James (1593?-1635) in The Strange and Dangerous Voyage, a bestseller, published in 1633 at the command of Charles I. A number of incidents in James's narrative of his 1631-1632 expedition to James Bay may have proven conducive to Milton's poetic needs for the composition of the frozen Continent. For example, James notes that the greatest fear among the crew was that they were "destined to starve upon a piece of Ice," the same fate which awaits travellers to Milton's region (II,
600). (Thomas James, The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James, in his intended Discovery of the Northwest Passage into the South Sea wherein the Miseries Indured, Both Going, Wintering, Returning: & the Rarities observed, both Philosophicall and Mathematicall, are related in this Journall of it. Published by His Maiesties command. . . . [London: John Partridge, 1633]; rpt. in The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull and Captain Thomas James of Bristol in search of a North-West Passage, in 1631-32, ed. Miller Christy, 2 vols. [London: Cambridge Univ. Press, for the Hakluyt Society, 1894], II, 570. Subsequent references to this work will depend on the 1894 edition, and will appear in parentheses.) By mishap, one of James's crew set a forest fire on Charlton Island in the spring of 1632, necessitating a flight from fire to the ice, as in Milton, while the ship's dogs "would sit downe on their tayles and howle" (II, 559, 560, 561). Moreover, like Mclean, James notes the "most vnaturall climate" (II, 562) experienced in June, 1632, when, "in the day time, it will be extreme hot, yea, not indurable in the sunne. . . . [while] in the night, againe, it will freeze an inch thicke in the ponds, and in the tubs about and in our house. . . ." The unmistakable consequence of such a climate was, in James's opinion, that it "did torment our men" (II, 551), who actually believed those of them who died to be the fortunate ones (II, 570), notwithstanding the horrifying discovery on May 18, 1632, of the body of the gunner, preserved "immovable, infixed, and frozen round," in ice against the ship's hull, having been committed to the sea "in deepe water, neere 6 moneths before" (II, 549). A living hell, to be sure, and a land which James summarizes simply as "barren of all goodnesse" (II, 477).

Joseph Addison argued in The Spectator that Milton's scenes were sublime because the poet had imagined the unimaginable. (See "Spectator 279" [Saturday, January 19, 1712], in The Spectator, 5 vols., ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols., III, 585-90, esp. 586-87.) The remark remains uncontestable for much of Paradise Lost, but perhaps not for the painting of the frozen Continent. At any rate, the significant fact in this aesthetic discussion is that two hundred years after James's voyage, Mclean's response to the endless nothingness in the landscapes of Ungava is funnelled through a literary and artistic convention whose formulation in eighteenth-century Britain owes much to Milton and something perhaps to previous Englishmen's responses to the neighbourhood of Ungava. When Coleridge used James's narrative as a source for his "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" in 1798, a sublime poem of the highest order, he continued the English aesthetic's indebtedness to a terrain which remains imagined more often than visited. (See perhaps the first mention of Coleridge's reading of James, in J. F. Nicholls' article, in Bristol Biographies, no. 2, p. 76; discussed by Christy in his edition of James's work, pp. clxxix-clc.)

114 See above, p.102.

115 See above, p.237.

116 One series of letters, by Captain Henry Lefroy, documents the brigade trip to Athabasca that Mclean made upon his return from furlough in 1843. Several other narratives describe aspects of exploration in
the North by Hudson's Bay Company traders during the 1840's. For a discussion of them all, see Appendix A.


118 The *Illustrated London News* for May 24, 1845, printed the following anonymous lines, entitled "Departure":

> A desert waste of waters lies before;  
> Behind, the anxious, hospitable shore  
> Which, like a parent bird, sees ye depart,  
> Bold-winged messengers of daring art  
> We know that sunshine always round your path  
> Cannot attend, that rain and tempests' roar  
> Will be your portion, but our prayer shall be  
> You live their fury out right gallantly,  
> And after years you have perchance to roam.  
> That, science crowned, you safely seek your home.

119 Lieutenant W[iilliam][Huleme] Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski, with Incidents of An Arctic Boat Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, as far as the Mackenzie River and Cape Bathurst* (London: John Murray, 1853), pp. 310, 401.

120 See above, p. 171.

121 In *Ten Months*, facing p. 171.


123 Both for Seemann and Franklin, the disfavour shown for the natural realm colours reaction to the indigene of the coast. Seemann, especially, implies that a garden can be made out of gravel beaches, and that the Eskimaux will not attain the status of human beings until they cultivate (which is, for Seemann, to say, civilize) their natural habitat. His idea is wholly European, and misplaced, and, finally, understandable, for it is with the Picturesque that his values and illusion of reality lie: "The region is as yet unchanged by human efforts .... Villages exist, yet all that our minds associate with them is wanting. On approaching we expect to meet with roads and bridges and smiling fields, to behold peaceful dwellings peeping through green boughs, and the steeple of the church towering heavenwards: in an Eskimo village these pleasing features are looked for in vain. At the commencement of summer the habitations are deserted, the natives having left.
for the coast [not Brighton or Calais, presumably], in order to lay in a stock of whale and seal blubber. The underground dwellings look cheerless and are filled with water, the surrounding ground is strewn with bones and fragments of skin, broken sledges, and other remnants, the paths are overgrown with herbage,—the whole presenting a picture of misery and desolation. The Eskimas have not yet learned that migratory habits and progress in civilizations are opposed to each other; nor have they learned to make the soil supply more than it is willing spontaneously to yield: the whole region is in a state of nature..." (Narrative, II, 19).

Interestingly, Seemann's view has been overturned by subsequent history: it is the white man who has learned many Eskimaux ways in the North, scattering a legacy of oil drums across the tundra where the Eskimaux left sledges and bones. In a landscape where the ground does not furnish sustenance, less importance is consequently accorded to it by its residents. The difference between living and surviving has become greater than tissue thin only, in the last generation: until the last twenty years, one could ill-afford to ornament or embellish a land where such practices served no vital purpose. Aesthetically, such embellishment was needed by itinerant Europeans, as Skill's fanciful picture of Eskimaux life makes clear. Perhaps, discarded oil drums do serve a perverse aesthetic function of providing an instant leitmotif of ruins.


125 See above, pp. 160-61.

126 Alexander Hunter Murray (b. 1818), better known for his survey of Newfoundland between 1864 and 1878, was establishing a trading post on the Porcupine River in 1847. In his 1848 report to Chief Factor McPherson; which was published as Journal of the Yukon 1847-48 (1910), he recognizes the Methye Portage as a scenic delight of the northwest not only for its aesthetic properties but for the artistic treatment it had received from the pens and pencils of Franklin and others. Prefacing his report to McPherson in May, 1848, he states: "... I must not attempt to compete with my more gifted contemporaries of the 'verdant' and 'flowery' land in portraying with 'language poetical' the beauties of the country, the 'panoramic views,' etc., etc. not that I am devoid of feelings of admiration for the 'sublime and beautiful,' but that the Arctic regions have few such attractions." (Journal of the Yukon 1847-48, ed. L. J. Burpee [Ottawa: Canadian Archives, no. 4, 1910], p. 1.) But, when describing on June 14, 1847, the transmontane portage between the Rat and Bell Rivers, which he says, "is to us [in the Yukon] what Portage La Loche [Methye Portage] is to the [people] of the Mackenzie" (p. 53), he likens the view aesthetically to various descriptions of the view of the Clearwater River valley from the Cockscomb: "on emerging from this thicket we stood on the brow of a steep hill overlooking the valley of the Rat River, the view here, although
of a different description [sic], was almost equal to that on the west side of Portage La Loche. Had the bleak and 'snow capped' mountains which bounded the valley on each side, been covered with heather, the marshy [sic] ground below us, through which the river wandered, covered with green fields, and the stunted pines to 'spreading oaks,' it would have been greatly enhanced in my opinion. The blue smoke curling upwards from the clump of dark pines far away in the hollow, had a fine effect on the scene, but a still finer effect on my spirits, for by it I knew that our people were alive and our houses safe" (p. 27). As liberal a corrector of land as any British tourist, Murray makes over the view into a landscape, echoing Mackenzie/Combe, Back, and Parry in figuring forth the picturesque sentiment of contentment by the image of rising smoke. (See above, pp. 122, 227, and 177.)

Also a sketcher (his "Ramparts of Porcupine River" appears on p. 36), Murray painted portraits of Indians and Eskimaux, which are coincidental with those of Paul Kane, and which much impressed John Richardson when the two men met on the Mackenzie River in 1848. Several of Murray's portraits and scenes of Indian and Eskimaux life were included by Richardson in his Arctic Searching Expedition (facings: I, 377, 381, 384, 391, and 397).

But Murray was foremost a fur trader, and the commercial views which mingle with his aesthetic views in welcoming the sight of the "blue smoke curling upwards" from the Brownian "clump" of pines, also operates, on occasion, at variance with an aesthetic response to terrain: Unaware, perhaps, that he had crossed into Russian territory, Murray ventured below the confluence of the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers, hoping to establish a trading post. With such a hope, he could only be disappointed with the deficiencies of a low-lying country: "As far as we had come (21 miles) I never saw an uglier river, every where low banks, apparently lately overflowed, with lakes and swamps behind, the trees too small for building, the water abominably dirty and the current furious . . ." (p. 43).

127 See above, p. 197.

128 In the context of the adaptation of the Picturesque to the rise in interest of scientific (as opposed to aesthetic) modes of perceiving nature, see the valuable work by Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960).

129 See above, p. 209.

130 John Rae, an Orkney doctor educated in Edinburgh, displays, like Richard King, a keen unaesthetic interest in landscape in his published work. His first surveys were conducted in 1847, along the bottom of Committee Bay in the Gulf of Boothia. Completing the first-ever successful winter on the Barrens, at Fort Hope, on the shores of Repulse Bay, Rae proceeded across the isthmus to Committee Bay in April, 1847, travelling up the west coast of the Gulf of Boothia as far as Lord Mayor's Bay, named by James Clark Ross while he was a member of John Ross's 1829-1933 expedition. At this point, and at this time, Rae was no more than one hundred and fifty miles east of where HMS Erebus and
Terror had passed their second winter, beset by the pack ice off King William Island, and Rae was even closer to the cairn where Captain Crozier was to leave news of the expedition to that point.

After returning to Fort Hope, Rae, who displays a singular willingness to rely heavily upon Eskimaux manpower and survival techniques which is now apparent among other Britons and which may have much to do with a different perception of nature which his youth in the Orkneys gave him, again set out, in May, to trace the east coast of the Gulf of Boothia as far north as ten miles below Parry's Fury and Hecla Strait, before food shortage turned him back. He arrived at York Factory on September 6. The sameness of the landscape is his terse comment on the vast expanses of tundra which he mapped. See Sir John Rae, Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847 (London: T. & W. Boone, 1850).

Rae's report on his journey without Richardson during the 1850-1851 season, when he did manage to cross to Wollaston Land (since discovered to be an island, and named Victoria Island), appeared as, "Journey from Great Bear Lake to Wollaston Land and Recent Explorations along the south and East Coast of Victoria Land," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XXII (1852), 73-97. On this excursion, he reached the eastern extremity of Victoria Island, coming within thirty miles of some of the remains of the missing voyage before returning to Fort Confidence.

In 1854, Rae virtually retraced the steps he took in 1847, and met with Eskimaux who had buttons and utensils belonging to members of Franklin's expedition. The Eskimaux told Rae that they had discovered signs among the skeletons of the voyage's crew that cannibalism had been practiced by the last survivors. See "Arctic Exploration with Information Respecting Sir John Franklin's Missing Party," Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, XXV (1855), 246-56.


132 The similarity between Browne's "The Bivouac" and H. N. Head's "Situation of H.M. Ships Hecla & Fury, August 7, 1825" (see above, p. 194), is not surprising: the two views are of the same coastal cliffs on the east shore of Somerset Island. Given the Arctic voyager's habit of reading all available literature on the subject of Arctic travel, it is very likely that Browne would have known Head's picture, and recognized the coast, as Thomas Simpson had, recognized Victoria Headland, in terms of its previous artistic representation.

Of course, Goodsir's voyage proved unsuccessful in penetrating even as far as Lancaster Sound; thus, this mariner did not pass a winter in the North. His comment must be tempered by the remembrance of the challenge John Ross made to the artists in mid-winter (see above, pp. 223-24).

The phrase is Pope's; see above, chpt. I, p. 54, for discussion of his ideas relative to the development of the Picturesque.

The following chart lists the six expeditions of 1850:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date of departure</th>
<th>Commander</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Date of return</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20/01/50</td>
<td>Richard Collinson</td>
<td>Enterprise</td>
<td>Bering's Strait</td>
<td>17/05/55</td>
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<td>(1811-1883)</td>
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<td>Robert McClure</td>
<td>Investigator</td>
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<td>(1803-1873)</td>
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<td>13/04/50</td>
<td>William Penny</td>
<td>Lady Frank</td>
<td>Lancaster Sound</td>
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<td>Capt. Stewart</td>
<td>Sophia</td>
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<td>Resolute</td>
<td>Lancaster Sound</td>
<td>26/09/51</td>
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<td>Erasmus Ommanney</td>
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<td>(1814-1904)</td>
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<td>Sherard Osborn</td>
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<td>(1822-1875)</td>
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<td>Bettie Cator</td>
<td>Intrepid</td>
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<tr>
<td>23/05/50</td>
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<td>Felix</td>
<td>Lancaster Sound</td>
<td>25/09/51</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1777-1856)</td>
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<td>Lieut. Phillips</td>
<td>Mary</td>
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<td>25/05/50</td>
<td>Comm. de Haven</td>
<td>Advance</td>
<td>Lancaster Sound</td>
<td>30/09/51</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(American)</td>
<td>Rescue</td>
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<tr>
<td>05/06/50</td>
<td>Charles Codrington</td>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>Prince Regent's Inlet</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>Albert</td>
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138 Arctic Miscellanea. A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search. By the Officers and Seamen of the Expedition (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), pp. 37-8. The "Robins" mentioned refers to George Henry Robins (1778-1847), the legendary English auctioneer whose wit, repartee, and fantastic descriptions turned almost any item to profit. He auctioned the property and belongings of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill over a twenty-four day period in April, 1842; as well, he was an acquaintance of Byron and Sheridan (DNB, XVI, 1322-23).

139 The first passage recounts an "excursion" by boat through a Salvatorian arch, formed in a giant iceberg, which rent asunder soon after the boat passed through it; the second depicts a midnight "scene."

140 Peter C. Sutherland, M.D., Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits, in the Years 1850-51, performed by H.M. Ships "Lady Franklin" and "Sophia," under the command of Mr. William Penny, in Search of the Missing Crews of H.M. Ships Erebus and Terror; with a Narrative of Sledge Excursions on the Ice of Wellington Channel; and Observations on the Natural History and Physical Features of the Countries and Frozen Seas Visited, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman's, 1852), I, 380.

A similarly fanciful rendition of a berg-studded icefield appears earlier on in Sutherland's work, under July 9, 1850, when the vessels were traversing Baffin Bay: "The route we had to follow among icebergs was, to say the least of it, very dangerous... In groups of eighty or one hundred, planted closely together, and joined in communication by one or two of the groups, the whole surface seemed to the eye of fancy as if it were covered over and occupied by towns, linked together by delightful villas, beautiful suburban cottages, and noble and ancient looking castles, and venerable churches in ruins" (I, 185-86). Sutherland treats the icebergs as if he were a landscape gardener, grouping and planting them as if they were trees and shrubs. The vision of towns and castellated forms of architecture in iceberg-laden floes recurs frequently in the journals of travellers to Baffin Bay.

141 See above, pp. 176-77.


143 Snow, Voyage, pp. 351-52.

144 Captain Sherard Osborn, Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal or Eighteen Months in the Polar Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin's Expedition in 1850-51. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman's,
1852), pp. 44-5.


146 Osborn, Stray Leaves, p. 145.

147 See above, p. 142. That the fanciful picturesque served as a valuable aesthetic antidote to the effects on the travellers of what they perceived as desolation, was not concurred with by all observers. Dr. Richard King, who had journeyed with George Back on the 1833-1835 explorations (see above, pp. 224-40), and who had the dubious distinctions of both astutely surmising the whereabouts of the 1845 Franklin expedition long before anyone else (as early as 1846!), and of promoting his plans for a land expedition of rescue in such an uncivil manner as to bring dishonour upon himself and scorn upon what would have proven to be a successful rescue strategy, argued, in a letter to Sir John Barrow, head of the Admiralty, that yet another sea expedition would only guarantee another winter, "in acting plays and other Merry Andrew tricks that these officers may make a book out of the sterility around them." (Quoted in George Malcolm Thomson, The North-West Passage p. 234.) For King's self-vindication, see his work, The Franklin Expedition from First to Last. To His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, A Letter of Appeal (London: John Churchill, 1860). As cited earlier, see also Hugh N. Wulff, The Navy, The Company, and Richard King.


149 The qualification, "published," is necessary, since subsequent expeditions proved that those members of Franklin's 1845 expedition who reached the continental coast at Montreal Island and Starvation Cove (likëly in 1848) had made the first discovery of a passage.

150 Samuel Gurney Cresswell, Dedicated by Special Permission to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, a Series of Eight Sketches In Colour (together with a chart of the route) of the Voyage of H.M.S. Investigator (Captain M'Clure), during the Discovery of the North-West Passage (London: Day and Son, 1854), Pl. VI. Subsequent references to these paintings will depend on this folio. A lithographic version of this picture appeared in M'Clure, The Discovery, facing p. 256.

151 Such passages as this one occasion L. H. Meatby's assessment
of Osborn's work as "being the sort of adventure story which the Victorians loved, full of the dramatic incident and scenic description that Osborn was so well fitted to produce, and, in detail, no more realistic than an election address" (In Quest of the North West Passage, p. 229). Neatby's assessment lacks critical judiciousness, for he judges Osborn's writing in terms of a modern sensibility of realism. Quite possibly, the Victorian seaman loved adventure as much as the Victorian reader loved to read about it.

That Osborn finds such an extreme terrestrial phenomenon as twenty-four hour sunlight a proof of a "good and perfect" world, may have been induced by the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis, but appears at odds with the fourteenth: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years." Still, the point of Osborn's remark remains grounded in the optimism that the Franklin expedition would be found.

Alex. Armstrong, M.D., R.N., A Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the North-West Passage; with Numerous Incidents of Travel and Adventure during nearly Five Years' continuous Service in the Arctic Regions while in search of the Expedition under Sir John Franklin (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), pp. 89-90. Subsequent references to this work will depend on this edition, and will appear in parentheses in the text.

See above, p. 232.

See above, p. 130.

See above, pp. 150-55.

Armstrong describes a similar scene, encountered at sunset ten days later, which may be regarded as a companion to the view on August 6 (pp. 125-26). An example of the discrepancy between Miertsching's and Armstrong's responses to landscape is Nelson Head, the southern cape of Banks Island, discovered on September 6, 1850. Where Miertsching states merely that, "the southernmost promontory is a cliff rising vertically 780 feet above the sea. Behind it is a loftier peak of a height estimated at over two thousand feet" (Reisebeschreibung; tr. Frozen Ships: The Diary of Johann Miertsching, tr. L. H. Neatby (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), p. 68), Armstrong indulges in a rapturous account that heaps the superlative Sublime atop the Picturesque: "The wind gradually fell light towards evening [the Claudian hour], and we continued working through loose ice until we had reached within ten miles of our discovery; which appeared still bolder and more imposing in its outline. As if to add to the cheerful feeling we experienced, the sunset was peculiarly beautiful, tinting the western horizon with colours no effort of art could pourtray [sic]—the most brilliant scarlet and crimson, stratified on a rich neutral ground, formed by a harmonious blending of all the elementary colours of the rainbow, a picture of pure Arctic scenery, stillness, and beauty, which cast an auspicious bâjo around
this new land. . .

"The appearance this bold headland presented while approaching the shore in the boat, and when viewed in profile, was exceedingly fine; indeed, I may state that its sublimity and grandeur, was only equalled by its picturesque beauty—producing an effect, I have seldom seen surpassed, and recalling forcibly to mind, but on a scale of greater magnitude, the finest of our old gothic structures and castellated mansions according as its positions varied with our progress; but viewed from whatever point, it presented a grand and imposing aspect" (pp. 208, 212-13). As well, see Cresswell's picture, entitled "Bold Headland on Baring [Banks] Island" (in . . . A Series of Eight Sketches, Pl. II), which impressively defies Armstrong's opinion that the scene defied art.

158 See above, p. 282.

159 Richard Collinson, in HMS Enterprise, was meant to sail with and command M'Clure, but M'Clure outmanoeuvred him in the Pacific Ocean and reached the Arctic in time for the 1850 season. M'Clure remained ahead of Collinson throughout. The single record of Collinson's voyage is his own, entitled Journal of H.M.S. Enterprise, on the Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin's Ships by Behring Strait 1850-55, ed. Major-General T. B. Collinson (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, Rivington; 1889). The work was compiled from the explorer's notes. Like his fellow Irishman, M'Clure, Collinson responds to the lands through which he passed in a singularly unaesthetic manner.

In a sense, the expedition was comprised of a series of unlucky failures, since any land which it reached had been discovered only months before by M'Clure in a slower ship, or by John Rae by boat.
Briefly, the Collinson voyage reached the Chuckchee Sea in 1850, but wintered (1850-1851) in Hawai [illegible]. The second winter (1851-1852) was spent at the mouth of Prince of Wales Strait, up which M'C lure had sailed and wintered the year before. The next year (1852), after sailing up and down the Strait, Collinson headed across the south side of Victoria Island, which John Rae had surveyed the previous summer (see above, n. 130), wintering on its east-south-eastern point in 1852-1853 without finding the remains of the Franklin expedition less than one hundred miles away, across Victoria Strait. The fourth winter (1853-1854) was spent in Camden Bay, near Franklin's Return Reef, the vessel having failed to depart the Beaufort Sea in time to avoid another winter in the ice. Christmas, 1854, was spent at Japan, and the uneventful though lengthy voyage ended at Sheerness, England, on May 17, 1855. Collinson does display some regard for landscape six years later, in "Nine Weeks in Canada," in Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861, ed. Francis Galton (Cambridge and London: Macmillan, 1862), pp. 167-88. The ascent of the St. Lawrence at its mouth, the road between Toronto and Collingwood, the north channel above Manitoulin Island, Niagara Falls, the routes from Rondeau to Chatham, and from London to Toronto, and the Thousand Islands, all attract his aesthetic notice.


161 Kennedy, A Short Narrative, p. 106.


164 See above, chpt. I, p. 46.

165 Quite possibly, Belcher suppressed other journals. It is surprising, for example, that Osborn published nothing. On the other hand, the seemingly ceaseless sledge expeditions occupied much of the mariners' time on this expedition. As well, there exists the possibility that Osborn could only respond to the land with silence at this point, his edition of M'C lure's journal taxing his aesthetic resources.

166 In Captain Sir Edward Belcher, The Last of the Arctic Voyages; being a narrative of the Expedition in H.M.S. Assistance, in Search of Sir John Franklin, during the Years 1852-53-54, 2 vols. (London:
Belcher had considered the construction of this ice palace, and proceeded with the illusion under the guise of the possible need for the shelter it would provide. Various passages from his work testify to the fact that the palace's construction made the landscape of Cornwallis Island identifiable and purposeful for the Britons: "Our Crystal Palace is far advanced, glazed, and merely awaits the roofing. A smaller house for magnetic and astronomical purposes has also been completed [for] without it [i.e. science], all the gifts of Nature, their application, beauty, and gratitude for their enjoyment, would cease to exist! . . . The entire buildings present from the ship rather a formidable appearance; the Palace, with its winter windows, resembling casemated embrasures, and the Observatory a flanking bastion" (The Last of the Arctic Voyages, II, 60, 64). On November 9, 1853, the Palace was opened officially. In -23°F temperatures, as Belcher's icon to science mimicked London's in every respect: "The Crystal Palace being complete, and the flag-staff erected; on this the natal day of His Royal Highness the Heir Apparent, the national colours were displayed, the crews assembled, the heaths of our Gracious Queen, the Prince and Royal Family drunk, and the Palace duly christened 'Albert House, of Victoria Town,' with three times three hearty cheers. The observatory also obtained the honour of 'Cornwall Lodge.' This concluded the ceremony, except that which was perhaps almost as acceptable to the spirited builders,—the repetition of the toast at their warm meal in Alsopp's universally applauded 'best'" (II, 66-7).

Commander Walter W. May, A Series of Fourteen Sketches made during the Voyage up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin, K.C.M., and the Missing Crews of H.M. Discovery-Ships Erebus and Terror: together with a Short Account of Each Drawing (London: Day and Son, 1855). PT, III, and XIII. Subsequent references to these works will depend on this edition of them.

See above, p. 268.

See above, p. 291.

Belcher published his own, inferior, rendition of this scene, which appeared in lithograph as the frontispiece to the second volume of his narrative.

See above, chpt. I, p. 79.

Master George F. McDougall, The Eventful Voyage of H.M. Discovery Ship "Resolute" to the Arctic Regions in search of Sir John Franklin and the missing crews of H.M. Discovery Ships "Erebus" and "Terror," 1852, 1853, 1854, to which is added an Account of her being fallen in with by an American whaler after her Abandonment in Barrow Straits, and of Her Presentation to Queen Victoria by the Government of the United States (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857), pp. 278-79.

Robert M'Cormick, Voyages of Discovery in the Arctic and Antartic Seas, and round the World: Being Personal Narratives of Attempts to Reach the North and South Poles; and of an open-boat Expedition up the Wellington Channel in search of Sir John Franklin and Her Majesty's Ships "Erebus" and "Terror," in Her Majesty's Boat "Forlorn Hope," under the command of the Author, 2 vols. (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884), II, 120.

M'Cormick, Voyages of Discovery, II, 123.

Of course, M'Cormick was eighty-four years old in 1884, when his journals were published; thus, his taste may not have reflected the mainstream aesthetic taste of the time.

Commander Edward Augustus Inglefield, A Summer Search for Sir John Franklin; with a Peep into the Polar Basin (London: Thomas Harris-son, 1853). For narrative pictures, see, for example, the rather standard descriptions of a sunset (pp. 14-15), and of a vista of icebergs in Baffin Bay (pp. 37-8). For pictorial views, see the frontispiece, and facing p. 2.

Regrettably, another Irishman with little aesthetic interest in landscape, M'Clintock's account of his 1857-1859 expedition is as bleak and barren as the horrifying scenes discovered by Hobson and him. See The Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions (London: John Murray, 1859), facs. rpt., (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1972). Slight glimpses of landscape occur at pp. 15-16, 103, and 168.

Allen William Young, who accompanied M'Clintock, but surveyed the uncharted area north of King William Island, finding no traces of the Franklin party, published anonymously two accounts: "The Search for Sir John Franklin (from the private journal of an officer of the Fox)," Cornhill Magazine, 1 (1860), 96-121 (see, especially, 104-05); and The Search for Sir John Franklin. From the Journal of A.Y. (London, 1875).

These phrases come from another example of the enduring British aesthetic attitude toward the North. They are from The Frozen Deep, a play co-authored, enacted, and produced by Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins, and performed privately at Tavistock and also before the Queen in 1857. (Under the Management of Charles Dickens. His Production of "The Frozen Deep", ed. Robert Louis Brannan [Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1966]. "Prologue," II. 34, 17. Brannan attributes the Prologue to Dickens (p. 98).)

Dickens was a great supporter of Arctic exploration, and of search expeditions for Franklin, devoting articles to these subjects in issues of Household Words, from 1854-1857. On the one hand, Dickens described Franklin's efforts as a sublime descent "far into the valley of the shadow of Death" ("The Lost Arctic Voyagers," Household Words, X. [Dec. 2, 1854], 362), but, on the other, saw the change that Imperial England could effect on a far-flung realm in aesthetic terms. In the Prologue to the play, for example, Dickens has the Arctic voyagers regenerate the valley of the shadow of Death into a postlapsarian landscape garden.
One savage footprint on the lonely shore,
Where one man list'n'd to the surge's roar;
Not all the winds that stir the mighty sea
Can every ruffle in the memory.
If such its interest and thrill, O then
Pause on the footprints of heroic men,
Making a garden of the desert wide
Where Parry conquer'd and FRANKLIN died. (ll. 1-8)

In Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott, 11. 65, 55-6.

This statistic is offered by George Malcolm Thomson, The North-West Passage, p. 15.

Francis McClintock, for example, remained pessimistic about the white man's habitation of the Arctic under any conditions. He writes the following passage in response to the singular absence of Esquimaux at Admiralty Inlet, which had been noted by Back, Dease and Simpson, and Anderson, as well as himself: "None of us have met natives there, and consequently it is fair to conclude that the Esquimaux but seldom resort to so inhospitable a locality. In fact, their life is spent in a struggle for existence, and depends mainly upon their skill in taking seals during the long winter—a matter which requires such long training, that no European has ever yet succeeded in acquiring it. "My two Greenland Esquimaux tried various methods at Bellot Strait, yet did not succeed; and without dogs trained to scent out the small breathing holes of the seals, through the ice and through the snow which overlays the ice and conceals them from observation, I do not think that even the Boothian Esquimaux could live. It requires not only that a man should possess a trained dog, but that he himself should be well trained in the only successful mode of seal-hunting in this locality in order to subsist. It is, therefore, evidently an error to suppose that where an Esquimaux can live, a civilized man can live there also. Esquimaux habits are so entirely different from those of all other people, that I believe there is no instance on record of either a white man or an Indian becoming domesticated amongst them, or acquiring tolerable expertness in the management of a kayak." ("Narrative of the Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin and his Party," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 31 [1861], 13.)

Chapter III

III.1--BRITISH MARINERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST (1778-1794)

The discovery of the Pacific Ocean had included such illustrious names as Balboa, Magellan, Cortes, Drake, and Bering before the grandest of them, James Cook, undertook his three voyages in the eighth decade of the eighteenth century. The third of those voyages was the Pacific response to the British quest for a Northwest Passage. Abetted by the British Parliament's offer of £20,000 for the discovery, Cook set sail for the North Pacific Ocean in 1776. Before long, British merchants would follow him to the lucrative trade which his mariners reported.

III.1.1--Cook, Portlock and Dixon, Meares (1778-1788)

III.1.1.1--Captain Cook in 1778

Before Captain James Cook (1728-1779) departed on his third voyage to the Pacific Ocean in 1776 he was informed by the Hudson's Bay Company that Samuel Hearne had found no Northwest Passage below 66°N lat. Not wholly convinced, he persevered in his efforts to explore the west coast of North America northward from 40°N lat.

Cook named Cape Flattery [sic], on the south side of Juan de Fuca Strait, on Sunday, March 22, 1778, during his third year of his third
voyage. Before night fell and gales rose to drive HMS Resolution and Discovery offshore and beyond sight of the coast for another week, Cook made this observation of the cape which, although he would never know it, marked one side of a strait which hitherto had lived only in legend: "There is a round hill of a moderate height [sic] over it, and all the land on this part of the coast is of a moderate and pretty equal height, well covered with wood and had a very pleasant and fertile appearance" (III, i, 293). In one of the few views he had of the continental mainland during the spring of 1778, the mariner was impressed both by the moderation of landform and by the plentitude of mast-high trees. By March 31, when his ships were anchored in King George's (Nootka) Sound, at Resolution Cove, on the east side of the Clerke Peninsula of Bligh Island, he observed a country that "had a very different appearance to what we had before seen, it was full of high mountains" (III, i, 294). Yet, the supply of wood and safe anchorage compensated for the sublime bleakness looming before the Captain. "The more inland Mountains were covered with Snow, [and] in other respects they seemed to be naked," he observed, adding: "When ever it rained with us Snow fell on the Neighbouring hills, the Climate is however infinitely [sic] milder than on the East coast of America under the same parallel of latitude" (III, i, 309).

While Cook was put at ease by the landscape, Commander Charles Clerke (1741-1779), in command of HMS Discovery, recorded a no less pleased but somewhat more practically-minded impression: "The wood in general is Fir, there are different kinds of it, and such a variety of Sizes, that in going a very considerable distance, you may cut Sticks of every gradation, from a Main Mast for your Ship, to one for your Jolly Boat; and these I suppose as good as are to be procur'd in any
part of the World"—(III, ii, 1323). Meanwhile, the official response to the landscape of King George's Sound was taken by John Webber (c. 1750-1793), the Royal-Academy-trained Admiralty-commissioned draughtsman aboard HMS Resolution. Entitled "The Anchorage at Nootka Sound" (facing III, i, 304), his picture displays conventional landscape taste, moderating even the towering firs to conformable heights, and "generalizing" them "in the eighteenth-century manner," as Cook's modern editor, J. C. Beaglehole, points out (III, i, ccxi). If they could not stand as Claudian cypresses, the indigenous conifers must at least do their best. The natives and sailors mingle in an indistinguishable mélange of carpentry and trading that bespeaks another aspect of the secure anchorage—the friendliness of the natives. The background mountains, as well as the precipices and chasms noted by one writer, are simply omitted. The water is tranquil and only the presence of the odd Salvatoresque blasted pine indicates the existence of sublime nature at the scene.

One of Cook's crew, however, did not share his comrades' pleasant sensations regarding Nootka. James King (1750-1784), Cook's second lieutenant and astronomer on the Resolution, offers a single-paragraph estimation of the country on this part of Vancouver Island. Younger
than Clerke or Cook, but more observant and less quick to approve indiscriminately of such a storehouse of masts, King composes at once a more critically careful and aesthetically integrated judgement of the natural picture:

The land round the [Nootka] Sound is very much broken into high precipices & deep chasms; and all parts of which are wooded, & continue so down to the water side, where the shore is steep & rocky; the few level spots one meets with, are only bogs & swamps, & the whole has a melancholy appearance; not even the noise or mark of Animals or birds are here either to be seen or heard to give some little animation to the woods of King Georges Sound. The high mountains which rise on the back & far inland are many of them bare, & serve to heighten and finish the Picture of as wild & savage a Country as one can well draw in so temperate a climate: but this is only to be understood of the Sound, for both to the NW & SE of it the land is of a midling [sic] height, level and of a good appearance, particularly to the SE, where the Country is flat: for a considerable distance, & then rises gradually to the mountains, & this level begins immediately round the East point of the Sound, where our Gentlemen found a number of well beaten Paths (III, ii, 1402).

As if producing a landscape triptych, King flanks the sublime ("melancholy" and "wild") central landscape by two views of vertically moderate terrain. While the sublime Sound, rent with precipices, chasms, bogs, and swamps, and wooded right down to the water's edge, displays no signs of life and repulses human penetration, the "midling" heights to the left and right, as it were, provide a picturesque contrast of moderation in the landforms and vegetation, a moderation which the Briton implies that he expected to encounter in so "temperate a climate." Finally, the more inviting picturesque scenes symbolize their aesthetic agreeableness to King and his fellow rambling "Gentlemen" by disclosing what a landscape tourist cherishes so highly--"a number of well beaten Paths." Mention of the paths climaxes King's paragraph and confirms for the Briton the pleasant sensation which conquers the initial melancholy about the Sound. The stay of four weeks in Nootka Sound, which provided
Cook's ships with much-needed supplies of timber and water, and which introduced the mariners to the well-behaved Nootka Indians—"Our Friends," as Cook calls them (II, i; 307)—was consecrated by Cook's decision to name the most "snug" harbour he found Friendly Cove.

From April 27 to May 2 Cook did not see land. Then, Mt. Edgcombé [sic] appeared and Cook proceeded along what is today the Alaskan coast. His ships never again touched on what is now the Canadian Pacific Coast: the next winter, Cook was killed in a far less friendly cove (Kealakekua Bay) in Hawaii, and the final year's voyage (1779) was directed by Clerke up Bering's Straits to the Arctic Ocean.

III.1.I.ii—Portlock and Dixon in 1786-1787

The Indians' willingness to trade, together with the natural harbour available in Nootka Sound were duly reported by the survivors of Cook's third voyage. British merchant mariners were thereby induced to sail for Nootka and make it a sort of commercial mecca in the next decade, and a trade competing stiffly with Americans and Spaniards was embarked upon. 3 Nathaniel Portlock (1748?-1817), who had served as master's mate under Clerke in the Discovery during Cook's third voyage, and who had; therefore, already seen Nootka, was employed in 1785 by the newly-formed King George's Sound Company. He sailed in the King George from Gravesend on August 29, 1785. George Dixon (d.1800?), who had served under Cook as petty officer on the Resolution in 1778, commanded the Queen Charlotte, and sailed under Portlock's command. After touching at Cook's River and other locations on the Alaskan coast in the summer of 1786, the ships were prevented by high seas from entering
Nootka Sound in September, and proceeded to winter at Hawaii and return to the Pacific coast in the spring of 1787.

While Portlock did not coast sufficiently far south to touch at any location now on a map of Canada, Dixon ranged below 54°N lat., discovering the insularity of the Queen Charlotte Islands and naming them after his ship and the reigning British queen. In *A Voyage round the World* (1789), Portlock displays a very slight regard for landscape. For his part, Dixon, perhaps fearing that any account which he wrote would also lack the necessary aesthetic appreciation of nature demanded by the British readership, gave over the authority of his voyage's journal to his supercargo, William Beresford, who arranged it as a series of forty-nine letters addressed to one "Hamilen," and also entitled *A Voyage round the World* (1789). Beresford clearly has an aesthetic awareness: he speaks of the effect on his mind of sublime storms at sea, and compares them in degree to the thunderstorm described by Thomson in *The Seasons*: "here, every awful situation in Thomson's picture was brought on the canvass in the most conspicuous point of view, and the majesty of the whole still heightened by the roaring of the wind, the raging of the sea, and a more than common darkness, which overspread the surrounding atmosphere (p. 80)." Again in 1787, however, Portlock and Dixon spent most of the trading season in the north. Only a cursory statement is made in their two books on the prospect of the Queen Charlotte Islands (p. 224), in which Dixon alone traded.

III.1.I.iii—Meares in 1788

During the following summer of 1788, John Meares (1756?-1809),
who had been ranging up and down the Pacific coast since 1786, and who was found by Portlock wintering at Sutherland's Cove, Prince William Sound (61°N lat. and 147°W long.) in May, 1787, sailed his brig Nootka up Juán de Fuca Strait. Seeking other Indian chiefs like Maquinna at Nootka, and Wicananish at Port Cox with whom he could establish an exclusive trade, Meares was extending his sizable Vancouver Island coastal profits, though against stiff American competition and Spanish naval disapproval. In Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 (1790), Meares represents himself as a veteran of naval combat against the Americans on the Great Lakes "in my early years" (presumably, during the American Revolution). He was also a highly opportunist trader. When Spanish authorities seized his ships at Nootka in 1789, Meares prepared his narrative and Memorial to the British Government, in which he claimed huge losses. Probably aware that his case needed representation in the most advantageous manner, he had his narrative ghost-written by William Combe (who would perform a similar function for Alexander Mackenzie eleven years later). 8

In order to heighten the moment of Meares's claimed rediscovery of the legendary Juan de Fuca Strait, Combe calls out his sublime vocabulary for a full salvo:

The appearance of the land was wild in the extreme,—immense forests covered the whole of it within our sight, down to the very beach, which was lofty and cragged, and which the sea dashed with fearful rage. The shore was lined with rocks and rocky islets, nor could we perceive any bay or inlet that seemed to promise the least security to the smallest vessel . . . (p. 157).

By seizing Meares's ships, the Spanish appeared to be laying claim to the entire Pacific coast. Meares, therefore, had to convince British authorities that the land merited a full struggle to reclaim it from
the Spanish; otherwise, he would lose his property. His strategy lay in commissioning Combe to picture the coast in such a way as to enchant Britons aesthetically. Such sublime descriptions as the foregoing one were tempered with picturesque landscapes. These follow Meares's naming of Mount Olympus in the modern state of Washington—an incident and name which call the reader's attention to the mariner's classically heroic feats. Thus, it is a sort of hero who discovers the following picturesque scene at Cape Disappointment:

The face of the country, however, assumed a very different appearance from that of the Northern coast. Many beautiful spots, covered with the finest verdure, solicited out attention; and the land rose in a very gradual ascent to the distant mountains, skirted by a white sandy beach down to the sea. As we sailed along, spacious lawns and hanging woods everywhere met the delighted eye—but not an human being appeared to inhabit the fertile country of New Albion (p. 168).

The single-paragraph structure frames a wonderfully natural, untended landscape which wants only human subjects to harness its fertility. Meares's intent (by way of Combe) is patent here: by invoking the name of New Albion, by which Cook had named the whole coast, he calls forth the history of the British naval claims to the territory, suggesting at the same time that its most fertile and pleasing locales are left vacant by the Indians, awaiting British exploitation and settlement.

III:1.II—Vancouver and Menzies (1792-1794)

The protests by Meares against the seizure of his ships by the Spanish captain Martinez did not bring Spain and England to war. The Nootka Sound Convention was signed in Madrid in November, 1790, and by it Spain ceded its claims to the North Pacific to England. Thus, when Captain George Vancouver (1758-1798) set sail in HMS Discovery
with Lieutenant William Robert Broughton (1762-1821) in the Chatham on April 1, 1791, his diplomatic mission was only formally "to receive back in form the territory on which the Spaniards had seized." More important, he was ordered to undertake what Bern Anderson, in Surveyor of the Sea (1960), has called the "phenomenally hard work" of a Pacific coastal survey of North America from latitudes 30°N to 60°N. Not only was such a survey intended to confirm or deny Meares's claims for the Edenic aspects of New Albion but, it was also—all of Samuel Hearne's evidence to the contrary—meant to determine beyond any doubt whether or not a Northwest Passage existed.

Vancouver, who had served as 'able seaman' on the Resolution during Cook's second voyage, and as Clerke's midshipman aboard the Discovery on Cook's third, exhibited in his three summers on the Pacific coast an astonishing tenacity for carrying out his orders. The myriad of archipelagos and sounds, inlets and straits which he drove his men to explore and chart from 1792-1794 would have been the ruin of most mariners. In the end, even Vancouver would not have sufficient endurance to correct all the proofs of his Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World (1798) before dying.

The record of his summer chartings demonstrates poignantly Vancouver's aesthetic interest in landscape and the effect which various prospects had on his enthusiasm for his work. Clearly, acquiring "a more complete knowledge, than has yet been obtained, of the north-west coast of America" at the request of King George III included, as far as Vancouver was concerned, the acquisition of an aesthetic knowledge.

Sailing north of Cape Disappointment in late April, 1792, Vancouver seizes on a prospect not dissimilar to the picture Meares had situated
to the south of the Cape:

The country now before us presented a most luxuriant landscape, and was probably not a little heightened in beauty by the weather that prevailed. The more interior parts were somewhat elevated, and agreeably diversified with hills, from which it gradually descended to the shore, and terminated in a sandy beach. The whole had the appearance of a continued forest extending as far north as the eye could reach, which made me very solicitous to find a port in the vicinity of a country presenting so delightful a prospect of fertility; our attention was therefore earnestly directed to this object, but the sandy beach bounded by breakers extending 3 or 4 miles into the sea, seemed to be completely inaccessible.

Like the charming but inaccessible lands that plagued Odysseus, the coast at the mouth of the Columbia River beckoned and repulsed many mariners before and after Vancouver's initial failure to discover the great river. Like Meares, he is enchanted by the "agreeably diversified" and "gradually descending" country which lends itself—for the viewer from the prow of a ship—to easy organization into landscape pictures. Vancouver may not speak of "spacious lawns," as Meares had, but he does not fail to remark the "delightful prospect of fertility" that was presented to his eyes by the towering forests.

On April 29, Vancouver's ships engaged Juan de Fuca Strait where they sighted the sails of Captain Gray's Columbia (which, after leaving them, coasted down to Cape Disappointment and entered the Columbia River, claiming it for the United States). Still requiring an anchorage where the ships' seams could be plugged and the antiscorbutic spruce beer brewed for the sailors, Vancouver put in on April 30 at a bay he named New Dungeness, "from its great resemblance to Dungeness [between Hastings and Folkestone] in the British channel" (I, 222). A comparison of Old and New World landscapes is only suggested by this naming procedure, but it is followed during the next day's "excursion" in the
cutter to Protection Island by a more substantial comparison:

On landing on the west end of the supposed island, and ascending its
eminence which was nearly a perpendicular cliff, our attention was im-
mediately called to a landscape almost as enchantingly beautiful as
the most elegantly finished pleasure grounds in Europe. From the height
we were now upon, our conjectures of this land being an island situated
before the entrance of an opening in the main land were confirmed. The
summit of this island presented nearly a horizontal surface, inter-
spersed with some inequalities of ground, which produced a beautiful
variety on an extensive lawn covered with luxuriant grass, and diversi-
fied with an abundance of flowers. To the north-westward was a coppice
of pine trees and shrubs of various sorts, that seemed as if it had
been planted for the sole purpose of protecting from the N.W. winds
this delightful meadow, over which were promiscuously scattered a few
clumps of trees, that would have puzzled the most ingenious designer
of pleasure grounds to have arranged more agreeably. Whilst we stopped
to contemplate these several beauties of nature, in a prospect no less
pleasing than unexpected, we gathered some gooseberries and roses in
a state of considerable forwardness. (I, 266).

This natural composition is for Vancouver virtually a replication of an
eighteenth-century landscape garden. Even the "lawns" of which Meares
had boasted display themselves for the enthusiast out on a rowing/ramb-
ing day's excursion, the first since leaving Hawaii in March. More-
over, the "promiscuously scattered ... clumps [emphasis added] of
trees" evidently engage Vancouver's well developed aesthetic discrimi-
nation. In a Brownian effect, the clumps diversify the views along the
meadow while "a coppice of pine trees and shrubs of various sorts" both
closes the view to the northwestward and performs the added practical
function of "protecting" the garden. In a sense, the coppice is for the
perambulators in the pleasure grounds what Protection Island itself is
for Port Discovery. For both landscape enthusiast and mariner alike,
the island park represents a long-sought haven.

On returning for the night to the ships, Vancouver's delight with
the region was compounded by a report that Indians had "traded there in
a very civil and friendly manner" (I, 227). Next morning, (May 2, 1792)
he steered for Port Discovery and encountered en route another picturesque view from yet another "station":

The delightful serenity of the weather greatly aided the beautiful scenery that was now presented; the surface of the sea was perfectly smooth, and the country before us exhibited every thing that bounteous nature could be expected to draw into one point of view. As we had no reason to imagine that this country had ever been indebted for any of its decoration to the hand of man, I could not possibly believe that any uncultivated country had every been discovered exhibiting so rich a picture (I, 127).

Vancouver's last statement implies that he regarded himself both as a geographical and nautical explorer, and as an aesthetic one. Cruising into a naturally protected harbour, past enchantingly pastoral scenes and through water becalmed by the "delightful serenity of the weather," he reaches the apogee of contentment for both mariner and landscape tourist.

Archibald Menzies (1754-1842), a Perthshire Scot, a graduate of the Royal Botanic Garden at Edinburgh, and the naturalist and surgeon on Vancouver's coastal survey, displays in a journal not intended for publication a no less well-developed aesthetic response to Protection Island and Port Discovery. His naturalist's eye notes specific features in the flora that compose the landscape:

When we left the vessels it was a little foggy & calm, but clearing up soon after it became exceedingly pleasant & serene, which added not a little to our enjoyment in this day's [sic] excursion. We kept along shore to the South eastward starting in our way vast flights of water fowl such as Auks, Diver Ducks & Wild Geese, which were so exceeding shy that the sportsmen had very little opportunity of showing their dexterity. After a row of about four leagues we came to an Island the rural appearance of which strongly invited us to stretch our limbs after our long confined situation on board & the dreary sameness of a tedious voyage. Its north west side was guarded by a high naked perpendicular cliff of reddish earth & sand quite inaccessible [sic], but the South side presented a sloping bank covered with green turf so even & regular as if it had been artificially formed.

We found on landing that vegetation had already made great progress,
the shore was skirted with long grass & a variety of wild flowers in full bloom, but what chiefly dazzled our eyes on this occasion was a small species of wild Valerian with reddish colored [sic] flowers growing behind the beach in large thick patches.

On ascending the Bank to the summit of the Island, a rich lawn beautified with nature's luxuriant bounties burst at once on our view & impressed us with no less pleasure than novelty--It was abundantly cropped with a variety of grass clover & wild flower, here & there adorned by aged pines with wide spreading horizontal boughs & well sheltered by a slip of them densely copsed with Underwood stretching along the summit of the steep sandy cliff, the whole seeming as if it had been laid out from the premeditated plan of a judicious designer.

... a little to the South East of us appeared an Inlet which promised fair for affording good shelter for the vessels--Its entrance presents a prospect truly inviting with gentle rising banks on both sides covered with fine verdure & tufted with tall trees loosely scattered, we therefore embarked to examine it & went up about 4 miles, some walked along a fine pebbly beach, others were employed sounding in the Boats till we came to a low sandy point on which we found a run of fresh water sufficient to answer all our purposes with good anchorage close to it & the whole well sheltered by the favourite Island we had left shortening the entrance which on that account obtained the name of Protection Island. Here we kindled a fire & regaled ourselves with some refreshment, after which we returned on board where we arrived about midnight each well satisfied with the success & pleasure of this days excursion.

Unlike Vancouver's, Menzies description of the island and inlet was not written for publication, but it too is based upon the comparison of their visual attributes and effect with artificial European landscapes. Framed by the mariner's relief to be off the ships and his subsequent expression of pleasure when finally returning to them at the end of the excursion, these paragraphs develop by means of familiar landscape features which are significant for the rambler, the naturalist, and the mariner: "a sloping bank covered with green turf so even & regular as if it had been artificially formed"; "a small species of wild Valerian with reddish colored flowers"; "aged pines with wide spreading horizontal boughs"; and "a run of fresh water sufficient to answer all our purposes with good anchorage close to it & the whole well sheltered by the favourite Island."

Vancouver singles out for commentary the open spaces in the
landscape on the Olympic Peninsula, especially those on the east shore of Port Discovery:

["Stately forest trees"] did not conceal the whole face of the country in one uninterrupted wilderness, but pleasingly clothed its eminences, and chequered the vallies; presenting, in many directions, extensive spaces that wore the appearance of having been cleared by art, like the beautiful island we had visited the day before. As we passed along the shore near one of these charming spots, the tracks of deer, or of some such animal, were very numerous, and flattered us with the hope of not wanting refreshments of that nature, while we remained in this quarter (I, 228).

Here the process of making geography--combining nature with the viewer's previously-formed (English) expectations of it--is manifest. More and more as the ships proceed towards and then down Puget Sound, Cook's choice of the name New Albion for this country appears warranted. The openness of some of the terrain induces contemplation of the country as a parkland, and, thus, as favourable for agriculture as well as for estates. Where the perception of the landscape as park-like and farmable is implicit in Vancouver's passage, it is made explicit by Menzies in his description of a ramble over the western shores of Port Discovery on May 7:

While dinner was getting ready on the point, I ascended this Bank with one of the Gentleman & strolled over an extensive lawn, where solitude [,] rich pasture & rural prospects prevail--It presented an uneven surface with slight hollows & gentle, risings interspersed with a few straddling pine trees & edged behind with a thick forest of them that covered over a flat country of very moderate height & render the Western side of this arm a pleasant & desirable tract of both pasture & arable land where the Plough might enter at once without the least obstruction, & where the Soil though light & gravelly appeared capable of yielding in this temperate climate Luxuriant Crops of the European Grains or of rearing herds of Cattle who might here wander at their ease over extensive fields of fine pasture, though the only possessors [sic] of it we saw at this time were a few gigantic Cranes of between three & four feet high who stried over the Lawn with a lordly step (p. 23).
The depiction of the "lordly" cranes as nature's aristocrats provides a charmingly amusing conclusion to a highly optimistic assessment of the land. This optimism carries Menzies past the prospect of the foreground and middle ground to an inclusion for the first time of the picture's background, which is described in a paragraph giving the features of the landscape wholly in terms of their aesthetic interrelations with the rest of the picture:

To the Northeast of us across Admiralty Inlet which is about a league wide we had from this eminence a most delightful & extensive landscape, a large tract of flat country cover'd with fine Verdure & here & there interspers'd with irregular clumps of trees whose dark hue made a beautiful contrast aided by the picturesque appearance of a rugged barrier of high mountains which at some distance terminated our prospect in lofty summits cover'd with perpetual snow (p. 23).

Menzies describes colour, light, and composition, placing the emphasis strongly on the aesthetic character of the coast:

As the month of May wore on, the diligent surveyors proceeded down the northern end of Puget Sound (which Vancouver called Admiralty Inlet near the Strait of Georgia). A surfeit of landscape views evokes in Vancouver, when a still more intensely picturesque response to landscape seems impossible, a prophecy for the whole region, which Britons settling the Oregon Boundary question in 1846 ought to have kept before them:

To describe the beauties of this region will on some future occasion be a very grateful task to the pen of the skilful panegyrist. The serenity of the climate, the innumerable pleasing landscapes, and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man with village, mansions, cottages, and other buildings, to render it the most lovely country that can be imagined, while the labour of the inhabitants must be rewarded in the bounties which Nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation (I, 259).
In this single-paragraph recapitulation, the explorer himself plays panegyrist, imaging an Eden which resembles its biblical forbear in requiring only man's settlement and easy cultivation to become a heaven on earth.

The crowning landscape prize greeted the surveyors near the bottom of the Sound where Mount Rainier and the Olympian range of mountains tower in the distance. In the middle ground of the picture, which would become the site of the Hudson's Bay Company farm at Nisqually, there was "an extensive tract of land moderately elevated and beautifully diversified by pleasing inequalities of surface, enriched with every appearance of fertility" (I, 261). The pictorial version of the scene similarly places the mountain in a context of picturesque diversity. Sketched by the nineteen-year-old John Sykes (1773-1858), finished in London by the professional artist William Alexander (1767-1817), and entitled "Mount Rainier from the South part of Admiralty Inlet (facing I, 268), the picture certainly highlights the mountain,
but the viewer is struck more by the overt uses of symmetry made by Sykes. Almost having the appearance of a viaduct, the shaded inlet (Commencement Bay) flows towards the mountain which bisects it. In the foreground, Sykes depicts one of the many enigmatic poles discovered on the shore throughout the Sound. (Measuring between eighty-five and one hundred feet, and apparently regularly placed, several had human skulls placed atop them, Vancouver records that "they did not contribute the least instruction concerning the purpose for which they were intended" [1, 234].) The pole measures slightly more than the mountain peak in this view. The effect of this, in conjunction with the placement of the peak at only the midpoint of the picture’s total height, is to moderate Mount Rainier’s sublimity. Why this effect is chosen remains unclear unless it is recognized that Vancouver saw the mountains, not as sublime landforms in their own right, but as the fitting background accompaniment to the prevailing "softer beauties" of the Sound itself. Or, it may simply be that Mount Rainier does not dominate the prospect from Brown’s Point, Wash., at the northern tip of Commencement Bay.

So confident does Vancouver become of the park-like qualities of the entire Puget Sound area that he willingly describes landscapes which he himself did not see. In early June, for example, writing, probably, on the basis of Joseph Whidbey’s survey report, Vancouver gives the following description for Penn Cove, on the east side of Whidbey Island, which lies between Puget Sound and the San Juan Islands (U.S.):

The surrounding country, for several miles in most points of view, presented a delightful prospect, consisting chiefly of spacious meadows, elegantly adorned with clumps of trees; amongst which the oak bore a very considerable proportion, in size from four to six feet in circumference. In these beautiful pastures, bordering on an expansive sheet
of water, the deer were seen playing about in great numbers. Nature had here provided the well-stocked park, and wanted only the assistance of art to constitute that desirable assemblage of surface, which is so much sought in other countries, and only to be acquired by an immoderate expense [sic] in manual labour (I, 287-88).

The oak, in particular, attracts the English eye. Since it also possesses deer, the island is viewed favourably by Vancouver as a superior estate in a natural setting that is: "according to Mr. Whidbey's representation, the finest we had yet met with, notwithstanding the very pleasing appearance of many others . . . ."

Writing on June 6, from a landscape "station" on Cypress Island (to the north of Whidbey Island and east of the San Juan group), Menzies pictures the views in each of the compass points but prefers finally the view southward into Puget Sound because of its delightful combinations of unrivalled picturesque parklands and snow-capped mountain backgrounds:

These clear spots or lawns are clothed with a rich carpet of Verdure & adorned with clumps of Trees & a surrounding verge of scattered Pines which with their advantageous situation of the Banks of these inland Arms of the Sea give them a beauty of prospect equal to the most admired Parks of England.

A Traveller wandering over these unfrequented Plains is regaled with a salubrious & vivifying air impregnated with the balsamic fragrance of the surrounding Pinery, while his mind is eagerly occupied every moment on new objects & his sense rivetted on the enchanting variety of the surrounding scenery where the softer beauties of Landscape are harmoniously blended in majestic grandeur with the wild & romantic to form an interesting & picturesque prospect on every side (p. 48).

"Beautiful pastures," "well-stocked park," "lawns . . . clothed with a rich carpet of Verdure," "a beauty of prospect equal to the most admired Parks of England"—such terms, occur with astonishing frequency in the mariners' accounts, creating the impression that the Britons were aesthetically saturated with enchanting natural landscapes during the first five weeks of the survey. The forests open frequently into
meadows. They contain deciduous as well as needleleaf trees, and especially the oak. The climate is temperate, the wildlife abundant, and the topography various. In short, the region appears aesthetically to be a new Albión. It is worth calling attention to these early impressions since the landscapes as well as the mariners' enthusiasm for their work were to alter radically over the next ten months. The change begins to occur in the vicinity of the modern international border. It is generally in response to a movement from beckoning picturesque parkland to repelling sublime rock, from horizontal to vertical foregrounds. But the response is not sudden. Menzies, for example, admits to a certain aesthetic weariness or bloatedness upon landing on Orcas Island on June 8, and expresses relief at and interest in the sight of different natural scenes: "I was not at all displeased at the change & general ruggedness of the surface of the country as it produced a pleasing variety in the objects of my pursuit & added considerably to my Catalogue of Plants" (p. 51).

For Vancouver, the movement from the Picturesque to the Sublime, from the pleasant to the onerous surveys, involved a midpoint of low, swampy land which he did not deem worthy of careful charting, and which is today the site of the city which bears his name. His narrative for June 12-13 must be considered carefully before an estimation can be made of the extent to which his aesthetic response to the coastline accounts for his failure to discover either arm of the Fraser River.

From this point, situated in latitude 48° 57', longitude 237° 20', (which I distinguished by the name of POINT ROBERTS [Wash.], after my esteemed friend and predecessor in the Discovery) the coast takes a direction N. 28 W., and presented a task of examination to which we conceived our equipment very unequal. That which, from hence, appeared the
northern extreme of the continental shore, was a low bluff point [Point Grey], that seemed to form the southern entrance into an extensive sound [Howe Sound]. Having thus early examined and fixed the continental shore to the farthest point seen from the ship, I determined to prosecute our inquiries to the utmost limits that care and frugality could extend our supplies; and, having taken the necessary angles, we proceeded, but soon found our progress along the eastern or continental shore materially impeded by a shoal that extends from point Roberts N. 80 W. 7 or 8 miles, then stretches N. 35 W. about 5 or 6 miles further, where it takes a northerly direction towards the above low bluff point. Along the edge of this bank we had soundings from 10 to 1 fathom [six feet], as we increased or decreased our distance from the eastern shore; to approach which all our endeavours were exerted to no purpose, until nine in the evening, when the shoal, having forced us nearly into the middle of the gulph, we stood over to its western side [the Gulf Islands], in order to land for the night.

About five on Wednesday morning, we again directed our course to the eastern shore, and landed about noon, on the above-mentioned low bluff point [Point Grey]. This, as was suspected, formed the south point of a very extensive sound. The observed latitude here was 49°19', longitude 237°6', making this point (which, in compliment to my friend Captain George Grey of the navy, was called POINT GREY) 7 leagues from point Roberts. The intermediate space is occupied by very low land, apparently a swampy flat, that retires several miles, before the country rises to meet the rugged snowy mountains, which we found still continuing in a direction nearly along the coast. This low flat being very much inundated, and extending behind point Roberts, to join the low land in the bay to the eastward of that point; gives its high land, when seen at a distance, the appearance of an island: this, however, is not the case, notwithstanding there are two openings between this point and point Grey. These can only be navigable for canoes, as the shoal continues along the coast to the distance of seven or eight miles from the shore, on which were lodged, and especially before these openings, logs of wood, and stumps of trees innumerable (I, 299-300).

With apparent suddenness, Vancouver's tenacious efforts at charting the coast slacken. He makes no effort to get closer to the Fraser estuary than either Point Roberts or Point Grey. His estimates of the shoalness of the river arms was uncharacteristically inaccurate: steam-powered boats were making their way up the South Arm to New Westminster within seventy years. Given the interest Vancouver otherwise shows in investigating every inlet along the coast for a possible Northwest Passage, why did he choose to give only a cursory examination of a river delta, especially at a point where there are encouraging signs of a
brief break in the coastal mountain barrier? Since the yawl in which he was sailing certainly would have drafted more than one fathom, the shoal built up across the river mouths would have given him cause for concern. But in the scene which he describes, he was, as George Godwin has put it in *Vancouver, a Life* 1757-1798 (1930), "being told so clearly by every sign of nature which an experienced seaman should easily interpret that there was a mighty waterway, that his obtuseness in not realising the truth must remain a mystery." 17

The mystery is compounded by the fact that during this particular outing in the yawl Vancouver did observe features of the coast that only careful attention could discover. For instance, in running up Burrard Inlet, he found the Capilano Narrows, "not more than a cable's length in width" (I, 300). As Godwin charges, on navigational grounds at least, Vancouver's well-trained eye "should have led [him] to the discovery of the great Fraser River," since "the boat parties were seriously seeking the way through to the Atlantic." 18 But the "mystery" of the failure, if it cannot be explained by considering Vancouver only as a mariner, may be unravelled by considering the aesthetic map that he was charting. The suddenness of the loss of interest in the continental coastline seems to coincide with the land's loss of picturesque properties. The low-lying aspect of the delta islands of Westham, Lulu, and Sea may have attracted the eye trained in the Dutch, but not in the English, Picturesque aesthetic. 19 After six weeks, the loss to Vancouver of recognizably 'English' landscape prospects may have occasioned his decline in interest in the coast: together with the navigational hazards posed by the shoals, the "swampy flat," however obviously it may have promised an inland passage, apparently did not
promise to repay the English aesthetic explorer's efforts to reach it. It was, as Bern Anderson has said of it, "not very impressive."\(^{20}\) And even though Vancouver was told by the Spanish mariners whom he met when he returned to his ships, to expect to find a river mouth between the two points (Menzies, p. 56), neither his aesthetic nor his navigational interests were sufficiently aroused for him to return in smaller boats to the "two openings" which in his eyes were choked with "logs of wood, and stumps of trees innumerable."

Vancouver drew his charts between Point Roberts and Point Grey to show the greatest extent of straight coastline up to that point in the survey. The he proceeded north. He was perhaps in pursuit of more of those sublime views of coastal mountains (forming the foreground now, rather than the background of his prospects) which had beckoned him from today's North and West Vancouver, and which had perhaps given him an aesthetic reason for making the careful survey of Burrard Inlet that had resulted in the discovery of Capilano Narrows. After naming Point Atkinson on June 14, he continued into Queen Charlotte Channel and up Howe Sound, enthralled with new aesthetic discoveries:

The low fertile shores we had been accustomed to see, though lately with some interruption [i.e. on the north shore of "Burrard's Canal"], here no longer existed; their place was now occupied by the base of the stupendous snowy barrier, thinly wooded, and rising from the sea abruptly to the clouds; from whose frigid summit, the dissolving snow in foaming torrents rushed down the sides and chasms of its rugged surface, exhibiting altogether a sublime, though gloomy spectacle, which animated nature seemed to have deserted. Not a bird, nor living creature was to be seen and the roaring of the falling cataracts in every direction precluded their being heard, had any been in our neighbourhood (I, 303-04).

Not only is aesthetic enjoyment patent in Vancouver's response but so also is navigational excitement. Knowing that a Northwest Passage would first have to break through the coastal range, he zealously prosecuted
his survey up Howe Sound and Jervis Inlet to where the mountains begin to eclipse the foreshore and run right into the sea.

By working in concert with the two Spanish brigs--the Sutil (Dionesio Galiano, comm.) and the Mexicana (Cayetano Valdes, comm.)--Vancouver's expedition reached the top of the Strait of Georgia at the end of June. The mariners had passed along a coast which struck them as, in the words of Lieutenant Peter Puget, "the direct reverse of the Pleasant Prospects & delightful Situation of the SE Arm [Puget Sound]. . . ." 1 The nature of that direct reversal may be deduced from Vancouver's initial response to Howe Sound. That the reversal was occasioned by the transition from picturesque to sublime landscapes is confirmed by Menzies' report of what Puget encountered in surveying Jervis Inlet (below the modern town of Powell River, B.C.) on June 17-18:

In going up this Arm they here & there passed immense Cascades rushing from the summits of high precipices & dashing headlong down Chasms against projecting Rocks & Cliffs with a furious wildness that beggar all description. Curiosity led them to approach one of the largest where it pour'd its foaming ponderous stream over high rugged Cliffs & precipices into the fretted Sea with such stunning noise & rapidity of motion that they could not look up to its source without being affected with giddiness nor contemplate its romantic wildness without a mixture of awe & admiration (p. 62). 2

Here there is an exhilarated response to sublime scenery. But as the days wore on, and as each inlet proved to be a sound, the gloomy aspect of the sublime landscapes, whose vertical element had replaced the gently horizontal variations of Puget Sound, came to predominate. "All our expectation vanished," writes Vancouver despondently, "in finding it [Howe Sound] to terminate in a round basin, encompassed on every side by the dreary country already described" (I, 304). By the time they anchored in the third sound, steady rains had set in and a waking
nightmare confronted them: "We seemed now to have forsaken the main direction of the gulph, being on every side encompassed by islands and small rocky islets; some lying along the continental shore, others confusedly scattered, of different forms and dimensions. . . . Through this very unpleasant navigation we sailed" (I, 319). They sailed, in fact, into the archipelago at the top of the Strait, and on to three weeks' anchorage "in [the] dreary place" which Vancouver, no longer thrilled by the sublime prospect of precipitous cliffs, christened with the sublime name of Desolation Sound.

From Desolation Sound the British and Spanish made several boat expeditions in late June to survey the archipelago. On June 28, travelling with Whidbey and Puget up Homfray and Pryce Channels (around the Redonda Islands), Menzies began to discern degrees of sublime gloominess: "... the country became more dreary & barren; large Tracts were seen without the least soil or vegetation, exposing a naked surface of solid rock, of which the mass of Mountains appeared entirely composed" (p. 69). Vancouver echoes Menzies: managing a slightly more expanded description, he mourns the loss of the Picturesque. The morning of June 26 brought light winds and strong tides after a night of rain:

At break of day we found ourselves about half a mile from the shores of a high rocky island [Repulse Island], surrounded by a detached and broken country, whose general appearance was very inhospitable. Stupendous rocky mountains rising almost perpendicularly from the sea, principally composed the north west, north and eastern quarters; on these, pine trees, though not of luxuriant growth, nor of much variety, were produced in great numbers. The pleasing prospects which the shores on the eastern side of the gulph afforded [i.e. in Puget Sound] by their contrast with the mountains of the snowy barrier, giving a grand and interesting character to the landscape, here no longer existed . . . (I, 319-20).
Vancouver's regret initiates his progressively more despairing response to the scenery as the weeks pass and as the opportunity of a single summer's survey of the whole-coast fades: 'It would take three.' The view up Lewis Channel on the west side of West Redonda Island on June 30 presented to Vancouver as gloomy and dismal an aspect as nature could well be supposed to exhibit, had she not been a little aided by vegetation; which though dull and uninteresting, screened from our sight the dreary rocks and precipices that compose these desolate shores, especially on the northern side, on which some different sorts of the pine tribe, arbor vitae, maple, and the oriental arbutus, seemed to grow with some vigour, and in a better soil... (I, 321).

But this meagre aesthetic compensation provided by the trees does not stint Vancouver's growing landscape-induced gloom. And, as the days passed, he sat in his ship, only able to guess how long there was a probability of our remaining in anxious expectation for the return of our friends [in the boat expeditions]. Our residence here was truly forlorn; an awful silence pervaded the gloomy forests, whilst animated nature seemed to have deserted the neighbouring country, whose soil afforded only a few small onions, some samphire, and here and there bushes bearing a scanty crop of indifferent berries. Nor was the sea more favorable to our wants, the steep rocky shores prevented the use of the seine, and not a fish at the bottom could be tempted to take the hook (I, 321-22).

Whereas before the similarity between landscapes in Puget Sound and England had called up pleasant thoughts of home in Vancouver's mind, now the contrast between his desolate environs and England awaken in him a keen desire for pleasant sensations. Thus, as Godwin points out, he named the two promontories at the gate of Desolation Sound after his two sisters, Point Mary and Point Sarah. It ought to be remembered that although the British had an aesthetic for describing sublime nature, they did not consider sublime nature theirs. The world of
sublime landscapes that never moderate into picturesque scenes was
foreign to them. It was a world far more like the harrowing Straits of
Magellan or the granitic wastes of the Labrador coast than any English
coastline. Not surprisingly, then, Vancouver is able to vent an abso-
lute disgust with the impenetrable coast when weighing anchor finally
on July 13: "the terrain had "afforded not a single prospect that was
pleasing to the eye; the smallest recreation on shore, nor animal nor
vegetable food" (I, 328).

But August took Vancouver's men only to more sublime landscapes.
They continued up the coast, discovering the insularity of "Quadra and
Vancouver Island," and proceeded to Fitz Hugh Sound. Besides being made
gloomy by the country, Menzies was also disgusted with it: at the east-
ern end of Hanson Island on July 20, he complained loudly that "the
surrounding Island & low land being everywhere covered with a continued
forest of Pines afforded but little variety of soil or situation for
Botanical researches . . ." (p. 89). The highly-esteemed lawns and open
grounds of Puget Sound which had earlier sustained the Briton's
aesthetic and botanical interests are not found farther up the coast.

The last mainland coastline explored in the 1792 season lay in
52^18'N lat. Vancouver was dismayed by the continuation of the myriad
of islands, "whose broken appearance," he states with no little bitter-
ness, "presented a prospect of abundant employment for the ensuing
season" (I, 381). Distraught at the news that Lieutenant Hergest and
Mr. Gooch, the commander and astronomer of the voyage's supply ship,
Daedalus (the latter being Vancouver's most intimate friend), had been
murdered by natives in Hawaii, Vancouver called an end to the season's
work. Menzies was relieved to return to the ship for the last time.
The last scene he described of the mainland came on August 16, near the Kwatlena Indian village:

On the 16th it continued Rain & fog till after breakfast time when the forenoon cleared up into fair & sunny weather with which we proceeded up the North East Arm assisted by a favorable breeze between two high ridges of dreary rocky mountains whose steep sides were thinly covered with stunted woods while their summits were capped with perpetual Snow & many places were seen of considerable extent towards the upper regions of the Mountains exposing only a naked surface of rugged rocks without the least apparent vestige of vegetation (p. 101).

Either obscured by fog, or bare of vegetation, this landscape was a fitting one on which to close a season of exhausting and discouraging labour. It reinforces the gloom long since cast over Ménzie's journals. And although Vancouver did not name it until the following summer (1793), the inlet through the season's last "dreary rocky mountains" appears to have reminded him of the most famous treatments of the effect on the mind of sublimity, for he named it, "after the Right Honorable Edmund Burke, BURKE'S CANAL" (II, 261).

The ships returned to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands by way of Nootka, where Vancouver spent a fruitless but agreeable month in negotiations with the Spaniards.

For a time at Nootka and during the following winter at Monterey and Hawaii, the mariners repaired their aesthetically-depressed souls and their physically-waterlogged bodies. But even with Vancouver's thoughtful provision of wooden awnings for the ships, conditions on the North Pacific coast in 1793 were again ripe for rheumatic fever and phthisis. As far as the response to landscape was concerned, the Britons' attitude had solidified at Desolation Sound in 1792. Unless the coast was to again offer sunshine and parklands, there was no reason for this attitude to change. The success of the surveys would
Have to rely more on tenacity than interest. From Burke Canal to Mount Edgcumbe, through only five degrees of latitude but thousands of miles of rain-drenched coastline, Vancouver showed little enthusiasm for "this uninteresting region" (II, 276). The summer of 1794 made similar demands on the men's constitutions with little aesthetic recompense.

When the Discovery and the Chatham arrived in England in September, 1795, they brought home a cargo of thoroughly exhausted Britons who had sailed the gamut of eighteenth-century British aesthetics—from the picturesque natural pleasure grounds to the sublime gloom of pine- and granite-walled inlets and fjords. All but six weeks in those three summers were spent at the sublime end of the aesthetic range, where the Britons tried to comprehend, if not always to appreciate, vertically-structured landscapes. Their aesthetic problem is well recapitulated by George Bowering in his imaginative reworking of the facts of Vancouver's expedition, entitled Burning Water (1980):

In the antipodes they had sailed into fjords that will shrink your scrotum, but he could still never get used to the mountains that rear suddenly out of the mist and up from the water so that the land you have been making for is not in your fancy or before you, but beside you, and above your mast. A sailor from Britain must always know that experience as the resolute image of the foreign. Coming from a civilized arrangement of chalk cliffs to mark an edge, and the flat greenery with reasonable fences, and trees grouped around church or house, a greenery that stretched inward from that white edge, a Briton comes to mountains miles high as if to islands on the moon. Might as easily conceive the sails as wings, and fly to a meeting on the moon.

The appropriation of land to one's kingdom by calling it New Albion is only the first taxonomical step in a long perceptual process of coming to know the terrain as one's own. Cook had taken that first step. Vancouver and Menzies took the second. Vancouver charted the land's location in terms of Greenwich, and noted how it compared and
contrasted in appearance with his homeland. Menzies, using the binomial plant and animal classification developed by the Swedish botanist Karl von Linné (Linnaeus, 1707-1778), determined what comprised the strange land. Each of these processes applied familiar schemata/taxonomies/metaphors to unfamiliar worlds. This is true as well of the application of the schemata of the Sublime, and the Picturesque to the landscapes of the West Coast, unfamiliar landscapes which were not always amenable to the familiar aesthetic ways of seeing. But if the walled inlets of British Columbia provided no opportunity for organizing a natural scene in terms of foreground, middle ground, and background because they provided no depth into the view, the very attempt to picture them in the conventional manner was a necessary first step in determining how these new lands resembled Albion, and how they were New.

III.2--THE RISE OF THE CONTINENTAL FUR TRADE (1793-1823)

In the middle of June, 1793, Vancouver sailed from his anchorage at Restoration Cove and North Bentinck Arm at the head of Burke Channel. Between four and five weeks later, on July 20, twenty-nine-year-old Alexander Mackenzie was greeted by a North Bentinck Arm whose “surrounding hills were involved in fog.” 27 He was, as Walter Sheppe, in First Man West (1962), reminds us, “seeking profits, not adventure, glory, or lands [New Albions] for the king.” 28 Not surprisingly, then, Mackenzie’s interest at North Bentinck Arm revolves less around the obscured landscape than around the abundance of animal life, and specifically, the highly-valued sea-otter:
As we advanced along the land we saw a great number of sea-otters. We fired several shots at them, but without any success from the rapidity with which they plunge under the water. We also saw many small porpoises or divers. The white-headed eagle, which is common in the interior parts; some small gulls, a dark bird which is inferior in size to the gull, and a few small ducks, were all the birds which presented themselves to our view (p. 373).

Such a sight boded well for a man whose venture across the continent realized his "darling project" (p. 328)—the corollary of Vancouver's—of opening a passage from east to west that would enable the "pedlars" from Montreal to participate in the rich west-coast trade with China.

III.2.1—The Opening of the West: Kelsey, Henday, Cocking, and Henry the Elder (1690-1775)

III.2.1.1—Inland from the Bay: Kelsey, Henday, and Cocking

Such a dream as Mackenzie entertained was not one shared by his competitors, the Hudson's Bay Company. For years after its charter was granted by Charles II in 1670, the concern remained content to trade along the Bay and to invite Indians from the interior down to their seaside posts. When the twenty-year-old Henry Kelsey (1670?-c.1724-30) explored inland from York Fort in 1690-1692, a century before Mackenzie reached the Pacific coast, his intention was to contact the Blackfeet, and to persuade them to traverse enemy territory to trade at Hudson Bay. His employers were not particularly pleased when he reported that the Prairies were amenable to agriculture and settlement. He spoke in his poetic account of "The Inland Country of Good Report," and in his journal, under August 12, 1691, the day he discovered the grassland near modern Edzell, Sask.
Saskatchewan River and north from the campus of the University of Saskatchew an, he wrote: "This day we pitcht again & about Nooon y° Ground begins to grow barren heathy & barren in fields of about half a Mile over Just as if they had been Artificially made with fine groves of Poplo growing round y° (p. 11). This marks the first of many agreeable responses to the parkland/grassland boundary in this part of modern Saskatchewan during the next one and a half centuries.

Keeping in mind that the use in prose or poetry of British landscape aesthetics was not far advanced in Kelsey's day--his rhymed couplets predate Pope's Windsor Forest (1713) by two decades--his response is surprisingly sophisticated. James W. Whillans, in First in the West (1955), a commendable and undervalued study of Kelsey's routes in 1690 and 1691, offers the following detailed description of the landscape features to which Kelsey was responding:

The place where the land began to grow heathy and barren with fine groves of peoplar would likely be between Duck Lake and Saskatoon. The grass here consists of many species and would be what people call prairie wool. It is a short growth of various grasses and herbs found on dry uplands.

The same kind of poplar bluffs Kelsey saw may still be seen there today. They are generally small and many of them are quite round. The trees are not large and have clean boles, and there being no undergrowth, one can see clear through beneath. The foliage seems to be set up on stilts.

The lower branches of poplars die naturally and cattle rub them off and keep the undergrowth trampled down. Buffalo would do the same in Kelsey's day, and the [poplar] bluffs [i.e. clumps] may have looked much the same then as they do now. They are quite striking and catch the interest of the traveller. Seeing the clean poplars and the clear ground that seems to have been mown, one might imagine, as Kelsey did, that everything had been 'Artificially made'.

This information is valuable because it indicates that Kelsey's perception of the prairie landscape near the parkland is not as absurd as it might first appear. The formal garden is not such a distant analogy. Of
even more value is Whillans' valuable observation, overlooked by later
critics,\(^{32}\) that when the Hudson's Bay Company presented Kelsey's ac-
counts to the Parliamentary Committee of 1749, certain details had been
edited out. The committee was investigating charges that the Company
was conducting trade exclusively for its own profit and not the
nation's by withholding information about the continental interior. Com-
pany officials included in their submission Kelsey's phrase regarding
the "heathy and barren" appearance of the prairie, but they chose to
delete the comparison of the land to artificially arranged gardens. As
Whillans argues,

The Company did not mind the country being called barren, by which
Kelsey meant bare; but he went on to compare it to a hand-tended estate
such as might be seen in England, with everything trim, well-kept and
pleasing to the eye—an alluring prospect. The description might have
led people to think well of the land as a place for settlement. That
was dangerous and it had to be deleted.

Even at this early stage, the Company recognized the power of aesthe-
tics in descriptions of its territories. In another Parliamentary in-
quiry more than one hundred years later, Sir George Simpson, then the
governor of the company, would have to answer similar charges. His dif-
ficulties were complicated by the fact that he had forgotten to delete
a picturesque passage in another work—his own.\(^{34}\)

Kelsey's aesthetic interest was only repeated sporadically in the
journals of other explorers and traders before Mackenzie. Anthony
Henday, who reached a point on the grasslands in 1754-1755 near which a
line drawn between the modern cities of Edmonton and Calgary would
pass, speaks mainly of "level lands" and "hill and dale" topog-
raphies,\(^{35}\) although he shows a clear preference for the "pleasant &
plentiful country" of the Alberta parkland, reached in February, 1755, over the grassland. This little aesthetic response, however, is more than the nothing displayed in another journal clearly not written for publication. Matthew Cocking (d.1799) recorded his exploration into the "Barren unlevel country" between the Eagle Hills and the South Saskatchewan River (below the Elbow) in 1772-1773, the season after the much more aesthetically aware Samuel Hearne had returned from the Arctic Ocean. These were journals of circumstance whose narratives were governed almost exclusively by the itemization of places, dates, and business facts. Not intended for publication, they neither pretend to, nor display, any aesthetic interest by their authors.

III.2.1.ii--Alexander Henry the Elder (1763-1775)

Not nearly so dogmatically circumstantial is the narrative of Alexander Henry the Elder (1739-1824). Besides displaying an aesthetic interest in landscape in his published Travels and Adventures (1809), Henry the Elder demonstrates a mastery of dramatic suspense. The most notable passage in his book describes the infamous lacrosse-match (baggatiway) ambush at Fort Michilimackinac in the week of June 17, 1763. Clearly familiar by the time he wrote this scene with the Radcliffian formula for creating sublime terror in captivity scenes, Henry, in contrast to his literary beneficiary, John Richardson ([in Wacousta [1832]], makes less use of the ambush than of the subsequent days' captivity at Fox Point and at the fort itself. Nevertheless, it is in the infrequent passages of landscape description that Henry's style assumes more than what James Bain calls its
normal "clear, simple, Defoe-like" character. On his way to the Prairies for the first time in July 1775, Henry canoed down Rainy River in what is now northwestern Ontario. In his lengthy response to the scenery of the river valley—a locale that would draw appreciative remarks from Britons throughout the fur trade era—he displays a certain currency with prevailing notions of picturesque landscape scenery.

The River à la Pluie is forty leagues long, of a gentle current, and broken only by one rapid. Its banks are level to a great distance, and composed of a fine soil, which was covered with luxuriant grass. They were perfect solitudes, not even a canoe presenting itself, along my whole navigation of the stream. I was greatly struck with the beauty of the scene, as well as with its fitness for agricultural settlement, in which provisions might be raised for the north-west.

In describing a natural scene whose level banks, tranquil waters, and open country all suggest an artificial arrangement of landscape, Henry does not fail to note the combined effect produced on him, the viewer, of both the solitude and the picturesque elements of the scene. There is no humanized foreground, but Henry envisions the day when there would be: the reference to "agricultural settlement" indicates prospects of an economic nature for him and his fellow travellers—the other independent traders from Montreal, Peter Pond, Jean Baptiste Cadotte, and the Frobishers—whose association in 1775 lay the groundwork for the North West Company. Since the greatest problem confronting them in their head-on competition with the Hudson's Bay Company was the excessive distance of their supply lines from Lachine, the thought of an agricultural supply station within a half-season's travel by canoe must have been attractive to Henry.

After passing Cumberland House on October 26, where the party was civilly, though not happily, received by the Hudson's Bay Company agent,
"Mr. Cockings" (Matthew Cocking), Henry canoed north to Beaver (Amisk) Lake. This trip completed the third side of a triangle around Cumberland House (established by Samuel Hearne in 1774), a trading triangle designed to forestall Indians on their ways down the Maligne (Sturgeon-weir) and up and down the Saskatchewan River to trade at the Hudson's Bay Company post. A winter's trip in 1776 took him up the Saskatchewan to the forks. On his return by way of the Carrot River on February 6, 1776, Henry registers an early comparison of the open grasslands to a sea:

The country was one uninterrupted plain, in many parts of which no wood, nor even the smallest shrub, was to be seen: a continued level, without a single eminence; a frozen sea, of which the little coppices were the islands. That, behind which we had encamped the night before, soon sunk in the horizon; and the eye had nothing left, save only the sky and snow. The latter was still four feet in depth.... I was alive to the danger to be feared from a storm of wind, which would have driven the snow upon us. The Indians related, that whole families often perish in this manner (pp. 282-83).

As Samuel Hearne had found on the Barrens just five years before, open space in terrain posed aesthetic difficulties. The maritime terminology provides a means of dealing with the sublimity of prairie space—distances without much distinguishable middle ground. The direct reference to the peril in which the peripient and traveller feel themselves placed cements the relation between sublimity and death, a relation which Edmund Burke argued one must feel in order to experience the Sublime. (Of course, death by blizzard would become a mainstay of the prairie Sublime in later works of fiction [F. P. Grove] and non-fiction [the Earl of Southesk].) The passage is also suggestive in perceptual terms, for if the act of perception helps to establish and sustain one's identity, one's understanding of a relation with the external
world, then when "the eye [has] nothing left," one's identity is similarly negated. In many respects, the tradition of prairie literature after Henry may be regarded as either a running out to greet such a prospect of liberating change, or a cowering from it.

Henry's trek finally found the main camp of the Osinipoilles (Assiniboine) Indians in the vicinity of the Quill Lakes. Trading contacts were established with their chief, and then Henry set out with them for the Saskatchewan River, returning to Beaver Lake on April 9, 1776. A trip up to the Churchill/English/Missinipi River concluded his trading ventures, and he set out from Beaver Lake on July 4:

In recrossing Beaver Lake, the wind obliged us to put into a bay which I had not visited before. Taking my gun, I went into the woods, in search of game; but, I had not advanced more than half a mile, when I found the country almost inaccessible, by reason of masses of rock, which were scattered in all directions: some were as large as houses, and lay as if they had been first thrown into the air, and then suffered to fall into their present posture. By a circuitous route, I at last ascended the mountain, from one side of which they had fallen; the whole body was fractured, and separated by large chasms. In some places, parts of the mountain, of half an acre in surface, were raised above the general level. It was a scene for the warfare of the Titans, on for that of Milton's angels! (p. 336)

The single-paragraph picture directs the wind-blown adventurer into a battle-scarred granitic landscape. Here is Milton's "confusion worse confounded" far to the south of where George Back would find it fifty-seven years later, but still in the Canadian Shield. Henry (or his collaborator) seems to want to make this landscape resemble both the battleground for Milton's sixth book and the hell of his first, both the scene of the action and the prison of the angels' exile. The significance of this passage depends upon the notion prevalent in the eighteenth-century Sublime (and attributable to Thomas Burnet's Sacred Theory of the Earth), that sublimely chaotic landscapes were created
out of God's wrath at the sins of Man. In combination with the Miltonic allusion, this perception of the landscape as a fit "scene for the warfare of the Titans," may suggest the conflict between the (tyrannical) Hudson's Bay Company and the (rebellious) "pedlars from Quebec" who would soon form the North West Company, with Henry perhaps identifying himself with the renegade Prometheus. External information offered in the introduction to the 1969 reprint by Lewis G. Thomas suggests "that the pedlars from Quebec were already practicing the methods of violence that were ultimately to prove so disastrous to the trade" (p. ix).

III.2.11--The "darling project" realized: Mackenzie to the Pacific in 1793

While several other eighteenth-century journals by traders were published in their day, or have since been brought out in modern editions, the next of note is Mackenzie's. Only that portion of his Voyages dealing with the expedition to the Pacific Ocean in 1793 will be considered here.

Few traders envisaged more profoundly than Mackenzie the need to continue discovering profitable districts for the fur trade. What he discovered en route to the Pacific certainly encouraged him, even if it did not present the prospect of a convenient transmontane route to the coast. Aesthetics play their part in articulating the promise of an even greater trade than his fellow partners were enjoying. Describing the Peace River district up to the site of Fort Forks (above the forks of the Peace and East Branch [Sandy] Rivers) where he wintered in 1792-1793, Mackenzie, probably with William Combe's emendations, paints the following animated scene:
In addition to the wood which flourished below the fall [Vermilion Falls, at Vermilion Chutes, Alta.] these banks produce the cypress, arrow-wood, and the thorn. On either side of the river, though invisible from it, are extensive plains, which abound in buffaloes, elk [wapiti], wolves, foxes, and bears. At a considerable distance to the Westward, is an immense ridge of high land or mountains, which take an oblique direction from below the falls, and are inhabited by great numbers of deer, who are seldom disturbed, but when the Indians go to hunt the beaver in those parts; and, being tired of the flesh of the latter, vary their food with that of the former. This ridge bears the name of the Deer Mountain. Opposite to our present situation [downstream from modern Early, Gardens, Alta.], are beautiful meadows, with various animals grazing on them, and groves of poplars irregularly scattered over them. (pp. 242-43).

The paragraph's opening description of foreground banks, middle ground plains, and Deer Mountain (today's Whitemud Hills) in the distance gives way to the subsequent and stronger sense of the teeming life of the parkland and the availability of Indians to trap it for the traders. The latter scene is not fleshed out, but the sense of a well-stocked estate, complete with irregularly— which is to say, picturesquely— scattered "groves of poplars," is unmistakable. Mackenzie's descriptions mark the incipience of a tradition that continues to view the parkland of the Peace River valley as one of the most picturesque districts of western Canada.

On May 9, 1793, Mackenzie departed from Fort Forks with nine men on his famous voyage. Their second day out greeted them with a ravishing scene that Mackenzie must have read as a portent of his explorations: It occurred in weather that was "clear and pleasant, though there was a keenness in the air" (p. 258), and it provoked him to compose, with or without William Combe's aid, the following landscape sketch:

From the place which we quitted this morning, the West side of the river displayed a succession of the most beautiful scenery I had ever beheld. The ground rises at intervals to a considerable height, and
stretching inwards to a considerable distance at every interval or pause in the rise, there is a very gently-ascending space or lawn, which is alternate with abrupt precipices to the summit of the whole, or, at least as far as the eye could distinguish. This magnificent theatre of nature has all the decorations which the trees and animals of the country can afford it; groves of poplars in every shape vary the scene; and their intervals are enlivened with vast herds of elks and buffaloes: the former choosing the steeps and uplands and the latter preferring the plains. At this time the buffaloes were attended with their young ones who were striking about them; and it appeared that the elks would soon exhibit the same enlivening circumstance. The whole country displayed an exuberant verdure; the trees that bear a blossom were advancing fast to that delightful appearance, and the velvet rind of their branches reflecting the oblique rays of a rising or setting sun, added a splendid gaiety to the scene, which no expressions of mine are qualified to describe. The East side of the river consists of a range of high land covered with the white spruce and the soft, birch, while the banks abound with the alder and the willow. The water continued to rise, and the current being proportionably strong, we made a greater use of setting poles than paddles (pp. 258-59).

It is probably Combe's vocabulary -- "enlivening," "exuberant," "splendid" -- that tastefully decorates the passage which, in any event, probably enraptured the explorer. Such excessive expressions in the response as "the most beautiful scenery I had ever beheld," and "the scene, which no expressions of mine are qualified to describe," immediately bring to mind "the most extensive, romantic, and ravishing prospect" of the Clearwater River valley, that occurs in Mackenzie's "General History of the Fur Trade" (p. 128). The pleasingly irregular levels in the foreground and middle ground consist in a "gently-ascending [open] space or lawn," alternating with "abrupt precipices." These precipices provide the bands of shade which, as John Barrell shows in his treatment of British landscape aesthetics, entitled The Idea of Landscape (1972), helped the eighteenth-century landscape connoisseur to organize his perspective of depth into the landscape composition. Various shapes presented by the poplar groves and the active groups of buffalo and wapiti are those "decorations" comprising the scene or
backdrop in the "magnificent theatre of nature." Of course, to gain the most intense effect, the landscape viewer must assume his station at dawn or dusk in order to catch the shadows in the undulations of the lawn, or the "oblique rays" reflecting off "the velvet rind" of the as-yet-leafless tree branches. Mackenzie also notes the various types of trees. White spruce, soft birch, alder, and willow are all softwoods and, therefore, advertise the neighbourhood's probable abundance of beaver. With the prospect of a future supply of foodstuffs present in the form of the young buffaloes, the viewer is thereby assured of both a supply of food and furs. Together with the beauty of the landscape, the prospects presented to him in "succession" could quite easily appear superlative.

The paragraph does, however, end on a less rapturous note. The upstream trip increased in difficulty as the Peace River swelled with the spring run-off. The daily increase in the height of the river calls the landscape enthusiast back to more practical matters. Thus, Mackenzie implies that the enchanting prospects can be realized only by strong, durable, and resolute men. And soon, the river would betray its name in fierce and violent challenges to the explorer. As it became "dangerous" (p. 265) on May 18, "two grisly and hideous bears" were spotted, and the men "saw a buffalo tearing up and down with great fury, but could not discern the cause of his impetuous motions" (p. 264). Mackenzie's canoe was gashed by a stump, and by the time it was repaired, "the weather became dark and cloudy, with thunder, lightning, and rain" (p. 265). Like the hero of a romance whose quest progresses from picturesquely pleasant to sublimely perilous landscapes which will exact the severest tests of his mettle, Mackenzie forges on towards
destiny—a moment of truth at Peace River Canyon. On May 19, the river became "bounded by a range of steep, over-hanging rocks, beneath which the current was driven on with resistless impetuosity from the cascades" (p. 267), and "stones, both small—and great, were continually rolling from the bank, so as to render the situation of those who were dragging the canoe beneath it extremely perilous" (p. 268). "Stupendous rocks" formed the entire bank farther up the canyon, where sublimity appeared infinite to Mackenzie: "I could see no end of the rapids and cascades" (p. 271). A portage seemed impossible as well. Alexander Mackay, Mackenzie's second-in-command, reported that yet another hellish landscape precluded that alternative: "he observed several chasms in the earth that emitted heat and smoke, which diffused a strong sulphurous stench" (p. 272).

Finally, a portage had to be effected around the major portion of the canyon. It brought Mackenzie, on May 24, back to the river at a prospect from which he could survey the canyon's distant sublimity (the scene has long been submerged by the W. A. C. Bennett dam):

... the stream rushed with an astonishing but silent velocity, between perpendicular rocks, which are not more than thirty-five yards asunder ... and it was really awful to behold with what infinite force the water drives against the rocks on one side, and with what impetuous strength it is repelled to the other: it then falls back, as it were, into a more strait but rugged passage, over which it is tossed in high, half-formed billows, as far as the eye could follow it (p. 274).

Again, the infinity to which the chaos extends evokes the sublime power of the river for Mackenzie. But he views it now in retrospect: before him, upstream, lay a Peace River again deserving of its name. The Rocky Mountains had been broached, and the hero proceeded to his next test.

On May 31, Mackenzie's party arrived at the forks of the Parsnip
and Finlay Rivers and touched the banks of the Fraser (which he called the "River of the West" [p. 321]) on June 18. After successfully running Cottonwood Canyon, Mackenzie was finally convinced to turn back by the local Indians' sublime prophecies of disaster downstream. In the vicinity of Alexandria, B.C.—named for Mackenzie—he turned his battered canoe around on June 22, after only five days on the Fraser, and just as Vancouver weighed anchor out of Restoration Cove, Burke Channel. On July 3, the brigade reached and entered the mouth of West Road River and commenced its two-and-one-half-week trek out to the coast. Logistics begin to dominate Mackenzie's account at this point: food supplies, guides, communication problems arising from a plethora of Indian dialects, and a search for the main trail (which was not found until July 6). Clearly, Mackenzie realized that he was in the hands of the Shuswap, Naskotin, Carrier, and Kuskus. Less and less does he define himself or his exploratory progress in terms of landscapes met and passed. In the last segment of his overland dash, the West Road's "stations" become Indian personalities, not views. In an uncharacteristic understatement, he observes unaesthetically the arrival at the terminus of his "darling project": "From these [Bella Coola Indian] houses I could perceive the termination of the [Bella Coola] river, and its discharge into a narrow arm of the sea" (p. 372).

Mackenzie spent five days on the coast before bearing inland for Fort Chipewyan on July 25 (by which time Vancouver had anchored in Salmon Cove, Observatory Inlet). Less anxious on his return trip, he took one notable occasion to stand back and contemplate his achievement in terms of his surroundings. This occurred in Mackenzie Pass, where the mountain he described (and which since has come to be known) as
Stupendous Mountain (p. 358) reared up before them on July 26:

... we consoled ourselves by sitting round a blazing fire, talking of past dangers, and indulging the delightful reflection that we were thus far advanced on our homeward journey. Nor was it possible to be in this situation without contemplating the wonders of it. Such was the depth of the precipices below, and the height of mountains above, with the rude and wild magnificence of the scenery around, that I shall not attempt to describe such an astonishing and awful combination of objects; of which, indeed, no description can convey an adequate idea (p. 395).

The declaration of the terrain's ineffability is significant in itself, and in contrast to the mariners' response to similar coastal scenes it becomes more so. Mackenzie's description points up how strongly perception is formed in terms of other factors than natural elements. Mackenzie looks out on, rather than up at, a wild scene, but one which he has conquered; Vancouver, on the other hand, names Desolation Sound at a point where he is coming to the realization that his explorations have only just begun. To one (approximately speaking), the same range of mountains appears "stupendous"; to the other, desolate and gloomy. But then, the youthful Mackenzie, seven years Vancouver's junior, had penetrated the mountains, while the mariner could only stare up at them, a sublime barrier to his darling project of penetrating the continent. The ultramontane trek was realized; the transmontane voyage was not. Still, Mackenzie exhibits a restoration to aesthetic ease only on August 23, when he regains the landscape in the Peace River valley which had so enchanted him on May 10: "We were on the water before daylight; and when the sun rose a beautiful country appeared around us, enriched and animated by large herds of wild cattle" (p. 406). The misplaced use of the word "cattle" for buffalo signifies how "at home" these picturesque (as well, of course, as geographical) environs make him feel in the glow of a "warm" summer sunrise. In a sense, the
enlivened, fertile scene invites Mackenzie to shed his explorer's perception and resume that of the fur trader.

III.2.III--"Where no human being should venture": Simon Fraser to the Pacific in 1808

Simon Fraser (1776-1862), the North West Company trader who named the interior of British Columbia "New Caledonia," led the third trip to the Pacific Ocean, and second across what is now Canada, in the summer of 1808. He chose the name New Caledonia because the country's appearance "recalled to his mind his mother's descriptions of the Highlands of Scotland," a country which Fraser himself had not seen before challenging the turbulent waters of the river which David Thompson named after him in 1813. In the journal which records his descent of the Fraser River from Fort George (modern Prince George) beginning on May 28, 1808, Fraser seems predominantly to rely on his mother's aesthetic standards. His response to landscape is generally meagre and undetailed. The Fraser valley below Cottonwood Canyon might as well be the imagined Scottish highlands for the viewer who records only the main features and effect of the landscape as follows: "[May 30] This country, which is interspersed with meadow and hills, dales & high rocks, has upon the whole a romantic but pleasant appearance" (p. 63). Yet the contemporary reader of Fraser's journal (which was not, like the journals of Mackenzie and Thompson, written with publication in mind) would probably have known from the words "romantic" and "pleasant," the general qualities of what Fraser saw.

It is plain that Fraser calculates some of his responses to the river in terms of Mackenzie's. Perhaps because he was not wholly au
courant with landscape aesthetics or because he found Mackenzie's use of a ghost-writer reprehensible, Fraser chose to make light of the danger of Cottonwood Canyon (passed on May 29), where Mackenzie recounts that his men's fears led them to speak openly of desertion. Fraser writes only that, "A little lower the river contracts into a narrow space, and passes violently between high rocks" (p. 62). Fear induced by sublime landscapes was, for Fraser, rooted not in Burkean theory but in his perception of Mackenzie's canoeing cowardice. And yet, when Fraser reaches stretches of the river not seen and described by Combe/Mackenzie, his forays into sublime writing are prominent.

Certainly, as W. Kaye Lamb has shown, Fraser felt himself in exploratory competition with Mackenzie. No clearer sign of this attitude can be found than in the first sentence of Fraser's journal. It begins with, "Having made every necessary preparation . . . ," exactly as Mackenzie's journal begins. And Fraser did consider having his journals ghost-written, but not by a Grub Street hack. He asked his traveling companion, John Stuart (b. 1779), to "expunge some Parts & add to others and make it out in a manner you think most Proper." Not only did Fraser respect Stuart's literary style but he respected any man who had experienced the Fraser River with him.

Once Fraser had passed the farthest point on the river reached by Mackenzie he takes a longer aesthetic run at the prospects before him. After building the drama of the moment by stating that he twice surveyed the canyon at Chimney Creek, and after pausing to record the Atnah Indian chief's conviction that "the whirlpools would swallow up or overpower any canoes, or exertions of his nation" (p. 67), Fraser plunges into a description of the chaos of June 1:
We found it about two miles in length, with high & steep banks, which contracted the channel in many places to the breadth of 40 or 50 yards. The immense body of water passing through this narrow space in a turbulent manner, forming numerous gulphs and cascades, and making a tremendous noise, had an awful and forbidden [forbidding] appearance. Nevertheless since it was considered as next to impossible to carry the canoes across the land, on account of the height [height] and steepness of the Hills, it was resolved to venture them down this dangerous pass. . . . the canoe in a moment was underway. After passing the first cascade the canoe lost her course, and was drawn to the eddy, where it was whirled about for a considerable time, and seemingly in suspense whether to sink or to swim. The men had no power over her. However it took a favourable turn and by degrees was led from this dangerous vortex again into the stream. It then continued flying from one danger to another, untill [sic] the cascade near the last, where in spite of every effort, the whirlpools forced it against a projecting rock, which happened to be a low point. Upon this, the men debarked, and saved their own lives, and contrived to save the property; for the greatest danger was still a head. Of course to continue on the water would be certain destruction (pp. 67-8).

The men on the shore then undertook a precarious rescue operation by digging steps into the cliff and descending to the marooned voyageurs. Gradually, they hauled the canoe up the wall of the canyon: "In this manner our situation was extremely precarious; our lives hung as it were upon a thread; for failure of the line or a false step of one of the men might have hurled the whole of us into eternity. However we fortunately cleared the bank before dark" (p. 69). Lamb is quite right to emend Fraser's "forbidden" to forbidding, and, yet, there is the sense in Fraser's account that Man was not meant to see such a sublime sight—that to see the canyon in "confusion worse confounded" was to achieve the waters of oblivion through which no man may pass without passing "into eternity": "for had they got down the fourth cascade it would have been more than likely they would have remained there" (p. 138). The eye and ear are horrifed by the rush of ice-cold lava down the walls of the canyon to an apparently subterranean destiny. Only a providential Jacob's ladder carved into the wall permits the
voyageurs to reascend from the canyon floor, with their canoe, no less than their lives, hanging upon a thread.

On June 2, Fraser observed that, "the river had risen eight feet within these twenty four hours" (p. 69). The scene at Chimney Rock could therefore, only intensify in sublimity. But Fraser did not, perhaps, expect that the decision to portage all but the canoes at the rapids above Riske Creek would equally imperil the party. The route along the cliff-top, however, was also "intricate and perilous," providing no alternative to the river "awful to behold" (pp. 72, 73)—awful, that is, when Fraser had time to contemplate it: "the rapids, which are constant, are so swift that there is no time to look about" (p. 150). Fraser writes cogently and with sublime effect: "the country altogether looks wild." Yet, its sublimity would continue to intensify until Fraser must have wondered whether the river would take him out of this world. This fear is registered again, implicitly, in the record of the brigade's desperate run down French Bar Canyon on June 9:

It being absolutely impossible to carry the canoes by land, yet sooner than to abandon them, all hands without hesitation embarked, as it were a corps perdu [à corps perdu: i.e. recklessly] upon the mercy of this Stygian tide. Once engaged, the die was cast, and the great difficulty consisted in keeping the canoes in the medium, or fil d'eau [current], that is to say clear of the precipice on one side, and of the gulphs formed by the waves on the other. However, thus skimming along like lightning, the crews cool and determined, followed each other in awful silence. And [when] we arrived at the end we stood gazing on our narrow escape from perdition. After breathing a little, we continued our course to a point where the Indians were encamped. Here we were happy to find our old friends, the Chief and the Interpreter, who immediately joined our party (p. 76).

The slight degree of hope with which Fraser embarks is signified by his ironic remark concerning his dependence upon, of all rivers, the river Styx for mercy. The scene of hell is now palpably felt as even
the men's involuntary actions are paralysed in the "awful silence."
Only upon release from this subterraneous other world can the men resume breathing and regain humanity (the Indian encampment). But the respite is brief; indeed, it is only to the upper reaches of Hell that the explorers of another world momentarily reascend. The afternoon brought them to prospects "worse, if possible, than any we had hitherto met with, being a continual series of cascades." The exhilaration had now vanished entirely, and only Fraser's grim, even grotesque, determination could continue seeking a route through the mountain-enclosed "gloomy scene," which was framed by rock walls "upwards of 1200 feet above the level of the water" (p. 157). The effects of the scenery probably induced Fraser to call the canyon, "Le Rapid Couvert."

Fraser was deterred by the Indian reports of the next section of the river, and by those of John Stuart, who wrote that, "to describe everything as it is would be worthy of the greatest philosophers" (p. 154). Thus, he left the canoes upstream from Pavilion Mountain, and began an overland trek which the gold seekers would replicate fifty years later. The river was no longer visible to the pedestrian voyageurs, as it surged through the tortuous windings above the modern town of Lillooet, B.C., but the prospect of Hell was not soon forgotten. The overland route continued only to Camchin (the Indian name for the forks of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers, the site today of Lytton, B.C.), where again Fraser ordered his men to the river on June 21. Still, frequent portages were necessary, especially at Hell's Gate (at 49°46'N lat., above the mouth of Tsileuh Creek) where Cariboo miners would later wonder that a trail could possibly exist.52 "I have been for a long period among the Rocky Mountains," writes Fraser, "but have
never seen anything equal to this country, for I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We had to pass where no human being should venture (p. 96). Thus Fraser touches upon the ineffability of the Sublime.

At last, the canyons relented and the Fraser valley opened to the brigade. Canoeing again, the men arrived at the Musqueam Indian village below Point Grey on July 2. No landscape descriptions of the Fraser estuary occur in the journals, partly because hostile Indians attracted Fraser's complete attention, and partly because, just as the aesthetically satiated Vancouver had found the delta uninteresting after the picturesque prospects in Puget Sound, so Fraser, after the sublime canyons of the river's upper reaches, could not have been pleased by what a later writer would describe as the delta's Flemish low-country flatness. Too, no precedent would have existed for the appreciation of lowlands in his mother's Highlands' aesthetic. And, of course, the great cause for Fraser's lack of interest was the fact that the landscape was not the one he had set out to find. It was not the mouth of the Columbia River. From a hideous terrain which could be described only in terms of imagined landscapes in Hell, Fraser came up against violent Indian tribes. Quickly turning from the human back to the geographical sublimity to which he was at least now inured, he fled upriver and back to Fort George through tracts whose sight he wished on no human being.

III.2.IV--The Prince of Astronomers: David Thompson (1784-1812)

The North West Company directive that sent Fraser in 1806 to explore his river also directed David Thompson (1770-1857) to explore
a pass through the Rocky Mountains. But when Fraser reached the Strait of Georgia on July 2, 1808, Thompson was hundreds of miles inland. He was in fact en route to Rainy River with the fur packet assembled during his first winter on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains (1807-1808), at Kootanae House (downstream from modern Invermere, B.C.).

In turning from Mackenzie's published narrative and Fraser's on-the-spot journals to Thompson's Travels, the reader moves from the two extremes of a ghost-written account by a non-travelling Englishman (Combe) and the spontaneous jottings of a fur trader, to a prose work that was carefully constructed and frequently revised (but never completed) from diaries by its author many years after the actual twenty-eight-year period (1784-1812) of exploration and travel covered in the work. It is impossible to characterize the enigma of David Thompson briefly. His contributions to nineteenth-century knowledge in geography, cartography, biology, and ethnography are truly astonishing. As well, his voluminous writings, most of which have yet to be published, furnish valuable information on the fur trade. And recently, in his edition of Thompson's travels from 1784-1812, Victor G. Hopwood has made new claims for Thompson as a writer, and as "one of the mapmakers of the Canadian mind."

David Thompson was born twenty-three days after William Wordsworth, on April 30, 1770, and while Hearne was travelling along the banks of Seal River, north of Churchill, on his second expedition. From 1777 to 1784, Thompson attended a charity school in London--Grey Coat, near Westminster Abbey. The school prepared him for the Navy with
instruction in mathematics, but when, as Hopwood states, naval recruitment was curtailed at the Peace with France in 1783, Thompson was "articled to the Hudson's Bay Company" (p. 2). The school appears to have had a strict but humanistic approach to education, though its founders' credo always may not have been practised. One cannot help thinking of the sort of education Coleridge claimed he had got at another charity school in London--Christ's Hospital--during this same period, or of the "Grey-headed beales ... with wands as white as snow," who oversaw the annual parade of charity-school children to St. Paul's Cathedral in William Blake's "Holy Thursday" (1784-1785). Only fourteen when he arrived in Hudson Bay in the autumn of 1784, and largely urban-reared, Thompson clearly developed his strong love for nature in North America. In approaching his responses to landscape (for an approach is all that can be directly undertaken in the present discussion only of published material), it must be remembered that his acquisition of British landscape aesthetics derived almost entirely from books and the opinions of fellow traders. (One notable exception to this development of Thompson's interest in landscape is the fact that he often did include St. James Park in his walks around London [p. 62].) Clearly, he knew sublime literary landscapes, for he says that Tales of the Genii--the book whose tale about Sadak in pursuit of the waters of oblivion provided George Back (by way of John Martin's painting) with a literary analogue for his sublime description of the Matfawa River in 1833--was one book "which pleased us most" (p. 63) while at school. And, as Hopwood points out, "there is evidence in his notebooks and travels of extensive reading in science, philosophy, travel, and literature. His friendship with Roderic Mackenzie, who
maintained a library at Fort Chipewyan, was deep and ‘it is possible that Thompson knew all of the books in that library’ (p. 23).

Of most significance, however, is the fact that any fourteen-year-old's concepts are still in the process of formulation and are still open to influence from the world around the boy. This explains why Thompson assimilated so many Indian customs and myths in the course of his development and travels. Significantly, it was with the Hudson's Bay Company that he started his career. The practice in that company was for the trader to live with the Indians. While Scottish agents in the North West Company had their voyageurs interpret the Indians' communications for them, and procure food on their behalf, Hudson's Bay Company officers were expected to do their own paddling, hunting, and camping. This policy necessarily brought the latter closer to Indian lifestyles. Thompson encountered those lifestyles as a boy and as a young man, from the ages of 14 to 27. Hopwood, in linking this fact to Thompson's narrative, writes as follows:

Thompson speaks of the difficulties of learning the real thoughts of the Indians, a problem fully recognized by modern anthropologists, since, as Thompson says, the Indians answer direct questions in the manner “best adapted to avoid other questions, and please the enquirer.” . . . But above all he shared their lives and spoke their languages. Possibly some of the mechanical problems of Thompson’s style are the price we have to pay for the fact that he began to learn Indian languages at the age of fourteen, and could learn them, because his mind was not encumbered with the linguistic fallacies of classical grammar twisted to fit English and all other languages, whatever their patterns (pp. 24-5).

Consequently, many of Thompson’s writings assume the aspect of fable, as the explorer charts the oral legends of the various tribes he met. But elsewhere, and often it is in landscape description, another influence on style and content is apparent. This is Thompson’s scientific
learnedness. The desire to be precise in his astronomical calculations and map chartings was the product of his training in map-making by Peter Fidler at Cumberland House during the winter of 1789-1790, and is reflected in "his special concreteness in word choice," in his "colloquial vitality and sharp observation and characterization". (p. 17), and in his "precision," all of which lead Hopwood to assert that "the primary feature of Thompson's prose is directness; it is a practical style" behind which "lies a tremendous power for exact scientific observation" (p. 20).

In the writings of other travellers it has been seen that the deployment of the conventions of the Sublime and the Picturesque operate as a way of identifying landscape that is related to but different from computations of latitude and longitude. In Thompson's writings, by contrast, the computations, as well as the influence of Indian mythology, form the basis of the aesthetic. The general effect of landscape, so central a concern in the eighteenth-century British tradition, is displaced in Thompson by the quest for the objective, even numerically measured, relations among landscape features. Vocabulary from the British tradition is not absent, as will be seen, but it is not central. Colour and various intensities of light are less significant to Thompson than to writers for whom the Sublime and the Picturesque are exclusive modes of perception; time of day is not such a factor; perspective is not so essential. And yet, Thompson's style, if not conventional in eighteenth-century terms, is reminiscent of the concept of poetic diction articulated by one of his contemporaries. Quite appropriately, Hopwood argues that, "Thompson's prose exemplifies something of the ideals of Wordsworth's Preface: the compatibility of science and
poetry, the expressive power of common speech, and the power of nature as a teacher." Thus, an examination of Thompson's responses to landscape necessarily must consider the differences from as well as the affinities with the prevailing conventions of landscape description.

In the summer of 1796, during his last year with the Hudson's Bay Company prior to his discreditable transfer to the rival concern, Thompson set out with Chipewyan Indians to survey and report on a new route from the Churchill River to Lake Athabasca by way of Reindeer and Wollaston Lakes, in modern northern Saskatchewan. His employers had desired such a route as early as 1793 in order to avoid the Methye Portage, but various problems, including a lack of a guide and some unforgivable forgetfulness on Thompson's part, had delayed the formation of an expedition until June 10, 1796. Thompson supplies the following description of the second large lake on the route, then called Manito Lake:

This great lake is called Manito (supernatural) from its sending out two rivers, each in a different direction. From its east side a bold stream runs [north and then] southward and enters the Reindeer Lake on its east side [and so, into the Hudson Bay drainage basin]; and from the west side . . . it sends out the Black River, which runs westward into the east end of the Athabasca Lake [and so, into the Mackenzie River drainage basin]; which [phenomenon] is perhaps with out parallel in the world. Some have argued that such a Lake must soon be drained of its water; [but] they forget that it is the quantity of water that runs off, that drains a Lake; and were the two Rivers that now flow in opposite directions made to be one River in a single direction, the effect on the Lake would be the same. Add to this, the head of a River flowing out of a Lake is a kind of a Dam, and can only operate on the Lake in proportion to the depth to the bottom [of the lake]; which in general is several hundred feet below this bottom of the head of the River; and were the River to drain the Lake to this level, the River would cease to flow but the Lake would still contain a great body of water.

. . . all around [Manito Lake], as far as the eye could see, were bold shores, the land rising several hundred feet in bold swells, all
crowned with Forests of Pines; in the Lake were several fine Isles of a rude conical form, equally well clothed with Woods. I was highly pleased with this grand scenery; but soon found the apparent fine forests to be an illusion; they were only dwarf Pines growing on the rocks, and held together by their roots being twisted with each other. On our route, seeing a fine Isle, which appeared a perfect cone of about sixty feet in height; apparently remarkably well wooded to the very top of the cone; I went to its my companions saying it was lost time; on landing, we walked through the apparent fine forest, with our heads clear above all the trees, the tallest one came to our chins; While we were thus amusing ourselves, the Wind arose and detained us until near sunset. To while away the time, we amused ourselves with undoing the roots of these shrub Pines for about twenty feet on each side; when the whole slid down the steep rock into the Lake, making a floating Isle of an area of four hundred feet; and so well the fibres of the roots were bound together, that when it came to where the waves were running high, it held together, not a piece separated and thus [it] drifted out of our sight. We set loose a second islet of about the same area; then a third, and a fourth islet, all floated away in the same manner: On the Isle, the roots of these small pines were covered with a compact moss of a yellow color, about two inches thick.

The mould on the rock under these pines, was very black and rich, but so scant, that had the area of four hundred feet been clean swept, it would not have filled a bushel measure, perhaps the produce of centuries. This Isle was a steep cone, the sixteen hundred feet we uncovered, showed the rock to be as smooth as a file, and no where rougher than a raspat had it been bare it would have been difficult of ascent; it was about two miles from other land; then how came these pines to grow upon it; they had no bare cones, nor seeds and no birds feed on them. These wild northern countries produce questions, difficult to answer.

The unparalleled sight of a lake crossing a continental divide induces Thompson, not only to value the mythical significance attached to it by the Indians but, scientifically to explore the tale that Manito Lake must only be temporary, that it will drain itself in time. Had Hopwood included Thompson's exercise in cold logic, the reader would have been in a position to note the unique aspect of Thompson's response to landscape. Indian myth, which is not discredited by the ease with which the drainage myth is discounted, is combined with a European engineering logic to account for this physiographical and lacustrine oddity. But the conventional response to the landscape of the lakeshore, based not on logic but on eighteenth-century British landscape aesthetics,
is apparent also; thus, as the typical Thompsonian account progresses, the number of ways in which the Book of Nature is read increases impressively. As a scene, the shores "please" Thompson with their "grand scenery." Here, the landscape enthusiast, pursuing pictured effects in nature, is not disappointed—at least, not with the enchanting view from the distance. But, of course, Thompson's inquiring mind will not rest with the distance that lends enchantment. Unlike the landscape viewer who is content to observe from the correct prospect the textures and surface character of the country, Thompson penetrates it even as he imaginatively penetrated the lake bottom to dispel the first myth. In plotting the nature of the picturesque effect, he discovers why his Indian companions advised him not to waste his time. Their way of seeing is not tricked by the dwarf stature of the pines. But the Briton's perception of landscape is tricked: since, in a picturesque view, proportion is crucial while scale is not, dwarf spruce can fool the eye trained in picturesque landscape composition. Thus, where European logic discounted the first illusion about drainage, European aesthetics creates a second illusion which only an Indian perception of the country can dispel. Interestingly, Thompson's British logic betrays him in his discoveries on the conical isle in the lake. The island is a sort of hill of mythical truth. (It must rise several hundred feet from the floor of the lake, given Thompson's estimates of the lake's depth.) Its empirical constituents are a sixty foot cone, dwarf spruce, and a bushelful of mould/soil. In a compelling scene, Thompson—a sort of precursor to Darwin in the Canadian North—attempts empirically to unearth the oddity of this island by unravelling the tree roots, but he succeeds only in uncovering and producing new myths that haunt his
logic--organisms apparently feeding since time immemorial on rock
"smooth as a file, and no where rougher than a rasp." And in a highly
imaginative act, the surveyor/cartographer creates a new island. Fas-
cinated and incredulous, he sends forth on the waters--a holy spirit
breathing life onto the abyss--a second, then a third and fourth en-
chanted isle. Now the useful logic has given way to pure fancy. In a
way, Thompson incarnates the Manitou's imaginative power with a magic
that defies logic in the same way that the pines do by growing with
neither soil, nor seed, nor cones, on an island two miles from the near-
est shore. The account achieves a tautology: the logic which unravelled
one myth is defeated by others. The landscape, in a way that is foreign
to the eighteenth-century Briton's conception and perception of the
external world, probes deeply into Thompson's mind and rearranges his
understanding of the relation between himself and the external world
which constitutes his identity. "These wild northern countries produce
questions, difficult to answer"; they display on their hills/isles of
truth a reality, a Manitou, which Thompson can only record without
wholly comprehending. To some extent, his experience is like the "spot
of time" experienced by his contemporary on Esthwaite Water, and de-
picted in the first Book of The Prelude. Closing on an admission of
nature's sublime ineffability, Thompson's landscape description admir-
ably exemplifies Hopwood's recognition--despite the fact that he chose
not to include the complete account--of Thompson's powers as both map-
maker and mythmaker. These powers reflect, in part, the boy's
European background, and, in part, the self which has grown out of the
voyage to lakes that break continental divides, as well as to other
wonders of the natural and native worlds of British North America.
On June 25, 1796, Thompson exited from this lake of spirits into a river he named Black River because of the wasteland through which it runs: "The whole is a wretched country of solitude, which is broken only by the large Gull and Loons" (p. 137). If Thompson felt that he had sensed the manitou in the landscapes of Manito Lake, he surely must have wondered whether he had discovered the spirit's haunt when, after passing four falls on the Black River, he arrived at a point where the river rushed into a subterranean passage:

For half a mile farther [below the fourth fall] the current is very swift, it is then for 118 yards compressed in a narrow channel of rock of only twelve yards width. At the end of this channel a bold perpendicular-sided point of limestone rock projects at right angles to the course of the river, against which the rapid current rushes and appears driven back with such force that the whole river seems as if it turned up from its bottom. It boils, foams, and every drop is white; part of the water is driven down in a precipice of twenty feet descent. The greater part rushes through the point of rock and disappears for two hundred yards, then issues out in boiling whirlpools. The dashing of the water against the rocks, the deep roar of the torrent, the hollow sound of the fall, with the surrounding high dark-frowning hills form a scenery grand and awful, and it is well named Manito Fall.

While the Nahathaways [Crees] possessed the country, they made offerings to it, and thought it the residence of a manitou; they have retired to milder climates; and the Chipewyans have taken their place who make no offerings to anything, but my companions were so awestruck that the one gave a ring, and the other a bit of tobacco. They heard of this fall, but never saw it before (p. 137).

An objective exactness initially structures this passage: "118 yards," "twelve yards," "limestone rock," "at right angles." But the force of the river appears to exact a stylistic change that overruns the observation of specific detail. The viewer becomes alerted not to detail but to effect; simultaneously, the language then becomes less precise. An extended simile ("as if turned up from its bottom") introduces a series of abstractions not at all scientific, as the river momentarily disappears. "Boiling whirlpools," "dashing of the water," "the deep
roar," "the high dark-frowning hills"—such descriptions make aesthetic effect paramount again, and the inclusion of an aesthetic tag—"grand and awful"—acknowledges this shift. However, even though the conventionality of these two adjectives detracts from Thompson's unique combination of detail and sensation, the British convention is made to accord with the native, indigenous, local aesthetic by virtue of the explorer's inclusion of the final clause—"and it is well named Manito Fall."

Hopwood is right to demarcate a paragraph at this juncture, but where there is not one in the MS it is interesting to note how that final clause ushers in the next observation, a description of the Chipewyans' responses to the scene that counters as well as accords with the white man's. Thompson's own. As so often occurs in Thompson's Travels, both the foreign and indigenous views of a scene are included, so that the "grand and awful" scene of God's power (as the British landscape enthusiast would think of the falls) is juxtaposed with the wild subterranean lair of a manitou (as even the agnostic Chipewyan viewer might think of them). 63

Thompson writes at his best when his multi-level perception of the external world is operative. When only one perception dominates, his landscape descriptions lack the intensity notable elsewhere. One such example is printed by Hopwood from Thompson's journals. It describes a view westward from the banks of the Red Deer River on November 20, 1800, when Thompson was riding from Rocky Mountain House to a Peigan camp on the Bow River, near the modern city of Calgary: 64
The latter part of this day the ground became knobby and the surface tolerably good, all fine open meadow with chance patches of willows. We went on a line parallel to the mts. which everywhere were covered with snow and seem to present an impenetrable bank; the view is grand in a high degree. On our right we have the Bow Hills, lofty in themselves and brown with woods; above them stately rise the Rocky Mts., vast and abrupt, whose tops pierce the clouds. On our left, before and behind us, is a verdant ocean (pp. 222-23).

The maritime metaphor is perhaps not too familiar by 1800 to be termed conventional, but, otherwise, the account pales beside others. The mountains are set in the "grand" background, while hills occupy the right side of the picture and the grasslands offset them on the left. But if this scene is simple better descriptions are never far off. After riding westward on November 29 along the banks of the Bow River, "which to the very mountains has beautiful meadows along its banks" (p. 224), Thompson, together with his North West Company partner, Duncan M'Gillivray, and the voyageur Dumond ascended one of the first mountains they reached later the same day:

Our view from the heights to the eastward was vast and unbounded; the eye had not the strength to discriminate its termination. To the westward, hills and rocks rose to our view covered with snow, here rising, there subsiding, but their tops nearly of an equal height everywhere. Never before did I behold so just, so perfect a resemblance to the waves of the ocean in the wintry storm. When looking upon them and attentively considering their wild order and appearance, the imagination was apt to say, these must once have been liquid, and in that state, when swelled to its greatest agitation, suddenly congealed and made solid by power omnipotent. There are low shrubs of fir and Canadian pine almost to the very top in places. We also found the dung of cows [buffalo?] for about two-thirds up the mountain, though we saw no grass (p. 225).

The view in both directions is sublime: the infinite plain outreaches perception to the east, while the mountains' curious "wild order" runs off with the imagination to the west. The oceanic metaphor is carried from the grasslands to the granite, although it now constitutes ocean
waves in a winter storm, not the tranquil, equatorial oceans suggested in the phrase "verdant ocean," used to describe the prairie. As he did with his description of the spruce-treed landscape on Manito Lake, Thompson expands perception temporally by entertaining an image of the terrain at its creation. Were one to credit him with reading or knowing Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth*--and it may have been just the sort of book in the library of Roderic MacKenzie at Fort Chipewyan--then his imaginative outburst must be regarded as somewhat conventional. But what is more significant is Thompson's observation of the equality in the heights of the peaks. This feature of the Rockies near Banff is what creates so strong an impression of the range as a wall rising uniformly from the prairie floor. The aesthetic effect is startling, for while the mountains are of course sublime in their vertical extent, they also exhibit a regularity, a "wild order," which does resemble the approximate equality of height in ocean waves.

Another significant aspect of Thompson's account is its ultimate return to what Thompson the fur trader sees in the scene. His last two sentences answer the practical questions regarding the availability of fuel and shelter, and whether there is anything to hunt. 65

Finally, it is needful to consider Thompson's response to the massive territory on the Pacific Slope which is watered by the Columbia River. He came to know the territory intimately during the five years between his first transmontane trip in Howse Pass in 1807 and his retirement in 1812, at the age of forty-two. On June 25, 1807, Thompson and his family climbed over Howse Pass and into the Pacific Slope. They had been waiting two weeks for the snows to melt at the height of land,
but they might have waited much longer, for most of them comprised the glacier now known as Freshfield Icefield. In his journal, Thompson writes of the effect of the changing season on the landscape as they waited:

The weather was often severe, clothing all the trees with snow as in the depth of winter, and the wind seldom less than a storm. We had no thunder [and] very little lightning, and that very mild, but in return the rushing of the snows down the side of the mountain equalled the thunder in noise, overturning everything less than solid rock in its course, sweeping the mountain forests, whole acres at a time, from the very roots, leaving not a vestige behind. Scarcely an hour passed without hearing one or more of these threatening sounds assailing our ears. The mountains themselves for half way down were almost ever covered with clouds. In the chance intervals of fair weather, I geometrically measured the height of three peaks . . . (p. 241).

In an absolutely understandable way, Thompson heightens the dangers to which he was exposed on the first recorded traverse of the Canadian Rockies. Keenly aware as a writer of the potential of the scene, he pictures it in its sublime mercilessness. The second sentence especially, with its sequence of present participles, imitates the unpredictable chaos of the moving mountain sides. Against this scene is set the placid, diminutive, tranquil picture seen at the height of land: "... by 10 am [June 24, 1807] we were at the head of the defile where the springs send their rills to the Pacific Ocean. This sight overjoyed me . . ." (p. 241). The sublime modulates into the small, beautiful, quiet, and elegant scene that powerfully, because understatedly, proclaims Thompson's arrival at the height.

The next two years of Thompson's narrative are burdened, as he was, by the busines attendant upon opening a new fur trade district. His travels were many, including two trips down to Rainy Lake (one while Fraser was exploring his river and naming Thompson River after
his colleague; however, his concerns lay in cementing relations with Indians and trading for and transporting furs. In 1810, the threat, perceived or real, of a Peigan ambush forced Thompson (who had excluded the Peigans as middle men in trade by crossing the mountains to trade directly with the Kootenays) to abandon the North Saskatchewan/Howse Pass route for the more northerly Athabasca Pass. Delays and an apparent failure of will on Thompson's part to confront Kootenaie Appee, the Peigan chief (and virtually Thompson's alter-ego by this point), meant that the crossing had to be attempted during the winter of 1810-1811. As Paul Kane was to discover thirty-five years later, the pass could be cruelly unseasonable even in the autumn. In January it was treacherous. January 10, 1811, marked the day on which the height of land was crossed:

The view now before us was an ascent of deep snow, in all appearance to the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It was to me a most exhilarating sight, but to my uneducated men a dreadful sight. They had no scientific object in view, their feelings were of the place they were [in]. Our guide Thomas told us that, although we could barely find wood to make a fire, we must now provide wood to pass the following night on the height of the defile we were in, and which we had to follow.

My men were the most hardy that could be picked out of a hundred brave hardy men, but the scene of desolation before us was dreadful, and I knew it. A heavy gale of wind, much more a mountain storm, would have buried us beneath it, but thank God the weather was fine. We had to cut wood such as it was, and each took a little on his sled. Yet such was the despondency of the men, aided by the coward Du Nord, sitting down at every half mile, that when night came we had only wood to make a bottom, and on this to lay [the] wherewith to make a small fire, which soon burnt out, and in this exposed situation we passed the rest of a long night without fire, and part of my men had strong feelings of personal insecurity.

On our right about one-third of a mile from us lay an enormous glacier, the eastern face of which, quite steep, of about two thousand feet in height, was of a clean fine green colour, which I much admired, but whatever was the appearance, my opinion was that the whole was not solid ice, but formed on rocks from rills of water frozen in their course. Westward of this steep face, we could see the glacier with its fine green colour and its patches of snow in a gentle slope for about two miles.
Eastward of this glacier and near to us was a high steep wall of rock; at the foot of this, with a fine south exposure, had grown a little forest of pines of about five hundred yards in length by one hundred in breadth. By some avalanche they had all been cut clean off as with a scythe; not one of these trees appeared an inch higher than the others.

My men were not at their ease, yet when night came they admired the brilliancy of the stars, and as one of them said, he thought he could almost touch them with his hand. As usual, when the fire was made, I set off to examine the country before us, and found we had now to descend the west side of the mountains.

I returned and found part of my men with a pole of twenty feet boring the snow to find the bottom. I told them while we had good snow shoes it was no matter to us whether the snow was ten or one hundred feet deep. On looking into the hole they had bored, I was surprised to see the colour of the sides of a beautiful blue; [near] the surface [it] was of a very light colour, but as it descended the colour became more deep, and at the lowest point was of a blue almost black. The altitude of this place above the level of the ocean by the point of boiling water is computed to be 11,000 feet [by] Sir George Simpson. [Actually the pass is about 6,000 feet.]

Many reflections came on my mind; a new world was in a manner before me, and my object was to be at the Pacific Ocean before the month of August. How were we to find provisions, and how many men would remain with me, for they were dispirited? Amidst various thoughts I fell asleep on my bed of snow (pp. 282-83).

The full day's entry is quoted here to emphasize the confusion rampant in Thompson's brigade that winter. The "dreadful sight," or "scene of desolation" was perceived by the voyageurs with more dread than Thompson greeted it. The snow-filled pass, together with the glacier of "a clean fine green colour" obviously alarmed the men. The only signs of vegetation had been severed by the sublime natural force of an avalanche, leaving the travellers with little fire wood, and, hence, bitterly cold as well as "not at their ease." Their admiration of the stars is fascinating but the thought that the stars could be reached and touched suggests a disorientation from landscape which is compounded by the men's fascination to discover the earth beneath them. Indeed, the sense of alienation accruing from the disjunctive sensation vis à vis the stars and the impossibility of their reaching solid
ground with a twenty-foot pole is palpable. Certainly, it is not allayed by Thompson's assurances regarding snowshoes.

But Thompson also is fascinated with the soundings taken through the glacial cap. (Or else, he became fascinated over the course of time for his reference to George Simpson's estimation of the height of the pass dates the writing of this passage at least to 1841, when the governor was knighted.) On the height of land for the entire continent, Thompson attempts to penetrate to the earth's depths and can only describe gradations of colour in the ice. Yet, these gradations appear to signify to him, like the rings of a tree trunk, ages of being. At the height of land, he likens his observations to the sensation of experiencing a brave new world, as if he were projected into the future by examining the past. Manito Lake, the height of land seem only to ask questions, puzzling the man who explores for truth in a multitude of forms. Plumbing the depths of the known world, he finds himself confronting another of nature's hieroglyphs. As if in a void of uncertainty, he pauses to rest between the temporal earth and the timeless stars. It is a physical place in the Rockies, of course, but, at it, Thompson's suspension finds a large space in the Canadian psyche. Thompson was one of the first and most successful to attempt a charting of that space.

III.2.V--Opening the Oregon: Franchère, Ross, Stuart, Cox, and Ross again

After wintering on the far side of Athabasca Pass, David Thompson made a canoe in the spring of 1811, and reached his post of Salish House (at the junction of the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers) at the
end of May. From there, he set out with a reinforced brigade on a canoe journey down the Columbia, a journey that began at Ilthkoyape Falls (Kettle Falls, which are now submerged by a dam) and ended at the Pacific Ocean on July 15, 1811. On the south shore of the river near its mouth he was greeted by the sight of the newly erected post of the American Fur Company, Fort Astoria. The traders of John Jacob Astor had arrived at the mouth of the Columbia on March 22 on the company ship Tonquin from New York. Thus, Thompson's delays had proven costly. But the British companies had never entertained the idea of a continental dash to the Pacific. Their practice had been gradually to open trade into the hinterland from a secure baseland operation. Astor's idea of capturing the far side of the market in one great gamble was a new one. Only after it had been perceived as a legitimate threat did the North West Company decide to send Thompson, who had expected a year's furlough when he canoed to Rainy River in 1810, back and over the mountains to the ocean.

Astor's gamble was waged on two fronts. In September, 1810, he sent the Tonquin (Capt. Thorn) around the Cape from New York. Led by Alexander McKay (who had been with Mackenzie in 1793), thirty-three employees, most of them veterans of the North West Company, made the voyage on the Tonquin. At the same time, an overland contingent under Wilson Price Hunt was to leave the Mississippi River for the Pacific coast.

III.2.V.i--Alexander Ross (1810-1813)

Two published journals were kept on board the Tonquin. One, kept by the French-Canadian, Gabriel Franchère (1786-1863), is entitled
Relation d'un Voyage à la Côte du Nord-ouest de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1820). It describes the four-year period from the author's departure from Montreal in July 1810, through the voyage, the erection of Fort Astoria, and its seizure by the North West Company, to Franchère's overland canoe trip back to Montreal in 1814 (arriving on August 30). The other account, entitled Adventures of the first Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River (1849), was written by Alexander Ross (1783-1856), a Scot who had taught school in Glengarry County, Upper Canada, during the five years prior to his joining Astor and sailing to the Pacific. En route to the Columbia in the winter of 1810-1811, Ross remarks on "the rugged solitary features" of the Falkland Islands, which bore "a truly romantic appearance," and on the "delightful" prospects of the villages of Kakoaa and Kowrowa on the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.

March 23-26, 1811, were spent trying to penetrate the shifting sand bars in the mouth of the Columbia River. The "wild and gloomy" (p. 57) coast was successfully passed and Ross, Franchère, and others disembarked on April 12 to erect a fort on the south side of Gray's Bay, "on a small rising ground situate between Point George on the west and Tonquin Point on the east, distant twelve miles from the mouth of the inlet or bar" (p. 69). Typically, the traders' fort is built on defensible high ground which also provides extensive prospects. Thus, before his labours begin, Ross pauses to picture the view around him:

From the site of the establishment, the eye could wander over a varied and interesting scene. The extensive Sound, with its rocky shores, lay in front; the breakers on the bar, rolling in wild confusion, closed the view on the west; on the east, the country as far as the Sound had a wild and varied aspect; while towards the south, the impenetrable and magnificent forest darkened the landscape, as far as the eye could reach. The place thus selected for the emporium of the west,
might challenge the whole continent to produce a spot of equal extent presenting more difficulties to the settler: studded with gigantic trees of almost incredible size, many of them measuring fifty feet in girth, and so close together, and intermingled with huge rocks, as to make it a work of no ordinary labor to level and clear the ground . . . (pp. 70-1).

Although he professes that the scene is "varied," Ross finds it, upon closer inspection, to be singular in its wildness. Whether in the downriver breakers, or in the impervious forests behind the fort, or in the Sound's rocky shores, the scene displays uninterrupted wilderness. While not evoking melancholy or dread in the viewer, Ross's description prophesies immense difficulties in the settlement of the region. In his view, it bears none of the inviting, picturesque qualities which both Meares and Vancouver imputed to it. The theme of discouragement to the settler dominates subsequent paragraphs. Ross describes how four men with axes working from sunrise until sunset for two days could not fell a single tree. Two other obstacles proved nearly insurmountable: the treachery of the neighbourhood (Chinook) Indians under Chief Concomly (who would hide in the forest until the chopping began, and then steal the men's rifles) and the sheer density of the forest:

So thick . . . and so close [were] the trees together, that in its fall it [the tree being chopped] would often rest its ponderous top on some other friendly tree; sometimes a number of them would hang together, keeping us in awful suspense, and giving us a double labour to extricate the one from the other, and when we had so far succeeded, the removal of the monster stump was the work of days. . . . both tree and stump had to be blown to pieces by gunpowder before either could be removed from the spot (p. 74).

Gradually the neophytes acclimatized themselves to the dimensions of this Brobdignagian environment. An example of how their perceptions were suddenly altered appears in Ross's description of the first inland expedition to build an upriver trading post. This was undertaken on
July 22, in company with David Thompson (who was departing for Montreal and his retirement after one week on the coast). Thompson might well have been brought to tears by the dangerous but comical scene provided by Ross and company:

After our [Chinook] canoes were laden, we moved down to the water's edge—one with a cloak on his arm, another with his umbrella, a third with pamphlets and newspapers for amusement, preparing as we thought for a trip of pleasure, or rather all anxious to be relieved from our present harassing and dangerous situation. The wind being fair and strong, we hoisted sail, but had not proceeded to Tongue Point, a small promontory in the river, not three miles distant from Astoria, when the unfriendly wind dashed our canoes, half-filled with water, on the shore; and, as we were not able to double the Point, we made a short passage across the isthmus, and then, being somewhat more sheltered from the wind, proceeded, but had not got many miles before our progress was again arrested by a still worse accident; for, while passing among the islands and shoals, before rounding Oathlumuch Point [modern Cathlamet Point], at the head of Gray's Bay, the wind and swell drove us on a sandbank, where we struck fast—the waves dashing over us and the tide ebbing rapidly. Down came the mast, sail, and rigging about our ears; and, in the hurry and confusion, the canoes got almost full of water, and we were well drenched; here we had to carry the goods and drag the canoes till we reached deep water again, which was no easy task. This disaster occupied us about two hours, and gave us a foretaste of what we might expect during the remainder of the voyage. Cloaks and umbrellas, so gay in the morning, were now thrown aside for the more necessary paddle and carrying-strap, and the pamphlets and newspapers went to the bottom (pp. 103-04).

Interestingly, the alteration of perception in this experience not only makes the men aware of the distinction between the landscape enthusiast's outing and the fur trader's voyage, but also leads to a divestment of their trappings which can be seen as symbolic of the change in identity that will be demanded by the new environment.

Quite understandably, Ross is not willing to throw over his customs and modes of perceiving the natural world. It is hardly his fault if the forests are comprised entirely of the "gloomy" conifer, and he hardly can be expected to become enamoured with the sight of the very sorts of trees which he had laboured so excruciatingly to cut down. He is
delighted at Bellevue Point (named by Lieut. Broughton in 1792), perhaps by what had induced Broughton to choose such a name for the point—an opening in the forests: "... here the eye is occasionally relieved from the monotonous gloomy aspect of dense woods, by the sight of green spots, clumps of trees, small lakes, and meadows alternately" (p. 106). Here the park-like aspect of the country appeals immediately to an old aesthetic perception, much as Puget Sound had to Vancouver twenty years before. But farther upriver, and "generally speaking, the whole country on either side of the river, as far as the eye could reach, presented a dense, gloomy forest" (p. 108). On August 4, where the Columbia River knifes through the Cascade Mountain Range, Ross notes the sudden change from rain forest to desert topography:

The general aspect of the country around the long narrows cannot be called agreeable; the place is lone, gloomy, and the surface rugged, barren, and rocky; yet it is cheering in comparison with the dense forests which darken the banks of the river to this place. At the foot of the narrows the whole face of nature is changed, like night into day. There the woody country ceases on both sides of the river at once, and abruptly; the open and barren plains begin. The contrast is sudden, striking, and remarkable. Distance from the Cascades to this place, seventy miles (p. 119).

Of course, the suddenness of the transformation could, in itself, be considered sublime, but it is the range of the transformation which dominates Ross's unhappy, almost petulant response. Presumably, there are two ways to greet such a change: either to observe its aspects or to note (if only by implication) which qualities the scene lacks. Ross has resorted to the latter, and through the course of his career on the river, initially with the Pacific Fur Company, subsequently with the North West Company, and finally with the Hudson's Bay Company, his objections to landscape remain notable. Indeed, evidence of his
adaptation to nature remains unapparent right up to the day when, reverting to his contented lot as a school teacher, he resigned from the Hudson Bay Company to establish an educational programme at the Red River Settlement.

Some landscapes do, however, intrigue Ross. He names a cliff at Les Dalles (under which he camped on July 27, 1811) "Inshoach Castle" (p. 107), and another across from his August 10 campsite below the mouth of the Umatilla River, "Dunbarton Castle," because of "its lonely situation and peculiar form" (p. 125). However slightly, his opportunity to identify landscape by association provides him with some aesthetic and nostalgic sustenance. So too do the infrequent views which do not strike him as altogether sublime, such as "the landscape at the mouth of the Eyakema [Yakima] River," seen on August 16, which "surpassed in picturesque beauty anything we had yet seen" (p. 131).

In the middle of October, after ascending the Okanagan River, Ross returned to its mouth and erected Fort Okanagan as closely as possible to the water on the jutting neck of land, thereby avoiding, as far as possible, the sublime hissing of throngs of rattlesnakes. Were the site chosen for aesthetic reasons, he would not have been less fortunate, for the country managed to combine both the forest and the desert in one prospect. His single-paragraph picture does, however, include some redeeming park-like qualities: "The general aspect of the surrounding country is barren and dreary. On the west the hills are clothed with thick woods—a dense forest; on the south and east the scene is bare; but to the north the banks of the river were lined with the willow and poplar, and the valley through which it meanders presents a pleasing landscape" (p. 143). But the ability of the Okanagan to masquerade as
a British stream does not suspend Ross's aesthetic disbelief for long. In a passage which, though coming not even half-way into his account, confirms the gloomy Scot's response to the environs which would be his "home" during the next two years, he laments as follows:

Only picture to yourself, gentle reader, how I must have felt, alone in this unhallowed wilderness, without friend or white man within hundreds of miles of me, and surrounded by savages who had never seen a white man before. Every day seemed a week, every night a month. I pined, I languished, my head turned gray, and in a brief space ten years were added to my age. Yet man is born to endure, and my only consolation was in my Bible (p. 146).

Forsaken in a realm where neither the Book of Nature nor the companionship of his own kind could offer consolation, Ross turned to the Bible and, with a Presbyterian joylessness, finds comfort in enduring amidst adversity. He treads his unconsecrated ground, taunted by vipers. Having snapped at the bait of adventure, Ross finds himself wholly unsuited to his calling, regretting every moment of his novel experience on the Pacific Slope.

III.2.V.ii—Robert Stuart in 1812

This decision to turn one's back on the external world and live out of the Bible, rather than explore nature as David Thompson had, was not shared by all Ross's colleagues. Robert Stuart (1775-1848), another Scot who sailed on the Tonquin in 1810, displays in his Narratives (1935) of a trip made from Fort Astoria to St. Louis a much more interested approach to the natural world. But Stuart's previous trading trips had taken him to the Cowlitz and the Willamette River valleys--districts possessed of many more picturesque landscape features than the districts known to Ross. Although the narrative primarily records
Stuart's trip with Astor's trade packet, Stuart does intersperse descriptions of the valleys of rivers whose mouths he passes on his way east. Thus, of the Cowlitz River valley he writes: "from thence to the extreme of my discovery beautiful high Prairies make their appearance occasionally, interspersed with a few Oaks & pines &c and are the feeding grounds of a great many Elk & Deer ...."73 As well, he creates during his visit in December, 1811 and January, 1812 one of the first narrative landscape pictures of the Willamette River valley above the falls (at modern Oregon City): "but from then [the falls] upward, it is delightful beyond expression, the bottoms are composed of an excellent soil thinly covered with Cottonwood & Alder & White Oaks, Ash, and the adjoining Hills are gently undulating, with a Sufficiency of Pines to give variety to the most beautiful Landscapes in nature" (p. 32). Doubtless, the serenity of this response derives in large measure from the park-like appearance of the valley, which is achieved in part by the presence of deciduous trees, and especially oaks--the trees which Britons long considered their own. But the view also ravishes Stuart for other reasons than its landscape qualities: "the incredible numbers of Beaver who inhabit its banks exceeds (from all accounts) anything yet discovered on either side of the Continent of America" (p. 32); and the "Cath-lath-ias" Indians were found to be "respectful and obliging in the extreme" (p. 33). Such picturesque landscapes and gentle Indians were not Ross's good fortune to see during the first four years of his tenure. A virtual Eden for a fur trader and landscape viewer, Willamette valley became, not surprisingly, the first area in the Oregon to be settled by pioneers and retiring fur traders.

Stuart departed from Fort Astoria on June 29, 1812, on his long
trek to St. Louis, where he arrived on April 30, 1813. After passing the site where Fort Vancouver would be built in 1824 (and where Vancouver, Wash. is situated today) and describing it as "as beautiful a piece of scenery as any on the Columbia affords" (p. 33), Stuart proceeded up the Cascades, and Les Dalles. There he discriminates a much less sudden transformation from rain forest to desert than Ross had (p. 59). At the forks of the Columbia and Walla Walla Rivers, he left Ross, Franchère, and others who were proceeding north on the Columbia, and turned up the smaller river to continue his travels eastward. On July 31, a ride on Horseback from that river to the site of modern Pendleton, Ore., brought him face to face with a desert landscape:

We travelled on without making any thing like a halt till sunset, over Hills for the most part of moderate height whose composition was of Sand and brittle clay in nearly equal proportions, without the least appearance of having experienced any share of the dews of heaven since the time of Noah's Flood. . . . Already had a fine young dog (our only companion of the kind) given up for want of water, and Le Claire to preserve respiration drank his own Urine, when despairing of finding a brook (p. 75).

Thirst colours Stuart's landscape description in this narrative of the arduous trip across the arid interior. The expiration of a dog and the inspiration of Le Claire provide grotesque images of the foreignness of the terrain. Less willing to disgustedly generalize landscapes than Ross was, Stuart notes the exceptional scenes and demonstrates a willingness to investigate the effect of nature on human behaviour. Noting another landscape exception, Stuart describes an oasis which he discovered on August 4 on a branch of the Grande Ronde River, now in the north-east corner of the state of Oregon:

Not long after daylight we continued down the [Starkey] Creek till 9 A.M. when finding a deep Hole with some Salmon in it, we halted 4 hours
and Speared seven--Proceeded on again at 1 P.M. through a most enchanting tract (for a few miles) where the gloomy heavy timbered Mountains subside into beautifull Hills, chequered with delightfull pasture ground, which when added to the numerous Rivulets murmuring over their gravely serpentine beds toward the glade below, afford a scene truly romantic and such as is seldom to be met with in these regions of solitude and gloom . . . (p. 77).

A land of nutritional and picturesque plenty is offset by the most sublime views Stuart could imagine. Earlier he had figured forth the age of the desert by reference to Noah's flood. Later he will capture the sublime sense of age which the country gives him on the Snake River by reference, not to an Indian spirit (as Thompson might have done), but to the goddess of the underworld in Greek mythology. The following description is of a river (the Snake) which, as Philip Ashton Rollins, Stuart's editor, points out (p. 120), drains the snows of a thousand mountains:

... 30 Miles below our present situation is a fall [modern Augur Falls] of between 40 & 50 feet, from whence to this spot [between modern Twin Falls, and Burley, Idaho], the River banks on both sides are nothing but cut Bluffs of a Rock & giving some indications of Iron, at least 300 feet perpendicular, there is in some places a Beach under these Cliffs, but seldom of any extent and entirely composed of immense masses of Rocks which have from time to time been hurled from the adjacent Precipices--But for the greater part nothing that walks the earth could possibly pass between them, & the water, which in such places is never more than 40 yds wide, rushing with irresistible force over a bed of such Rocks as makes the spray fly equal to the surf of the Ocean, breaking violently on a lee Shore . . . . in one place, at the Caldron Linn the whole body of the River is confined between 2 ledges of Rock somewhat less than 40 feet apart & here indeed its terrific appearance beggars all description--Hecate's caldron was never half so agitated when vomiting even the most diabolical spells, as is this vortex in a low stage of the water & its bearing in idea such a proximity of resemblance to that or something more infernal, I think well authorizes it to retain the new name it has, more particularly as the tout ensemble of these 30 miles has been baptised the Devils Scuttle Hole-- (pp. 112-13).

The subterranean aspects of the scene bring to mind both pagan and Christian figures of sublimity. Interestingly, the effect is to personify
nature and, thereby, to accord it an identity. But the identity is wholly of European origin for Stuart, as it was not for Thompson. Because Stuart would have known intimately of the trouble encountered by Wilson Price Hunt’s overland party at the hands of the Snake Indians in 1811, he is probably prevented by terror from appropriating Indian myths to describe this stretch of the turbulent Snake River. No Thompson, he reverts to what is familiar to him—classical and Christian mythology and a seascape—to describe a sublime natural scene which is both unnatural and otherworldly.

III.2.V.iii—Ross Cox (1811-1817)

On October 17, 1811, Astor sent his second ship to the Columbia River. One year after the Tonquin had taken Ross, Franchère, Stuart and thirty other employees to the Pacific Northwest, the Beaver (Capt. Cornelius Sowles) sailed with, among others, a minor employee who was to publish the first English-language account of the Oregon fur trade—eighteen-year-old Ross Cox (1793-1853). The immediate success of his narrative, when published in 1831 under the title Adventures on the Columbia River (it went through four editions in the first two years⁷³), suggests that Cox had gauged his readership accurately when he (probably) wrote the following in his Preface:

Those who love to read of ‘battle, murder, and sudden death,’ will, in his [Cox’s] description of the dangers and privations to which the life of an Indian trader is subject, find much to gratify their taste; while to such as are fond of nature, in its rudest and most savage forms, he trusts his sketches of the wild and wandering tribes of Western America may not be found uninteresting.

British aesthetics play a considerable part in Cox’s creation of
a narrative that his British reader might be expected to digest readily. Landscape observations on the Falkland Islands and Hawaii (I, 5-6, 21-2, 41-2) anticipate his description of the scene at his destination, Fort Astoria, where he arrived on May 8, 1812, only six weeks prior to Robert Stuart's departure. Cox praises, in particular, the "extensive view of the majestic Columbia in front, bounded by the bold and thickly wooded northern shore" (I, 109). But his description includes a picturesque foreground which Ross did not have, but which the labours of Ross and others had supplied by the time of Cox's arrival: "Immediately in front of the fort was a gentle declivity sloping down to the river's side, which had been turned into an excellent kitchen garden; and a few hundred yards to the left, a tolerable wharf had been run out" (I, 110-11).

Cox describes the sublime view of the Columbia River at Les Dalles (which he saw during the trading voyage upriver in June that accompanied Stuart's party as far as the Walla Walla River) as "one mass of foam ... which cannot at any time be contemplated without producing a painful giddiness" (I, 130). Yet, despite the sublime scene, the description of the humanized foreground at Fort Astoria keys his reader to an interest in landscape that generally operates only where the hand of civilized man had made its mark. During the course of the next five years, while Cox is posted in the Spokane and Flathead River districts, his book abounds in character portraits rather than landscapes, Indian ambushes rather than the distant views of Indian encampments or trading posts. The interest in and need for society ran too strongly in Cox for him to take much enjoyment from wilderness nature. He cites need for society as the reason for his ultimate decision to
resign from the fur trade:

The summer of 1816 did not tend to diminish my growing aversion to the Indian country. Horse-racing, deer-hunting, and grouse-shooting were pleasant pastimes enough, but the want of companionable society rendered every amusement 'stale, flat, and unprofitable.' Zimmerman in vain displayed the charms of solitude: he never vegetated among savages. Bad French and worse Indian began to usurp the place of English, and I found my conversation gradually becoming a barbarous compound of various dialects . . . (II: 116-17).

Rather than allowing his perceptions to be altered in a gradual metamorphosis into another identity, Cox resolutely defies the influence of the wilderness, and deplores the changes it has already exacted on his language—-that primary attribute of civilization. The loss he feels in the detection of a growing patois is wittily registered in the phrase, "bad French and worse Indian." Ben Jonson, in "To the Memory of my Beloved the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left Us" (1623), had reviled Shakespeare's failure to master languages considered superior to English—"thou hadst small Latin and less Greek." If, as seems possible, Cox ironically echoes Jonson's phrase in both subject and cadence, this echo intensifies his regret at slipping from English into inferior tongues, "a barbarous compound of various dialects." The skill and possible allusiveness with which Cox writes demonstrates just how far he had to fall.

On Wednesday, April 16, 1817, Cox took his last departure from Fort George. He set out on his overland trip back to Montreal and civilization. His narrative continues to display a judgement of landscape as much in terms of the signs of habitation that it exhibits as of its natural qualities. On May 29, the express party reached the mouth of Canoe River (where it enters the Columbia at that river's most northern point; the cache would become known as Boat Encampment). The view,
which would be described and painted often during the next thirty years, is given by Cox, in a single-paragraph frame, replete with remarks on the silence in the landscape, an element which so disturbed John Richardson during his winter at Cumberland House two years later (1819-1820): 79

We rose early on the morning of the 29th of May, in no very enviable situation. A thick mist still enveloped us, and rendered the awful solitude of this gloomy valley peculiarly impressive. It appeared never to have been trodden by the foot of man, until the enterprising spirit of British commerce, after having forced its way over the everlasting snows of the Rocky Mountains, penetrated into the anti-social glen, and from thence entered the mighty waters of the Columbia. As the mists gradually ascended into the higher regions, we obtained a more distinct view of the surrounding scenery. On the northern side tiers of mountains, thickly covered with large pine and cedar, towered to an immeasurable height; while the southern presented dark perpendicular rocks of immense altitude, partially covered with moss, stunted pine, &c., over which at intervals cascades of seven or eight hundred feet high forced a passage to swell the torrent below. The sun, except in the intervals, between the rocks, was invisible; and, with the exception of our own party, no trace of animated nature could be distinguished in this magnificent solitude (II, 186-87).

The narrative impressively imitates the deployment of tiny human figures in sublime landscape paintings. Like Vancouver's ships out on the Coast in the "anti-social" Desolation Sound a quarter of a century before, Cox's brigade is, by turns, wrapped in fog (its obscurity providing one of the sources of the Sublime, according to Burke), or, once the fog lifts, by the mountains. Only Cox would go so far as to rebuke a mountain wilderness valley for being "anti-social," but the complete absence of "animated nature" clearly disturbs him deeply. Of course, the landscape is massively prominent all around him. What then does he mean by solitude? It can only be the consequence of reading the natural scene in terms of its emotional effect on him. Two days later, on May 31, he was greeted by a display of animated nature, although not in the
form which he sought. On the height of land, at the diminutive lake
which George Simpson would christen the Committee Punchbowl seven
years later, Cox describes the action of the landscape, and also trans-
fers his unbecoming fear of nature to a less civilized Homo sapiens:

The country round our encampment presented the wildest and most ter-
rific appearance of desolation that can be well imagined. The sun shin-
ing on a range of stupendous glaciers, threw a chilling brightness over
the chaotic mass of rocks, ice, and snow, by which we were surrounded.
Close to our encampment one gigantic mountain of a conical form towered
majestically into the clouds far above the others. [M'Gillivray's Ridge]
while at intervals the interest of the scene was heightened by the rum-
bling noise of a descending avalanche; which, after being detached from
its bed of centuries, increased in bulk in its headlong career downwards
until it burst with a frightful crash, more resembling the explosion of
a magazine than the dispersion of a mass of snow.

One of our rough-span unsophisticated Canadians, after gazing upwards
for some time in silent wonder, exclaimed with much vehemence, 'I'll
take my oath, my dear friends, that God Almighty never made such a
place!' (II, 190-91).

"Terrific," "stupendous," "chaotic," "desolation," "frightful"--the
diction of the conventional Sublime bursts forth in its own avalanche
over which the author appears to have little control. As David Thompson
had conducted an investigation of nature in the Pass in 1811, so Cox
here ponders the nature of the forces responsible for such scenes.

Nature modulates its sublimity soon enough, however, as the moun-
tains considerately make an orderly retreat to form the backgrounds
rather than the foregrounds of prospects:

From the junction of the two rivers [the Athabasca and Whirlpool
(Cox's "Rocky Mountain") Rivers] to the old fort, the country on each
side presents a pleasing variety of prairies, open woods, and gently
rising eminences; and one spot in particular, called La Prairie de la
Vache, (in consequence of buffalo having been formerly killed in it,) forms a landscape, that for rural beauty cannot be excelled in any
country (II, 201).
Variety of landform renews Cox's search for the Picturesque, and as he travels down to the present site of Jasper, he recognizes how a sunrise compounds the geographical variety: "The genial influence of a June [June 5, 1817] sun relieved the wintry perspective of snow-clad mountains, and as it rose above their lofty summits, imparted a golden tinge to the green savannahs, the open woods, and the innumerable rivulets which contributed their waters to swell the Athabasca" (II, 202).

The sun-drenched beauty of woods that are no longer interminable and of rivers that are no longer torrential appeals to Cox, especially after the sublimity experienced on the height of land and across the mountains. To the extent that this more recent, more moderate landscape encourages description in a European parlance—"savannahs," and "Alpine"—it comes much closer to a terrain which Cox can imagine as habitable, as "rural," rather than wild.

By August 9, the Cox brigade had canoed up the Winnipeg River, and across Lake of the Woods to Rainy River and Rainy Lake. Arriving at the Portage-du-Chien, not far from the Lake Superior/Lake Winnipeg height of land, on August 14, Cox remarked, as would many later travellers, that the view from this portage was extensive and attractive to the eye trained in the Picturesque. Cox described "the view from the rising grounds about the portage [as] highly picturesque and diversified" (II, 283-84). Part of the diversity in the view is supplied by the windings of the Kaministikwia River, a river which provided the traveller with a sublime landscape in the form of Kakabeka Falls. They were visited by Cox on August 15, and gave rise to the following response:
At eight, made the Portage Ecarté; and soon after, a loud and roaring noise announced our approach to the great falls of Portage de la Montagne, which we reached a little before ten o'clock.

This stupendous cataract is second only to Niagara. It is one hundred and fifty-six feet in height, and upwards of two hundred in breadth. The river, in its advance to the fall, moves slowly and majestically forward until its course is interrupted by a huge mass of rough craggy rocks, over whose dark grey front it rushes with a tremendous noise resembling distant thunder.

We stopped to breakfast at the foot of the cataract, the spray from which dashed over us. It was a melancholy-looking spot. The morning was dark and cloudy, and not a ray of sun-shine appeared to enliven the dread abyss; owing to which circumstance, and the banks on each side being high, rocky, and thickly wooded, we were deprived of seeing that beautiful phenomenon of the prismatic rainbow, so often observed at Niagara and other great falls. The scene was one of sombre grandeur; and, however it might have been relished by a philosopher, or an embryo Demosthenes, was well calculated to damp the animal spirits of the most vivacious disciple of Momus (II, 284-85).

The description proceeds from the sound that advertises the falls in the first paragraph, through a physical description, in the second paragraph, to an aesthetic response to the mood of the scene in the third. A sunless, rainbowless "dread abyss" induces a melancholy in Cox which he finds compatible with the "damp" pemmican on which he is probably breakfasting in the spray. Once again displaying his learning and civilization, Cox alludes to the followers of Demosthenes (the Greek philosopher who led the school of cynics) and Momus (the god who mocks other gods) to indicate that the "sombre grandeur" of the falls would delight a cynic or dismay a jester. The mood renders the place a haunt for the melancholy traveller rather than the landscape enthusiast, and it induces Cox to "interiorize" the landscape.

Finally at Fort William on August 16, Cox begins to discover landscape scenes enlivened with humanized foregrounds, and "social glens":

An observatory (rather a crazy structure) stands in the court-yard of the fort. From it the eye takes in an extensive view of flat country, thickly wooded with the bold shores of Thunder Island at a distance,
rising abruptly out of Lake Superior; while immediately around the fort the scene was enlivened by animating groups of women, soldiers, voyag-eurs, Indians, dancing, singing, drinking and gambling; in their fea-tures comprising all the shades of the human species, and in their dress, all the varied hues of the rainbow (II, 293).

This chapter-ending, single-paragraph picture ends Cox's solitude. It is not unlike those landscapes popular in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting of groups of people lolling about beneath the walls of the Colosseum. The motley combinations of lower-class figures, together with their several occupations and their location outside the gates of the fort, might remind the reader of scenes of social frolic in late-Renaissance art. Be this as it may, the landscape in the middle ground and background, comprised mostly of rock and wood, cannot now cast a gloom on the foreground scene, as far as Cox is concerned. Perhaps the social-minded Cox considered "the varied hues of the rainbow" ample recompense for the rainbow he missed the day before at Kakabeka Falls.

Embarking on August 18, Cox arrived at Lachine by way of the Great Lakes-French River-Lake Nipissing-Mattawa River-Ottawa River route one month later. Cox noted a number of "picturesque" scenes on the route leading him to civilization (II, 311, 320). As much as George Back would be despondent over leaving civilization when taking the same route north sixteen years later, Cox was thrilled to be invited at the Long Sault to breakfast at "a handsome house on an eminence above the rapid":

From the windows of this apartment we had an extensive and picturesque view of hills, forests, corn-fields, farm-houses, and gardens; while close to the foot of the hill the majestic Ottawa rolled its turbulent waters over a mass of large detached rocks upwards of two miles in extent. The parlour itself was the beau idéal of elegance and comfort. The breakfast-table was partly laid, and a polished copper teakettle simmered most harmoniously on a bright brass footman, which was suspended from the shining bars of a Rumford grate (II, 321).
Here the single-paragraph frame echoes the frame around the landscape furnished by the window casings. Outside, the landscape scene abounds with signs of habitation and cultivation. Inside, the still-life scene of the "parlour itself" abounds with domestic and civilized objects. The two combine to produce a third picture of ease and contentment in the first narrative recounting a transcontinental trip through British North America to be published in English. Aside from the aesthetic and social drought which his employment in the Pacific Fur and North West Companies had caused him, Cox did not feel that his status as a social being had been permanently impaired. But his resolution not to be changed by the wilderness did not survive unscathed: on the last night of his sojourn, he welcomed the opportunity of sleeping on a mattress bed, but, to his surprise, found it unrestfully soft (II, 328).

III.2.V.iv--Alexander Ross (1813-1825)

It was to be another eight years before Alexander Ross followed Ross Cox over Athabasca Pass to take up residence as a school teacher at the Red River Settlement. In his second lengthy book, entitled _The Fur Hunters of the Far West_ (1855), Ross tells the story of his travels in the Oregon Territory from 1813-1825, under three successive employers—the Pacific Fur Company (1810-1813), the North West Company (1813-1821), and the Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1825). It has been argued by Ross's modern editor, Kenneth A. Spaulding, who printed a section of the MSS for this book in 1956, that "the style of the manuscript was extensively revised by the 1855 editor to make it conform to accepted rhetorical practices current in mid-nineteenth-century England."
Although this charge may be true, no substantive revisions exist in any of the passages dealing with landscape description. Thus, as with Ross's *Adventures of the first Settlers on the Oregon*, the aesthetic response to nature may be regarded as genuinely the author's own. This is all the more significant in light of the fact that Peter Skene Ogden and John Work, the leaders of the *Hudson's Bay Company Snake River* expeditions in the years following Ross, demonstrate in their journals very slight aesthetic appreciations of landscape. \(^{84}\)

After a trip to the Yakima River valley in the spring of 1814 to trade with the Indians for horses, Ross departed from his post at the forks of the Okanagan and Columbia Rivers (now under the ownership of the North West Company) for Spokane House. His horseback trip took him past the Grand Coulee, "one of the most romantic, picturesque, and marvellously formed chasms west of the Rocky Mountains." \(^{85}\) Introducing his single-paragraph picture of the coulee, he intimates that his description imitates a guide-book entry by advising that "no one travelling these parts ought to resist paying a visit to the wonder of the West" (I, 34):

The sides, or banks, of the Grand Coulee are for the most part formed of basalt rocks, in some places as high as 150 feet, with shelving steps, formed like stairs, to ascend and descend, and not infrequently vaults or excavated tombs, as if cut through the solid rocks, like the dark and porous catacombs of Keif [Kiev]. The bottom, or bed, deep and broad, consists of a conglomerate of sand and clay, hard and smooth where not interrupted by rocks. The whole presents in every respect the appearance of the deep bed of a great river or lake, now dry, scooped out of the level and barren plain. The sight in many places is truly magnificent: while in one place the solemn gloom forbids the wanderer to advance, in another the prospect is lively and inviting, the ground being thickly studded with ranges of columns, pillars, battlements, turrets, and steps above steps, in every variety of shade and colour. Here and there endless vistas and subterraneous labyrinths add to the beauty of the scene, and what is still more singular in this arid and sandy region, cold springs are frequent; yet there is never any water in the chasm, unless after recent rains. Thunder and lightning
are known to be more frequent here than in other parts, and a rumbling in the earth is sometimes heard. According to Indian tradition it is the abode of evil spirits. In the neighbourhood there is neither hill nor dale, lake nor mountain, creek nor rivulet to give variety to the surrounding aspect. Altogether it is a charming assemblage of picturesque objects for the admirer of nature. It is the wonder of the Oregon (I, 34-5).

Now the term "picturesque," as here deployed by Ross (and often by other travellers of his time) clearly does not refer to the aesthetic category of the Picturesque but, rather, to the idea that the odd natural forms would be an interestingly novel subject for a picture. No landscape is composed in this passage; instead, a quasi-scientific element is introduced that categorizes the site in terms other than foreground, middle ground, and distance. This reflects the later date of publication and (probably) composition of Ross's account—at a time in the nineteenth century when the popular perception of nature in terms of its geological and botanical histories had begun to supplant the eighteenth-century mode of comparing nature to conventions of landscape painting.

Ross does not mean for the visitor to the coulee to enter the landscape, only to read his account of it: parts "forbid the wanderer to advance," while others appear "inviting" from a distant prospect only. Indeed, taken all in all, Ross has not succeeded in this case in forming a very clear aesthetic response to the scene. He claims a "beauty of the scene" without demonstrating it; indeed, this beauty exists apparently despite the fact that, "in the neighbourhood there is neither hill nor dale, lake nor mountain, creek nor rivulet to give variety to the surrounding aspect." His reference to the spiritual value of the coulee in Indian mythology goes largely undeveloped. It is an "arid and sandy region"; yet, it is charming. The little-known catacombs of
Kiev are alluded to in order to provide a European context (one must wonder how many readers had expanded their Grand Tours to include Kiev), but, finally, no response appears that can be identified in terms of a prevailing landscape aesthetic. The introduction of such sublime features as thunder and lightning, rumbling earth, and the Indian significance of the landscape as the residence of evil spirits, further confuses the issue. Perhaps Ross felt that its extraordinary aspects could not be represented conventionally. Like the paragraph itself, the depiction lacks any sort of unity.

Another trip, this time up the Okanagan River valley to the "post at the She Whaps" (i.e. near Kamloops, B.C.), brought Ross back to Fort Okanagan in July. From there, he set out on foot on July 28 for Fort George, two hundred miles distant on the coast. His thirty-day trip was aborted after his guide fell ill in order not to proceed. On the second day out, Ross provides a miserable description of the country along the Columbia below the mouth of the Okanagan River. It recaptures all the gloom that beset his view of nature in his first volume:

This morning we started in a southerly direction, but soon got to the west again. Country gloomy; forests almost impervious, with fallen as well as standing timber. . . . The tracks of wild animals crossed our path in every direction. The leaves and decayed vegetation were uncommonly thick on the surface of the ground, and the mice and squirrels swarmed, and have riddled the earth like a sieve. The fallen timber lay in heaps, nor did it appear that the fire ever passed in this place. The surface of the earth appeared in perfect confusion, and the rocks and yawning chasms gave to the whole an air of solemn gloom and undisturbed silence (I, 45-6).

In addition to implicitly imploring his readers' pity as he did when he first settled at Fort Okanagan in Adventures (p. 146), Ross riddles his description with features of nature whose confused assembly guarantees a comical, even absurd effect. After this description, no one would
dare to question Ross's perseverance or, indeed, his decision in the matter of turning back to Fort Okanagan.

Passing the winter of 1814-1815 at Fort Okanagan, Ross descended to Fort George the next spring. He appears to have passed 1815 and 1816 in the vicinity of that post on the lower Columbia, although he made at least one inland trip with Donald McKenzie in the summer of 1816. Then, in June, 1817, he was sent to explore the country north from Kamloops Lake that lies to the west of the North Thompson River. He greeted the expedition with alacrity: "the change was the more agreeable to me, as any place was to be preferred to the wet and disagreeable climate of Fort George" (I, 119). In the event, the expedition provided the gloomy Scot with a plethora of landscapes worthy of his Cimmerian disposition. On September 2, 1817, five days north out of the She Whaps Fort (Kamloops), he discovers "a towering height, resembling a round tower, which we ascended. Here we had a pretty good view of the country around, but it was a dreary prospect. The rugged rocks, with their treeless and shrubless tops, almost forbade us to advance" (I, 148). On September 10, after passing Friendly Lake and Eagle Hill (which Ross computed at 155 miles north-east of Friendly Lake, B.C., probably in the modern Wells Gray Provincial Park), the Ross party was guided by Indians to the foot of the Rocky Mountains near the headwaters of Canoe River:

The guide had led us to a considerable eminence some distance out of our way, from which, in looking back, we beheld the country we had passed over, and certainly a more wild and rugged land the mind of man could not imagine. In looking before us, that is towards the mountains, the view was completely barred; an almost perpendicular front met the eye like a wall, and we stood and gazed at what might be called one of the wonders of the world. One circumstance struck us very forcibly, and that was the increased size of the timber. Along the base of the mountains, the timber, which had been stunted and puny, now became
gigantic in size, the pines and cedars in particular. One of the latter measured forty-five feet four inches in girth, four feet from the ground (I, 150-51).

The imposing spectacle momentarily lifts Ross from his characteristic umbrageousness. Descending from the prospect to the valley of the Canoe River, where now the Rocky Mountain wall did not cross his view but, rather, towered over him, gloom once again settles back over his aesthetic perception:

Everything here wore the appearance and stillness of the midnight hour. The scene was gloomy, and scarcely the chirping of a solitary bird was to be heard; our own voices alone disturbed the universal silence. In all this extent of desert through which we have passed not a human being was to be seen, nor the traces of any (I, 151).

Alone in the wilderness, however heavily tried it is, Ross imagines himself in the desert, far from the comfort of society. His self-portrait is rather pathetically self-indulgent.

The forty-seven day round trip from the She Whaps fort ended on September 29. Ross spent the winter at the fort and was back at Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia on June 5, 1818. His next posting must have made him wonder whether his employers had not chosen a career of aesthetic torment for him. He was sent to establish and manage a post at the forks of the Columbia and Walla Walla Rivers (at the site of modern Wallula, Wash.). Named Fort Nez Percès for its neighbourhood Indian tribe, the post loomed initially as an omnious project for Ross: "in the whole land, this spot was among the most difficult—the most barren of materials for building; and as it was no common scheme, the same appeared to ordinary minds as a thing more wild than practicable" (I, 174). But Ross discovered that peaceful tribes of Indians would almost continuously live at the fort, so that at least the animated
nature he had so long sought in landscape was now present. Notwithstanding his initial displeasure at the site, he soon warmed to it under this humanistic influence:

The place selected was commanding. On the west is a spacious view of our noble stream in all its grandeur, resembling a lake rather than a river, and confined on the opposite shore by verdant hills of moderate height. On the north and east the sight is fatigued by the uniformity and wide expanse of boundless plains. On the south the prospect is romantic, being abruptly checked by a striking contrast of wild hills and rugged bluffs on either side of the water, and rendered more picturesque by two singular towering rocks, similar in colour, shape, and height, called by the natives "The Twins," situated on the east side. These are skirted in the distance by a chain of the Blue Mountains, lying in the direction of east and west. To effect the intended footing on this sterile and precarious spot was certainly a task replete with excessive labour and anxiety.

In the charming serenity of a temperate atmosphere, Nature here displays her manifold beauties, and, at this season, the crowds of moving bodies diversify and enliven the scene. Groups of Indian huts, with their little spiral columns of smoke, and herds of animals, give animation and beauty to the landscape. The natives, in social crowds, vied with each other in coursing their gallant steeds, in racing, swimming, and other feats of activity. Wild horses in droves sported and grazed along the boundless plains; the wild fowl, in flocks, filled the air; and the salmon and sturgeon, incessantly leaping, ruffled the smoothness of the waters. The appearance of the country on a summer's evening was delightful beyond description (1, 175-76).

Like Ross's picture of the Grand Coulee, this description presents a motley assortment of aesthetic perspectives. But as Ross probably felt his aesthetic pleasure in nature to have been hitherto constrained, he overcompensates at this first opportunity by tackling a panorama of views. In succession, there are contrasted the beauty of "the verdant hills of moderate height" (emphasis added) which rise gradually from the lacustrine tranquility of the Columbia elbow (now named Lake Wallula), the sublimity to the north and east, where "the sight is fatigued by the uniformity and wide expanse of boundless plains" of the Walla Walla Plateau, and the picturesque "romantic" prospect "of wild hills, and rugged bluffs" which rise "on either side of the water" to
the south and extend southward to the Blue--one might say Claudian--Mountains in the distance.

But these middle grounds and backgrounds are unified by the second paragraph's single foreground scene whose humanizing influence transforms all the landscape from an apparently motley assembly into Nature's "manifold beauties." The "animation and beauty" lent the scene of a summer's evening by the "gallant steeds," and by the "social crowds" of Indians involved in leisurely 'rural' activities conjures up paintings of English rustic life or of country fairs not unworthy of a George Morland. The wild creatures contrast with the "social" humans, while the numbers of each conspire to produce an active scene. 88 Lest he allow his contentment with his lot in 1818 to show itself too prominently in his descriptions of nature, Ross checks his enthusiasm in the next paragraph with his dour observation that, "we were far from being free from anxiety. The natives flocked about us in very suspicious numbers."

Ross made Fort Nez Percés his residence from 1818 to 1823. During that five year period, Donald McKenzie commanded the Snake River trapping expeditions south from the fort for the North West Company, while Finian McDonald took the 1823 expedition for the Hudson's Bay Company once that concern had achieved its monopoly. 89 Just after McDonald left on the 1823 expedition, John Warren Dease, a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, arrived at the fort with orders for Ross to assume command of that year's Snake expedition. Rather than do so, Ross decided to quit the country. He travelled north to the Rockies where a letter from the North American governor of the Company, George Simpson, tempted him with a liberal salary in return for a three-year Snake country commission. Ross wavered, but the encouragement of another former
North Wester, Peter Skene Ogden, stayed him to stay on.

Because McDonald had brought the 1823 summer expedition back to Spokane House rather than Fort Nez Percé, the northern post became Ross's point of departure on November 12, 1823. Travelling eastward up Flathead River (Clark Fork) and Jacques Fork (Jocko Fork), he crossed over to Hell's Gate on the Bitterroot River (at the modern site of Missoula, Mont.), the "notorious" pass in "the great war-road by which the Piegans and Blackfeet often visit this side of the mountains" (II, 12-13). Thus Ross is initiated into the most sublime feature of the district lying between the Columbia River and the continental divide—treacherous Indian tribes. Since the murder of John Reed, the North West Company trader who led the 1813 Snake River expedition, Indian attacks and thievery had been a paramount dilemma for fur hunters in this region. Consequently, Ross begins to view the Bitterroot River valley as prime country for a Salvatoreseque banditti ambush:

After putting up one evening, the uncommon noise made by the wolves about our camp annoyed us. At last, it struck me that it might be wolves on two legs, imitating the animal; . . . in no place of our trip, Hell's Gates itself scarcely excepted, did we meet with such a gloomy and suspicious place. At every bend of the river, wild and romantic scenes opened to view; the river alone preventing the hills and cliffs from embracing each other (II, 18).

But it was weather rather than Indians that closed in on Ross's first Snake Country brigade, confirming all his suspicions regarding the safety of the valley. It was March, 1824, before he managed—by shovelling a path through snow that lay as deep as seven feet—to extricate his men from the Bitterroot and cross the mountains at Gibbon Pass. Thereafter, Ross made his way by a devious route to the Snake River, probably ascending it as far as the mouth of the Raft River (between the modern towns of Twin Falls and American Falls, Idaho), where "we
passed over one of those natural bridges so frequently noticed by [Donald McKenzie] on former trips:

This subterranean river flowed through one of the most delightful valleys I had ever seen, skirted on each side by gentle rising ranges of high lands, divided transversely between these ranges by descending rivulets, whose banks were lined with rows of bushes, as if planted by the hand of man. As we journeyed along, we passed several cold and hot springs. This enchanting vale I named the Garden of the Snake Country. It surpassed, both in beauty and fertility, the valley of the Wallowa [sic] (II, 113).

The novelty of the foreground bridge, the rivulets lined by apparently regularly planted vegetation in the middle ground, and "gentle rising ranges of high lands" closing the view in the distance and making of the space a naturally enclosed "garden" inspire an aesthetic response from Ross. However, the view marks a unique event in the course of the year-long trip through rugged mountain ranges and valleys. A more typical response is that depicting the view northward from the top of Galena Peak, which Ross climbed on September 18, 1824: "On looking towards the north, 'How,' said I to myself, 'are we to pass here?' The doubt remained until I turned to view the quarter whence we had come; when, seeing it nearly as wild and rugged as country could be, it struck me, that since we had passed through the one, we might attempt the other" (II, 119).

Taking no chances with a new "quarter," Ross retraced his outward route and reached Flathead Post at the end of November, 1824. He wintered there before returning to Spokane House on April 12, 1825. There, he met George Simpson and contracted his teaching position at Red River, and with the new prospect in hand, he set out in the spring on the transmontane journey to the nearest humanized foreground. 93

Ross exhibits his usual aesthetic distaste for densely wooded
hillsides when passing Kettle Falls (David Thompson's Ilthkoyape Falls, and the site where John Warren Dease would erect Fort Colvile the next summer [1826]): "there are few places in this part of the country less attractive, or more wild" (II, 162). Thereafter, he organizes the upriver trip on the Co'umbia into "stages" (II, 166), and makes it clear that he is organizing his narrative in terms of a guide book. Lower and Upper Arrow Lakes mark stages in the journey up the great river. The next two stages in the guide book feature landscape novelties. On the east side of the river thirty-five miles below the Upper Dalles, he describes a "City of Rock," "resembling the turrets, domes, spires, and steeples of a city in ruins" (II, 178). At the Upper Dalles/Dalles des Morts/Grand Rapids--"a prospect more wild and dangerous ... we have seldom seen"--he commemorates the drowning in 1816 of four fur traders and voyageurs at an impromptu grave marker "near to the water's edge, a wide-spread pine-tree, occupying the place of the weeping willow," that is common in a British graveyard (II, 180). Also attracting his attention are floating islands composed of driftwood so compacted as to have "become one solid mass of decayed vegetation, out of which are seen growing pines, poplars, and a variety of trees, some of them measuring two feet in diameter" (II, 175) (the sort of natural ruins which would have made the connoisseur of artificial ruins, William Gilpin, ecstatic), a four-tiered mountain cataract named Point Curiosity (II, 181), the "spangled and shining" deposits of mica at Castle Rock (II, 181-82), and the natural amphitheatre in the cliffs named the Circus (II, 183) which caps Ross's itinerary of "so many novelties." Interspersed in this list of 'sights-not-to-be-missed' are such pieces of practical advice as warnings to sportsmen to prime their
guns often in the valley's damp climate.

Boat Encampment (called Portage Point by Ross) marked the end of the fifth and final stage of the Columbia River route, and 820-mile excursion from Fort Nez Perces. Before the brigade lay a formidable challenge: the ascent of the virtually non-existent valley floor of the Wood (Ross's Portage) River. In describing this stage of the journey, the Scot once again allows his gloom to surface, while also giving a sense of the sublime struggle between man and nature that is involved in crossing the Rockies:

To give a correct idea of this part of our journey, let the reader picture in his own mind a dark, narrow defile, skirted on one side by a chain of inaccessible mountains, rising to a great height, covered with snow, and slippery with ice from their tops down to the water's edge. And on the other side, a beach comparatively low, but studded in an irregular manner with standing and fallen trees, rocks, and ice, and full of drift-wood; over which the torrent everywhere rushes with such irresistible impetuosity, that very few would dare to adventure themselves in the stream. Let him again imagine a rapid river descending from some great height, filling up the whole channel between the rocky precipices on the south and the no less dangerous barrier on the north. And lastly, let him suppose that we were obliged to make our way on foot against such a torrent, by crossing and recrossing it in all its turns and windings from morning till night, up to the middle in water, and he will understand that we have not exaggerated the difficulties to be overcome in crossing the Rocky Mountains (II, 193).

With impenetrable rock on one side and a confusion of natural débris on the other, the valley forms the sort of "dark, narrow defile" which, it would appear finally to Ross's reader, most intrigued the Highlands Scot. Between these valley sides hurtles a springtime mountain torrent whose ascent demands enormous effort on the part of the traveller. By repeatedly and rhetorically inviting the reader to imagine the route at the ascent to the height of land, Ross builds the paragraph's impetus in a manner which mirrors the brigade's Sisyphean upward struggle.95

On first arriving on the height, Ross casts his memory back over
his fourteen years spent on the Pacific Slope. Then, he reaches forward to his first view of the prospect which would dominate the second half of his life: "the country at once opens into a wide and boundless prairie--the land of buffalo, and the hunter's paradise" (II, 201). The prospect extends fancifully out onto the grasslands, a considerable distance from the Committee Punch Bowl. In the interval, Ross crosses the Athabasca River at the mouth of the Miette, and arrives at the site of Rocky Mountain House (near Jasper) with his old perceptual preference for the Picturesque still intact:

On approaching this establishment, situated under the brow of the mountain ridge, we had anticipated a gloomy place; but the very reverse was the case. We advanced, from the water's edge, up an inclined plane, some two or three hundred yards in length, smooth as a bowling-green, and skirted on each side by regular rows of trees and shrubs, the whole presenting the appearance of an avenue leading to some great man's castle, which had a very pleasing effect. Here, however, we found no lordly dwellings, but a neat little group of wood huts suited to the climate of the country, rendered comfortable and filled with cheerful and happy inmates; and what gave to the place a cheering aspect was the young grass, forming a pleasing contrast to the snow-clad heights around (II, 201-02).

This is the parkland that Ross had expected to find when he boarded the Chinook canoe at Fort Astoria on July 22, 1811, and in which he never basked while on the Pacific Slope. Even the human staffage in this idealized view is made to accord with the mood evoked in Ross by the landscape. Although an English estate is envisaged, the less formal, more picturesque rustic huts are painted into the foreground lawn. The visual contrast between the white, vertical background heights and the green, horizontal foreground "inclined plane" supplies the much-esteemed variety in this narrative landscape painting.

From the mountains to Red River, Ross decides (presumably, when preparing his manuscript for publication in the early 1850s) that the
much better-known stages of the route require him to be "less minute in [his] details" (II, 203). This aesthetic suspension cannot, however, forestall a response to the parkland through which the North Saskatchewan River flows from Fort Edmonton to Carlton House. His "very pleasant voyage" down "this delightful stream" in June, 1825, took Ross through "gradually" rising river banks that presented "a green undulating surface of hill and dale" (II, 213). Here in profusion are the picturesque landscapes which he so seldom encountered in the Columbia River district:

This place has neither the bold and rocky shore, nor the wild and mountainous aspect, of Columbia, but has been well termed the land of prairies—a land teeming with buffalo and deer, lakes and wild fowl; and for diversity of landscape, or beauty of scenery, few countries can equal and none surpass it (II, 214).

But the picturesque and fertile landscapes do not continue: past the forks of the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, Ross descends to the first Prairie steppe, where "the high lands and wide-spreading plains gave place gradually to a country less and less pleasing to the eye" (II, 216), and where Ross finds yet another form of "gloomy" (II, 217) landscape.

Between Cumberland House and Lake Winnipeg Ross's brigade met the party of John Franklin's second expedition en route to the Arctic Ocean. Finally, he traversed Lake Winnipeg to the Red River, up which he found "the surrounding prospect anything but inviting, the country being low, flat, and marshy" (II, 253). A fitting home for the gloomy Scot who would become the Red River Settlement's first sheriff in 1839.
THE INFLUENCE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH LANDSCAPE AESTHETICS ON NARRATIVE AND PICTORIAL RESPONSES TO THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN NORTH AND WEST 1769-1872 VOLUME II

by

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III.3--THE EXPANDING EMPIRE: JOURNALS FROM THE CORNERS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TERRITORY (1820-1850)

The hostilities between the pedlars from Montreal and the Englishmen on the Bay came to a head in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Violence had erupted on several occasions, especially after the Hudson's Bay Company had granted to Lord Selkirk in 1811 the parcel of land which was developed into the Red River Settlement. Later in the decade several North West Company partners became disillusioned with the control gained in their company by William McGillivray. The result was the merger of the two companies under the name and control of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. Thereafter (and principally directed by the ambitious strategies of the governor, George Simpson) the fur traders opened up almost the entire western wilderness of British North America.

III.3.1--The Tour of a Deputy-Governor: Nicholas Garry (1821)

Nicholas Garry (1782?-1856) was the Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822 to 1835. As a member of the London-based committee, his position did not involve regular travel in the company's territories, as George Simpson's did; however, in 1821, before taking up his position, he was sent by the London Committee to superintend a peaceful and smooth merger of the two fur trade giants. He arrived at New York in April, 1821. His itinerary included the normal fur trade route from Lachine to Lake Winnipeg, and from Lake Winnipeg to York Factory. After a six-month westward excursion he sailed from York on
September 13 for England. The private journal of that excursion was not published in Garry's lifetime, indeed not until 1900. It was, however, written decidedly with an audience in mind—probably Garry's fellow committee members and his London social circle.

Garry's initial response to the hinterlands of the Ottawa River bears an interesting comparison with Ross Cox's. Whereas the fur trader coming down the Ottawa in 1817 was rediscovering cultivated landscapes after long being inured to the grandeur of the wilderness, the deputy-governor, in ascending the same river four years later, overlooks the marks of man's shaping of landscape and greets wilderness nature with a neophyte's almost embarrassing emprise.

From the Long Sault to the Chaudière, a space of about 60 miles, the River narrows to about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Banks on each side are Tow but presenting the most beautiful Appearance. Here you have Nature in all its Beauty, Wildness, and Decay. As the trees now are probably the Appearance has been the same for Ages. Next to the beautiful Elm with its clean elegant stem and full Top you have the trunk of the withered Oak which the first blast of the wind will throw amongst the beautiful Verdure of long grass, Shrub and Flowers below, forming a Contrast of perfect Beauty and almost frightful Decay.

No landscape picture has been organized in this scene; on the contrary, only incidental details in the landscape are noted. But a landscape composition requires a more or less composed mind, something Garry lacks at this point. He is simply enthralled by the sight of familiar forms of vegetation (elm, oak, shrub, and flowers) in a novel setting of untended nature. This response continues at the Chaudière Falls:

The Imagination cannot picture anything so wild and romantic. The Utawa dividing itself into two streams forms an extensive Island covered with the finest Trees (principally Oak), in a Bed of Long Grass and beautiful Verdure. The River then uniting becomes an immense Body and as if angry at the interruption to its Course is rough and agitated, and in this State runs over a Bed of rugged, uneven, excavated Rocks for several hundred yards in a Breadth of nearly a mile... The surrounding
country is rocky and mountainous and covered with the black pine. The Rock is a sort of Slate in strata which Time has moulded into the oddest shapes which have the Appearance of Ruins. The Beauty of the Scene is perhaps a little destroyed by the Appearance of Cultivation. A Mr. Wright an American has built a little Town near The Falls, and Deal Mills (p. 96).

Despite the wildness of the falls and the towering spruce on the background Gatineau hills, the island oak provokes a sense of the Picturesque in Garry. Cultivation only impinges on the exhilaration he feels, for the novelty of the hinterlands empire lies in its location beyond (or, at this time at least, at the frontier of) the shaping hand of man. The manifestations of civilization—a house and town in this case—have the opposite effect on the landscape tourist (Garry) to what they had on the fur trader nearing the completion of the longest route through the wilderness (Cox).

Gradually, however, Garry came to regret the loss of familiar forms of landscape, whether human or vegetable. Near the mouth of the "Petite Rivière or Matawa" on June 18, "the Banks on each Side are generally rocky and covered with the black Pine but intermixed with other Trees which is a great Relief to the Gloominess of the Scene; Mosquitoes and sandfly very annoying. We paddled on about 30 miles between Highlands" (p. 103). The gloom continued for the Briton as the brigade ascended the Mattawa, the river which George Back would also find gloomy. Twelve years later. One particular encampment, on Snake Island, off the north shore of Lake Huron, produced a grotesque incident which heightened Garry's growing aversion to the sublimity around him: "In our hurry to light our Fire and in the dark we destroyed the Remains of a poor little Indian child. The Indians to preserve their dead children from Animals place them in a tree about which they put Faggots and
these without knowing what they covered we pulled down for our Fire" (p. 108). There is no realization on Garry's part that his party has entered and defiled the sacred islands of the manitou; after all, this is nearly his company's territory and certainly its thoroughfare, in his view. Yet, this unintentionally barbarous act undeniably unnerves Garry, settling over his narrative like a shroud that does not lift until he sees a settlement of live Indians at Sault Ste. Marie:

... we had an excellent View of the Falls of St. Mary. The River St. Mary is the Strait which connects Lake Huron with Lake Superior and the Sault de St. Mary is the largest Rapid of three which impede Navigation between the two Lakes. The River here is about two miles in Breadth and the Rapid falls over a Ridge of Rocks about 23 Feet over a space of half a mile. There are ten beautiful Islands in the middle covered with the most magnificent trees and the Banks on each side of the River have equally this Attraction. The dark Foliage and the beautiful Verdure of the long Grass form a fine contrast with the snowy Whiteness and bright Foam of the Cataract. The Number of Indian Tents, the Villages on each Side, the Canoes fishing in the Middle of the Rapid, form, united, the most beautiful, romantic Scenery. We found here ten Lodges of the Chippeways called by the French Saulteurs from their encamping on the Banks of the Rapid [i.e. sault] to fish (p. 110).

Now a sign of settlement by however foreign a people is greeted with alacrity by Garry. In a humanized landscape which anticipates some of the themes in Paul Kane's Indian paintings, Garry assembles an animated foreground and middle ground: ten beautiful islands dot the river's half mile and their verdure (unidentified) provides an agreeable colour contrast to the snowy-white river. In a similar aesthetic vein, Garry deploys the Indians as staffage. He is not so much concerned to document their methods of fishing as to note that they contribute to a "most beautiful, romantic" and, most importantly, "united" landscape effect.

But Garry is not done. He proceeds from this pre-Cooperesque picturesque view to invest the scene with an historical dimension by
mentioning the assault on the British fort (and Alexander Henry the Elder) by the very Saulteur tribes in 1763. Quoting Henry's description of the baggatiway game, he transforms the present picturesque landscape into a diabolical, sublime ambush scene. It appears that, while Garry appreciates the effect lent his landscape picture by the enlivening presence of the Saulteurs, he is also aware that an enchantment with the picturesque fishing scene, like the British garrison's enchantment with the lacrosse scene almost sixty years before, may entail certain risks. To make Indians play the rôle of rustics in one's European representation of wilderness landscapes is to risk seeing them as Europeans, a potentially dangerous mistake. Thus, Garry shows himself the beneficiary of an earlier traveller's (Henry's) experiences on the fur trade route.

Henry's lesson stays with Garry as he crosses Lake Superior. At Fort William on July 21, he observes the Indians' drunkenness and nakedness and—clearly not sharing in Ross Cox's picturesque perception of their motley hues and diverting antics—depants, having "never in my Life . . . left a Place with less Regret" (p. 118). Proceeding up the Kaministikwia River, Garry does not write a detailed account of Kakabeka Falls, perhaps because travel with the fur brigade did not leave time to make the necessary detour from the Mountain Portage to see them. But Garry is impressed later the same day (July 22), as Cox had been, by the visual (if not quite geographical) height of land between the Great Lakes and Lake Winnipeg: "This Portage [du Chien] is over a very high Mountain on the Top of which is a most wild romantic View. The whole Country is undulating, covered with low Pines, Hill rising above Hill, in the Middle a narrow winding Stream with a strong
Current, beautifully contrasted with the dark Shades of the Pine" (p. 119). The height permits the viewer a distance from the pines that lends enchantment to them; as a clothing or carpet of the Kaministikwa River valley, they strike Garry much more agreeably than when seen at close hand. Two days later, on July 24, the near sight of the pines induces again a pejorative comment: "On passing this portage [Portage de But des Mille Lacs] we embarked on the Lake of Windigo or the Devils Lake, which is about 15 miles, a most melancholy, uninteresting Lake, low Banks and stunted Pine" (p. 123). No attempt is made by Garry to read the landscape in terms of the Indian legends surrounding it. But then Garry was no David Thompson. His habit was not to investigate nature but to compare landscape views as he was being ferried through them by voyageurs. For him, the voyageurs are merely the means of conveyance, a needful mechanism enabling him to tour wilderness views. Garry makes this understanding plain in a passage about the voyageurs on the Portage du Chien which, significantly, follows the previously-quoted landscape description, thereby reflecting the tourist's priority:

This Portage is two miles. The Day was intensely hot and our poor Men suffered dreadfully from Heat and the Bites of Musquitoes. We were 2 1/2 Hours before we again embarked. . . . An instance of the fine manly character of the Canadian Voyageur, a Power of undergoing Hardships under the most severe Privations occurred to-day. By an omission at Fort William no Provisions were put in the Canoe for them and they had actually, in this Country of Portages and difficult Marching, had nothing to subsist on but hard Indian Corn, which they had not had the time to boil and thus going through Labor which, without seeing it, it could not be imagined the human Frame could support. Not a Word of Discontent was uttered but they continued polite, obliging, singing their animating lively Songs to the last. We had fortunately Plenty of Provisions with us for Ourselves (pp. 119-20).

This selfish attitude seems surprising from a man whose interests might be supposed, if only for mercantile reasons, to include the physical
welfare of his employees. But Garry's concern is less with the voyageurs than with the disappearance of oak trees from the landscape. The sight of even one induces a pathetically grateful response on July 26 near Cross Lake:

A beautiful Oak on the Banks of the Water brought to my mind England and all I love, all my Friends and Companions. The Sight of Oak never fails to produce this Effect and has the same Influence on the Feelings which the meeting with a Countryman in a distant Clime has on the Spirits. At half past one we arrived at the third Portage where we dined close to a Waterfall. At 1/2 past two we entered a narrow Stream, passing between Banks of high Grass, Water Lilies, Willows, Ash, Aspen, Elm and occasionally, an Oak peeping between them to show its Superiority over every other Tree (p. 124).

Garry's bald and patriotic expression of his preferences in vegetation makes clear that what he enjoyed on the Ottawa River was not so much the entrance into wilderness, but the wild presentation of landscape features that were familiar and full of nostalgic associations. To his great good fortune, this view on the Nakam River anticipated an only more English view that was to be had the next day when the brigade, after passing two canoes miserably behind schedule with provisions for Franklin's first expedition (then coasting along the continental shore between the mouth of the Coppermine River and Bathurst Inlet), enters the celebrated Rainy River:

... all the Lakes we have passed since we left Fort William-presents little to gratify the Eye... [However,] here the scene at once changed, ... [Rainy River] is about 150 paces in Breadth, the Banks are low, but very rich beautiful Verdure, high rich Grass, the Soil appearing admirably fitted for Colonization, the Trees of Slender Growth Poplar, Ash, Oak, Willows. We met at every moment the White-headed Eagle with a white Tail. We passed two Rapids the Country about them beautiful [...] bringing to Mind the Recollection of English Scenery, fine rich sloping Banks of Grass, most luxuriant Verdure interspersed with Oak Trees (pp. 126-27).
As the next day brings new and prolonged views, Garry is moved to yet a more intense response:

If this is not the grandest River I have seen in my Wanderings it is at least the most pleasing to my Eye, presenting at every moment the most beautiful Scenery and Spots which bring to the Mind England and all the attendant pleasing Recollections, the Strength of which and the delightful Feelings they produce appearing to be increased by Distance... The Banks are covered with high Grass presenting the most beautiful Verdure which cannot be surpassed even in England (p. 127).

Several features of the river—its size, its character (few rapids, none necessitating a portage), its plentiful supply of fish, its banks' rich soil and English species of vegetation—lead to an aesthetic discovery of a home landscape away from home. Moreover, it should be noticed not only that this river bears a resemblance to an English landscape, but also that its "Verdure" rivals that of England. So taken is Garry with the picturesque terrain of the Rainy River and by the area's lack of Indians (a feature noted by other travellers) that he becomes thoughtless of his office in a fur-trade concern and pronounces the district fit for settlement. 99

On the last day of July, the brigade passed quickly through Lake of the Woods and Rat Portage (modern Kenora, Ont.) to the Winnipeg River, whose tortuous course qualified it as the aesthetic antithesis of the picturesque Rainy River. However, it did not elicit sublime fear or giddiness in Garry: its fast water and frequent cascades proved, as he says of the scene at Jacco Falls (Jacko Falls; modern Lamprey Falls 100), "in every Way so interesting as to drive away every sense of Danger" (p. 129). One scene in particular, recorded under August 1, epitomizes Garry's breathtaken delight in the river's landscapes:
At the Foot of this magnificent Fall [Slave Falls; modern Slave Falls Dam] we dined and a Power of Imagination and Description might picture it in the most enchanting Colours. Indeed to my Feelings there is something very animating and inspiring in the Life of a Voyageur. In Nature's Wilds all is Independence [sic], all your Luxuries and Comforts are within yourself and all that is pleasurable within your own Minds; and after all this is Happiness, if there is such a thing in the World, which no Mortal can say. Indeed there is no Reasoning on Happiness. Our whole Life is spent in wishing for Something which, when we acquire it, often becomes insipid and new Objects and new Views crowd upon the Mind producing Dissatisfaction with the Present and a Longing or Desire for Something in the Future.

Our Dinner Table was a hard Rock, no Table Cloth could be cleaner and the surrounding Plants and beautiful Flowers sweetening the Board. Before us the Waterfall, wild romantic, bold. The River Winnipic here impeded by Mountainous Rocks appears to have found a Passage through the Rocks and these, as if still disputing the Power of Water, show their Heads, adding to the rude Wildness of the Scene, producing Whirlpools, Foam loud Noise and crystal Whiteness beautifully contrasted with the Black Pine. This again is softened by the Freshness and rich Foliage of the Ash, Maple, Elm, Red Willow and occasionally the Oak bringing to the mind England and all the delightful Recollections this happy Country produces and showing in Fact all the Folly of my opening Phantasy of a Want of Happiness in this Life. The Wildness of the Scene was added to by the melancholy white headed Eagle hovering over our Board. The Scenery from the Fall becomes more wild and romantic, the Rocks assume now the Character of Mountains (pp. 130-31).

In the first paragraph of this account, a physical description leads to an avowal of aesthetic incapacity and then an encomium on life in the wilds. But the transport conveyed generally in the first paragraph gives way to a novel landscape picture of the "Dinner Table" where the "rude Wildness of the Scene" in the middle ground and back-ground-plays against the humanized foreground. Moreover, the "crystal Whiteness" of the water and the black "Mountainous Rocks" form a contrasting backdrop while the human scene is "softened" and coloured by the presence of English flora. Thus, Garry discovers "Happiness in Life." Its source is this hybrid of, on the one hand, English "Recollections," symbolized by the flower-bedecked, mosquitoless dining table, and, on the other, the "wild and romantic" scenery of the foreign river which exhilarates (and even vaguely threatens) the melancholy white headed Eagle.
hovering over our Board") the landscape tourist. Rather than "new Ob-
jects and new Views Crowd[ing] upon the Mind [and] producing Dissatis-
faction with the Present," Garry has discovered at this noon-hour how a
"new" landscape can evoke old thoughts, thus producing a new synthesis
of present objects and past views.

A succession of "stupendous," "wild," and "bold," romantic scenery
which cannot be described" (p. 132) brought Garry to the company-post
at Bas de la Rivière early in August. From there, a brief trip was made
to Red River where he was delighted by the "deep dark shade of the Oak,
Elm, Maple impervious to the Sun" (p. 135). The river valley trees
claim attention. The plains do not. A few days later he was back on
Lake Winnipeg en route to York Factory, accompanied, interestingly
enough, by Rev. John West, who was going down to meet the unfortu-
nate Swiss emigrants (including the painter, Peter Rindisbacher) who had
been enticed into emigrating by a fanciful prospectus on the Red River
settlement which painted the region as a picturesque "Elysium." As
Garry proceeds across Lake Winnipeg and down the Steel and Hayes Rivers
on the route which Franklin's first expedition had ascended in the
autumn of 1819, his aesthetic interest in the land drops off markedly.
The stunted pines of the boreal forest, the lack of soil, the generally
less lively rivers flowing through less diversified topography—in
short, landscapes of absence—combine to all but silence him. He dis-
misses Holy (Oxford) Lake, the lake to which Franklin, though not
Robert Hood, attempted an aesthetic response, as "very uninter-
esting, low Banks and stunted Pine" (p. 148); however, he did feel with
Franklin that "the numerous Islands give it a little Variety." While
for Franklin the route up from York Factory steadily improved in
aesthetic qualities, for Garry, these gradually diminished: "... we arrived [August 19] at the Trout Portage which is 200 paces to avoid the Trout Fall which, if I had not seen the Falls of the River Winnipic, the Chaudière, &c., I should have considered very fine" (p. 148). As Cox had been glad to reach Lachine, Garry was glad to reach York Factory. From there he sailed in November, after an excursion of five months, to his homeland's oaks and whispering streams.

III.3.II—On the Boundary Line with David Thompson: John J. Bigsby in 1823

In 1823, two summers after Garry followed the Kaministikwia route to Lake Winnipeg, the route first used by the North West Company from Grand Portage on Lake Superior was surveyed by David Thompson for the Boundary Commission that was established after the Treaty of Ghent. Thompson's survey of the international boundary between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods formed only one of his exhaustive summer mapping expeditions. He was joined on this one, however, by the secretary to the Commission, John Jeremiah Bigsby (1792-1881) who described the summer's work of determining the precise international border line as the seventh and last "excursion" in his two-volume work, entitled The Shôe and Canoe (1850). This work presents a series of pen pictures of places and people in the Canadas, replete with a guide-book style and vocabulary. As Bigsby explains it, "through the medium of a series of excursions, it is intended to portray the objects which fill the traveller's eye, the life he leads, and the company he meets with, in this romantic and fertile part of North America." Bigsby distinguishes his approach from that of William Henry Bartlett and Nathaniel P.
Willis in Canadian Scenery (1842). Their "views are equally beautiful
and true," he writes, but "mine represent places which that gentleman
[Bartlett] did not visit, and were selectedless for the extremely
picturesque than for the characteristic" (I, x). Yet, with the
seventh excursion in mind, he proclaims an essentially picturesque ap-
proach to "a pleasant land [with] a variety of enjoyments--sport to the
sportsman, inspiration to the poet, excitement to the brave, and health
to the delicate" (I, vi).

The survey began at the Grand Portage along the Pigeon River,
which ran for eight and one-sixth miles west from the shores of Lake
Superior. On June 29, 1823, Bigsby, whose responsibilities on any
portage likely were minimal, descends the river valley's precipitous
sides to view one of

a long and most picturesque series of cascades and rapids, one of the
former plunging into a mural chaîn 200 feet deep with a gloomy despera-
tion worthy of the Hendeck in Switzerland. The sides of the river here-
abouts are rocky terraces, naked and high, or are ravines choked with
huge débris overspread with underwood, wild roses, and raspberries.
Its left bank rises to the height of 800 or 900 feet, and has only a
few tufts of pines growing in the fissures. It is a very savage place,
and will repay a visit. I was almost one whole day in scrambling two
miles below the first fall, and returned to camp in a very tattered
state (II, 242).

The ultimate judgement exercised by this traveller is whether or not
his side-trip will "repay a visit." The valley's "savage" character
and mood of "gloomy desperation" qualify it, presumably, for inclusion
in Bigsby's recommended itinerary. That it can rival a sublime station
on the Grand Tour for the mood it evokes in its viewer, establishes the
Pigeon River valley as a "faut voir" (to appropriate the modern
Michelin guide-book parlance for the most scenic views).

Nearing the top of Pigeon River in early July, Bigsby came across
a highly eligible landscape station on the portage into Outard or Fowl Lake. 107

We enter it [the lake] by a long portage, woody like the rest of the environs, and overlooked at its west end by a basaltic precipice not less than 600 feet high. The view from the summit is beautiful. A strong north-west gale was blowing across a clear sky successive companies of clouds, which mapped the sea of woods before me with fugitive shadows. Looking to the north-west, Lake Outard lay below, nearly bisected by a rushy narrow. Beyond it we have hilly ranges of woods, running W.N.W., with long valleys between. To the south and south-east we see the valley of Pigeon River buried in dark pines, among which we still discern short silvery traces of the stream itself (II, 244-45).

The equivalent of the prospect from Portage du Chien on the newer route followed by Garry two years before, this station marks the aesthetic (though again, not quite the geographical) height of land. Local weather provides a wind that achieves two remarkable effects, one on the viewer, the other on the view: first, the viewer is freed by the "gale" from both the heat and the mosquitoes of a normal July day near what was to become Quetico Provincial Park; and second, the wind continues to move the clouds across the sky, thereby animating the landscape by continuously dappling that part of the land in shade. Perhaps this last effect is what moves Bigsby to a unique description of the forests of this region as a sea, for the moving shade might well resemble the constantly agitating undulations of a wavy sea. 108

From Lac La Croix (Cross Lake) westward, Bigsby's route in 1823 matched Garry's in 1821. But at Rainy Lake, David Thompson's survey took Bigsby off the fur-trade routes and right around a lakeshore "so wrinkled and devious, so full of unexpected bifurcations, closures, and openings" (II, 264). The northeastern horn of the lake (Redgut Bay) Bigsby found to be
remarkable for the pure, smooth, porcelain whiteness of its granite hills, which are often very high, and gleam through their scanty clothing of pine in a beautiful and singular manner, while the dark forests of cypress at their feet greatly heighten the general effect.

At a place where a lofty cascade falls into the lake with a loud roar, this kind of scenery is quite melodramatic. It presents a somewhat new combination of colours in landscape--white rocks, black foliage, and blue lake (II, 264).

Together with the previous description of a "sea of woods," the foregoing admission of a different landscape effect exhibits in Bigsby's word pictures the author's willingness to go beyond the conventions whose espousal he announced in his preface. Not just "characteristic," but also "remarkable" features and their aesthetic tones are noted. This approach is also notable in a different manifestation in the unique rhetorical description of Rainy River which begins the second half of Bigsby's Lake Superior-Lake of the Woods excursion:

A thousand years ago, while yet our England was a wolfish den, the silver Trent of the midland counties must have greatly resembled the Lapluiue of the present day. I am not sure that the fur trader, an Italian perhaps, had not a hut on its banks; but certainly, at the time we are speaking of, both these streams flowed smoothly and freely in a succession of lovely reaches, and through terraced meadows, alternating with rich woods and reedy marshes.

The Lapluiue seems made for a pleasure excursion; all is serenity and beauty. The winds can seldom come near; in summer at least; and as to rocks beneath, there are none, save in a very few places, and easily avoided. At the mouth of any of the tributary streams, during the most of the open season, a net will secure a supper--nay, I am told that sometimes the canoe can hardly get along from the number of fish. In the autumn the gun will bring down a score of pigeons, a wild duck, or swan (II, 270-71).

In order to compare the Rainy with an English river such as the Trent the English traveller could use two strategies: he could either imagine its banks cultivated, as Garry had, or he could turn back history to the point when both river valleys bore similar uncivilized appearances, as Bigsby does. Garry's is by far the more popular approach, rendering
Bigsby's rarer response the more poignant. Furthermore, the comparison-by-reversion implicitly invests the British North American river with an historical dimension, something which it decidedly lacks with the futuristic approach. The salient point of such a comparison is that the Rainy River's "lovely reaches" and "terraced meadows," together with its astonishing prospects for the angler and hunter, remain unchanged, while the Trent in 1850 runs through such industrial towns as Stoke-on-Trent and Nottingham.

Unlike Garry's response, Bigsby's picture does not, despite the Rainy/Trent comparison, promote settlement. Indeed, Bigsby goes on to explain his measured reasons for not promoting settlement:

As to settling on this river, many things are desirable besides fertility. The drawbacks are overpowering. They are, a long and severe winter, total want of society, and of the means of education, dearness of many necessaries, and insecurity of life and property. The Laplacie is a frontier river, and therefore liable to devastation in the time of war (II, 285-86).

A Thompsonian pragmatism here cuts through Bigsby's normal aesthetic perception. The winter season is so rarely imagined, let alone portrayed, by summer travellers that its appearance is refreshing. Indeed, only in this passage does the full import of the Trent River comparison become apparent, for Bigsby sees Rainy River as a frontier river, just as the Trent was for a continental European in the ninth century. It is exposed to numerous hazards, including the one of invasion. The Americans are not listed as a threat by Bigsby, but his point is clear: as a border, the river simply cannot provide the sort of security which the Picturesque tends to accord it in a British traveller's eyes. Thus, the river valley is considered as a habitable district only in response to Hudson's Bay Company claims that no regions in its territory were
suitable for settlement. Unlike Garry, Bigsby prefers to restrict his enthusiasm for the valley to its potential as a hunter's paradise and as a station on a "pleasure excursion." Many other regions in the Canadas ought, in Bigsby's view, to be considered for colonization first (II, 285).

A last novel response to landscape occurs in Bigsby's depiction of the northern arm of the Lake of the Woods, the limit of the boundary commission's mandate and the terminus for its work in 1823. While many Britons compare North American landscapes to familiar sights in England and Europe, Bigsby marks an early example in what would become a gradual shift during the century to a comparison of new western with more familiar eastern views in North America:

Towards the Rat Portage [modern Kenora, Ont.] the country rises, and the scene becomes precisely that of the Thousand Isles on the St. Lawrence River below Kingston, so exquisitely beautiful when seen on a calm evening when the shadows are long. We have the same low cliffs and morsels of rock, the same pines and birch in artistic groupings, the same deep and transparent waters (II, 302).

Whether Bigsby's British reader would appreciate such a comparison is a nice question, but Bigsby may have felt that his previous narrative picture of the Thousand Isles would serve as an aesthetic guidepost. As well, of course, the union of the two landscapes unifies the seventh excursion, for the trip from Montreal to Kingston in the late winter of 1823 begins the last section of the book. Thus, Bigsby's British reader had at least one narrative point of reference for this closing comparison (II, 47-9), and it is complemented by the pictorial point of reference, entitled "The Thousand Isles--near Andrews' Inn [Mallory-
town] (from Yeo's Isle)" (facing II, 52). Considerable aesthetic adaptation is apparent in Bigsby's treatment of British North American landscapes, not least in this last device of framing an excursion with native landscape descriptions.

III.3.III--"Mountain on Mountain Valley on Valley Rock on Rock rolling on in unbounded View": Samuel Black at the Headwaters of the Mackenzie River in 1824

One large problem facing George Simpson in 1821 when he became territorial governor of the new Hudson's Bay Company was what to do with Samuel Black and Peter Skene Ogden, the two great traders and violent renegades who, when in the employ of the North West Company, waged a campaign of ceaseless and effective harassment against their competition. How could they now be accepted as equals among the chief traders in the "Honorable Company," especially by Simpson, who had competed directly against Black on Lake Athabasca in 1820-1821? After Ogden and Black returned to England in the winter of 1822-1823 to state their cases personally, the London Committee readmitted them and instructed Simpson to reappoint them in the new monopoly's territory. Simpson's response was swift and typical: in 1824, he assigned Ogden to replace Alexander Ross on the onerous and dangerous Snake River expeditions, while he sent Black on a voyage of discovery up Finlays River to find a circuit route which would use the Liard River to return to the Mackenzie.

As R. M. Patterson has put it in his introduction to Black's Journal of a Voyage (1955), Samuel Black (1780-1841) "was the product of his age and of a sound Scots education." Two prominent features of
that education appear in Black's extensive journal: an appreciation of aesthetic conventions, and a keen interest in geology. The landscape of the lower Finlay River would provide ample opportunity to indulge both interests, for it winds its way through the single most prominent feature in the Canadian Rockies—the Rocky Mountain Trench. As Patterson reminds his reader, "the north-westerly three hundred miles of the Trench lie practically in a dead straight line—as straight as a feature of this magnitude can ever be" (p. lvi). The geological faults and the unique colours and tonal arrangements which they evince made at least part of the voyage an extremely interesting endeavour for Black, not at all the retribution which Simpson may have hoped he was meting out. And Black's interest in his travels could not be missed by his reader: "few details of any kind," notes Patterson, escaped Black's seeing eye and no detail was too small to be recorded. The amazing vitality of the man leaps to the fore when one recollects that all this was set down day by day, often by the light of the camp fire, sometimes on the summit of a mountain in a bitter wind, and always under the strain of a tremendous feat of physical endurance (p. xx).

The journal commences on May 13, 1824, with Black's departure with nine men in one canoe from Rocky Mountain House, an old North West Company fort on the Peace River, approximately 180 miles upriver from Dunvegan, and near modern Hudson's Hope, B.C. The first stretch was the onerous Rocky Mountain Portage, the usual method of passing Peace River Canyon after Mackenzie's near-disaster in it thirty-one years before. By May 18, the canoe was once again set in the Peace River, and the expedition continued somewhat apprehensively because of "some unfavorable accounts of our Rout," that Black's men had "been getting from Iroquois on the Portage, that we will perish if we attempt going
furthur up Finlays Branch than the Iroquois are accustomed to go, that its all full of Caps or Capes &c" (pp. 8-9). For Black's part, irrespective of his office, the scenery alone urged him onward: "The Mountains to day [May 20] are more elevated than yesterday, high majestic & particularly steep, and the melting Snow as yet slow by moving down their sides in Gullies & indents has a magical appearance but I cannot add enchanting . . . . The Valley is now narrow but the Views in the River are generally long & straight" (pp. 9-10). Black's distinction between magic and enchantment in a landscape is an extremely fine one, alerting the reader to an author's taste which is highly discriminating. But Black is all the more surprising for his variety of perception. Frequently, the geological taxonomy will give way to an aesthetic schema: "I have never seen in any part of the Country such luxuriance of wood as hereabouts, the Valley to near the tops of the Mountains on both sides covered with thick strong dark Green Branchy Pines & scarcely a tinge to enliven the dark hollow Gloomy landscape bounded by snow covered Mountains" (p. 16). Black also includes commercial evaluations of the country, such as "some of the River points are of gravel & Sand others of Mud & in many places much Wood cut by them [beavers] fresh & old" (p. 15). The whole is communicated in a truly unique literary style, often employing long sentences which, it must be said, the patient modern reader finds rhythmically fascinating. George Simpson did not find it attractive at all, calling the journal "prolix," when he read it. And it was not least because of the character of Black's journal that Simpson dubbed Black, "the strangest Man I ever knew."

By May 26, the canoe had penetrated through islands of driftwood similar to those which would fascinate Alexander Ross on the Columbia
River eleven months later, and reached the forks of the Finlay and Ingenika Rivers (today, the river empties into Williston Lake). Here Black noticed how the valley begins to squeeze its horizontal lines into canyon walls topped by "Grand & Majestic" (p. 18) peaks. The men began to read the Iroquois prophecies of peril into the sublimely vertical landscape. Two deserted on the first night in the canyon: the departure "at this particular place" (Deserters' Canyon, B.C.) of "Jean Marie Bouche & Louis Ossin, the former an Old offender and the latter a simpleton & debauced by the other Scamp Bouche," states Black, "I can attribute to no other cause than the Roaring of the Rapid through the Chasm before us & the steep Hill to carry up the Canoe & Baggage & prelude to Further Toil & harder duty" (p. 19).

Portaging around the canyon marked a moment of truth for the loyal men, but once past it, Black found himself able to indulge in successive perceptions of the landscape above the portage and below the site today of Ware, B.C. He delineates the aesthetic attraction of "the River winding amongst high Banks of Gravel, sand blu Clay in alternate strata horizontally following the curve line of the rise & fall of the Hills or eminences" (p. 20). The flow of the river catches his aesthetic eye for its pleasing curves, features which picturesquely occupy the foreground of the "Grand & Sublime" alpine landscape. It is not surprising that the curves in the river, mirroring the curves in the rock structure, would interest Black. He elsewhere shows that he knows Hogarth's theory regarding the beauty of a curving line. In 1825, near the Grand Coulee of the Columbia River, he appraised the Dry Belt topography of Ponderosa Pines and blanched soil as, "delineating Hogarth's lines more
than he could ever show indeed the Pale white groundwork and the scattered Branching Trees gives a particular Beauty to the country\textsuperscript{m} (p. xviii). When the modern reader of journals by fur traders is surprised to discover aesthetic commentaries, he must remember that most, if not all, traders had had a literary example set for them by the Voyages of Mackenzie/Combe. Most traders knew that, work intimately, and Black would have perused it especially, since his early route up the Peace River coincided with that of Mackenzie in 1793.\textsuperscript{112} But the reader must also be careful not to ascribe too much credit to that single volume; it may have been an example but it was no aesthetic bible. Black's allusion to Hogarth's principle (which Combe does not mention) as well as the ease with which he forms a landscape picture, incorporating into it his own geological colourings, attest to the deep-rootedness of aesthetic schemata in any trader with some British education. Furthermore, as has been and will be seen, adaptations of conventions frequently occur with little awkwardness for the journalists: hemmed in by the river valley on May 30, for example, Black simply turns the formula for landscape composition on its end, and works vertically up the canvas from the foreground Hogarthian river and hills on the valley floor (p. 22).

Black can exceed conventions as well as adapt them. The land he encountered during the trip would demand such flexibility. His journal betrays flashes of a poetic sensibility which treats nature with a directness which does not need the support of convention to be forceful. June 1, the brigade's last day before leaving the Rocky Mountain Trench to follow the Finlay River westward, was a miserable one for the
brigade, but provided an event which demonstrates Black's sensibility:

Current very strong, creeping along the Banks cutting the fallen trees to get on, very cold weather with showers of rain rather snow, one of which brought on one of the strongest westerly winds I ever experienced; the waters of the river rising in gross vapours mixing with the sweeping shower causing an instant obscurity, through which we could dimly see the stout pines nodding & bending like willow wands & the snow (like in the middle of winter) drifting along the lofty mountains, but like these mountain blasts & showers did not last long, the sun soon emerging from the dark cloud & shining on the passing storm floating down the dark valley & along the black craggy mountains, looked like old chaos receiving its light... (pp. 24-5).

Not only the brevity of the storm, but also the movement that it infuses into the landscape are foreign to the contemplative, languishing, contented mood often associated with the viewing of static landscapes. The beauty of the scene lies in Black's handling of the countervailing forces operating in his view. Varying light intensity--chiaroscuro--is one conventional presence, but it happens in concert with, though at a different speed and at a lower level in the scene than, the snow "drifting along the lofty mountains," and the "stout pines nodding & bending like willow wands." Despite its being "one of the strongest westerly winds" ever experienced, the wind does not disturb the effect of the slow-motion or the almost quietistic mood created by Black's use of present participles to depict all the chaotic action. Because the present participle emphasizes process rather than completion in an act, the brief moment of the storm seems timeless, arising unforeseen, departing unbidden, "floating down the dark valley along the black craggy mountains." The sudden obscurity suddenly dissipates; the sun shines out and the memory alone lingers. It is an epiphatic experience for Black, a seemingly timeless moment which evokes associations of similar timeless moments in the Bible--God
endowing Chaos with light at the Creation. Perhaps Saul receiving light on the road to Damascus in the midst of his personal confusion would be a more appropriate referent, as Black, on the road to the height of land, persecuted by the boiling, foaming canyons of the Finlay River and by the threatened and actual desertions of his faithless men, would have received gratefully any sign that his mission was not doomed, the lands and waters through which he was passing not God-forsaken.

A deep faith in a providential God appears to have been essential to Black's attempt to mount Long Canyon, where the Finlay cuts through the Cassiar Mountains. The encampment of June 2 was on the side of "high & steep Gloomy Mountains," with the river occupying the only space between the valley walls. The "acute descent" at the campsite precluded "any hope of sleep"; therefore, Black sits, surveying his prospects:

It is now nearly dark & our situation adds to the terrific Gloom; placed like atoms before the stupendous creations at the bottom of the Narrow between steep high Majestic Mountains, the roaring of the Cascade-excluded, from our view, the huge Masses of Whitish blue Rock appearing in the intricacies of the yet more narrow deep gloomy Chasm before us, are truly awful & terrific in the contemplations of our to Morrow adventures to over come the difficulties of so horrible a place; however, in those terrific parts of God's Creation the agents employed & the process so wisely ordained as often to pave the way for poor mortals, and experiencing a keen cold Air will brace the nerves & assist to combat the weakness of Nature, & if I have said too much, let any Gentleman pass from this place to the sources of the River & he will remember my words at first sight at least (pp. 27-8).

Having suffered desertions at less formidable barriers, Black must rely on a force greater than his and his men's exertions to forestall the jeopardy into which Long Canyon throws the expedition. He takes some solace, after describing the astonishing scene, in the fact that he is performing a Biblical office—that he is a heroic breaker of new
ground whose words will warn and whose feats will lead his followers through those "terrific parts of God's Creation." And yet, the scientific metaphor resounds against such posturing. Perched, like the figure in a sublime landscape painting, on the brink of death, Black cannot deny how tiny and insignificant God's creations make him feel. He is made to feel as small as God's tiniest creation, the "atom."

Against such a powerful feeling, the explorer's resolution seems inconsequential. Unable, from his perch, even to see the source of the cataclysmic roaring seven hundred feet beneath him, 113 he hardly can feel that either his resolve or God's providence will see him through.

Again, however, as at Deserters' Canyon, a portage was made, and, on June 6, the canyon was miraculously behind the party.

But no respite from the terrain hove into view. Some brief novelty was provided by the appearance of several "Thekanni [Sekanni] Ladies," whom, "without disparagement," Black found to bear "no small resemblance to the Bears when surprised at the same Occupation of diging for Roots" (p. 33). The land, however, did not offer any novelty. "One continued Mountain & Valley of Rock & Stone" (p. 53), with only a single valley having "something of a picturesque appearance" (p. 39), prevailed throughout the month of June. It was becoming a landscape that Black's taxonomies and schemata could not continue to organize. It was capable of reducing itself into its smallest constituent parts whose chance chaotic formations precluded organization under any mode of perception. The warming weather set off a series of avalanches which put Black in mind only of biblical destruction, or the vortex of Chaos itself:
Very fine Warm Weather huge Masses of Snow falling down from the Mountains with a noise resembling Thunder these Snow Deboulès seem irresistible, shivering the Trees to atoms carrying all clear before them forming long avenues on the Woody Sides of the Mountains: In these Mountains there are also Rock deboulès the latter forming Ruins as if the Tower of Babel or the Pyramids of Egypt had been thrown down from their foundations; Compact Bodies or Stones tumbling from these heights, their Velocity increasing in Ratio will rebound to a great height & meeting with resisting bodies fly in a thousand fragments ... (p. 55).

It is ironic that the natural destruction creates landscapes with the appearances of human constructs--avenues (perhaps ski-tow lines in modern perception). But Black recognizes the hazard of the scene; indeed, seeing the terrain exploding, he figures it forth as a myriad of deranged, displaced atoms which momentarily chance to form (as the shapes of icebergs did for the Arctic mariners) recognizable formations. As one of these combinations made avenues, another chances, on June 19 near Delta Creek, to resemble a "Romantic & picturesque" (p. 61) landscape painting. Because all the terrain appears in a state of turmoil, the picturesque scene imparts none of the contentedness with nature which such a scene normally imparts to its British viewer.

Another momentarily picturesque scene appears during the last week in June (pp. 79-80), but Black perceives its illusion and passes on. At the end of the week, the brigade "good adieu to all the Currents Rapids shallows shelves Cascades & Falls in Finlays Branch upwards of 200 Miles with little intermission" (p. 69), and paddled up Thutade Lake, the true source of the Mackenzie River, lying 2362 miles from the Beaufort Sea, where Franklin and Richardson would explore its delta two summers later, in 1826.

On July 8, Black resolved to cache the canoe below Thutade Lake and explore the surrounding area on foot, hoping to find the Liard...
River watershed, as well as some meadowland for both aesthetic and hunting purposes. The overland route was undertaken with the begrudging and caviling Sekanni Indians. Together with the general starvation among the brigade, the Indians only discouraged the men more. But progress was made at a surprisingly rapid pace, and Black's spirits were sustained by the occasional apparently picturesque view dotting the route. On July 14 he crossed the continental divide into the Stikine River watershed. There, on July 20, he was presented with another picturesque illusion, an apparent parkland which enchants him from a distance but does not bear up under examination:

... we have an extensive view of fine smooth sloping Mountains, some topped with broken strata of Rock & tumulus; intersected with green Val- lies some of them covered with dwarf Pines varigated wt [with] Copses of Furz, brushwood & shrubbery willow & a altogether a fine distant prospect:--but in practice alas how fallacious, for in place of Arcadian plains and dianas Groves & fountains, we walk in Neptune's Regions always wet & often sinking in the oozie Bottom amongst aquatic Vegetables & Flours little Grassy hillocks, mud & slime; such are the fine bare Mountains here to the very top amongst Patches of snow & such. ... (pp. 126-27).

The early-summer run-off floods the valley and rather bitterly disappoints Black, not least because the flooded country will have destroyed any inducement which beavers may have had to dam it. His response is as evocative in another passage which describes a similar parkland prospect, reached on July 22:

The opening view of this valley [near Matsantan valley] at the other end is very fine & picturesque, the smooth & sloping varigated mountains spreading out on both sides & the end of the valley crossed by a Barrier of high Rocks rising in fanciful forms, we are now camped near, but the valley and sides of the mountain as usual is soaked in snow water & from the number of knotty tufts of malted Grass & Moss Roots, the Canadians call Tetes de fammes [i.e. niggerheads] [,] is fatiguing to walk in & mars the pleasures we would otherwise enjoy in the sequestered beauties occasionally presenting themselves in these horrid desolated of Gods creation (pp. 130-31).
These views constitute a sort of aesthetic torture for Black. They fascinate him while repelling either aesthetic appreciation or even penetration (except by strenuous exertion; which hardly accords with the mood of a parkland setting). The sole consolations for the landscape enthusiast are that the "horrid desolations" have receded briefly, and that the terrain abounds with game. Thus, Black follows the second description with another on the subsequent "Reindeer" (caribou) hunt through the sodden parkland. The hunt furnishes a sensation pleasant enough to the brigade, since its diet of fresh meat had been confined for some days to "sifflieu" (marmot) and ground squirrels. And the sport can be enjoyed in a valley where the horizontal aspect of natural landforms resumes a place in the terrain, however briefly. But the entire fortuity with which the landscape and the game are encountered, and the degree of illusion required to compose the terrain into a parkland alert Black to an awareness that none of the schemata he knows accurately represents the character of the terrain he sees.

On July 25, Black's interpreter deserted, leaving the leader with no communication with the Indians. However disagreeable Black may have found the Sekannies, his loss of the interpreter marked another difficulty in decoding the region in which he roamed. The brigade (stragglers might be a more apposite term at this point in the expedition) was situated in a confusing district—perched, as it were, atop the Stikine, Finlay, and Kechika/Liard watersheds. The Stikine (called by Black, Schadzué) was forded on July 28, and the Stikine/Liard height of land passed on August 13, after two weeks of steady rains. Finally, on August 17, Black ceased his push northward at a river in the Liard watershed which he named Turnagain River. He may, as R. M. Patterson
has suggested, have thought that he had come to the river which Captain James Cook had called Turnagain in 1778. The suggestion is a worthy one because it reflects how lost Black was. After three months, he had exhausted his energies and resolve, and perhaps his faith as well, "in these dreary Regions, where wild nature reignes in all luxuriance & ruggedness without the pruning hand of man" (p. 157). One lengthy passage, the entry for July 31, adumbrates the aesthetic disorientation felt by Black in a perplexing geography and aesthetic wilderness. Only the disorientation and depression which John Ross would feel at Prince Regent's Inlet five to ten years later is a match for Black's:

... passing a high peaked mountain last evening which we shall name Sheep Mountain. I left the camp to make a promenade to its Top & after a good daile of stiff climbing I arrived at the highest Pinnacle of the Hight. This mountain like the others is a high detached mass, steep smooth & sloping on the South side & towards the North an abrupt perpen-dicular craggy precipe of Rock ending in a Pedestral of rubbish covered with Snow extending down to the bottom of an intersecting deep narrow vale from the top where I now stand to the centre in the Valley is a great hight 1200 feet at least & on consideration that we have been gradually rising to the basis of this mountain & the deepness of the Valleys in the Views to the large River or deepest excavation near. I imagine this Summit a great hight from the level gravitation in these parts of the Rocky Mountains lower down in the Valleys about this mountain I see masses of the soft blue Rock like imperfeet slate before mentioned & the top pinnacles here is composed of Rock full as soft but different color dark with tinges of yellow & whitish hue, it seems composed of a number of small thin clear particles mixed with earth or other particles & looks like the Talc genera & if the more compact blue composition below may be named Mica Rock or slate, the composition at the Top may be nominated Talc Rock or Slate if such a term, neither composition however at this place laminates but formed something like asbestos, but nowise tough or fibrous—I observe nothing of the crystal-ization or carbonic qualities in this mountain, but on the other side of a Valley I saw some hard crystal vains in a blue Rock (an avalanché), but the face of the Rock it had fallen from was a plain light blue without spots vains or lines &c--To the westward the moun-tains are sloping presenting broken sides & masses of rugged upper strata, to the S E & Eastwards & towards the North lies the Peak Mountains & which we are now verging on. This rugged Range appears still more broken if possible than when we saw them before [on June 7] they are like a wood or Plantation bordering the blue sky of long black Pilasters Towers, Turrets, Cones, Obelisks &c &c intersected with deep
narrow excavations & slopes or hollows covered with the wreck of mountains & patched with snow, the whole extending as far as the eye can carry exhibiting such a scene of tremendous Barreness passing discription--turning round to the opposite view, behold swelling eminences (for I am now above them) yawning precipices long deep narrow excavations promiscuous intersecting & close to one another in all directions forming mountains, some smooth covered with Grass & patches of brush wood & snow & generally a brake on one side or on the other, some smooth & covered with pieces of loose stone, the most sloping on one side & abruptly broken on the other, Mountain on Mountain Valley on Valley Rock on Rock rolling on in unbounded View. From the Top of this height & at the first sight an incomprehensible wild irregularity meets the eye but after a short residence, the Idea of more harmony of the whole gradually brakes in & assumes the ascendency; for when viewed from the level of their height, those stupendous mass of Rock have a striking similarity to a smooth & uniform Bank or Mountain excavated by the mecanical agency of the Waters, but it is evident that the operations of these small Rills & streams in the Vallyes here not bigger than silver Threads, are inadequate to such an effect & must suppose stronger Floods, therefore shall suppose at once the Rocky Mountains to have been a high smooth Bank formed of muddy Strata in the bottom of the Deep & at the great Summons to the Waters to retire when God moved on the surface thereof causing a tumultuous uproar & turbulency of the Floods, began these excavations traced the courses of mountains & Rivers, carried the excavated materials to the lower parts heaping strata on strata smoothing the whole into uniformity & after being yet perhaps in a softer state than now brought a Deludge to finish the work excavating deeper through Montns & strata forming deluvial Banks & perhaps hills in the Vallyes as seen here, also quantities of rounded stone paving the Vallyes & carried to distances & not the materials of the opposite Banks or brakes; moreover the waters of the present day have continued the excavating operations forming alluvian points & Banks in Strata or layers & from the bottom to the top Layers in the Mountains appear the same universal agency of formation & excavation tending to the Centre, and from all appearance now nearly attained the destined Gravitation:--The exact operations of the different periods except the alluvian parts is not easily imagined, or that if all done at one & the same period of time not easily distinguished to a certainty & would require a more acute observer, for these minor mountains eminences & Bank & Layers formed in the bottom of Vallyes, generally smooth & only broken by the courses of Rivers appear except the Pebbled stratum to be formed of the same materials & the same way as the apparently primitive strata of the higher mountains;--Whether these minor mountains eminences & layers (also in some of the Vallyes here) were formed at the same period as the higher mountains or after by the Deludge its hard to say for the actions of the subsiding waters would have had the same effect in forming the Beds of Rivers when in a soft state as in forming a passage in a harder state, & have to observe that the greater part of these excavations must have been made in some period or other when in a softer state than the present for the imagination can scarcely conceive where or by what process the excavated materials had been posited otherwise. Its also evident from the water worn stones like the old Beds of Rivers paving some of the vallyes here
& other Vallies in these Mountains & far from & no wise concerned with the agency of the present waters, huge stones rolled in the vallies & rounded by the agency of water & other data showing that a Deludge had passed in these mountains with great agitation after the first excavations had been made in a softer state & more widely diffused than could be expected to result from that element under any agency we are acquainted with; on the whole I am inclined to think that the eminences Layers & even Hills & Mounts rising in the Valleys were formed at the deluge, for they seem to have escaped those brakes so conspicuously diffused all over & which as I have before observed appear facing the North or North side of the mountains winding a little round on both sides or ends of these enormous masses, but I shall not try patience any farther on this dry subject & hope my former apology will excuse me for prattling a little (pp. 145-48).

To be sure, the reader must embark on a literary odyssey in order to stay with Black through this single-paragraph labyrinth, but a sympathetic reading is well rewarded. Part of Black's perceptual problem stems from the confusion over heights of land and watersheds. Ascending the "highest Pinnacle" provides no clues; indeed, chaos bursts on the climber in even worse confounded confusion. Black's attempts at investing order in the terrain are admirable, despite their failings. He begins with his geological taxonomy, which at least permits him a distinction between the blue-coloured mica in the valleys and the talc "at the Top." Then an aesthetic schema of sorts is invoked to describe the peaks of the Peak Mountains to the eastward, as, "like a wood or Plantation bordering the blue sky." Their appearance does not attract a geological description; rather, they are dismissed as "a scene of tremendous Bareness passing description." To the westward, a sea of mountains is poetically depicted in the noble line--"Mountain on Mountain Valley on Valley Rock on Rock rolling on in unbounded View." Répétition is all that is deployed here, but the effect is precisely what Black wants to convey--unmitigated sublimity. There are no gradations of landscape in the view, no foregrounds, middle grounds, and backgrounds. Instead, it
both defies organization and, ironically, appears unified. Black's sentence structure and content adumbrate the two responses he experiences in the view: "incomprehensible wild irregularity" is conveyed by the image of mountains perched "on" mountain valleys, while the repetition in the line keeps the image of the landscape wondrously simple, thereby permitting "the idea of more harmony of the whole gradually [to break] in & assume the assendency."

The breakdown in comprehension of the landscape is not apparent for Black until he attempts to force on the terrain an historical dimension. His understanding of the creation of the sublime regions of the Earth resides in the biblical principle of the Flood. As noted in Chapter I, Marjorie Hope Nicolson has traced, in Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traditions which viewed scenes of natural chaos as expressions of God's wrath. But the literary discombobulation which ensues in Black's mixture of this tradition with his amateur understanding of geology is truly terrific. And it is at this point, two-thirds of the way through that, despite the absence of punctuation throughout, Black really does seem to lose control of the scene. Put most simply, he can answer the question, 'What?' but not the question 'Why?' Without the benefit of the principal geological fact of glacial excavation, he is confronted by the sublime idea that rivers alone gouged the deep valleys from an original uniform bank (thousands of feet high) "formed of muddy Strata in the bottom of the Deep [Sea]." Searching for rational causes leads Black, by various experiments in perception, and in syntax and punctuation, to mythmaking in a way that reminds the reader of David Thompson's experience on Manito (Reindeer) Lake in 1796. Other myths accrue, including the
placement of "huge stones" at the mouths of valleys not having rivers. Finally, Black cannot separate the facts from the biblical myth, and concludes that "the eminences Layers & even Hills & Mounts rising in the Valleys were formed at the deluge . . . ." Only myth may serve to grasp this geological sublimity for it is simply not the product of "any agency we are acquainted with."

This experience marks for Black a real crisis with nature. He was intent to discover the cause of the harmony which he thinks he can detect in the landscape, but his knowledge cannot delineate it. All that saves him from an aesthetic, not to say spiritual, collapse are his evasive excuse about "prattling," and his belief that, although God's ways lie beyond his comprehension, they may be discerned by a more acute observer. But these, to a modern reader, bear the marks of posturing, and do not wash as resolutions of the crisis. Whether a precursor of a stream of consciousness style or of Yeats's "automatic writing," the passage cannot be finished. Black can only amputate it at a point where the questions it raises threaten to overcome all the answers which his taxonomical, schematic, and mythological resources can provide as he writes sur place.

On the evening of September 3, Black's brigade completed its eight-week alpine excursion by reaching Thutade Lake and the encashed canoe. Neither the landscape enthusiast nor the fur trader could consider the expedition successful. The variety of terrain in the "One continued Mountain & Valley of Rock & Stone" provided insufficient inducement to either tourist or beaver. In fact, the Hudson's Bay Company never did attempt to open the district by establishing a post in it.
September 24 brought the brigade out of the mountains and back to the Dunvegan post on the Peace River after a nineteen-week adventure. At this post, Black ends his journal with a landscape picture that rejoices in regaining a more conventional picturesque terrain:

The Companies Establishment at this place is finely situated on a level point at the foot of smooth green sloping hills, forming into knowles & variegated by Stripes of Poplars & bush wood growing out of the Smooth brakes. The bare sloping Bases of the Hills inclining gradually & at some places pushing through the point to near the Bank of the River forming small meadows hedged & patched with bushes, the Poirier or Arrow Wood Tree in great luxuriance & some years bearing quantities of fruit called Poir or Pear... The Hills are composed of mould with indurated strata strongly impregnated with Salts, Saline springs issuing from their Basis. The Fort is erected near the Bank of the River to the West is an extensive & placid view of the River lost in the sweep of a distant blue Hill & the points covered with scattered Pines alternately pushing into the Bed of the River, has a fine effect -- Near the establishment is a perpendicular brake of 4-500 feet high contrasted with an equally steep & high Pine Covered hill facing on the other side of the River giving an Idea of Romantic beauty to the place. -- on the top of the Hills on the North the Country is an extended Plain variegated with scattered stunted Poplars & a gentle rise enclosing the extensive view, & from the number of dry bones & old Buffalo Roads proclaims it to have been a fine Large animal Country... (pp. 209-10).

The site of the fort appears on maps to be within two days canoeing from the forks of the Peace and Smoky Rivers. Thus, Black's view (and he must have been aware of this fact) rivals the picturesque landscape painted of the same site by Mackenzie/Combe at the commencement and conclusion of the 1793 expedition in *Voyages*. Apart from Mackenzie's expression of satisfaction at the presence of herds of buffalo and Black's notice that only their well-beaten paths remain in the landscape thirty years later, the pictures are quite similar and express a similar response to a scene of "Romantic beauty" by two explorers emerging from lengthy and only partially successful journeys of discovery in the mountains. This landscape marks Black's single
opportunity to compose a conventional picture, especially as his absence from such a view may well have made his heart grow fonder for the sight of one. "Small meadows hedged & patched with bushes," and the "gradual" incline of the landforms (a feature which also engaged Mackenzie's pen) clearly enthrall Black after weeks of vertical landforms in chasms, canyons, precipices, and peaks. The heightened banks along the river at the site of the fort vary the "placid" view with a complementary but not dominant "idea of Romantic beauty," and the view to the north is enclosed by a gentle rise and "scattered stunted Poplars," both of which recall the middle ground in the Mackenzie/Combe view to the westward. Indeed, the single notable divergence from the norm is Black's account of the river bank geology. The journal of a highly unconventional canoe trip through the "horrid desolations of God's creation" (p. 131) thus ends with Black finding and celebrating those long sought, and loudly-complained-for "Arcadian plains and dianas Groves & fountains" (p. 126).

III.3.IV--A Prelude to Ungava: John McLean in New Caledonia (1833-1837)

John McLean (1799-1890) spent the three full years prior to his 1837-1841 posting in the interior of modern British Columbia, known then by Simon Fraser's name for it, New Caledonia.\textsuperscript{120} In April 1833, he was sent west from Fort Coulouge, on the Ottawa River, to the Stuart Lake district to the northwest of modern Prince George. Travelling with George Back's Arctic expedition as far as Norway House, McLean continued on to the Athabasca and Peace Rivers on his own. Crossing the Methye Portage in mid-August, he provides, in Notes of a
Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory (1849), a conventional single-paragraph picture of the view from the Cockscomb of the Clearwater River valley:

The prospect which the surrounding country presents from the upper end of the portage is very striking; and the more so from the sudden manner in which it bursts upon the view. You suddenly arrive at the summit of a remarkably steep hill, where, on looking around, the first object that attracts attention is a beautiful green hill standing on the opposite side of the deep glen, through which the Clear Water River flows, forming the most prominent feature of an extensive range, cut up by deep ravines, whose sides are clothed with wood, presenting already all the beautiful variety of their autumnal hues; while, at intervals, a glimpse was caught of the river meandering through the valley. In former times these hills were covered with herds of buffaloes, but not one is to be seen now (1, 36).

So conventional is the view that it appears derivative of the account by Mackenzie/Combe, but, in fact, McLean might be drawing on several previous narrative pictures by Mackenzie and Franklin, and also from George Back's picture. The meandering river is in Mackenzie/Combe, but the sudden opening of the view and the notice of the "autumn hues" are not (even though Mackenzie dates his picture in September). Yet, these details occur in others' passages, and do not strike McLean's 1849 reader as unique. One allusion does appear Mackenzian: only the Scot mentions the presence of buffalo.

Passing Fort Dunvegan in late September, McLean noted it as the next "station" after the Clearwater River valley. Like Mackenzie and Black (the latter's account would not have been known to McLean), he remarks that, "the scenery became diversified with hill and dale and wooded valleys, through which there generally flowed streams of limpid water" (1, 140). On October 8, after eight days on Rocky Mountain Portage, McLean encountered the "gloomy grandeur" of the mountains, "that
had nothing cheering in it" (I, 143), as far as he was concerned, although one scene of "truly sublime" verticality impressed him with pleased awe. But McLean offers no more than landscape notes while travelling. Notes are no more than his title suggests, but they do not compare with his much more dramatic landscapes of Ungava. He does not respond to landscape extensively until he has worn it for an extended period. Thus, when he arrives in the New Caledonia district and takes up residence at a post, he becomes more observant, loquacious, and simply interested in his environs.

He arrived at Fort St. James, at the bottom of Stuart Lake, on October 28, 1833, and was delighted with the lacustrine beauties offered from its location:

Fort St. James, the depot of New Caledonia district stands near the outlet of Stuart's Lake, and commands a splendid view of the surrounding country. The lake is about fifty miles in length, and from three to four miles in breadth, stretching away to the north and northeast for about twenty miles; the view from the Fort embraces nearly the whole of this section of it, which is studded with beautiful islands. The western shore is low, and indented by a number of small bays formed by wooded points projecting into the lake, the back-ground rising abruptly into a ridge of hills of varied height and magnitude. On the east the view is limited to a range of two or three miles, by the intervention of a high promontory, from which the eye glances to the snowy summits of the Rocky Mountains in the distant background. I do not know that I have seen anything to compare with this charming prospect in any other part of the country; its beauties struck me even at this season of the year, when nature having partly assumed her hybernal dress, everything appeared to so much greater disadvantage (I, 145).

The elongation of the second sentence mimics the movement of the eye from the lake to the distant mountains. Before concluding, it continues on to encompass that feature in the lake which diversifies its view—the islands. Thus, after the semi-colon, the sentence records what the eye notices on returning from the background. Then, the next two sentences sketch in the foregrounds and backgrounds of the twin views to
the west and east which frame the view up Stuart Lake. Finally, the paragraph and picture conclude with what was lacking in the mere notes made en route to New Caledonia: the writer's remarks on how the view affects him. He judges it exceptional for its charm, despite the season.

In March, 1835, McLean was appointed to Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River (at the site of modern Alexandria, B.C.). Again, he was overjoyed by his situation at a picturesque landscape station:

This post is agreeably situated on the banks of Fraser's River, on the outskirts of the great prairies. The surrounding country is beautifully diversified by hill and dale, grove and plain; the soil is rich, yielding abundant successive crops of grain and vegetable, unmanured; but the crops are sometimes destroyed by frost. The charming locality, the friendly disposition of the Indians, and better fare [than at Fort St. James], rendered this post one of the most agreeable situations in the Indian country. In spring, moreover, the country swarms with game—pheasants and a small species of curleiu in the immediate vicinity, and ducks and geese within a short distance. The sport was excellent, and, with the amusement the cultivation of my garden afforded me, enabled me to vegetate in great comfort—a comfort I was not destined long to enjoy (I, 161).

Never, one to show the Scot's normal zeal in business matters, McLean had considered the life of fur trading an occupation demanding more patience than other virtues. Much of the time was spent doing nothing; all the more imperative, then, for the educated man to have sources of leisure. At Alexandria, as at Fort St. James, nature supplied interest for the landscape enthusiast, sportsman, and gardener. McLean seems to regard himself as tenant of and lord over a well-stocked estate in that wondrous high prairie country that banishes the vertical landforms of the lower Fraser River and permits the waterway to assume a truly grand presence in a valley miles wide. And, though he does not state this view, the reader wonders if such a posting did not give him the time to read his Milton (for he certainly knew it by the time he was
posted to Ungava), and begin his self-education in the Classics. At any rate, the post's landscape is conveyed almost idyllically, with the Fraser flowing peaceably through his garden of plenty.

Since McLean's Notes build to a climax with the sublime landscape surrounding the trader cum martyr at Fort Chimo from 1837 to 1841, it is not surprising that the volume's recurrent stylistic feature is foreshadowing. The "comfort I was not destined long to enjoy," however, foreshadows as well McLean's transfer upriver to Fort George (modern Prince George) by way of a brief visit to Fort St. James. At that former posting which had so charmed him in 1833, he discovers how much the response to landscape is influenced by other factors than geography. On his second stint at Stuart Lake, McLean was without the companionship of Peter Warren Dease, his superintendent (who had departed to complete the survey of the continent's northern coast with Thomas Simpson), and others. In their absence, the fort's "dreadful solitude almost drove [him] to despair" (I, 162). In September, 1836, a transfer to Fort George did not rectify that deficiency of society, nor did the new landscape assist with any remedy:

The situation of the post is exceedingly dreary, standing on the right bank of Frazer's River, having in front a high hill that shades the sun until late in the morning, and in the midst of 'woods and wilds, whose melancholy gloom' is saddening enough. Yet it has its agrémens, its good returns,--the ne plus ultra of an Indian trader's happiness,--its good Indians, and its good fare; the produce of the soil and dairy (I, 167).

All in all, the saddening aspects of the region did not exert a lasting impact on McLean although he certainly preferred the openness of the lake at Fort St. James or the prairie at Fort Alexandria to the forests of Fort George. From Fort McLeod (modern McLeod Lake, B.C.), McLean
wrote a sort of summary picture of the New Caledonian region in February, 1837, a picture which would come, in time, to serve the propagandists of the Cariboo Gold Rush.

Few countries present a more beautiful variety of scenery than New Caledonia. Stuart's Lake and its environs I have already attempted to describe, but many such landscapes present themselves in different parts of the country, where towering mountains, hill and dale, forest and lake, and verdant plains, blended together in the happiest manner, are taken in by the eye at a glance. Some scenes there are that recall forcibly to the remembrance of a son of Scotia, the hills and glens and 'bonnie braes' of his own poor, yet beloved native land. New Caledonia, however, has the advantage over the Old, of being generally well wooded, and possessed of lakes of far greater magnitude . . . (I, 173).

Decidedly, the harmony of the landscapes accords well with McLean's habits of perception; each view includes a background of appreciable heights which serves to close off a terrain and the middle ground has a varied topography of lakes as well as "verdant plains." Indeed, the scenes compare well rather than contrast poorly with the British standard. (As a native of the Isle of Mull, McLean's own cherished landscape hardly compares in picturesque properties with the home of the Picturesque--the southern Downs of England.) Harmony and "variety of the landscape" (I, 187), however, characterize the district for the fur trader who, unlike the gold prospectors two decades later, never had to enter the mountains but could merely deploy them as the backgrounds for his views of contentment and harmony.

Half a year later, on September 11, 1837, McLean found himself on the other side of the continent, and in a world whose pictures were completed not by variety but by singularity: "This post [Fort Chimo] is . . . surrounded by a country that presents as complete a picture of desolation as can be imagined; moss-covered rocks without vegetation and without verdure, constitute the cheerless landscape that greets
the eye in every direction" (I, 210). The change is almost ferocious; the effect on this landscape enthusiast palpable, as he finds himself jettisoned from a pre- to a postlapsarian natural order. 124

III.3.V--To the Pacific in search of Versailles: William Fraser Tolmje (1832-1842)

The canoes of John McLean and George Back were turning off the Ottawa River and into the Mattawa in the first week of May, 1833, when the canoe of William Fraser Tolmje (1812-1886), a twenty-one-year-old Scot from Inverness, made its way up the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver. Tolmje had embarked on the Hudson's Bay Company ship, Ganymede, at Gravesend on September 15 of the previous year (1832); after graduating M.D. from the University of Edinburgh. There, the influence of his mentor, Sir William Hooker, procured him (perhaps also with the aid of Sir John Richardson, whom Tolmje met before embarking) a posting with the great fur trade monopoly. Since his Journals (1963) begin with 1830-1832 in Scotland, the possibility exists for comparing his responses to the landscapes of Britain and British North America.

On August 11, 1831, apparently while on a tour to relatives before departing for the Pacific Northwest, Tolmje boarded a steamboat at Bannaway and was "much pleased with the scenery of Loch Lochy" in Glen Mor. Six days later, he entered in his journal a narrative picture of his native surroundings, near Inverness, which displays an intimate familiarity with the Picturesque:

... from the hill at Drummond had a magnificent view of the surrounding--to the East the town of Inverness beyond which the Murray Firth
appeared calm & unruffled. To the west the picturesque hills of Strath-erric & the windings of the Ness seen occasionally through the trees--to the north & in front the wooded summits of the rocky Craig Phadric met below by rich & luxuriant cornfields. The prospect on the whole was one of the finest I have ever beheld & was doubly interesting from my knowing every object that met my gaze. The sun shone brightly & the country had that fresh appearance which in summer always succeeds a shower of rain.

Both the long settled and long-cultivated landscape evoke in Tolmie an expected and nostalgic response from the prescribed elevated prospect. What is intriguing about Tolmie is how this aesthetic interest participates in his "great intellectual curiosity," as John S. Galbraith has called it. While medical and scientific texts occupy a large percentage of his reading time, aesthetics and literature do not go unrepresented, and usually compose his entire reading on Sundays. A good example, showing his application of his reading in aesthetics to literature, comes from his entry under Sunday, October 7, 1832, when the Ganymede was sailing south in the Atlantic from Madeira to the Canary Islands:

After dinner—in the Spectator the 6, first papers on the Pleasures of the imagination—the author Addison first defines them to arise solely from visible objects & then divides them into primary: those arising from objects before our eyes & secondary: those from ideas of objects not before us, but called up in our memories, or formed into agreeable visions of things absent, or fictitious—and then, points out the different sources of these pleasures & treats of them separately. Since six o'clock 1st Samuel—David's sublime lament on death of Saul & Jonathan is couched in simple & touching language—I should like much to read the commentaries of some of our great divines on their history—many of the passages in the old testament are admitted as far superior in sublimity & grandeur to any of the heathen writings (pp. 38-9).

And on the next Sunday, Tolmie re-reads Addison's aesthetic essays and judges "his remarks on the English style of Gardening just, but the extent of ground allotted to gardens is generally so small as to render imitations of nature (such as rocks &c) contemptible from being on so
diminutive a scale" (p. 42).

Now, although the principal concern of this discussion is the evidence provided in these two passages that shows that eighteenth-century aesthetics shaped Tolmie's understanding of nature directly, it is also worth noting the sort of character Tolmie appears to be: he sets himself reading tasks on a very strict schedule of time and subject matter, improving himself in the image which he conceives as consonant with his family's and professor's expectations for him. He willingly debates the superiority of Scott over Byron in mid-week (p. 51), but by Sunday (November 4) he has put down both and taken up his Bible, and the lofty contemplations of Addison once again: But, more importantly, the following passage from the November 4 entry reveals Tolmie's superiority as a discursive rather than an intuitive thinker. He prefers to follow Addison's logical consideration of sublimity than intuit it from the sublime poetry of the Bible: "Read the Song of Solomon--the style is highly figurative & some of the similes very pleasing, but the meaning seemed to me obscure in some instances . . . Am now going to look over the Spectator & shall at the end of the book mark those papers deemed worthy of future perusal" (p. 52).

A marked preference for the discursive may stem from Tolmie's Calvinistic rearing, for he goes on in the following Sundays of the month to agree heartily with the statements of John Abercrombie (1780-1844) in Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth (1830), which advance a certain suspicion of the imaginative faculty. Tolmie, for example, echoes Abercrombie's view of the imagination, which reads: "There is certainly no power of the mind that
requires more curious management and stern control"; and, although he does not paraphrase the final part of his author's charge--"and the proper regulation of it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the young"--he probably took it to heart. 127 And as Abercrombie cautioned judgement and reason in any imaginative flights, so did Tolmie. On Sunday, September 30, he entered the following in his journal: "... unless I apply more diligently the valuable opportunity I now have of acquiring knowledge will not I fear be improved so much as it is both my duty and advantage that it should be--what I most want is perseverance & the power of fixing my attention to subject in hand instd. of getting into reveries" (p. 34). Concurrently, he sought and delighted in the balanced, regular quality of a work of art or nature. Just as he delighted in the prospect of Inverness from Drummond Hill in 1831, so he delights in Addison's measured essays. It is not at all surprising, then, that he dislikes the irregular odes in Pindar's works, and all the more because "there is a very reprehensible laxity of morals & odious propensity to jest with things sacred. Regret having purchased the work" (p. 124). His fear of deviating from the straight and narrow is almost pathological. He must stick to his programme of steady work, come what may. And so it is that while advancing up the Columbia River between Forts George and Vancouver on the evening of May 2, 1833, rather than indulging in a composition of the shoreline landscapes in the light of falling day, Tolmie begins to take Cowper to task for his verse-essay, "Table Talk" (1782): "metrical errors occur in almost every line, but the ideas are fine & nervously expressed" (p. 167).
The starkest contrast between British identity and foreign terrain occurs in Tolmie's entry for the next day. It serves notice of just how rigidly Tolmie will persevere in preventing the wilderness from penetrating his moral/aesthetic armour: he notes the "eternal snow" on the peak of Mount Hood, but then turns to Cowper's Progress of Error to applaud its censure of Chesterfield's Epistles (p. 169). Landscape elements are noted but not considered; rather, the mental energy is spent on the European text, and one whose concerns are prominently those of civilization. Ironically, Tolmie manages to do just what Alexander Ross had wanted to do in 1810, when he stepped into the Chinook canoe with his umbrella and newspaper. Two decades later on the same river, the control of the region by the Hudson's Bay Company has made just the sort of civilized excursion Ross desired a possibility.

After 232 days of travel, Tolmie reached his destination at Fort Vancouver on May 4. Here he was to share the medical duties with Gardner, his travelling companion. After looking over their charges, they took a horseback tour to Vancouver Plain on Sunday, May 5, and discovered a scene "diversified with clumps of trees & lakes of water & profusely bedecked with beautiful flowers. ... All around were herds of beautiful cattle cropping the rich herbage, or listlessly lolling under trees--horses, goats & swine seen in every direction attending to the cravings of Nature--on the lochs wild duck abundant & now & then the solitary heron ...." (p. 171). The natural pasture for the company's Columbia District farm around Vancouver Lake bore many of the signs of cultivation that reminded Tolmie of the views around Inverness. And the parkland quality of the terrain itself made not just the
company's use of nature but nature itself much like home. A later remark that part of the plain would make "an excellent cricket field" (p. 176) confirms Tolmie's identification of the land with the homeland.

Still, it was not until the following Wednesday (May 8, 1833) that, while on another ramble, Tolmie managed to organize a unified landscape picture like the one of Inverness from Drummond Hill. At six in the evening, he and Gairdner set out with their guns. Tolmie also had with him his vasculum. They

struck up towards the wood & then walked along an upland plateau which reaches for about two miles to eastward from near fort to where the dense forest obstructs the view—its breadth is about 1/4 mile & it presents a rounded bluff face to N/Ward, beautified with elegant Columbines, luxuriant lupins & other plants equally attractive but unknown. From this part to bank of river is a level plain generally 3/4 mile broad & divided by fences into large wheat & barley or pease fields or broad meadows. Two ponds, abounding in ducks diversify the scene somewhat but add little to its beauty, their banks being of dry & sandy nature. Well, G. & I walked along the plateau by the border of wood, now admiring the rich groves of lupin seen amidst the trees mixing with handsome columbines, sunflowers & a great variety of other herbaceous plants in flower. On the border of the wood there were some enchanting spots & my heart bounded with delight & enthusiasm as I surveyed them. Thin grey clouds mellowed without much obscuring the rays of the departing sun & this lent an air of softness to the face of Nature & there being scarcely any wind, the glimpses of the magnificent Columbia obtained through interruptions to the belt of wood which skirts its Northern shore showed it to flow placidly & majestically along its southern shore—green trees extended in a narrow strip along lowland but behind, a range of undulating hills perhaps 500 feet high stretched E & W & in the background the colossal Mount Hood, today much freed of his gelid investment, reared his lofty summit above the clouds. The tout ensemble was the finest combination of beauty & grandeur I have ever beheld (p. 174).

This landscape painting rambles somewhat, though it must be remembered that as a journal entry and not a published passage the picture retains its spontaneity and rough edges. The foreground includes both the enclosed fields of crops and pasture, interspersed by ponds on the level plain, with, to the side, the coulisse of woods "beautified with
elegant Columbines, luxuriant lupins," and so on. The focus of the two foreground views is their junction, the "enchanting spots" on the border of the wood at whose sight Tolmie's "heart bounded with delight & enthusiasm." The foreground and the placid and "magnificent" Columbia in the middle ground are united by the "air of softness" with which the sunset colours them. "Green trees" act as a Claudian band of colour, demarcating the far shore of the river and the commencement of a re-ascent to the background mountain. Mt. Hood, whose wintry sublimity has also faded, Tolmie notes, to fit this early-summer picturesque view. Consequently, he perceives a natural appearance of landscape unity ("tout ensemble"), a great prize for any landscape enthusiast in the wilderness, particularly for a Calvinist Scot who desires regularity and harmony in his landscape--the corollary to the metrical regularity he sought in Cowper's poem. The foreground balances beauties of both cultivated and wild nature, and these contrast with the grandeur of river and mountain behind them. This combination of natural examples from two of Addison's aesthetic categories produces the third at the picturesque hour of sunset, for it is the uncommon character of the combination of beauty and grandeur which aesthetically thrilled this landscape enthusiast.

Tolmie was reluctant to leave "such a beautiful spot" (p. 180) on May 18; but his journey to the proposed site of Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound would prove an even greater landscape delight to him. After a twelve-day ramble up the Cowlitz River valley and across Grand Prairie, Tolmie reached "Nusqually" on May 30, near where the Nisqually River empties into Puget Sound (modern Tacoma, Wash.), the middle ground, as it were, of J. Sykes's sketch of Mount Rainier in
Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery*. Soon after, he began to discover
the parkland landscape features which George Vancouver and his officers
had found so alluring forty-one years before. On June 2, the first
Sunday in the month was given to a reading of the Book of Nature rather
than Abercrombie:

*Sunday, June 2:* Up about 8 & had an excellent view of a long range of
snow speckled mountains, in the peninsula opposite—they run in a N
& S direction & to the highest summit, the classical name of Mount Olym-
bus has been given—the foreground is filled with a densely wooded is-
land indented with one or two bays about a mile in length & of which
there are several in this part of the Sound. Had a solitary walk in
the prairie in the afternoon before dinner, came to a beautiful lake,
nealy circular & about 1 mile round; the broad leaved Nymphaea floated
on its unruffled bosom & Flora adorned its Margin with a profusion of
yellow ranunculi & others unknown—on the sloping grassy banks forming
the basin, the oak & a small glossy fresh leaved Pine, something like
the Larch vied with each other in number & size, but the former demanded
the palm of beauty—Lay musing for nearly an hour on its bank, soothed
by the melodious harmony of the grove & feeling the holy influence of
the sabbath stealing over me in this beautiful sequestered spot. Walked
round the lake & turned homewards, sometimes in the open prairie
again, going through a maze of Oak & Pine, came to the steep banks of
the burn, higher up than where the pathway is formed, & there found
the lazy steers reclining in the shade, in the midst of luxuriant pas-
turage, what a pity that a country which so easily could afford subsis-
tence to man is yet uninhabited. Got bewildered in the wood extending
for about 500 yards behind the brow of the hill which all around the
Bay except at Mouth of Nusqually, overhangs the beach. Made a N. course
till the brook again appeared & being thus rectified, proceeded west-
ward, till arriving at the brow of the hill, had a peep of the Sound,
with its woody islets & the lofty Mt. Olympus range rising high over
a ridge of pines growing on an island in the foreground. A beautiful
walk of more than a mile could be formed along the face of this hill,
until it should terminate in the vale of Nusqually, & with a slight
aid from the axe, splendid prospects obtained. I have not explored the
bank on the north side of the streamlet, but probably there, a road
could be much further prolonged & when tired of the shady wood you
could emerge into the boundless prairie, to which any nobleman's park
in which I have been cannot be compared either in size, beauty or
magnificence. Descended the steep & gravelly face of hill, had a
delightful plunge in the bay & dined. In the evening chatted & pro-
menaded the beach with [Archibald] Mc[Donald] (pp. 196-97).

Here are landscapes which do not threaten one's sense of self but,
rather, seem to strive on another continent to confirm it. As far as
the Briton is concerned, they hold the mirror of nature up to man. Tolmie is unequivocal in his perception and description of the region as a British landscape tourist's delight; indeed, the passage generates from a walk in solitary contemplation to a projected 'guide-book' tour, complete with the artificial creation (by means of an axe) of "splendid prospects." When the supposed tourist felt the least satiety from the views "obtained" along the "beautiful walk," he could retire along another "road" to a meadow that rivalled "any nobleman's park." Tolmie discovers an endless offering of the standard landscape features--mountains for backgrounds, and for a foreground, a lake with "sloping grassy banks," a "burn," oak-studded meadows, domesticated animals (the steers which he and Archibald McDonald had brought from Fort Vancouver) "reclining in the shade" of the oaks, as if they, too, had found their way 'home,' and even a natural "pathway" to conduct the tourist through the tour. And although there remains the added delight of just enough dense wood (a natural "maze") in which to get "bewildered," the effect of the natural landscapes is such as to induce both "reveries" about pagan 'neo-classical' goddesses ("Nymphae"), and astonishment that the land was not formed artificially. This latter thought, one which Tolmie shares with George Vancouver, whose journals he was about to read, leads him to echo another of Vancouver's statements: he laments the fact that such landscapes were not already settled by Britons. As Vancouver had felt, so Tolmie perceives that the scenery resembles landscaped terrains in Europe too closely not to be taken advantage of.

It is little wonder that when Tolmie returned from his furlough in Europe in 1842, he took up the management of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually, and cultivated those very grounds in which he
delighted and for which he projected improvements nine years earlier.

Provisions for the erection of a fort were to arrive on the Hudson’s Bay Company brig, Vancouver, but as the days passed, the ship did not make an appearance. On June 6, Tolmie decided to take a canoe trip up to Partridge Point (Whidbey Island), “in case the Vancouver may be on this side that point, or detained in the neighbourhood of it.” On his way down, he took a ramble on the western shore of the sound to view Mt. Rainier, which he would be the first man to climb:

From the shady cove where am seated the landscape is fine. The sound at least 4 miles in breadth occupies the foreground, its surface diversified with woody islands, & more at hand broken with the frequent leaping of fish—in the distance is Mt. Rainier & the snowy summits of the mountains to N. peeping over the pineclad islands in the sound (p. 199).

The moderate breadth of the channel gives the sound almost the appearance of a loch or firth. The variety which the islands impart to the dimensions of the sound create a recognizably picturesque foreground, and the distance is occupied by Mt. Rainier, while the middle-ground, presumably, is filled in by the sound’s eastern shore. Not unlike Sykes’s picture, Tolmie’s view does not treat the mountain as sublime, but as the background landscape decoration and delimitation of a picturesque view. This is partly because the mountain stands more than thirty miles from the water, and partly because sublimity does not accord with Puget Sound’s predominantly parkland character. Here, Tolmie can perceive an harmonious order in nature’s metrics, almost no matter where he turns his eye.

The young Scot spent the summer contentedly at the "picturesque prairie" of Nisqually, but his tenure there was short-lived. Upon the
arrival of the company's ship, Cadboro, he was to proceed to Fort McLoughlin in Millbank Sound (near modern Bella Bella, B.C.). He embarked in early December, before the onset of the rainy season, the experience of which might well have tempered his, as it might have tempered Menzies' and Vancouver's, enthusiasm for the district. After twelve days at sea, the Cadboro arrived at Fort McLoughlin on Christmas Eve, 1833. The change in the landscape was as traumatic for Tolmie as it had been for Vancouver and his officers. The disappearance of cleared horizontal foregrounds, the presence of less malleable Indians, and the winter weather all contributed to silence his aesthetic response to nature. Instead, he reverts to reading, and to writing about what he has read. Once again, the literary artifact shields him from the incursions of the external world. He discusses Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Shakespeare's histories and comedies, and Goldsmith's plays and poems with a forced concentration which he mistakes for the virtue of fortitude, and by which he almost manages, one gets the impression, to transcend his surroundings.  

At one point, on January 31, 1834, he reminds himself that he "must soon write a description of the country around Ft. McL. It will be a good exercise, if properly done" (p. 266). But the fact is that Tolmie does not know how "properly" to do it because he refuses to countenance any relation with the vertical sublimity and hostile Indians of the northern Pacific coast. Despite the fact that he was "looking over McKenzie's journal [i.e. Mackenzie's Voyages]" (p. 272) on March 9, and was "reading Ross Cox's travels on the Columbia" (p. 281) on May 31, he did not attempt a narrative landscape response to Fort McLoughlin during his entire five-month residence there.
On June 8, 1834, Tolmie left Fort McLoughlin in the company ship, Dryad, with Peter Skene Ogden. The purpose of their voyage was to ascend the Stikine River to open trade with that district's Indians, ten years after Samuel Black had explored the river's headwaters. During the course of the trip up the coast, Tolmie remarks on the aspect of Zayas Island, the northernmost Pacific island belonging today to Canada, as "similar to that of Milbank [sic] Sound, coast iron bound, not fringed with a grassy belt" (p. 282). As at Fort McLoughlin, a conventional landscape picture could not be organized from terrain that lacked any horizontal surfaces—in short, any foregrounds.

The voyage up the Stikine River to establish a post was a failure. Ogden was prevented by the Russian naval officer, Lieut. Zarembo, who was stationed at Baron Wrangell's post at Point Highfield, from proceeding upriver. But some more central location had to be established by the Hudson's Bay Company in the upper coastal district in order to wage commercial battle with American and Russian competition in the sea-otter trade. As a result, Ogden decided to move Fort Simpson from its three-year-old location on the Nass River to a more seaward but less exposed part of the Nass estuary. The Dryad reached McLoughlin Bay on July 12, and Tolmie and a Mr. Duncan "proceeded to the S.E. part of bay," where Tolmie discovered a site for the new fort, which answered the requisites of construction, navigation, commerce, defense, and aesthetics:

...there is a good sized burn, larger than the Milbank [sic] one. Followed its course for some distance upwards—its banks are level & all around there is an abundance of tall pines, no scarcity of picket wood. On making this known all desiderata being provided for, it was determined that the spot visited On Saturday Evening should be selected, as more advantageous for Shipping & better situated for an extensive prospect &c than that seen on Sunday. On Monday morning Anderson & I
landed with the men & commenced a war of extermination agt. the leafy denizens of the Forest—a barricade of fallen trees was formed, within which we all encamped in the evening—the men in huts formed of branches & we in tents. It was a lovely evening & I think a landscape painter would have found a good subject for his brush in our encampment "under the greenwood tree"—the ample bay with its woody islets & rocks & the surrounding peaked & snow dappled mountains—the felled trees—grass & herbs had then the freshness & verdure of life . . . (pp. 287-88).

A small stream (burn), and its level banks furnish the makings of a landscape painting's foreground scene, however dense the background forest and however steep the background cliffs may be. Some of the forest is cleared and Tolmie, by quoting from As You Like It (II.v.i), imaginatively invests the pine forest with the Arcadian qualities of the "greenwood tree." Tolmie apparently recognizes that he is making a place out of wilderness space, for he alludes here to another instance of art transforming a scene of banishment into a new Arcadia—Amiens' song, sung in the Forest of Arden. The selection and shaping of the site is a creative act. The transformation of the terrain into landscape by means of human labour is likened implicitly to the landscape painter's imaginative representation of natural elements in a landscape painting. To cite Abercrombie, whose ideas remained with Tolmie, just as "a painter may draw a combination of beauties in a landscape superior to anything that is actually known to exist," so the men whose labours sculpt a meaning out of the forest of the Pacific Northwest, create, as George Back's men had done of the boreal forest at Fort Reliance the year before, a sylvan landscape not before thought possible, at least not by Tolmie.

By November, 1834, Tolmie was back at Fort McLoughlin. "Since coming here," he wrote on December 10,
what most frequently has been a matter of cogitation, is the dullness of this place & of life in the 'Pays Sauvage' in general. Entirely deprived of society even of equals not to speak of the benefits arising from intercourse with one's superiors in knowledge & wisdom—the ideas are seldom raised to objects of a lofty nature but tend to assimilate themselves with those of the persons most frequently met with, viz—the wretched aborigines. The pleasures of polished female society we are obliged to forego & tell this for filthy lucre's sake (p. 297).

The landscapes about Millbank Sound cast a depression over the Scot's view of himself, his employers, his lot, and the world. Certainly as a result of his own experience, but partly, perhaps, from having read Ross Cox's apprehensions over a feared loss of identity, and a metamorphosis into a babbling heathen, Tolmie ponders quitting his employ, and by the next September (1835) writes of having made enquiries about work in Canada or New South Wales. A five-day visit from the company ship, Llama, carrying John Work (another ex-Snake Country expedition leader and Tolmie's future father-in-law) relieved the tedium for five days in February, 1835, but, if the growing silence in the journal is any indication, Tolmie grew more depressed as the year wore on. Finally, the journal simply ends in December, 1835, and does not resume until the end of October, 1836, when Tolmie was posted at Fort Vancouver.

Thereafter, the journal receives entries sporadically, performing as a day-book, diary, repository for copies of letters written, and so on. In terms of aesthetics it holds little continuing interest, with one exception. That is the Paris interlude. Tolmie had travelled to York Factory with the spring express in 1841, and was in Edinburgh on furlough in December. Although the next entry is not made until October 11, 1842, when he was in mid-Atlantic again, aboard the Columbia on his way to Fort Vancouver, it tells of a summer trip to Paris in May and June (1842) where he rejoiced time and again over the sight of
gardens cultivated in the formal French style. At the castle of Boulogne, he was "much pleased with the beauty and high cultivation of the gardens" (p. 355), and at Versailles, he "Walked about, sometimes in the middle space which slopes down from behind the Palace to the Park, and a beautiful sheet of water whereon lay calmly floating, some elegant and highly ornamented barges belonging to the Royal family" (p. 359). It could have been anticipated that the formalism of French landscape taste might accord well with Tolmie's desire for regularity in everything from his own conduct to nature's. Suddenly, as it were, the world transforms itself into what Tolmie had been seeking all along: the Indian chief's highly ornamented war canoes are supplanted by the barges of a deposed French monarchy, the sublime mountains are replaced by an artificial lake and park. Tolmie thereby pronounces his affiliation of identity with humanized landscapes. Yet, he denied himself indulgence in such civilized and regularized landscape views as he found at Versailles. Either because he felt his duty and his opportunity lay in cultivating the wilderness of another continent, or because, like John McLean, once touched by the freedoms of the North West he could not really find happiness in civilization. Tolmie—all protestation to the contrary—spent the rest of his life on the west coast, superintending for a time the Hudson's Bay Company's agricultural subsidiary at the parklands of Nisqually. After Versailles, Tolmie perhaps could not have been happier anywhere else. 140
III.3. VI--Touring at high speed: George Simpson's territorial and global trips (1828, 1831, 1841)

Taking effective charge of the overseas operation of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, George Simpson (1787-1860) made countless business trips through the fur trade empire, occasionally keeping written records of matters other than business. His first transmontane voyage came in 1824-1825, when he travelled from York Factory to Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia River, assigning Peter Skene Ogden to the Snake Country expeditions, and offering Alexander Ross a teaching position at the Red River Settlement. Unlike later trips, the first did not produce a travel narrative.  

III.3. VI. 1--1828

In 1828, Simpson made a trip with Archibald McDonald (1790-1853) from York Factory to Fort Langley, near the mouth of the Fraser River. The trip covered thirteen weeks and ran by way of the Methye Portage, Peace River, and Fraser River. Accounts of it were written by both men and published posthumously. McDonald's Peace River. A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific was edited by Malcolm McLeod and published in 1872 to boost the settlement campaign for the Peace River valley. McLeod, who laments McDonald's lack of aesthetic interest, invests the original journal with copious notes, many of which contain purple passages of imaginary landscape description to abet his cause. Not surprisingly, McLeod cannot restrain himself from expanding on McDonald's brief remark, on August 8, that, from the Cockscomb of the Methye Portage, he had had a "delightful prospect down this [Clearwater] river".  

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Everyone who passed it, and has written thereof, has expressed admiration at the beauties of the scene; and even Mr. McDonald, who, from his journal, seems to have too studiously, --too studiously for our taste at least, --closed his eyes to the living pictures along the way-- seems to have been affected here. Captain Back's account of it, probably, is the finest and best that we have, but I am sorry to say I haven't it, and never read it, but have merely seen marked allusion to it.

Uninformed as he is, McLeod does not stint at deploying even the rumour of a landscape "station" in the vicinity (!) of his district.

George Simpson's record of the 1824 trip, published in 1947 as Simpson's 1828 Journey to the Columbia, took the form of a dispatch to the London governors. He had chosen his route specifically to determine the feasibility of rivers other than the Columbia as company waterways. With the first hand knowledge gained on the trip, he was forced to report to the London Committee the absolute necessity that the Columbia basin not be lost to the Americans clamouring for its possession and penetrating it as fur-trade competitors. W. S. Wallace puts the case succinctly in his introduction to Simpson's 1828 journal.145

Simpson's brigade, always comprised of the best canoëists available, travelled up the 1054 miles of the Peace River for 29 days in August and early September, 1828, averaging more than 35 miles per day (including rest days at forts) against the current. Aesthetics interest Simpson little in a company dispatch, but he does mention landscape generally and conventionally where Mackenzie and Black had before him. He found the Peace full of a variety of prospects as it led the brigade "through a vast extent of country, remarkable for the beauty and grandeur of its scenery, the fertility of its Soil, the number of its vegetable [sic] productions, the variety of its mineral appearances and for what to Indian Traders is beyond all its other properties and.
characteristics peculiarly interesting, its riches in Beaver and other Fur bearing animals" (pp. 14-15). The governor's aesthetic cannot but be commercially oriented.

In late September, Simpson left the Fraser River at Fort Alexandria without mentioning the picturesque landscape which John McLean would note there in 1835. He travelled overland on horseback with McDonald to Kamloops in order to explore the Thompson River down to its forks with the Fraser. Meanwhile, James Murray Yale (after whom Yale, B.C. would be named), descended the Fraser with fourteen men in two canoes to the forks and reported favourably on that stretch of the river when he rendezvoused with Simpson's entourage on October 8. In his summary of the terrain over which he rode, Simpson spoke of "all the agreeable and disagreeable varieties of Scenery & Road, which the most ardent admirer of the Wilds could desire" (p. 30). But ultimately he was displeased for commercial reasons: "there are only a few detached spots favorable to the rearing of Beaver."

Aspects of a Grand Tour appear intentionally in the mention of narrow paths skirting the face of precipices (p. 30). From this the reader may infer that Simpson clearly understands what will impress his London governors in terms of landscape tours. Of course, such a description "of the Wilds" marks only a prelusive picture for the description of the descent of the Fraser River's canyons to Fort Langley from October 8-10:

... almost immediately on starting [from the forks of the Thompson and Fraser], the character and appearance of the navigation became totally changed, assuming those of the very worst parts of Thompsons River; every new reach, as we descended, bringing to view fresh and more alarming dangers. The banks now erected themselves, into perpendicular Mountains of Rock from the Waters edge, the tops enveloped in
clouds, and the lower parts dismal and rugged in the extreme; the descent of the Stream very rapid, the reaches short, and at the close of many of them, the Rocks, (which at times assumed singularly grotesque & fantastic shapes and at others all the different orders of architecture on a most stupendous scale) overhanging the foaming Waters, pent up, to form 20 to 30 yds, wide, running with immense velocity and momentarily threatening to sweep us to destruction. . . . I should consider the passage down, to be certain Death, in nine attempts out of Ten (pp. 36-7, 39).

Clearly disappointed that the river proved unnavigable and that Simon Fraser's reports of it to the North West Company twenty years before had not been sublimely heightened from fact, Simpson cannot play any rôle but that of the landscape traveller imperilled by views which, in defying Burke's edict that sublime experiences not endanger one's life, transcend aesthetic experience. To acknowledge the feat of Stuart and Fraser's descent in 1808, he ushers in for comparison the single great contemporary standard of man's defiance of such sublimity: their descent was "an undertaking, compared to which, in my humble opinion, the much talked of and high sounding performances of His Majesty's [i.e. Franklin's] recent discovery Expeditions in the Arctic regions, were excursions of pleasure" (p. 39). Constrained by the fact that neither Fraser's voyage nor his own replication of it had realized their commercial purposes, Simpson can only compare the route to sublime voyages made for the purposes of exploration rather than profit. However just the comparison, his evaluation of the Arctic voyages is patently and, quite probably, intentionally demeaning. 146 In point of fact, perhaps only Fraser's harrowing encounter with his river could rival the efforts of Franklin and his men to keep canoes from foun-dering on reefs among breakers of gelid ocean waves.

Simpson spent almost one week at Fort Langley, where McDonald remained in charge. Departing on October 16, he set out through the San
Juan Islands and Puget Sound, then overland across the sixty-mile prairie portage which Tolmie would traverse five years later, to the Cowlitz River and on to his destination, Fort Vancouver. The parklands of Puget Sound are not dwelt upon, but Simpson does greet with pleasure the view from the Fraser delta at his departure: the Strait of Georgia gives "this Arm of the Sea, which is studed [sic] with Islands, the appearance of a beautiful inland Lake. The mainland presents a very fine country, the headlands of the Bays and inlets bold and covered with large Timber . . ." (p. 45). The prospects are thus excellent for the presence of beaver. But another comment is equally interesting: "The River . . . for about 50 Miles is navigable by Ships of any size." This meant that Fort Langley could be supplied by the company's brig, Cadboro, a far less expensive mode of outfitting a fort than an overland canoe brigade packet. Furthermore, Simpson does not resist a second dig at His Majesty's Royal Navy by his veiled criticism of Vancouver's report of the river which he did not bother to explore: the phrase, "Ships of any size," in particular, appears to invite an inference of insult.

The remainder of Simpson's journal details company events and business matters through the winter of 1828-1829 at Fort Vancouver, when he had to decide whether to continue the Snake Country expeditions and how best to compete for the lucrative coastal seal-otter trade. In the midst of deliberations on these policies, Simpson received word that the company supply ship, William and Ann, had wrecked on the spits at the mouth of the Columbia, with the loss of all hands as well as the inventory of trade goods and provisions for the 1829 outfit of the Columbia district. Less than optimistic, Simpson departed up the Columbia on March 25, 1829, and followed the normal express route up to
Boat Encampment, across Athabasca Pass, down the Athabasca River, over-
land to Fort Edmonton, and down the North Saskatchewan and Saskatchewan
Rivers to Lake Winnipeg and Fort Garry, where he arrived after pre-
cisely eight weeks, on May 29. He was in Lachine in the early autumn,
and in London by late November.

III.3.VI.ii—Frances Simpson in 1830

By the time Simpson returned to Lachine in the spring of 1830,
he had taken measures to improve at least his personal prospects, if
not the company's. He had married Frances Ramsay on February 2, 1830,
thereby confirming the illegitimacy of those "bits of brown" which he
admitted leaving strewn about his empire. Ever the thrifty Scot, he
wedded his honeymoon to a business trip; thereby, Frances found her-
self heading briskly up the Ottawa River in a company canoe on May 4.
Yet, in the private journal of her trip with George, Mrs. Simpson
greets her tour with the enthusiasm of a seasoned landscape tourist.
Given the whirlwind clip at which Simpson's canoe opened new vistas
on the route, it may well have been difficult for her to tire of the
natural variety presented to her.

One example of her response to landscape is especially interesting
because its subject is the Talon portage on the Mattawa River, reached
on May 9. This is the site which George Back would liken, three years
later, to John Martin's painting, "Sadak in search of the Waters of
Oblivion":

We left the Grand or Uttowas river at 7 O'clock, and entered a
little river falling into it from the South, called the Matowa, on a
Portage of which we breakfasted at 8. Made several Portages in the course of the forenoon, in this turbulent little river, and at 2 O'clock got to one called the "Talon" Portage, the most wild & romantic place I ever beheld: it reminded me of the description I have read (in some of Sir Walter Scott's beautiful tales) of Scottish Scenery. The approach to this Portage is truly picturesque: the river from being a considerable width, here branches into a variety of Channels, one of which we entered, so narrow as scarcely to leave a passage for the Canoe--on either side are stupendous rocks of the most fantastic forms; some bear the appearance of Gothic Castles, others exhibit rows of the most regular, and beautifully carved Corinthian Pillars; deep Caverns are formed in some; while others present a smooth level surface, crowned with tufts of Pines, and Cedars. From the upper end of the Portage is seen a beautiful Waterfall, which dashes over immense masses of rocks thro' which it had worn itself many a channel foaming & roaring to a considerable distance, the spray glittering in the Sun with all the varied hues of the Rainbow.

Both literary landscapes and architectural forms provide analogies for Frances Simpson, just as a landscape painting would for George Back, but neither traveller could view this section of the Mattawa River without thinking of how British art forms had portrayed nature by means of British landscape aesthetics. Indeed, Frances Simpson's picture begins by almost inviting the reader to reach for Scott's novels before attempting to comprehend the natural scene. The approach to the central landscape is "picturesque," while the muralled river bears the qualities of the sublime landscape. But she seems to mean by "picturesque," the very thing Back meant when he remembered Martin's work—that the terrain made a good subject for a painting. Not intended for publication and not revised, the response indicates yet again that the Sublime and the Picturesque were not simply the means by which Britons represented nature, but the principles governing the very response to it.

Like Nicholas Garry and other novice British travellers on the canoe routes through the wilderness, Frances Simpson soon found her interest in novel hinterlandscapes waning. The traverse of Lake Huron is likened to crossing "an open sea," and only the arrival at Sault Ste.
Marie, where, as Garry found, the wilderness had been pushed back slightly, could alleviate the pall of tedium cast over the new bride:

The appearance of a civilized habitation rising in the midst of a boundless wilderness, served in a great measure to dissipate a certain feeling of melancholy, which I felt gradually stealing over me at the sight of Nature in her grand, but Savage and uncultivated state of Rock, Flood, & Mountain; without the sign of a living creature to admire the beauties presenting themselves on every side, or to wonder at, and praise the Mighty Power of Him, who had formed those vast and desolate Forests unknown to Man, and adorned them with many a flower which 'Wastes its sweetness on the desert air.'

Simpson ventures an approach, no more, at the baffling question posed by nature for travellers from any civilized country—why rock, flood, and mountain exist apart from man's habitation, cultivation, enjoyment, and depiction of them. It is a question which draws whoever ponders it to a speculative realm, where man's relation to the external world becomes sublimely incomprehensible. Simpson may not be profoundly engaged in this question, but she perceives a problem. As she likened the landscape of the Talon Portage to British narrative landscapes, so she identifies her wilderness-induced melancholy in terms of the only British poetic landscape which might evoke such emotion—the graveyard of Thomas Gray. She quotes from Gray's "Elegy written in a Country-Churchyard" (1742), whose landscape is hardly a wilderness, but is a "neglected spot... Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," where nature's beauty is wasted on the dead.

Nature appearing in less awesome forms than a Great Lake certainly induces a less intense melancholy on June 2. It will be remembered that Nicholas Garry had contrasted the Rainy and Winnipeg as picturesque and sublime. Frances Simpson finds the Rainy River "a truly beautiful stream," and the Winnipeg picturesque. She finds the second river picturesque because animated variety presides over its landscapes:
Descended that noble Stream, the scenery of which is finely diversified; comprehending all the varieties of Hill, Dale, Mountain & Rock: rich Meadows, Timber of all sizes, heavy Waterfalls, strong Rapids &c. and every few miles as we proceeded, the river expanding into Lakes, with their Islands, Inlets & Bays, in short, nothing can be more beautifully picturesque than the route of today. 151

Besides allowing that at Norway House, on Playgreen Lake (at the northeastern exit of Lake Winnipeg), the "situation is pleasant," 152 Mrs. Simpson, like Garry before her, shows a marked decrease in landscape response as her route to York Factory enters Lake Winnipeg's low-lying shoreline landscapes and the stunted growths of the boreal forest. Suddenly, it seems, she has arrived at York Factory on June 26 and embarked on the Hudson's Bay Company ship, Prince Rupert, on August 25 on the homeward and husbandless leg of her honeymoon.

III.3.VI.iii--Sir George in 1841

In turning to George Simpson's account of a trip around the world, made in 1841 and 1842, the reader is aware of leaving behind the perceptions of a fur trade executive writing dispatches, and embracing those of a seasoned traveller. Such an evolution occurs, in part, because, thirteen years after his trip down the Fraser River and eleven after his honeymoon tour, the newly knighted Governor has learned to hone his aesthetic response to landscape, perhaps at his wife's instruction. But it is due also to the fact that the Narrative of a Journey round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842 (1847) was ghost-written from Simpson's notes by Mr. A. Barclay, the Hudson's Bay Company's secretary, and by Adam Thom (1802-1890), the Scottish-born editor of the Montreal Herald, who assisted Lord Durham in the preparation of his Report (1839). 153
Unlike a dispatch or private journal, Simpson's Narrative has an aesthetic rather than a business reader in mind. Although it was company business which took him through the northwest to the Pacific coast and beyond, through Asia to Europe again, Simpson poses as the itinerant globetrotter; accordingly, his narrative is punctuated (it might well be argued, structured) by landscape pictures such as the following depiction of the brigade's encampment of May 7, 1841, at the start of the Grand Calumet Portage on the Ottawa River:

Our encampment would have formed a rich and varied subject for a painter's brush. The tents were pitched in a small clump of pines, while round a blazing fire the passengers were collected amid a medley of boxes, barrels, pots, cloaks, &c.; and to the left, on a rock above the foaming rapids, were lying the canoes; the men flitting athwart their own separate fire as actively as if they had enjoyed a holiday, and anxiously watching a huge cauldron that was suspended over the flames by three poles. The foreground consisted of two or three magnificent trees on a slight eminence; and the background was formed by dense woods and a gleaming lake.

Clearly, the emphasis in the description is placed on the novel human aspects of the landscape. The voyageurs, North American equivalents for the bucolic in Dutch and British landscape staffage, are distinguished as the subject matter, not the aristocratic sportsmen, the Earls of Caledon and of Mulgrave, who were travelling with Simpson to hunt buffalo on the Prairies. The conventions of novel landscape description do not hold a place for the aristocrat or knight, for that matter. The landscape is framed by the foreground's "two or three magnificent trees on a slight eminence," from which there is the conventional descent into the near-middle ground's humanized campsite "in a small clump of pines," and the foaming rapids. Lastly, the still wood and lake effect a different mood in the background. Because voyageurs, especially those in Simpson's brigade, travelled until nightfall, it may be deduced that
this scene, a sort of Ottawa valley adaptation of English pastoral scenes, occurs at the landscape enthusiast's favourite hour of sunset.

Finally, one incidental detail deserves consideration. Simpson makes it plain from such a view that to operate a fur trade concern did not subject the Victorian employer and knight to unwanted fraternization with his employees: they had their "own separate fire," provided their own lodgings and diet. Thus, Simpson surveys his brigade as a British industrialist of the period might look over his factory, and, with the illusion of the Picturesque, concludes that the workers were conducting themselves "as actively as if they had enjoyed a holiday." Whether Simpson himself, or Barclay or Thom, authored this picture, the stature which it accords the Governor would have met with Simpson's unequivocal approbation.

The deployment of the Picturesque as aesthetic illusion is discernible as a rhetorical and political strategy in some of Simpson's landscape pictures. A series of instances may be noted. After describing the method of lumbering on the Ottawa River at Lac des Allumettes, Simpson proceeds to paint an alluring prospect for the prospective emigrant:

> These lumberers may be considered as the pioneers of that commerce, which cannot fail ere long to find its way up this noble river, abounding as it does, in every conceivable requisite for trade and agriculture, such as water-power, abundance of timber, good climate, and a variety of soil, sandy, stony, and rich. The scenery is generally picturesque, here rising in lofty rocks, and there clothed with forests to the water's edge; and the whole, being now deserted by its ancient lords, is left free to the civilizing influences of the axe and the plough (I, 19).

With the Indians and beavers gone from this wilderness, Simpson has no particular interest in the territory remaining a hinterland. In any event, the Hudson's Bay Company charter did not provide jurisdiction
over the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence River watershed. The better settled
the route to the company territories, however, the more efficiently
the company could communicate between its headquarters at Lachine and
its empire. The "variety of soil" marks a clumsy grasp for picturesque
features in the landscape. But Simpson's use of stony soil as a contri-
butor to aesthetic variety betrays a patent use of aesthetic principles
perversely to justify clear agricultural disadvantages. Yet, the charm
of the prospectus encourages the reader (as a similar use of the Pictur-
esque would charm Britons to the Cariboo gold rush from 1858 to 1862)
to overlook such a drawback, to look "here" and "there" at a splendid
variety of opportunities without looking too closely at any one.

In keeping with the optimism which his picturesque landscapes
evoke, Simpson--implicitly siding with his wife's view of the Mattawa
River--deploys the Picturesque for political purposes:

... I could not help remarking the influence of the state of weather
on a traveller's estimate of scenery. Under our sunny sky, the winding
banks, wooded, in every bay and on every point, down to the waters'
edge, were charmingly doubled, as it were, in the smooth and transparent
stream; while Captain Back, under the horrors of a heavy shower, de-
scribed this as the most dismal spot on the face of the earth, as fit
residence only for the demon of despair (I, 23-4).

Never one to miss an opportunity to denigrate the remarks, efforts, or
achievements of the British Navy's overland Arctic explorers, Simpson
here impugns what he considers a Batrachomyomachia--Back's excessive
depiction of the river's sublimity--even while underhandedly crediting
the fact that a "heavy shower" may have elicited a less picturesque
response from himself.

Though a frozen Lake Superior sets Simpson's picturesque optimism
back momentarily, the ascent of the Kaministikwia River restores the
mood fully. The British reader is reassured to discover "our little squadron, in full song, dart[ing] merrily up the beautiful river, whose verdant banks formed a striking and agreeable contrast with the sterile and rugged coast of Lake Superior" (I, 35). Simpson begins to exaggerate the English appearance of the route even earlier in the journey than had his predecessor, Nicholas Garry, when he crossed from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg twenty years earlier. Garry began to extol English aspects of the terrain when he saw the oak trees east of Rainy Lake. But before even reaching Portage du Chien, Simpson has discovered a veritable Thames in the Kaministikwia:

The river, during the day's march [over Mountain Portage] passed through forests of elm, oak, pine, birch &c., being studded with isles not less fertile and lovely than its banks; and many a spot reminded us of the rich and quiet scenery of England. The paths of the numerous portages were spangled with violets, roses, and many other wild flowers, while the currant, the gooseberry, the raspberry, the plum, the cherry, and even the vine, were abundant. All this bounty of nature was imbued, as it were, with life by the cheerful notes of a variety of birds, and by the restless flutter of butterflies of the brightest hues. Compared with the adamantine deserts of Lake Superior, the Kaministaquoia presented a perfect paradise (I, 36-7).

Another encomium to nature develops, through the use of lists, an astonishing sense of the fertility of this portion of the Canadian Shield. The onerous portages are transformed into landscape walks carved from nature to please the tourist rather than to avoid an unnavigable stretch of quite an unThamesian white-water river. The paradise of the river valley, far from the "adamantine deserts" of Superior, is expanded to become the middle ground and distance for the prospect seen from the heights of the Portage du Chien on May 30. Not significantly different from Garry's or R. M. Ballantyne's later depiction and description, Simpson's representation does exceed the others by establishing,
however untenably, one more relation between British North America and England:

According to the traditions of the natives, the portage derives its name from the circumstance that two enormous dogs, having taken a nap at the top of the hill, left the impress of their figures behind them; and certain it is, that such figures have been marked on the turf in the same manner as the white horse near Bath (1, 38).

Even mythically, Simpson seems to suggest, the landscapes of two continents correspond: whether from Indian or Saxon legend, the landscapes bear the impress of their history. Needless to say, Simpson's discovery of such history and his allusion to the history of England (rather more near Swindon or Abingdon than "near Bath") supply a dimension in landscape which enthusiasts of the Picturesque cherished.

Simpson's highly fanciful representations of landscapes on the main canoe route as "stations" (as if on one of William Gilpin's landscape tours of Britain) was to land Simpson the fur trade executive in trouble. The trouble could have come as a result of Simpson's alleged depiction of the Kaministikwia River valley. Instead, it came with specific reference to his picture of Raîny River. When he appeared in 1857 before the Parliamentary Committee which was charged to review the Hudson's Bay Company's charter and consider the monopoly's application for its renewal, Simpson conducted himself impressively as, time and again, his answers to 1545 questions pointed out the ignorance on matters British North American of such illustrious interrogators as the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, and the Prime Minister-to-be, William Ewart Gladstone. It is pointless to attempt a more succinct rehearsal of the events than that provided by Arthur S. Morton, in Sir George Simpson:
The subject in which the Committee was most interested, and on which they pressed Simpson hardest, was the possibility of peopling the prairie wastes—this, all the more because the Canadians were looking to the West 'as a country into which they ought to be permitted to extend their settlements.' Fully half of the 1545 questions put to Simpson had to do with this theme more or less directly.

An awkward situation for the Governor came when a passage from his book... was cast up to him just when his questioner drew out of him that no portion of Rupert's Land was favourable for settlement, but that some portions might be settled.

"From Fort Frances downwards [to Lake of the Woods], a stretch of nearly 100 miles, it [Rainy River] is not interrupted by a single impediment, while yet the current is not strong enough materially to retard an ascending traveller. Nor are the banks less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames near Richmond. From the very brink of the river there rises a gentle slope of greensward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much to the eye to discern through the vista of futurity this noble stream, connecting as it does the shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom and populous towns on its borders?" [(I, 45-6)]

This placed Simpson in a quandary, because he probably had not written the passage himself... The beauties of Rainy River are frequently mentioned in fur-traders' journals, and were doubtless extolled in Simpson's. Moreover, Adam Thom had himself travelled down that placid stream, and may well have been impressed. The passage about steamboats plying on its waters and populous towns seated on its banks may be safely taken as a flourish of his imagination and pen. The best that Simpson could do short of revealing its authorship was to admit that he had overrated the importance of the country... That certain members of the Committee were glad to have got Simpson into a tight place is indicated by the passage being reverted to in two subsequent questions. The phrase 'like the Thames near Richmond' was too good not to be cast up to the Governor. Simpson tried to ride off by saying that he referred only to the immediate banks of the river.

The question served to manifest the obvious conflict of interest arising from Simpson's dual rôles in his Narrative of tourist and commercial baron, rôles which reached an apex of potential conflict once the height of land had been crossed and the company's territory entered. It was in the company's interest neither to promote settlement of its territories, nor to be seen to deter settlement by others. But a landscape could not, conventionally, appear picturesque that did not induce thoughts of residence and cultivation. As has been seen, Rainy River always had
induced such responses; whether Simpson penned the analogy with the Thames or not, his picturesque portrayal was far from unique. Had the Parliamentary Committee had access to Garry's private journal, they would have discovered another governor's speculations on settlement based on an enthusiastic aesthetic response. In 1857, Simpson's best recourse would have been to John J. Bigsby's Shoe and Canoe (1850), which made the necessary distinction between aesthetic beauty and settlement problems. But, on balance, Bigsby's book had not held the Hudson's Bay Company in the highest esteem; consequently, Simpson would have been surprised to discover in it an argument helpful to him.

Simpson departed on the Carlton Trail from Fort Garry to Carlton House on the North Saskatchewan River on July 3, but not before providing a lengthy sales brochure on the Red River Settlement (I, 49-59), the one district in which the Hudson's Bay Company had been attempting for many years to localize settlement. He images his crossing to Portage la Prairie as the traverse of an ocean (I, 59). The river valleys provided the only relief to the British eye on this part of the route, but past Portage la Prairie, "the plains gave place to a rolling succession of sandy hills, which were generally covered with brush; and now and then we passed through spots which looked like artificial shrubberies" (I, 62). Unwittingly, perhaps, Simpson's comparison of the appearance of the junction of the grasslands and the woodlands with "artificially" arranged groves echoes Henry Kelsey's in 1690—the first written response to the junction by a European, and one which Simpson's company had suppressed. Also of interest is the response to the junction by Simpson's cousin, Thomas Simpson. It will be remembered
that in December, 1836, Thomas was snowshoeing his way from Fort Garry to Fort Chipewyan in preparation for his next summer's survey of the continental Arctic coastline with Peter Warren Dease. Thomas perceived the woodland points as a mariner would a coastline: "We could again discern the deeply-curved woods on our right; in fact, we were travelling from one distant point of them to another, as if traversing successive bays of the sea, to which these great plains, that on the left reach to the Rocky Mts., may well be likened." As will be seen, the meeting of grassland and parkland occasioned aesthetic response by most British travellers on the Prairies, and the response was usually favourable when the parkland was being approached and unfavourable when it was being left behind.

On July 11, 1841, George Simpson surveyed the Prairies from the Dog Knoll (Spathanaw Watchi) on the western edge of the Touchwood Uplands (Sask.), and then proceeded through "the picturesque country" (I, 76) of the Saskatchewan parkland to the South Saskatchewan River, crossing it not far from Batoche. On the last day of its thirteen-day, 600-mile ride, Simpson's party journeyed up to the North Saskatchewan River and Carlton House. Near Duck Lake, Simpson climbed a hill and (with the help of ghost writers) achieved an idyllic landscape tableau of the parkland:

In the afternoon, we traversed a beautiful country, with lofty hills and long valleys, full of sylvan lakes while the bright green of the surface, as far as the eye could reach, assumed a foreign tinge under an uninterrupted profusion of roses and blue-bells. On the summit of one of these hills we commanded one of the few extensive prospects that we had of late enjoyed. One range of heights arose behind another, each becoming fainter as it receded from the eye, till the furthest was blended, in almost indistinguishable confusion, with the clouds, while the softest vales spread a panorama of hanging copses and glittering lakes at our feet (I, 79).
The "foreign tinge" appears to be the country's fortuitous floral resemblance to Britain. Along with the picturesque way in which the natural colouring accords with British landscapes; there is the gradual blend of the colours of the sky and of the Eagle Hills in the distance. Together with the local topography's chance descent from the prospect into the middle ground's softest vales, and its ascent to the hills in the background, these features of parkland landscape invite pleasurable contemplation by the eye trained in viewing such apparently British scenes. However fancifully represented in this passage, the parkland topography virtually compels the Briton to an agreeable aesthetic response.

Not so the Grasslands. After reaching Fort Edmonton and spending three days at the company fort, Simpson proceeded to what is today the Banff-Windermere highway route through the Rocky Mountains. En route from Edmonton to the mountains, his aesthetic eye is not attracted by the short grasslands through which he would, presumably, have had to ride. But his reader loses his route because Simpson and his ghost writers fall into silence until the mountains are reached. Absence of picturesque features breeds silence in the British traveller's journal. In early August, the party worked up the valley of Healy Creek on this unfamiliar mountain pass.162 The achievement of the height of land caused, as heights usually do, a description of an apparently unpresuming scene in terms of a whole continent's vastness:

About seven hours of hard work brought us to the height of land, the hinge, as it were, between the eastern and western waters. We breakfasted on the level isthmus, which did not exceed fourteen paces in width, filling our kettles for this our lonely meal at once from the crystal sources of the Columbia and the Saskatchewan, while these feeders of two opposite oceans, murmuring over their beds of mossy stones as if to bid each other a long farewell, could hardly fail to attune our minds to the sublimity of the scène (I, 119).
The fourteen paces of the height of land and the moderate size of the brooks, "murmuring" demurely, present a scene whose dimensions and mood are beautiful rather than sublime. But, at least aesthetically, it is this very disjunction between, on the one hand, size and personification—"murmuring," "bid farewell"—and, on the other, significance and impersonality—the two vast oceans in the protracted distance—which provides the "sublimity" of the petite scene, in a Blakean representation of greatness by tiny detail.

According to Esther Fraser in *The Canadian Rockies*, Simpson's route after the height of land followed "the Simpson River to its junction with the Vermilion," and down that river to the Kootenay River. Part of this route lay in Sinclair Canyon, Simpson's description of which follows:

The ascent of the mountain was rugged and difficult. Though the forests were more practicable than those of yesterday, yet our track lay generally on the steep and stony edge of a glen, down which gushed the sources of the Columbia. At one very remarkable spot, known as the Red Rock, our path climbed the dry part of the bed of a boiling torrent, while the narrow ravine was literally darkened by almost perpendicular walls of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet in height; and, to render the chasm still more gloomy, the opposite crags threw forward each its own forest of sombre pines, into the intervening space. The rays of the sun could barely find their way to the depths of this dreary vale, so as to render the darkness visible; and the hoarse murmur of the angry stream, as it bounded to escape from the dismal jaws of its prison, only served to make the place appear more lonely and desolated. We were glad to emerge from this horrid gorge, which depressed our spirits even more than it overawed our feelings (I, 124).

Two interpretations of this passage suggest themselves. The practical one has been advanced by Esther Fraser, who states that Simpson was depressed because "he was hungry. In his impatience he had driven his men at such a pace that the pack horses carrying provisions were way behind; as 'the noise of our cavalcade' had scared away the game they..."
'fasted for twenty-four hours'. Such a reading seems more conducive to the causal feature of landscape response prominent in circumstantial journals than to those with a demonstrable aesthetic character. Fraser's interpretation merits some consideration despite her questionable practice of simply eliding the Miltonic allusion. Arguably, however, the depression ensues because the rôle which Simpson plays in the landscape painting of this terrestrial hell is that of one of Milton's fallen angels in Paradise Lost, caught in "A Dungeon horrible," with no direct light, "but rather darkness visible" (Bk I, 63). A "dreary vale" into whose depths "the rays of the sun could barely find their way" would invite any traveller familiar with the conventional sublime readings of Milton's poem to point the connection with his depiction of Hell. Spiritually, the "horrid gorge" is a "prison" for the persona of Simpson, a "Dungeon horrible." Now, whether it is too much for the modern reader to imagine how this masterful traveller could be daunted by a natural scene is another question, though it is to be remembered that the canyons of the lower Fraser River had certainly terrified him in 1828. In any event, Simpson's emotional response to the landscape, as well as his "taste" to describe what he perceives in terms of a literary landscape would impress the contemporary reader of his Narrative far more than whether or not Simpson was hungry.

On August 10, Simpson was on his way up the upper Columbia River to the Columbia Lakes. Of interest is the mapping of his route in terms of the landscapes' aesthetic transitions:

As we advanced, the mountains gradually became softer, while their summits were no longer clad with snow. The scenery, from having been sublime, was now merely picturesque. Our path lay along a prairie of about
two miles in width skirted on the right by sloping hills, and on the left by the mountains, presenting at their bases an apparently artificial arrangement of terraces and shrubberies (I, 127).

The "artificial arrangement of terraces and shrubberies" may have reminded the governor of the parklands of Saskatchewan, but now they are framed by mountains and hills, which have receded sufficiently to play the integral background rôle in a "picturesque" landscape composition. Through the foreground and middle ground, the equestrians wound their way on the following day:

After crossing a small river, we entered a prairie lying along the Kootonais [Kootenay River], which bore a considerable resemblance to a fine park. Here and there were thick clumps, which yielded an inviting shade; in other places, the trees, standing apart, formed themselves into grand avenues; and the open sward was varied with gentle slopes and mounds. We here encamped for breakfast, a temperature of 85° in the shade imparting an exquisite zest to the cold and clear water of the Kootonais; and the stream afforded us a highly agreeable addition to our meal, in the shape of some fine trout (I, 129).

Clumped trees, Capability Brown's landscape gardening signature, seem placed on the undulating prairie to form an estate grounds that is completed by an avenue of trees leading, not to a mansion but the breakfast campsite. While the natural landscape is not symmetrical, it is ordered, with its "considerable resemblance to a fine park." The crowning touches for Simpson (both the tourist on horseback in hot sunny weather and the lord of this park) are the well-stocked and refreshing river and the shaded "sward." This last detail occurs on a larger scale in another landscape encountered the same day as the party rode down the Kootenay River bank toward the Tobacco Plains: "... the sun's rays gilded one part of the valley, while the rain was falling in another; and as the clouds flitted athwart the sky, the rapid succession of light and shade gave an endless variety to the landscape" (I,
The route continued past a party of 'Kootonais' Indians encamped among "clumps of as noble elms as any part of the world could produce," at a "spot ... so soft and lovely that a traveller fresh from the rugged sublimities of the mountains might almost be tempted here to spend the remainder of his days amid the surrounding beauties of nature" (I, 138). Then, from a point on the Kootenay River, near today's Bonners Ferry, Idaho, the party struck off to Pend'Oreille Lake, then briefly along the river of that name, before heading overland to Fort Colvile, the Hudson's Bay Company fort at Kettle Falls (David Thompson's Ilthko-yape Falls) on the Columbia River, and the terminus of Simpson's 47-day horseback excursion from Fort Garry. Simpson found it, not for the first time, in a "pretty little valley," in which he also described the now novel scene of a large farm, barns, stables, &c., fields of wheat under the hand of the reaper, maize, potatoes, &c. &c., and herds of cattle grazing at will beyond the fences. By the time that we reached the establishment, we found about eighty men, whites and savages, all ready, in their Sunday's best, to receive us at the gate (I, 149).

The novelty of a cultivated, humanized landscape is welcomed by the Governor in both his roles of landscape tourist and fur-trade executive. The fort had, since 1826, served as the principal farm for the upper Columbia River and New Caledonia districts. Its undeveloped site may not have impressed Alexander Ross in 1825, and Simpson's expressed delight in 1841 was likely one of those accounts to which Ross referred when he wrote for the 1856 publication of Fur Hunters of the Far West that, "the situation of Colville [sic] has been extolled by many as a delightful spot." But, of course, the impenetrable woods made the undeveloped site a gloomy sight to Ross; he, too, would have rejoiced
in the sight of cultivated land on the Columbia River. There is, however, more to Simpson's description: the Knight has ridden for seven weeks through his domain to be welcomed at one of his abiding lodges by servants who are respectfully prepared for his arrival.

As was his practice, Simpson did not tarry long at the fort but continued his journey by canoe downriver to Fort Walla Walla. He found the banks of the Columbia to be "as far back as the eye could reach... dull and monotonous, consisting of a succession of sandy flats, with very scanty herbage, and still less wood, which were varied, in a few places, by rocky hills" (I, 154). To this disagreeable prospect was added the "melancholy" news of the grotesque demise of Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, a veteran of the War of 1812, of the hostilities involving the Red River Settlement at Seven Oaks in 1816, and of many Snake Country expeditions, who recently had died "by being injured by the raised pummel of his Spanish saddle..." (I, 160). But Simpson greeted with alacrity the river's departure from desert to rain forest, as Ross, in coming upriver on his first trip inland in 1811, thirty years before, had deplored the transition. For Simpson, the transition could be simply catalogued: "the banks of the river, no longer sublime, were merely picturesque, being covered with forests to the water's edge..." (I, 170).

Rather than a final destination, Fort Vancouver marked only another port of call for Simpson in his global dash. He left it on September 1 to head up the Cowlitz River to Puget Sound, arriving at Fort Nisqually after only five days' travel. He had not mentioned Puget Sound in his "Despatch" of 1828, but neither was there a fort there then. He found the landscape almost as alluring as William Fraser Tolmie had
eight years before: "The surrounding scenery is very beautiful. On the borders of an arm of the sea [Nisqually Reach], of about two miles in width, are undulating plains of excellent pasturage, presenting a pretty variety of copses of oak and placid lakes, and abounding in cheuvreuil and other game" (I, 181). This response does not develop any new aspects of the landscapes of the region which Vancouver's published or Tolmie's unpublished journals had not mentioned, but only compounds the sense in which Britons felt the region to be a most promising one for aesthetic enjoyment, settlement, and cultivation.

At Fort Nisqually, Simpson boarded the company steamer, Beaver, and proceeded up the Pacific coast to Russian North America, stopping at various posts en route. His description of the country north of Fort Simpson attests to yet another Briton's sense of desolation at the coastal landscapes north of Vancouver Island:

Leaving Fort Simpson about one in the afternoon of the 18th, we came to anchor for the night at the southern entrance of the Canal de Reveilla [Revillagigedo Channel]: "Both mainland and islands became more and more rugged as we advanced, rising abruptly from the very shores, in the form of lofty mountains with the ocean at their feet and the snow on their summits. In perfect keeping with the coast, the inland region consists of some of the wildest scenery in nature, of alpine masses, in fact, thrown together in tumultuous confusion. So uneven, in short, is the whole country, that, within any reasonable distance of a stream or lake, a level site for a fort can hardly be found. Moreover, this land of rocks is as difficult of access, excepting on the immediate margin of the sea, as it is impracticable in itself. Most of the streams to the northward of Frazer's River are mere torrents, which, being fed in summer by the melting of the snows, and in winter by the untiring deluges of this dismal climate, plunge headlong in deep gullies between the contiguous bases of precipitous heights of every form and magnitude. Within the limits just mentioned, the Babine, the Nass; the Stikine, are the only rivers that may be ascended to any distance, and even they with considerable difficulty and danger (I, 208).

For neither practical nor aesthetic reasons is it surprising that Simpson chose to prosecute the coastal trade from the deck of the company's
steamer rather than to search for more sites for trading posts. He has a more practical need than did Vancouver for level foregrounds, but both Britons would have welcomed their appearance for aesthetic reasons. With the added knowledge, based in part on Samuel Black's 1824 report of the headwaters of the Stikine River, that the coastal sublimity of these latitudes had been found to continue far inland, Simpson draws the aesthetic conclusion that the impenetrability of the coast is interminable. Such a conclusion also bears a concomitant and unmistakable commercial significance—that "mere torrents" resist all efforts at damming, and so, promise little business for the beaver trade. Those posts which were established on the fringe of the region (at Babine Lake and on a tributary of the Skeena River [Fort Connoly]) were supplied from the interior, since all the rivers debouching on the coast simply were not navigable. Thus, the Governor's last view of his empire, before continuing on to Sitka, Asia, and Europe, is a desolate one, and not at all typical of his optimistic aesthetic response to most of the "stations" on his fifteen-week territorial tour.


R. M. Ballantyne (1825-1894), arrived on the Hudson's Bay Company ship, Prince Rupert, at York Factory in August, 1841, where Tolmie was waiting to take the return of ship for his furlough in Edinburgh and Paris, and while Sir George Simpson was tackling the Rocky Mountains. His career as a Hudson's Bay Company clerk was to be short-lived, lasting only from 1841 to 1847, or while he was between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two. Yet, his account of those years, published in 1848 as
Hudson's Bay; or, Every-day Life in the Wilds of North America, was to become one of the most popular narratives about the Northwest, not least because it appeared in the year when Britons, beginning to grow anxious over the 1845 Franklin voyage, wanted to know all that they could about northern North America. The book launched Ballantyne on a profuse and successful career as an author, which was just as well, since he exhibited no talent for the fur trade, becoming in his few years of employ what Margaret Macleod has called, "the despair of those under whom he served, because of his inaptitude for figures and business." 165

That Ballantyne would later make his mark as a writer of adventure stories for boys, can be detected in his highly fanciful and seldom discriminating responses to landscape. Raised under the imaginative umbrella of Sir Walter Scott (his Uncle James was Scott's printer and friend), he initiated the tradition of northern adventure fiction which is carried on today by Farley Mowat and which bears many of the hallmarks of Scott's novels. Such a lurid imagination as Ballantyne possessed at an early age produced some predictably overblown responses to the terrain roundabout York Factory and Lake Winnipeg. Perhaps a fair indication of his propensity for exaggeration is his description of the embankment of the Ottawa River at Parliament Hill. Passing it on October 24, 1845, he called it a "stupendous cliff" (p. 263). Even so, his attempts to record "every-day life" in the service of a great British imperial commercial enterprise are worth considering. Many modern readers may not have enjoyed the same opportunity as that of Ballantyne's modern apologist, George Woodcock, of growing up on Ballantyne's tales, but we may regard the narrative of six years in British
North America in the light of that Anglo-Canadian's summation of the young Scot's apprenticeship: "His period in the North was a kind of education, the equivalent of those wander years of the Grand Tour which his less enterprising contemporaries were still taking on the well trodden paths of Europe and the Levant" (p. xii).

After arriving at York Factory on August 6, 1841, where he was greeted by a landscape than which "... altogether, a more desolate prospect could not well be imagined" (p. 18), Ballantyne was sent up the Hayes River to the Red River Settlement in early September. The scenery of the coastal lowlands had not impressed Umfreville, Franklin or Hood, Garry or Frances Simpson, but the young Ballantyne considered it "pretty and romantic." Yet, his use of the terms lacks discrimination, for he goes on to distinguish their meaning awkwardly from another term's: "but there was nothing grand about it. The country generally was low and swampy..." (p. 81). None of "pretty," "romantic," or "grand" had been thought by most sojourning Britons before Ballantyne as suitable for the description of boreal bogs. But ought Ballantyne's remarks to be regarded as the effusions of aesthetic immaturity, or the expression of an emerging post-Romantic aesthetic that sought sentiment in landscape, romance in wilderness? Certainly, Ballantyne's generation is not Garry's, Black's, McLean's, Talmie's, or Simpson's but, rather, that of the second generation of Arctic mariners who developed increasingly fanciful responses to Arctic ice and tundra. The answer to the question must be reached carefully because Ballantyne wrote in the transitional decade (the 1840s) between the "Georgian" and the Victorian ages of landscape tastes. As well, his response is not entirely without precedent: Ballantyne might well be confusing what he perceives
and what he has been prepared to expect from his reading of such ac-
counts as Edward Chappell's, which had, in 1814, called the view of
Rainbow Island in the Hayes River "delightfully picturesque," despite
the fact that the view was organized out of "clay banks, covered with
dark forests of the spruce-pine tree." Perhaps Ballantyne exaggerates
what he does see because of his surprise at seeing anything at all.

But this last is a charitable interpretation of Ballantyne's work.
His truly sentimentalized and generalized rendition of nature comes
into its own with an effort at a pair of views—one beautiful, the other
sublime—portraying (allegedly) Oxford Lake:

There is scarcely any thing more beautiful or delightful than cross-
ing a lake in the woods, on a lovely morning at sunrise. The brilliant
sun, rising in a flood of light, pierces through the thin haze of the
morning, converting the countless myriads of dew-drops that hang on
the trees and bushes into sparkling diamonds, and burnishing the motion-
less flood of water, till a new and mighty firmament is reflected in
the wave—as if nature, rising early from her couch, paused to gaze
with admiration on her own resplendent image, reflected in the depths
of her own matchless mirror. The profound stillness, too, of all around,
broken only by the measured sweep of the oars, fills the soul with awe;
at the same time that a tranquil but unbounded happiness steals over
the heart of the traveller, as he gazes out upon the distant horizon,
broken here and there by small verdant islets, floating as it were in
air. He wanders back, in thought, to scenes in far distant climes, or
wishes, mayhap, that it were possible, in scenes like this, to dwell
with those he loves, for ever.

As the day advances, the stene, though slightly changed, is still
beautiful. The increasing heat dispelling the mists, reveals, in all
its beauty, the deep blue sky speckled with thin fleecy clouds; and,
spreading a genial warmth over the body, creates a sympathetic warmth
in the soul. Flocks of snow-white gulls sail in graceful evolutions
round the boats, dipping lightly in the water as if to kiss their re-
flected images, and, rising suddenly in long rapid flights, mount in
circles up high above the tranquil world into the azure sky, till small
white specks alone are visible in the distance. Up, up, they rise, on
sportive wing, till the straining eye can no longer distinguish them,
and they are gone!

Ducks, too, whirr past in rapid flight, steering wide of the boats,
and bending in a long graceful curve into their course again. The sweet,
plaintive cry of a whip-poor-will, or some bird of the same description,
rings along the shore, and the faint answer of his mate floats over
the lake, mellowed by distance to a long tiny note; The air is motion-
less as the water, and the enraptured eye gazes on all that is lovely
and peaceful in nature, in dreamy enjoyment.

These are the pleasures of travelling in the wilderness. Let us change the picture.

The sun no longer shines upon the tranquil scene. Dark, heavy clouds obscure the sky; a suffocating heat depresses the spirits and enervates the frame; sharp, short gusts of wind now ruffle the inky waters, and the floating islands sink into insignificance, as the deceptive haze which elevated them flies before the approaching storm. The ducks are gone, and the plaintive notes of the whip-poor-will are hushed as the increasing breeze rustles the leafy drapery of the forest. The gulls wheel round still, but in more rapid and uncertain flight, accompanying their motions with shrill and mournful cries, like the dismal wailings of the spirit of the storm. A few drops of rain patter on the boats, or plump like stones into the water, and the distant melancholy growl of thunder swells upon the coming gale. Uneasy glances are cast, ever and anon, towards the black clouds and the shore, and grumbling sentences are uttered by the men. Suddenly a hissing sound is heard; a loud clap of thunder growls over head, and the gale, dashing the white spray wildly before it; rushes down upon the boats.

"A terre! à Terre!" shout the men. The boats are turned towards the shore, and the bending oars creak and groan as they pull swiftly on. Hiss! whirl! the gale bursts forth, dashing clouds of spray into the air; twisting and curling the foaming water in its fury. The thunder crashes with fearful noise, and the lightning gleams in fitful lurid streaks across the inky sky. Presently the shore is gained, amid a deluge of rain which saturates every thing with water in a few minutes. The tents are pitched, but the fires will scarcely burn, and are at last allowed to go out. The men seek shelter under the oiled cloths of the boats, while the travellers, rolled up in damp blankets, with the rain oozing through the tents upon their couches, gaze mournfully upon the dismal scene, and reflect sadly on the shortness of the step in human life between happiness and misery (pp. 84-7).

The preliminary picture may not, properly speaking, be termed a landscape depiction; only sky and water are imaged. The personification of nature as well as the use of the third person to cast the percipient as the wilderness type of traveller abet the romantic aura with which Ballantyne rather insouciantly paints his vapid scene: "... enraptured eye gazes on all that is lovely and peaceful in nature, in dreamy enjoyment."

Ballantyne's gulls and ducks initiate a change from the beautiful to the sublime pictures. The use of fowl for this aesthetic/dramatic purpose closely follows the use made by Edward Chappell of geese in
his picture of the seasonal change in the Hayes River in September, 1814. But whereas Chappell’s technique is evocative—the migrating geese foretell an early winter—the flight of Ballantyne’s birds does not provide any more than an ornamental aspect in his first picture. Only with the change in weather can Ballantyne turn to the sublime view. The deployment of the geese as a harbinger of climatic change is handled much more adroitly by Chappell. Furthermore, Ballantyne’s sublime picture still lacks a landscape: a sort of chaotic aviary operates above while the York-boat brigades strike for shore. The picture-stories enact two scenes that might have occurred anywhere: that they occur near Hudson Bay in British North America must be determined from other information. They convey little of the character of local nature that Chappell’s scene does in foretelling with an impressive immediacy, free of Ballantyne’s cloying romantic sentiment, the sudden onset of winter in the Hudson Bay lowlands. The Scot’s moral (and Victorian) conclusion simply cannot be borne by the simple scenes he has delineated, and appends itself rather sycophantically to the account.

Eighteen days upriver from York Factory, Ballantyne reached Norway House, which attracts his notice less than the middle ground extending away from it:

On the left side of the building extends a flat, grassy park, or green, upon which, during the summer months, there is often a picturesque and interesting scene. Spread out to dry in the sun, may be seen the snowy tent of the chief factor, lately arrived; a little farther off, on the rising ground, stands a dark and almost imperceptible wigwam, the small wreath of white smoke issuing from the top proving that it is inhabited; on the river bank, three or four boats and a north canoe are hauled up; and just above them a number of sunburnt voyageurs and a few Indians amuse themselves with various games, or recline upon the grass, basking in the sunshine. Behind the fort stretches the thick forest, its outline broken here and there by cuttings of firewood or small clearings for farming (pp. 87-8).
Ballantyne here demonstrates his understanding of conventional staffage in a landscape painting, although landscape remains an unprominent aspect of his scenes. The fort is circumspectly sketched in the preceding paragraph, while in the one quoted above, the animated, humanized scene, made novel by the presence of an Indian residence, is painted into the middle ground, and a mood contrasting with the gaiety of the middle ground is effected by the background's "thick forest." Here Ballantyne, still following Chappell apparently, has the opportunity to work Indians into his picture as Chappell did with his Hayes River scene, in which "the natives sat regaling themselves, around a blazing fire upon the beach." The fraternity of the voyageurs and Indians marks perhaps the single unique feature in Ballantyne's view, a view which Paul Kane would paint five years later, in 1846.

The York boats next traversed Lake Winnipeg and ascended Red River to Fort Garry in late September. There, Ballantyne found "too much flatness in the surrounding country for the lover of the grand and picturesque," although he was attracted by one piscine aspect: "Just in front of the gate runs or rather glides the peaceful Assinaboine [sic], where, on a fine day in autumn, may be seen thousands of gold-eyes playing in its limpid water, and glittering in the sunshine" (p. 102). First impressions, however, bear truest in regard to Ballantyne's response to the landscape. Once he embarks on a more obvious, rhetorical emigration prospectus, his response colours increasingly:

The scenery of Red River, as I said before, is neither grand nor picturesque, yet, when the sun shines brightly on the waving grass, and glitters on the silver stream, and when the distant and varied cries of wild-fowl break in plaintive cadence on the ear, one experiences
a sweet exulting happiness, akin to the feelings of the sailor when he gazes forth at early morn upon the polished surface of the sleeping sea (pp. 102-03).

Without doubt, Ballantyne prefers to discourse on a landscape's effect than on its details or organization. In this respect, his writing anticipates the style of the leading and occasionally bombastic rhetorician of the Prairies, William Francis Butler, whose works, which will be discussed below, also enjoyed a large British readership. The standard oceanic simile is here expanded to include a momentary transformation of settler into sailor, a transformation which would grow from simile to metaphor in one respect with the advent of the Prairie Schooner in the American West.

Ballantyne did not stay at Fort Garry. He departed for York Factory after a short visit (which included witnessing the return of the body of Thomas Simpson, who had been murdered in 1840 while en route to England to press his request to continue his explorations of the Arctic coast). Ballantyne finally wintered at Norway House in 1841-1842, and remained there until June, 1843. Subsequent winters were spent at York Factory, before he departed in June, 1845, on a trip whose destination was altered several times before he arrived, ten months later, in March, 1846, at Sept-Iles on the St. Lawrence River. The trip took him by canoe to Lachine, by sleigh from Montreal to fire-ravaged Quebec (scenes of which constitute the most sublime landscapes painted by the Quebec artist Joseph Légaré [1795-1855]), and by snowshoe and small boat along the icy St. Lawrence shore and river east of Quebec.

At the end of the first day on their ascent of the Winnipeg River, Ballantyne and his crew encamped beyond Fort Alexander, stopping at
"about sunset, in a picturesque spot, near the top of a huge waterfall, whose thundering roar, as it mingled with the sighing of the night wind through the bushes and among the precipitous rocks around us, formed an appropriate and somewhat romantic lullaby" (pp. 222-23). But what indisputably attracts Ballantyne's eye most are the appearances of deciduous forests, the first which he would have seen since coming to North America in 1841. He is as excited to encounter them as Nicholas Garry was disconsolate at leaving them behind in 1821 while following his route to York Factory. On July 7, 1845, Ballantyne writes the following response:

A little rain fell during the day, but in the afternoon the sun shone out and lighted up the scenery. The forests about this part of the river wore a much more cheerful aspect than those of the lower countries [i.e. the Hudson Bay lowlands], being composed chiefly of poplar, birch, oak, and willows, whose beautiful light green foliage had a very pleasing effect upon eyes long accustomed to the dark pines along the shores of Hudson's Bay (p. 224).

Such a "pleasing effect" on this part of the route, and the absence of the same effect between Lake Winnipeg and York Factory had established a pattern of response in other journals by travelers of Ballantyne's route who were coming up from the Canadas. Thus, Ballantyne's response grows as he progresses toward Lake Superior. His response to Lake of the Woods illustrates this trend:

There is nothing, I think, more calculated to awaken the more solemn feelings of our nature, (unless, indeed, it be the thrilling tones of sacred music), than one of these noble lakes, studded with innumerable islets, suddenly bursting on the traveler's view, as he emerges from one of the sombre, wood-encompassed rivers of the American wilderness. The clear unruffled water, stretching out to the horizon—here, embracing the heavy and luxuriant foliage of a hundred wooded isles, or reflecting the wood-clad mountains on its margin, clothed in all the variegated hues of autumn; and there, glittering with dazzling brilliancy, in the bright rays of the evening sun, or rippling among the reeds and
rushes of some shallow bay, where hundreds of wild-fowl chatter, as they feed, with varied cry, rendering more apparent, rather than disturbing, the solemn stillness of the scene: all tends to "raise the soul from nature up to nature's God," and remind one of the beautiful passage of Scripture,—"O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches" (pp. 236-37).

To Ballantyne, the lake appears much like a landscape painting. Although the lake and terrain are not divided into foreground, middle ground, and distance, they are governed by another aesthetic technique, that of the "here . . . there" description. Furthermore, the single-sentence picture attains a unity of sorts: the myriad islands and their reflections in the calm water, and the plethora of waterfowl are held, as they are structurally by the "here . . . there" orthogonal lines, by the sunset's "solemn stillness" in an impressive integrity. The integrity of a sunset scene of mountains and a flotilla of icebergs had induced Chappell to consecrate his description by quoting the line from Pope's Essay on Man (IV, 331) which Ballantyne here paraphrases. ("Raise the soul from nature up to nature's God," reads in Pope and Chappell as, "But looks through Nature up to Nature's God".) All elements of the scene create a harmony which redounds to the Christian acme of Unity-God. Like the notes of sacred music, apparently, every islet, every varied cry, every ray of the evening sun combine in a splendid visual harmony, which overwhelms the Christian viewer with the richness of natural creation.

Whether the Briton journeys down or up the Rainy River, it transports him, figuratively and literally, homeward:

Next morning we commenced the ascent of Lac la Pluie River. This is decidedly the most beautiful river we had yet traversed, not only on account of the luxuriant foliage of every hue, with which its noble banks are covered, but chiefly from the resemblance it bears in many places to the scenery of England, recalling to mind the grassy lawns
and verdant banks of Britain's streams, and transporting the beholder from the wild scenes of the western world to his native home. The trees along its banks were larger and more varied than any we had hitherto seen,--ash, poplar, cedar, red and white pines, oak, and birch, being abundant, while many flowers of gaudy hues enhanced the beauty of the scene (p. 237).

Either by way of York Factory, Hudson Bay, and Hudson Strait, or by the Great Lakes, and Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, the river conducts the Briton homeward. Moreover, the English identification of the river bank's landscapes which so many travellers had made is echoed by Ballantyne's undistinguished account.

Finally, Ballantyne offers a picture of the view from near the height of land, atop the hill on the Portage du Chien. Entitled "Portage du Chien" (facing p. 247), Ballantyne's picture adapts the foliage to the cameo frame, bending the deciduous and conifer trees
inwards to create the Claude-like foreground screen. The view, presumably a rendition of the scene at sunrise (since it looks eastward down the Kaministikwia River valley), has no remarkable qualities except that the middle ground hill-and-dale topography which had aesthetically attracted previous observers is made to resemble English grass-covered, rather than North American tree-covered, terrain. But utter conventionality is the quintessential feature of either Ballantyne's writing or sketching, and serves admirably as a concluding judgement of the young Scot's sentimentalized aesthetic response to the landscapes of British North America. 167

III.4.—THE SOJOURNS OF A NATURALIST: DAVID DOUGLAS IN NORTH AMERICA (1823-1833)

The Hudson's Bay Company's willingness to encourage and assist the botanical exploration of British North America was declared, at least tacitly, in 1819, when the fur traders officially supported the first Franklin expedition, and the specimen collecting undertaken by John Richardson. When, in 1823, the Royal Horticultural Society requested that the company, now a monopoly, host another botanist, the traders requested a year's postponement of the scheme until organizational problems regarding their merger with the North West Company had been rectified. The society's choice of botanist came on the recommendation of William Jackson Hooker, regius professor of botany at Glasgow University. Hooker chose David Douglas (1799-1834), a twenty-four-year-old gardener from Scone, Perthshire.

Douglas' arrival at the mouth of the Columbia River, on the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship, William and Ann, was an odd one. He had
proven himself a devoted and inquisitive caretaker of exotic plants, first at Sir Robert Preston's Scone Palace, and later in the botanic garden at Glasgow University. There, he had caught Hooker's attention, and prospered from the professor's inordinate interest in a mere gardener. In 1823, when George Simpson requested the postponement, Douglas, already on his way from Glasgow to London, had his itinerary changed from the Hudson's Bay Company domain to the American Atlantic seaboard, sent there to collect samples of fruit trees.

The journal of this seven-month trip is contained in the posthumous edition of Douglas' journals, entitled Journal kept by David Douglas during his Travels in North America 1823-1827 (1914). It begins at his departure from Charing Cross for Liverpool on June 3, 1823, with an entry exemplifying the strong sense of landscape organization which the botanist's years as a palace gardener had infused into his perception of nature: "... country very fine for seventeen miles from the metropolis ... Beautiful fields at Woburn Abbey tastefully laid out and divided by hedgerows, in which are planted Horse-chestnuts at regular distances, all in full flower; had a very imposing appearance." The responses to landscape are thereafter, for the most part conventional and predictable; indeed, Douglas claims no exceptional powers of either response to, or description of, nature. Ascending the Hudson River on September 4, he noted merely that "the scenery was particularly fine on the west side: the perpendicular rocks covered with wood gave it an appearance seldom to be met with." Only slightly more of an effort at composition is discernible in his entry for September 8, when his route took him from Albany to Utica: "This morning was cool, the rich verdure of Nature, the lofty mountains on the right hand, the
fertile fields, and the Mohawk gliding down on the left, gave to the country an appearance, fine beyond description. That Douglas is more comfortable with the enumeration of the elements of a landscape than with their combined effect on the viewer, is manifest in his description of Niagara Falls. After passing through Lake Erie and spending some time in the original forests of southwestern Ontario (at Amherstburg, he met Dr. Robert Richardson, the father of the author of Wacousta), he returned to Buffalo at the end of September, and visited the Falls on the last day of the month. "I am," he wrote simply, "like most who have seen them, sensitively impressed with their grandeur."170

In his six months in England prior to departing for the Columbia River on July 25, Douglas met Archibald Menzies, the discoverer of the Pinus taxifolia, the towering needsleleaf which one day would be named the Douglas Fir, after David Douglas. He also met John Richardson. The gardener thus reached the Pacific Northwest in rather exalted circumstances, and began his researches with an impressive zeal. While Richardson himself was crossing the upper Great Lakes with Franklin, on his way to the Arctic Ocean for the second time, Douglas, accompanied by the company's ship surgeon (as well as naturalist), Dr. John Scouler (1804-1871), rowed ashore at Baker's Bay, and into the primeval rain forests of sky-scraping pines. Here was a collector's valhalla, a hunting ground which could provide the botanist with work for all his mortal and many of his immortal days. Unlike a trader/school teacher like Alexander Ross, who had found the sheer girth and height of the conifers intimidating in 1810, Douglas, whose job was not to fell them, was delighted by them.
The William and Ann received no reply from Fort George to the firing of its cannon, and the officers feared a massacre by the Chinook Indians, but the fort had recently been abandoned, and new headquarters established at Fort Vancouver, as part of the company's post-merger reorganization. Douglas thus travelled one hundred miles upriver before being formally received by his host, Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin. Much more enthusiastic than either Ross before him or even Tolmie after him, Douglas wrote the following general response to the lower Columbia River Valley:

The following night [mid-April, 1825], at ten p.m., we arrived at Fort Vancouver, ninety miles from the sea; the spot where the Officers of Capt. Vancouver completed their survey of the river in 1792. The scenery round this place is sublimely grand—lofty, well wooded hills,—mountains covered with perpetual snow,—extensive natural meadows, and plains of deep fertile, alluvial deposit, covered with a rich sward of grass, and a profusion of flowering plants. The most remarkable mountains are Mounts Hood and Jefferson, of Vancouver, which are at all seasons covered with snow as low down as the summit of the hills by which they are surrounded.

As he did in the east-coast portion of his journal, Douglas makes no landscape composition from the various elements he enumerates, but here he at least speaks of the effect of their combination, that of being "sublimely grand."

Douglas made four major return trips from Fort Vancouver during the next twenty-three months: up the Columbia River to the Great (today's Celilo) Falls in the summer of 1825; down the Columbia to the ocean, up the coast to the "Cheecheeleie," or "Cheecheeler" (modern Chehalis) River, and up to the Cowlitz River in the autumn of 1825; up the Columbia in 1826 on a six-month ramble in the Columbia Basin (March 20-August 31), visiting the Hudson's Bay Company posts of Walla Walla, Okanagan, Spokane, and Colville; and up the "Multnomah" (Willamette)
River and along the Cascade range as far as the "Uumptqua" (Umpqua) River from September 20-November 19, 1826.

In the summer of 1825, sixteen miles below the Great (Celilo) Falls, Douglas noted in his journal the change in vegetation which Alexander Ross and Ross Cox noted in the decade before him, and which Sir George Simpson would observe in 1841:

From the [Cascade]-Rapids to the Great [Celilo] Falls, distant fifty-eight or sixty miles, the banks are steep and in many places rugged. Some of the hills are very high but all destitute of trees or large shrubs. The wood becomes smaller the further the river is ascended. Sixteen miles below the Falls we are no longer fanned by the huge pine stretching its branches in graceful attitude over a mountain rivulet or deep cavern, or regaled by the quivering of the aspen in the breeze. Nothing but extensive plains and barren hills, with the greater part of the herbage scorched and dead by the intense heat. I had to cross a plain nineteen miles without a drop of water, of pure white sand, thermometer in the shade 97°. I suffered much from the heat and reflection of the sun's rays; and scarcely can I tell the state of my feet in the evening from the heat in the dry sand; all the upper part of them were in one blister. Six miles below the Falls the water rushes through several narrow channels, formed by high, barren and extremely rugged rocks about two miles long. It is called by the voyageurs The Dalles. On both sides of the river very singular rocks of a great height are to be seen, having all the appearance of being waterworn; not unlikely they have been the boundaries of the river at some former period. The present bed of the river is more than 6000 feet lower. The Falls stretch across the whole breadth of the river in an oblique direction, which may be about 400 yards, about 10 or 12 feet of a perpendicular pitch. At present its effect is somewhat hid, the water being high, but I am told it is fine when the river is low (Oregon Journals, I, 40-1).

Whereas Ross had initially rejoiced at his departure from the gloom of the rain forest, and cheered the appearance of the barren plains, the naturalist was crestfallen at the alteration of the landscape in the lee of the Cascade Range. Coming from a region rich in botanical prospects he viewed with a naturalist's mode of perception the "scorched and dead" plains before him. With little plant-life to study, Douglas returned to the river after several rambles, and studied the
immense salmon runs. But neither his purpose nor The Royal Horticultural Society’s interests were being served by this observation, and so he returned to Fort Vancouver in preparation for one short and one extensive trip to the coast. (Between these trips, he returned upriver in the early autumn to search for the seeds of the plants he had collected in the early summer trip.) The coastal trips were more successful, although the inclement weather necessitated a continual rewrapping of the specimens in order to prevent their complete decay.

Aesthetically as well as botanically, Douglas’ most successful trip began with his departure from Fort Vancouver on March 22, 1826, as part of the York Factory and New Caledonia express brigades. This marked the commencement of what one biographer, William Morwood, has called the “Grand Tour of the Columbia Basin.” 173 Douglas found the Grand Rapids (Cascades) much more attractive in the late winter:

At this season the Rapids are seen to advantage, the river being low. The scenery at this season is likewise grand beyond description; the high mountains in the neighbourhood, which are for the most part covered with pines of several species, some of which grow to an enormous size, are all loaded with snow; the rainbow from the vapour of the agitated water, which rushes with furious rapidity over shattered rocks and through deep caverns producing an agreeable although at the same time a somewhat melancholy echo through the thick wooded valley; the reflections from the snow on the mountains, together with the vivid green of the gigantic pines, form a contrast of rural grandeur that can scarcely be surpassed (Oregon Journals, I, 71-2).

"Rural grandeur" is an oddly inappropriate classification for wilderness scenery, and it is not surprising to find it gone from the "Sketch" prepared for John Murray ("Sketch," 104). Moreover, "vivid" seems somewhat inaccurate for the colour of conifers. Normally, they were regarded as sombre; how they may have appeared "vivid" against a
white background is especially difficult to guess. Finally, Douglas
seems unclear, as a viewer of the scene, whether the aural dimension of
the view is "an agreeable although at the same time somewhat melancholy
echo," as he wrote in his journal, or "a melancholy though pleasing
echo," as the revision puts it. Yet, an il ne sait quoi attracts his
eye at this particular place, which only more experience of wilderness
could help him to comprehend and articulate.

Passing Fort Walla Walla, where Samuel Black was now stationed,
observing Hogarthian lines in the landscape, Douglas celebrated on
March 28 the traverse of a terrain "nearly destitute of timber" (Oregon
Journals, I, 74). The brigades' arrival at Fort Okanogan on April 7
brought only more discouragement to the naturalist's eye, for the
region still lay under layers of snow. Finally, Douglas was heartened
to arrive at the forks of the Columbia and Spokane Rivers on April 10;
and find aesthetically and botanically engaging views. "This part of
the Columbia is by far the most beautiful that I have seen: very
varied, extensive plains, with groups of pine-trees, like an English
lawn, with rising bluffs or little eminences covered with small brush-
wood, and rugged rocks covered with ferns, mosses, and lichens" (Oregon
Journals, I, 76). In connection with this description, William Morwood
has argued that: "It is a measure of the achievement of eighteenth-
century English landscape architects that travelers, for a hundred
years afterward, kept seeing compositions in the wilderness that re-
minded them of the artificial lakes, hills and rolling meadows of Blen-
heim, Stowe, Rousham, and other famous estates laid out in the
'natural' style." 174 But of course, the comparison of North American
natural scenes to British nature was practised by far more Britons
(including Douglas) than those relative few who had visited the estates mentioned by Morwood. It may merely have been the aleatory clumping of pines which reminds the Scottish gardener of the artificial placement of Brownian "clumps" of trees on the lawns of English estates. The same feature of the valley would attract the eye of the Englishman, Charles Wilson, thirty-five years later. More probably, Douglas had himself performed the artificial practice of clumping under the direction of a head gardener. More important, perhaps, is how slender Douglas' landscape response is, here as elsewhere. A comprehensive picture is not formed: elements alone are enumerated; or else, as in the next response, an aesthetic judgement is made but no description provided. At Kettle Falls, which Alexander Ross had passed on his way to Red River during the previous April (1825), and where Douglas had journeyed on April 22 with John Warren Dease (whom Simpson had sent to erect Fort Colvile) he termed "the whole face of the country . . . exceedingly picturesque, and in many places the scene is grand with every appearance that can be called beautiful". (Oregon Journals, I, 78). Hardly precise, Douglas extols nature in unspecified terms, which might equally be the result of his elation at the discovery of new botanical species or his enjoyment of the natural organization of landscape. As before, the almost rapid response disappears in the "Sketch," where the observation is focused on the Kettle Falls themselves. It therefore becomes apparent, from his initial response to Woburn Abbey, in which the Horse chestnut trees in the hedgerows specifically attract his eye, to his view of the landscapes in North America, that Douglas' aesthetic is based almost entirely on his gardening experience. He does not possess the picture-making habit of most of the Britons here under
discussion; consequently, he does not normally organize landscapes. Rather, he notes specific features which interest him aesthetically, and gathers specific plants which fascinate him botanically.

One more trip was made to Kettle Falls in late May, and then Douglas dropped down to Fort Walla Walla, making Black's post his headquarters for the summer. Two trips into the Snake River country proved only moderately successful. Douglas could not control his guide on the first trip and managed almost to lose himself in the Blue Mountains after permanently damaging his eyesight in the summer glare of the mountain snow. (He was searching for the unique botanical prospects of La Grande Ronde, that Edenic oasis in the midst of the arid Columbia Basin, whose discovery had relieved Robert Stuart's expedition from consuming more urine in 1812.) The second trip was made in mid-July, in concert with a minor Snake Country expedition led by John Work and Finian McDonald. Douglas characterized the Snake River valley as follows: "Except that good water may always be obtained, there is nothing to render this country superior, in summer, to the burning deserts of Arabia" (Oregon Journals, II, 112; "Sketch," 119). The second expedition left the Snake River at its confluence with the Clearwater (at the site of modern Lewiston, Idaho). From there, Douglas zigzagged across the country, reaching Kettle Falls on August 6, where he began searching for the seeds of plants identified during his spring trips there. A speedy overland and river voyage brought him down to Fort Vancouver at the end of August.

Despite his successful collecting excursions, Douglas still had not found any signs of a conifer whose seeds he had seen the Indians
of the Multnomah (Willamette) River valley roast and eat for their sweet.
ness, and whose cones measured as much as sixteen inches in length. 178
When he heard that John McLoughlin was sending Alexander
Roderick McLeod down the coastal side of the Cascades, while Peter
Skene Ogden trapped down the inland side of the mountain range, he
ensured himself of a place in McLeod's brigade. McLoughlin lent him one
of his own horses for the overland trek to the Umpqua River, and the
naturalist caught up with McLeod in the Willamette valley on September
28, 1826. The valley had long been considered a picturesque parkland by
such traders as Robert Stuart, and would become the area first settled
by Americans twenty years later, but fires set deliberately by the
Indians, either to flush the deer out of the forests and down to the
river, or to "better find wild honey and grasshoppers, which both serve
as articles of winter food" (Oregon Journals, II, 130), left the valley
bare in the autumn of 1826. Still, Douglas discerned elements in the
parkland topography: "Country undulating; soil rich, light, with beau-
tiful solitary oaks and pines interspersed through it, and must have a
fine effect, but being all burned and not a single blade of grass
except on the margins of rivulets to be seen . . ." (Oregon Journals,
II, 128-29; "Sketch," 125).

Passing up the Willamette valley, Douglas discovered his first
North American chestnut tree, the chinquapin, and the aromatic ever-
green, called the California bay (Umbellularia californica), distinc-
tive among conifers for its rounded rather than peaked top. Then the
brigade moved southward to a geographical oddity, a unique mountain
range running perpendicular to the coast and most western ranges, in an
east-west direction. Blocking their route, these mountains also were
made hazardous by constant rainfall, their traverse requiring much more labour under slippery conditions than would normally be the case with mountains nowhere more than 3000 feet high. At last, these transverse spurs of the Coast Range were passed, and on October 16, "on reaching the summit, the desired sight of the Umpqua River presented itself to our view, flowing through a variable and highly decorated country--mountains, woods, and plains" (Oregon Journals, II, 139; "Sketch," 127). Douglas' aesthetic response may be negligible but he realized that the landscape that lay before him probably contained the huge conifer he sought.

When McLeod determined to proceed towards the ocean, likely less to find beaver than to discover the mythical Bonaventura river (a large waterway which Indians, telling white men what they wanted to hear, had told McLeod flowed through the mountains to the ocean), Douglas decided that his chance for the botanical discovery lay upriver and inland in the forests; so he separated from the brigade. With only one guide and himself "much broken down" physically, the travel was slow and wet, but on October 26, he climbed "what is now known as Sugar Pine Mountain, west of Roseburg, Oregon," 179 and discovered in a nearby valley a Sugar Pine (Pinus Lambertiana). Not only would its discovery change the British botanical perception of the limits of vegetation--as Morwood points out, the Scotch Pine, at seventy-five feet was the tallest known conifer at the time 180 --but Douglas himself seemed apprehensive about describing it aesthetically until he had taken and verified its empirical measurements:

Three feet from the ground, 57 feet 9 inches in circumference; 134 feet from the ground, 17 feet 5 inches; extreme length, 215 feet. The trees
are remarkably straight; bark uncommonly smooth for such large timber, of a whitish or light brown colour. The large trees are destitute of branches, generally for two-thirds the length of the tree; branches pendulous, and the cones hanging from their points like small sugar-loaves in a grocer's shop, it being only on the largest trees that cones are seen, and the putting myself in possession of three cones (all I could) nearly brought my life to an end (Oregon Journals, II, 148).

Such a discovery clearly stands as the botanical/aesthetic apogee of Douglas' short life: its description is the acme of his journal. The sugar pine is the botanical Sublime for Douglas, a landscape in itself, dwarfing the awed human figure at its base—a wooden Mont Blanc. Attaining the prize involved Douglas in a suitably dangerous exertion which included a silent ten-minute confrontation with an Indian tribe alerted to the scene when Douglas shot at the cones to dislodge them from their heights. A surprise visit from a black bear capped the young naturalist's sublime quest, and he galloped back to Fort Vancouver with the prize that would make him famous in his lifetime.

After wintering at Fort Vancouver, Douglas again departed up the Columbia River with the inland express brigades on March 20, 1827. This time his destination was England. The journal of the transcontinental trip does bear several signs of an increased aesthetic interest by Douglas, and there is evidence of a new realization of how to describe landscape aesthetically—botanically—that brings Douglas' response more into line with that of his fellow naturalist, John Richardson. At Upper Arrow Lake, on April 22, 1827, this new interest was expressed:

From this point one of the most sublime views presents itself: nine miles of water about five miles in breadth, having on the left a projecting point resembling an island and a deep bay on the right, with lofty snowy peaks in all directions. Contrasted with their dark shady
bases densely covered with pine, the deep rich hue of Pinus canadensis with its feathery cloudy branches quivering in the breeze, and the light tints but more majestic height of Pinus Strobus exalting their lofty tops beyond any other tree of the forest, imparts an indescribable beauty to the scene. A river seems to flow into the bay on the east. At the end of the lake, at the foot of a high and steep hill, were three Indian lodges (Journal, pp. 250-51).

With this pen picture Douglas proves himself capable of organizing and representing terrain as landscape: general aesthetic traits—"sublime," "indescribable beauty"—are noted, but are complemented by specific detail regarding the vegetation, and are delineated in terms of the placement in the picture frame of elements of the landscape situated to the left and right of the middle ground lake and the background mountains. Such scenes evoke an aesthetic response in Douglas and induce him to lament his lack of extra-botanical talents: "How glad should I feel if I could do justice to my pencil (when you get home, begin to learn) . . ." (Journal, p. 248). Perhaps the long winter at Fort Vancouver had provided him with sufficient time to improve his writing style. Certainly, with the discovery of the sugar pine it became clear that he would have to produce some sort of written record for public consumption upon his return to Britain. Dr. John McLoughlin would have urged him to write if Douglas had not thought of doing so himself. Moreover, Douglas may have considered himself as travelling in a different capacity when going overland to York Factory: his specific assignment had been the lower Columbia River/Pacific Coast region. With his departure for the mountains and Prairies, he was now travelling at leisure, and may have felt less concerned with his collections, and freer simply to enjoy the trip.

At Big Eddy, B.C., Douglas encountered "a scene of the most terrific grandeur"; in response to his new interest in landscape for
aesthetic reasons, he attempts to identify the source of the grandeur:

On both sides [of the Columbia River] high hills with rugged rocks covered with dead trees, the roots of which being laid bare by the torrents are blown down by the wind, bringing with them blocks of granite attached to their roots in large masses, spreading devastation before them. Passing this place just as the sun was tipping the mountains and his feeble rays now and then seen through the shady forests, imparts a melancholy sensation of no ordinary description, filling the mind with awe on beholding this picture of gloomy wildness (Journal, pp. 251-52).

Perhaps an exalted impression of the power possessed by a tree drives a tree-lover to explain the natural chaos before him as the result of arboreal activity, but Douglas certainly probes more deeply here than in the 1825 or 1826 journal entries. Remark ing the effect on the scene of the sunset rays locates his response much more centrally in the aesthetic conventions of his day, and for this reason, it is not surprising to find less and less discrepancy between his journal entries for this period and the selections which he prepared for John Murray to publish.

Douglas notes the view at Boat Encampment, where the wall of the Rocky Mountain Trench towers uniformly up from the Canoe River to the north and the upper Columbia River to the south. It induces "a feeling of horror" (Journal, p. 254) in him on April 27, as it had evoked a sensation of depression in Alexander Ross two years earlier, when Ross viewed it as an "inaccessible barrier." But the horror is not so intensely felt that Douglas turns his back on the country; indeed, the reverse is the case. While Edward Ermatinger and the rest of the express brigade waited for him, on May 1, in 2°F weather, he decided in Athabasca Pass to scale the heights of the mountain he named Mt. Brown (after Robert Brown [1773-1858], the Scottish botanist who explored New Holland and Van Diemen's Land on the voyage of Matthew Flinders in
1801-1805, which also included John Franklin). He reached the summit just as "night [was] fast closing in on me." In a sunset glow, he surveyed the vast terrain stretched out before him:

The sensation I felt is beyond what I can give utterance to. Nothing, as far as the eye could perceive, but mountains, such as I was on, and many higher, some rugged beyond any description, striking the mind with horror blended with a sense of the wondrous works of the Almighty. The aerial tints of the snow, the heavenly azure of the solid glaciers, the rainbow-like lines of their thin broken fragments, the huge mossy icicles hanging from the perpendicular rocks with the snow sliding from the steep southern rocks with amazing velocity, producing a crash and grumbling like the shock of an earthquake, the echo of which resounding in the valley for several minutes . . . (Journal, p. 259).

Few travellers, and certainly not Douglas, could be expected to organize their perception of such a breathtaking terrain sufficiently to produce coherent sentences. Douglas may only enumerate physical and aesthetic effects, but this may be ascribed in this particular passage to the effect on him of the land and not to any particular aesthetic shortcomings in him. A chaos that can only be arranged by the Deity reduces the naturalist to making a sequential record of what he sees and hears. The sublimity of the sugar pine had reduced him, at least initially, to a similar empirical sketch. A firm believer in God such as was Douglas (and his fellow naturalist, John Richardson), would not presume any higher purpose than that of speechless or babbling witness. Like Alexander Fisher among the icebergs off Greenland during Edward Parry's very first voyage to the Arctic in 1818, nine years before, Douglas is one of many travellers whose literary style falters into mere empirical enumeration, elipses, and fragments, as well as admissions of sensations of horror and wonder, in the face of sublime nature.

The Committee Pumph Bowl was passed on May 2, and two years and seven thousand miles of rambling after first arriving in the mouth of
the Columbia River in 1825, Douglas turned to greet a new part of the continent. Now he was entering the territory assigned to Thomas Drummond, the assistant naturalist to John Richardson on the second Franklin expedition, who was also being hosted by the Hudson's Bay Company and had ranged from Cumberland House to Boat Encampment since his arrival at the former post in June, 1825. Douglas reacted quickly and with a naturalist's acute perception of vegetation to the change in environment on the lee of the Rocky Mountains. At Jasper House, then situated on Brulé Lake, he noted that, "The difference of climate is great and the total change of verdure impresses on the mind of the traveller an idea of being, as it were, in a different hemisphere more than in a different part of the same continent, and only a hundred miles apart..." (Journal, p. 262). For someone who knew both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and inland country near them, this observation is a significant one, demonstrating a sensitive response which notices radical changes in a region too often viewed uniformly by others in later epochs. Douglas himself evinces an awareness of his different sensibility in a remark concerning the character of the land along the Athabasca River, between Brulé Lake and Fort Assiniboine, seen between May 5 and 7: "Country the same as yesterday, nothing of interest except to myself... The whole distance of this river [to Fort Assiniboine]... admits of no variety seeing one mile gives an idea of the whole: the banks are low marshy or clay mixed with gravel" (Journal, p. 263). Douglas recognizes that such land bears little aesthetic attraction, but he had seen none like it in his sojourns on the Pacific Slope; therefore, he anticipates new botanical prospects. But the land soon paled into insignificance or, occasionally, into a source of frustration for Douglas: the season was simply too cold still to
permit much collecting. It had become an "uninteresting wretched country" (Journal, p. 165) before the brigade left the Athabasca on the long overland trek to Fort Edmonton and the North Saskatchewan River.

When Douglas does resume an aesthetic interest in landscape, it occurs where it did for most early-nineteenth-century British travellers on his route: in the parkland west of Carlton House, through which Douglas boated with John Stuart, Simon Fraser's exploring companion of 1808. Douglas typically found the country around Fort Vermilion to have "changed much for the better; small hills and clumps of poplar and small rocks... The country becomes pastoral and highly adorned by Nature" (Journal, p. 269). The version produced for John Murray extrapolates on the picturesque qualities of the parkland topography even further: "In some parts the scenery around the river is very varied and picturesque, especially near the Red Deer and Eagle Hills. The soil is dry and light, but not unfertile, with a rich herbage, belts and clumps of wood interspersed, which give it a most romantic appearance." ("Sketch," 138). The conventionality of these descriptions does not sound like Douglas, but an earlier note explains that Stuart's York boats moved downstream so quickly that a naturalist on shore could not keep up on foot. Thus, Douglas was reduced to a mere landscape viewer, and one who saw the land only from a distance: He therefore speaks of "wood" rather than species, emphasizing instead its arrangement into landscape gardeners' formations of "belts and clumps." "Pastoral" and "adorned," "picturesque" and "romantic"—such vocabulary Douglas deploys as he views, from a distance which lends enchantment, the parkland's aesthetic effect, rather than the terrain's botanical personality.

Protesting that the route from Carlton House to Lake Winnipeg is
well known to any reader of the narrative of Franklin's first expedition (Journal, p. 272), Douglas falls silent, in a journal evidently written with a knowledgeable reader in mind, when describing the lower reaches of the Saskatchewan River as it leaves the parkland and enters the scrubland of the low-lying boreal forest. He arrived at Norway House on July 2, and accompanied Franklin and Richardson (on their way back home from the second expedition) as far south as Fort Alexander, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, which he reached on July 9. From there, the Arctic explorers proceeded to England by way of the Great Lakes, the Canadas, and New York, while Douglas departed from Fort Alexander, which he terms "the Riviera of the voyageurs" (Journal, p. 278), for Fort Garry. There he remained until August when he traversed Lake Winnipeg, descended the St. and Hayes Rivers with little description of the country at all, and boarded the Prince of Wales at York Factory with George Back, E. N. Kendall, and Thomas Drummond. From September 15 to October 11, when the ship docked at Portsmouth, Douglas compared notes and adventures with his fellow Britons.

Douglas would have been better off staying in North America. His discoveries were duly hailed and his published account (like Franklin's) eagerly anticipated. But, just as Douglas showed himself more apt at collecting specimens than conventionally describing the landscapes in which he found them, so he proved himself a better gardener than an author of discoveries or a public figure comfortable with the other conventions of his day. He rejoiced only when another expedition was arranged for him in 1829, one which allowed him to throw off the albatross of journal revisions, and sail off to his cherished Pacific
Northwest. Deteriorating health, especially eyesight, taxed him severely on this second expedition, and an extremely rash canoeing venture down the Fraser River on June 13, 1833, resulted in the complete loss of his journals and precious scientific equipment. This near-disaster seems to have been a prelude to a far more violent fate. The canoeing accident cut short what may have been the start of Douglas' dream trip up to Sitka, and across to Asia and Europe on a global botanizing venture as great in scope as the voyages of his contemporary, Charles Darwin. At any rate, the loss of all supplies ended that dream, and the year 1834 found him in the Sandwich Islands, attempting to secure boat passage home. Whether by accident or murder, the near-blind naturalist stumbled into a pit on a mountain trail. The pit had been dug by a farmer to trap wild bullocks which were wreaking havoc on his crops. As fate would have it, the pit into which Douglas was pushed or fell, was already occupied, and a grisly demise ensued for one of Britain's greatest natural historians. 189

III.5--THE WANDERINGS OF THE ARTISTS: WARRE AND KANE (1845-1848)

Of the three early artists in the West, only Paul Kane journeyed for the sake of art itself. Peter Rindisbacher emigrated to the Red River Settlement with his family as part of the large Swiss emigration which Nicholas Garry met at York Factory in 1829. 190 Rindisbacher's painting is marked by a style distinct from the pictures made by Britons of the West, and although they merit, and recently have received, attention, they do not reflect the British conventions with which this study deals.
III.5.1--Henry James Warre's Reconnaissance Trip to Oregon (1845-1846)

Lieutenant Henry James Warre (1819-1898) journeyed overland to the Columbia River with Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour in 1845. Although travelling under the guise of an English sportsman and landscape enthusiast with artistic ability, he and Vavasour were appended to Peter Skene Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company brigade for military reasons. The growing influx of American settlers in the Columbia Basin was gradually bringing the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Government into conflict. Since the signing of the Treaty of London in 1818, the Oregon Territory, extending from the Spanish claim of 42°N lat., to the Russian claim of 54°40'N lat., and from the continental divide in the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, had remained accessible to British and American interests. Now that growing numbers of Americans were clamouring for a claim by their government, the British Parliament quickly required first-hand information in order to determine how strong their support of the Hudson's Bay Company's interests in the Columbia district ought to be. Warre and Vavasour were sent to amass that information in 1845, a critical juncture in this affair between the two countries: James K. Polk fought and won the Presidential campaign of November, 1844, on the platform of republican expansionism which is best remembered today by its slogan--"54-40 or fight!"

Warre's trip was militarily fruitless in the end. Before he had returned overland to Montreal and then to Britain in the spring and summer of 1846 to make his report, the Oregon Treaty had been signed on June 15. Archibald Hanna Jr., a modern editor of Warre's art,
recapitulates the events of 1846:

On the British side, the principal interest involved was that of the Hudson’s Bay Company. But the fur trade in the Oregon country was rapidly diminishing, and the company had already moved its headquarters north to Victoria [in 1843]. On the American side, attention was being diverted from the Oregon question to the impending conflict with Mexico over the annexation of Texas. Consequently, when in May Lord Aberdeen offered Washington a treaty which set the boundary at the forty-ninth parallel in return for recognition of certain Hudson’s Bay Company rights, campaign slogans were forgotten and the treaty was confirmed by the Senate within a month.

Owing to the nature of Warre’s trip, only a limited number of circumstantial details about his itinerary could be released for general readership. These were published in 1848 as the first five pages of his folio sélection of eighteen lithographs, entitled Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, by Captain H. Warre, A.D.C. to the late Commander of the Forces. They consist, in part, of general aesthetic comments on the route followed from Montreal on May 5, 1845:

... the shores of Lake Superior are bold and picturesque. The forests are often very beautiful, but very dense, on the banks of river... The rivers are impeded by innumerable rapids and falls, many of which are extremely grand and picturesque. That of the Kaminis-taqoiih [i.e. Kakabeka Falls], which I have selected in the accompanying series of sketches [Pl. 5], is particularly beautiful, tumbling in awful grandeur over a ledge of rock 170 feet in depth into a narrow gorge; the silent forest alone re-echoing the roar of the cataract.

Warre indicates no more or less in such general descriptions than a comfortable understanding of the aesthetic principles of his day. The basaltic cliffs of Lake Superior are “picturesque” in the sense that he can imagine them in paintings; Kakabeka Falls are beautifully grand because of their great height and their remote location. But Warre does not call them sublime: they possess an “awful grandeur,” which would suggest sublimity were it not for Warre’s particular use of the latter term in another passage. Leaving Fort Vancouver on his return trip to
Montreal on March 25, 1846, Warre exchanged canoes for horses at Fort Walla Walla, and rode across the plains, reaching the Columbia and his brigade again at Fort Colvile. His route extended 250 miles, "200 of which are through a barren sandy desert, comparable only with the Great Sahara in Africa" (1848, p. 4; 1970, p. 23).

It is certain that Warre considered this landscape sublime, for when he had camped from Fort Colvile to Boat Encampment and prepared to cross the Rockies, he wrote as follows: "we had for many days been surrounded by magnificent mountains, and passed through such a beautiful country, that the effect of this grand and solitary scene was partially destroyed by the sublimity of that which had preceded it" (1848, p. 4; 1970, p. 23). Because Warre describes both the Rockies and Kakabeka Falls in terms of grandeur, and only a desert, "during the passage of which we could hardly find sufficient wood or water to supply our most ordinary wants," as sublime, it would appear that he regards sublimity in a narrower context, as an aesthetic which evokes only apprehensions of terror—a sublimity only of desolation—and that he distinguishes it from the pleasurable effect produced by grand natural scenery. But this deviation from the dividing lines among the eighteenth-century triumvirate of aesthetic principles—does reflect an aesthetic change in Victorian England. The fear, especially of mountains, the "horror" of which David Douglas speaks, in response to the Rockies in 1827, was wearing off in the decade of Warre's travels, and the apprenticeship of R. M. Ballantyne. Victorian England was beginning simply to enjoy nature writ large, except, of course, where it imperilled the viewer. The growing popularity of nineteenth-century British painters such as J. M. W. Turner and John Martin, among other factors, was telling Britons to read the folio volumes of the Book of
Nature. Gradually, sublimity in mountain scenery or waterfalls was coming more to mean delighted thrill than awe or fear. By the fifth and sixth decades in the century, when Britons were travelling up and down the Fraser valley, the response to mountain scenery had clearly completed the transition. Of course, delight was always a part of even the eighteenth-century Sublime, but a small part. In Victorian England, delight became much more prominent. But life-threatening zones, such as the desert mentioned by Warre and the Arctic, remained fearfully sublime. In the case of the latter region, the disappearance of Franklin's 1845 voyage ensured the continuation of an eighteenth-century use of the Sublime to depict the North. And Warre's decade also witnessed exceptions to the trend towards delight in the mountains. Sir George Simpson's (or his ghost-writers') deployment of Milton's phrase, "darkness visible," to depict Sinclair Canyon in 1841 (pub. 1847) marks one such exception during the decade when the transition became apparent but not pervasive.

Thus, an approach to the pictorial works of Henry James Warre requires a slight modification of the aesthetic categories heretofore applied in readings of narratives and pictures by explorers and travellers. Following Warre's own uses of aesthetic terms, the categories in terms of which his work can most appropriately be viewed are: the Picturesque, the Grand, and, infrequently, the Sublime.

Three sources provide pictorial works by Warre. His original Sketches contains eighteen lithographs. The publication in 1970 of his sketchbook, now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, introduced seventy-one water colours, besides reprinting the text of Sketches. And in 1976, the Public Archives of Canada published
sixty-six of the approximately 235 works by Warre in its collection. Entitled *Overland to Oregon in 1845: Impressions of a Journey across North America* by H. J. Warre, this collection also reprints from Warre's private journal, kept during his eight-year stay in British North America, his narrative responses to the scenes portrayed in the reprinted landscape pictures. 193

Judging by its position in the series, the following watercolour from Warre's sketchbook, entitled "Fort Garry" (1970, Pl. 12), was made when the soldier/painter reached the Red River in June, 1845, and not when he passed through it again in 1846. In this early rendition, the conventional screening is achieved by two prominent deciduous trees and a large amount of shrubbery. The topographical sketcher has paid careful attention to the details of the stone fort, noting its defensibility as well as its elevation above the river—an important factor, given the Red River's predilection (as in 1826) for flooding.
Coming from the "very dense" forests along the Kaministikwia and Winnipeg Rivers, Warre is disposed to exaggerate somewhat the size of the vegetation in the region. But the opposite emphasis is placed on the same scene in his better-known and later rendition, entitled "Fort Garry" (1848, Pl. 4), and incorrectly titled by Major-Frégeau "Fort Garry, June 7-16, 1845" (1976. Pl. 10; reproduced below courtesy of Public Archives Canada). The second picture was not dated when it appeared as one of the eighteen lithographs in 1848, and reflects, I suggest, Warre's response to two Prairie crossings which he made in the interval between his visits to the fort in 1845 and 1846. The screening vegetation is noticeably absent, with the result that the most mysterious and engaging aspect of the picture becomes the meeting of prairie and sky in the left background. The later rendition is the one Warre chose for his 1848 selection. It perches the fort far less substantially on the plain than in the 1845 watercolour, and not far distant from, or elevated above the river. It certainly does not appear from their attitudes that the figures peopling the river 'bank' feel exposed or vulnerable, but they do not attract much attention either. The point of view runs strongly along a sight-line from right to left, out onto the treeless, level, and interminable prairie. In the earlier watercolour, Warre adapts the Claudian convention of a single cypress acting as a coulisse, making a second tree serve the identical purpose on the other side of the foreground. Perhaps this adaptation was needful to the Englishman who could not imagine in 1845 the wholly open artistic treatment which he achieves after crossing the Prairies twice. The first view is thus rather conventionally and fancifully picturesque, while the much more interesting second view suggests sublimity. As in Samuel Hearne's "A Winter View in the Athapuscow Lake," the
coulisses requisite to a picturesque rendition are not present, so that the eye is not secured on a path down into the middle ground and up to the background's vanishing point, but is immediately taken to the fascinating junction of flat plain and flat sky.

Furthermore, the scale of the second picture is not picturesque: the ground between the river and the fort is spatially confused because the heights of the fence and the figures nearest the water do not accord. Moreover, the figures seem too large in proportion to the size of the fort, with the result that the fort tends to decrease somewhat in stature. This effect also arises from the manner in which the sky dwarfs the fort in the later picture: only the flagpole exceeds the midpoint of the picture's height in the second depiction, while the midpoint in the first is the top of the fort's front wall.

Less difference can be seen between Warre's two pictures of Fort Ellice, both of which were executed in June 1845. The first is entitled "Fort Ellice near the Assiniboine River, June 22, 1845" (1976, Pl. 14; reproduced on the previous page courtesy of Public Archives Canada). It is a pen and sepia ink sketch of rude character but noteworthy for its coulisse. The shrub/tree is not even rooted but appears to be a conventional, unthinking addition by Warre. But the next day, Warre corrected the openness by other means in "Fort Ellice on the Assiniboine River, June 23, 1845" (1970, Pl. 16; reproduced below). He darkened the far bank of Beaver Creek with pencil, making a coulisse of it, while creating another wigwam, so that a foreground object breaks the horizon line. But the background is much more conspicuous in the June 23 picture and the sky occupies more space in the picture than the land. These changes do not effect a more picturesque response; indeed, the only conclusion that may be reached is that Warre is
experimenting with ways of adapting the Picturesque to the open prairie. Apart from river valley scenes, where vegetation could provide abundant screening devices, these pictures represent Warre's sum efforts in this experiment. Despite two traverses of the short-grasslands between Fort Garry and Carlton House, no other published works take up the subject of the open terrain.

If Warre had chosen not to tackle the sublime possibilities of the open Prairies, he simply did not perceive them in the Rocky Mountains. Although his picture, entitled "The Rocky Mountains from near the Bow or Askow River, July 1845" (1976, Pl. 17; reproduced on the following page courtesy of Public Archives Canada) incorporates dimensions which stretch the average picturesque view, the scene looks down from an elevated prospect to a parkland setting of hills and dales, and orthogonal lines of trees in the middle ground, through which a
very tame Bow River meanders. The background mountains show a characteristic jaggedness, but no sublime heights tower over the terrain that stretches before it. Almost regardless of content (oceans and deserts being the exceptions), few pictures in a frame three times wider than high could achieve a sense of sublimity which normally is evoked by vertical emphasis. But, apart from these considerations, there is also Warre's significant narrative response to the Rockies, reprinted from his journal by Major-Frégeau. This reflects a response to alpine landscape which emphasizes romantic attachment and interest more often than fear, horror, awe, or depression:

...we reached a chain of very high hills and a much clearer & more practicable country—with beautiful views on all sides, of the distant Prairies—Passing over this range we came to a second, on surmounting which we came in sight of the magnificent Range of the Rocky Mountains, formed in all the irregularity of Mountain Scenery and stretching far away into the blue distance North & South. From the height of the Hills on which we stood the intervening country appeared like an extensive plain, and made the Mountains appear very large; Snow covered several, and had accumulated in the Valleys; but I was disappointed at seeing so little—nor will the Rocky Mountains bear comparison with the Alps either in size or magnificence of outline—Had I not seen Switzerland I should have been much more struck, but I had allowed my imagination too much scope & as is frequently the case, I was on the whole disappointed..." (1976, p. 34).

"Magnificent," "irregularity," "very large," "Snow covered"—the employment of such vocabulary by a Briton who uses the word, "sublime," in a restricted, definite sense indicates that the Rockies were not intimidatingly sublime natural phenomena in Warre's view. Using the customary British standard of the Swiss Alps to measure sublimity, he finds the Rockies neither so high (which is correct) nor so magnificent in outline; instead, they are tame and able simply to be enjoyed.

As he proceeded into the mountains and along the same pass which George Simpson had followed in 1841 with an eighteenth-century fearful
sublimity that evoked associations of Hell, Warre found that, "the Country was beautiful, the Mountains covered with Pine about half way from their base reared their bald heads, covered with snow high into the air" (1976, p. 40). On July 27, after passing the height of land and while descending the valley of the Vermilion River to its junction with the "MacGillivray" (Kootenay) River, he found the mountains "higher and more beautiful in shape as we advance..." (1970, p. 46). Nowhere in his pictorial response to the Rockies during his transmontane sojourn in 1845 does Warre portray the mountains as terribly sublime in a Burkean sense. Although surrounded by them, he habitually relegates them to the backgrounds of horizontally structured views, even in such a watercolour as "The Rocky Mountains, July 23, 1845" (1970, Pl. 19), where the Bow River valley's foothills and mountains are wonderfully depicted with a deep middle ground whose distance into the landscape is effected exceptionally well by means of tree size and overlapping coulisses. Warre here captures that particular characteristic of the Canadian Rockies upon which he remarked in his journal—the bald-headed
peaks angling white or almost bright grey above the green waves of their timbered lower reaches which roll down a valley virtually at right angles to the peak ridges. 195

But such a depiction is not Warre's norm: a great many more pictures cast the mountains well in the background of a scene dominated by a foreground plain (1970, Pl. 22, 23, 26, 28, 29; 1976, Pl. 19, 20). One picture may represent this group: it is entitled "Source of the Columbia River, July 30, 1845" (1848, Pl. 10; 1976, Pl. 24; reproduced on the preceding page courtesy of Public Archives Canada). Peter Skene Ogden had resolved to leave the Kootenay River and cross the height of land to the top of the Columbia River, then join the Kootenay again at the Canal Flats portage. The overland trek had taken the brigade through dense forests, the like of which had all but arrested David Thompson's progress down the Blaeberry River valley in 1807. Warre's response to the sight of the Columbia flats comes as no surprise for a reader familiar with Sir George Simpson's response to the parkland topography four years before:

... we at midday were rejoiced at the sight of a more open Country and at length reached the River Columbia up which we ascended over a fine open but very hilly Country, covered with scattered Pine Woods to the Lake from whence the River takes its rise and at the head of which we camped for the night having made a very long day of about 25 miles ... (1976; p. 50):

The lithograph is replete with picturesque motifs: a humanized foreground in which a camping scene displays groups of voyageurs, Indians, and horses—the requisites for a gentleman's tour of the West; "scattered Pine Woods," which provide foreground and middle ground coulisses to close the view; and indistinct background mountains in which the snow-capped peaks between the middle and left-hand mountains are barely
distinguishable; and the trees themselves, jutting above the height of the background scenery, the effect of which, as usual, unifies the view.

After following the route to the mouth of the Columbia River which David Thompson had opened in 1811, the Ogden brigade arrived at Fort Vancouver on August 26. During the last four months of 1845 and the first four of 1846, Warre and Vavasour visited the settled areas of the Pacific Slope: the Willamette River valley, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually, under the superintendence of William Fraser Tolmie, and the two-year-old Fort Victoria. Most of the notable rapids and falls on the lower Columbia River, as well as Mounts Hood, Baker, and St. Helens were represented in the 1848 Sketches, to satisfy the thirst for knowledge of the Oregon Territory which the pamphlet war of 1845-1846 had created. Of particular note is the lithograph, entitled "Valley of the Willamette River, September 5, 1845" (1848, Pl. 11; 1976, Pl. 42; reproduced on the following page courtesy of Public Archives Canada). The deciduous tree serves the screening role in the right foreground and stamps the picture with a Claudian signature in that way; however, it is Claudian in appearance as well as placement. The frond-like character achieved by blending leaf with stem is reminiscent of a Claudian cypress. As well, this technique effects an airiness which remembers the atmosphere of the Italian campagna, as Claude had rendered it. Such a keen Claudian echo would be appropriate for the depiction of the valley which most travellers and Hudson's Bay Company traders considered the beauty of the Pacific Slope. Like many retired company servants before him, John McLoughlin chose to settle in the valley after his retirement as head of the Columbia District. It was from McLoughlin's house that Warre climbed the hillside to paint this
picture:

On leaving Mr. Joe [John] McLoughlin's [sic] we mounted some very high land in the rear of his house, and were repaid by one of the most lovely views imaginable. -- At our feet the River Willamette meandered through alternate Wood & Prairie Country, the smoke from the numerous Settlers houses pointed out their locations -- The Middle distance extended far over a magnificent open, undulating, prairie Country with fine Oak Trees scattered over its face, affording shade for thousands of Cattle from the heat of even the September Sun. In the far distance the horizon was broken by range upon range of high barren Mountains -- Many of which stood towering above their neighbours in Conical & many fantastic forms, covered with the perpetual & dazzling Snow -- We counted 5 of these Snowy peaks -- whose height varies from 10,000 to 16,000 feet. -- viz. Mounts Hood Vancouver & McLoughlin to the south of the Columbia and Mounts St Helens and Rainier far far away to the North of that River -- . . . (1976, p. 84).

Delighted with a landscape in the wilderness that approaches the Beautiful so unexpectedly, Warre drops any pretences even in a personal journal of disappointment or disapprobation with the historical fact that the region had been settled largely by Americans. Mount Hood barely suggests itself in the distance of the picture, and does so beautifully, not boldly, closing the scene of the valley which Warre has chosen to portray for his British audience (this being one of the 1848 lithographs) in its natural, unsettled state. Two Indians in the right foreground provide the historical motif for the painting. Whether Warre countenanced the myth of the North American Indian being a descendant of the lost tribes of Israel is less important than his pictorial selection of the figures to produce the dimension in his landscape that Claude had achieved with biblical or classical figures.

Of course, the Indians lend the landscape the state-of-nature quality which Warre wants, but he also creates in the middle ground a natural parkland effect by placing vegetation in orthogonal lines that appear somewhat like hedgerows interspersing meadows. Settlement is not
manifested, but pastoral tranquility rather than wilderness chaos is achieved in the middle ground of the "lovely" landscape. That the landscape has not been fancifully heightened from nature, is apparent from the fact that it is the one which, in 1812, Robert Stuart had called, "delightful beyond expression . . . the adjoining Hills are gently undulating, with a Sufficiency of Pines to give variety to the most beautiful Landscapes in nature." 197

The parkland motif is made much more explicit in a picture depicting what George Vancouver and William Fraser Tolmie (the latter whom Warre must have met at Nisqually) had considered natural parkland—the Puget Sound region. Another "lovely view" (1976, p. 96) awaited Warre's brush there, and he responded to it in late September by painting a watercolour, entitled by Major-Frêgeau "Mount Rainier from La Grande Prairie, Nisqually, West of Puget Sound, September 21, 1845" (1976, Pl. 47; reproduced on the following page courtesy of Public Archives Canada). The "Grande Prairie" is planted with three trees (conifer and/or deciduous) whose heights form a line into the middle ground, ending where the "lawn" meets the base of Mount Rainier. (This orthogonal also roughly parallels the one formed by the hills behind it.) Significantly, Warre chooses Caucasians rather than natives to embellish the landscape which Tolmie felt in 1833 excelled any nobleman's estate that he had seen. 198 The single horse prancing across the plain in the near-middle ground gives the picture an equestrian aspect and a vaguely civilized prominence. Control is deftly managed throughout. Even the depiction of Mount Rainier is quite triangular and symmetrical, its vertical axis running through the centre of the picture, where
the orthogonals of the lefthand forest and of the bases of the three trees also meet. The grouping of two men and a horse in the foreground, the three trees, whose tops are three-sided, in the middle ground prairie, and the trinity of peaks at the top of the mountain combine also to evoke a formal, "gardened" unity in the picture. This quality is found as well in the "echo" produced by the roughly parallel lines of the foreground pine at the left, the right face of Mount Rainier in the middle, and by the right sides of the treetops in the prairie on the right. Thus, the landscape appears arranged as sublimely beautiful.

Two pictures from Warre's sketchbook remember aspects of Vancouver's account of Puget Sound. The first, entitled "Protection Island. Straits of Juan de Fuca" (1970: Pl. 52), depicts the Olympic Mountains in the background and Vancouver's favourite island in the middle
ground. Warre paints a distant scene of the landscape park which had ravished Vancouver and Menzies fifty-three years before, in May, 1792. And just as the centre of the island had not promised such aesthetic pleasure to Vancouver until it burst upon him once he had scaled the cliff from the water, it does not promise much to the viewer of Warre's picture. However, the difference, of course, is that Warre's viewer may have known Vancouver's narrative. Warre must have assumed this in choosing Protection Island as a subject. Thus, the site itself recalls for the reader and consecrates the park-like sights which so surprised and delighted an earlier generation of British landscape enthusiasts in the Pacific Northwest.

Another commemoration of Vancouver's expedition is made in the watercolour, entitled "Mount Rainier from Puget Sound" (1970, Pl. 53). Of itself, the picture of a sunset view looking down Puget Sound to
Mount Rainier achieves a picturesque effect that is enhanced by a peopled foreground and the suggestion of another meadow in the far-middle ground. But again, the landscape bears an historical dimension, devolving from its echo of J. Sykes's depiction of the mountain which had appeared in Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* (I, facing 268). The same point of view, the placement of boats in the right foreground and the deployment of some vertical object on the right side of the picture may well have been sufficient to remind the viewer of Warre's picture of the earliest British drawing of the mountain from Puget Sound.

There remains to consider Warre's sublime pictures. They are few in number, as may be expected from the foregoing discussion of his written use of the term. The best example comes not from the desert crossing made in late March-early April, 1846, but from a storm scene of Juan de Fuca Strait. Warre does not mention of the storm (1976, p. 100) depicted in "Crossing the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, en route to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island, September 27, 1845" (1976, Pl. 50, reproduced on the following page courtesy of Public Archives Canada). It may be that the scene occurred after Warre's departure from a fortnight's stay with James Douglas at the insular fort. The strait is reduced from the breadth of twelve miles virtually to a narrows through which a suitably tiny vessel is attempting to make headway. Mountains, sky, and waves sweep down upon it from left to right, while a bold headland looms in the distance (the profile of its cliff shaped to mirror the sails of the boat). The entire land-and-seascape threatens to collapse on the ship. The huge circle described in the foreground water, the dark pine cliff, the outside edge of the mountain, and beyond the
frame (rejoining the picture in the curvature of the hull of the ves-
sel, and even in the lettering of the title) appears aimed at the same
data for which the boat is sailing. Thus, although pain is not evoked,
imminent peril is. The seascape is as sublime as any of Warre's
pictures.202

Warre and Vavasour left Fort Vancouver on March 25, 1846, reaching
Boat Encampment on May 2. Aware of the significance as a landmark of
this landscape, Warre made six different sketches and watercolours of
it, as well as the lithograph, entitled "The Rocky Mountains from the
Columbia River Looking N.W.," which appeared as the first plate in his
Sketches (1848). (Others are: 1970, Pl. 62, 63, 64; 1976, Pl. 59, 60.)
As well, he executed the following unpublished picture, which appears
to be a preliminary sketch for "The Rocky Mountains from the Boat En-
campment on the Columbia River looking North West, May 2, 1846" (1976;
Pl. 60; and the variant, 1848, Pl. 1), and which is reproduced on the
following page courtesy of Public Archives Canada. Although no more
sublime than several mountain scenes already considered, and thereby
reflecting the Victorian decline of fear in alpine landscape viewing,
Warre's picture does succeed to some extent in impressing its viewer
with the impenetrability of the mountain range. This is the aspect of
the terrain upon which Ross Cox, Alexander Ross, and David Douglas had
remarked with fear and even "horror" twenty and thirty years
earlier.203 Besides the snow-covered river bank in the right foreground
of his picture, Warre provides in his late-winter narrative sketch his
own impressions of the terrain on May 2, 1846:
The Views of Mountain Vallies, Wood & Water are quite intoxicating—High snowy ranges rising on every side of us and the ground covered to the depth of several feet with its winter mantle, even at this advanced Season. I lack powers to describe "The Boat Encampment" we were in a perfect Amphitheatre of Mountains towering over each other & barely allowing space for the might Columbia to flow through ... (1976, p. 120).

In his picture, Warre's fascination with the amphitheatrical effect must, necessarily, be imagined as extending around behind the point of view. He may have felt that his painter's skills were not sufficient to portray the sublimity which also escapes his narrative "powers to describe"; yet, the trees grow in rather confused directions, and the mountains do tower majestically over the river and each other in a nearly chaotic manner. But the mighty river is too placid: it reflects the forests as an English stream might, and does not convey a sense of fluent grandeur at all. And yet, his depiction of the scene resembles the narrative descriptions of earlier travellers much more than it does the watercolour made by Paul Kane more than one year later; and his narrative response concerning incapacity for representation bears the signs of the Burkean sublime more than the Victorian. The European-trained Kane was preparing to leave Toronto on May 9 to meet the westbound Hudson's Bay Company brigade at Sault Ste. Marie, when Warre's eastbound brigade left Boat Encampment to scale the snowed-in Athabasca Pass. In the autumn of 1847, Kane would have ample opportunity to sketch and paint the scene which Warre considered sufficiently powerful to introduce his Sketches to the British public in 1848.

III.5.2—Paul Kane's Wanderings (1846-1848)

To speak of the achievements of Paul Kane (1810-1871) as a landscape painter requires two preliminary remarks: Kane's major
achievement is as a painter of Indian life with landscape as an important but secondary accomplishment; secondly, the need for a detailed study of his works has been met by J. Russell Harper's book, entitled *Paul Kane's Frontier* (1971). The interest of the present study resides largely in Kane's interpretation of western landscapes which appear in his *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* (1859).

Kane's early career included two important developments which would influence his later responses to the West. The first was his European trip from July, 1841, until early 1843, in which he visited galleries in Genoa and Rome where, according to Harper, he studied mainly portrait paintings by Murillo, Andrea del Sarto, and Raphael. He concentrated on heads, partly because his talents pointed him to that subject matter, and partly because he "realized that the single portrait was the prevalent passion in Canada." 205 1842 took Kane to Naples, Florence, and Venice, and then to England by way of the Alps. In London, the second development occurred—his exposure to the Indian paintings of the American artist George Catlin. Catlin had first opened an expedition of his western paintings in London in February, 1840. He re-opened it at Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, in the late winter of 1843. Sometime after that opening, Kane met Catlin and read his *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (1841). When he returned to Toronto in the spring of 1845 by way of Mobile, Alabama, Catlin's book and works were prominent in his aesthetic and in his plans.

The summer of 1845 was spent among the Indians of the Bruce Peninsula and Manitoulin Island (in modern Ontario). At the suggestion of
John Ballenden, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Sault Ste. Marie, Kane contacted George Simpson in Montreal. His request to travel with company brigades was aided by letters from Henry Lefroy, back from his magnetical surveys of the North. The upshot of these events was Kane's departure from Toronto in May, 1846, "a guest of the Hudson's Bay Company, [who] could go without cost anywhere within the vast territories it controlled" (Harper, p. 17). And Kane travelled through much of the Company's domain during the next two and one half years. During the remainder of 1846, he journeyed first to Fort Garry on the usual trade route from Sault Ste-Marie, passing the eastbound Warre somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg, then south on one of the last annual buffalo hunts by the Fort Garry half-breeds. He proceeded to Fort Edmonton via Norway House and the North Saskatchewan River, and departed Fort Edmonton on October 6 on an early-winter crossing of the Athabasca Pass. An early winter buried the horses in snow, and the men proceeded by snowshoe to Boat Encampment, and thence by water to Fort Vancouver, arriving on December 8. With the main depot as his base, Kane spent much of 1847 travelling up the Willamette River valley, and up the coast to Fort Victoria and down to Puget Sound. On July 1, he left Fort Vancouver for the last time, canoeing to Walla Walla, and then riding up the Pelouse River valley, and across desert to Fort Colville, as Warre had done the year before. At Boat Encampment, Kane waited three weeks for the arrival of horses. Finally, he arrived at Fort Edmonton in early December. A sketching excursion took him to Rocky Mountain House and to Fort Pitt in the late winter, 1848, but he was back at Fort Edmonton in time to depart with the spring brigade to Norway House. En route, he met Drs. John Richardson and John Rae
at The Pas on their way north to search for Franklin's ships. Kane's wanderings came to a close on October 1, 1848, at Sault Ste. Marie, where he boarded a steamer for Toronto.

Landscape for its own sake did not interest Kane particularly, judging from his oeuvre of paintings and writings. Indians, their settlements and cultures, half-breeds, buffalo, and voyageurs usually provided the focal point. Only his particular manner of portraying Hudson's Bay Company forts by placing them in the middle ground or background of his pictorial landscapes calls for much attention here. An interesting example is "Fort Pitt, with bluff" (Harper, fig. 83). Unlike Warre's placement of the fort in the foreground in his renditions of Forts Garry and Ellice, Kane's placement emphasizes the location of the buildings on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River. Harper
makes the following observation based on fifteen fort pictures: "these squat bastions in the wilderness spaces spelled safety and comfort when travellers saw them from a distance, and this was the way Kane preferred to sketch them. He could thus present them in the natural surroundings, which close-up studies would not have allowed" (Harper, p. 18). Thus, humanized-landscape is virtually the only response to nature to be gleaned from Kane's pictorial works.

In terms of his landscape style, another distinction is necessary. This is the radical difference in effect between Kane's sketches and his finished oil paintings. Harper must be quoted at length in this regard:

To appreciate the canvases fully, they must be contrasted with the preliminary studies in the sketches. In the sketches picturesque subject-matter has been rendered with fidelity, and his honesty made a direct and forceful appeal to Kane's contemporaries. [The sketches have] spontaneity and immediacy of time and place. The approach is not photographic, but it is direct and perceptive, and results from what must have been an accurate picture of the event. [But the canvases have] completely new subjective overtones which dissipate the compelling quality of the original. The fresh colouring which is one of the glories of the former is lost. . . . An easy explanation would be that the duller powdered pigment Kane used in his studio could not match the brilliance of the tube colours he presumably carried on his travels. Or, when he was working indoors, did he forget how vivid the light effects could be in the clear Canadian atmosphere? Possibly he could not really credit the brilliance of his own field sketches. . . . Or again, did Kane perhaps have some preconceived idea that great pictures were solid and dark like those of the old masters he had seen in Italian galleries, their surfaces subdued by layers of varnish? . . .

Into many canvases Kane deliberately introduced neutral grays. Did he feel that grey would give a sense of unity and order to the finished canvas, that it would hold every element in its proper place and prevent any one colour from jumping out of the picture frame? . . .

And why are there so many cloud banks in the landscape canvases? They hide the clear and exhilarating blue prairie sky. Had Kane seen too many Dutch marines in Europe? (Harper, pp. 36-7)

Clearly, the question here is whether Kane felt that his initial response to the landscape could be made acceptable to his
British-Canadian and British audience and market. Evidently, he felt that some modification was required in the transition from sketch to canvas. Harper points out that his canvases were regarded as "eminently satisfactory, and indeed an improvement over the field studies" by a mid-nineteenth-century audience who "demanded that nature should be reconstituted to give a 'breadth of effect'". This latter term comes from a review of the 1873 exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists. It is quoted by Harper and deserves citation because it illustrates the taste of Kane's audience:

... But we may remark that some of the larger water-colour drawings betrayed only too much evidence of being done on the spot. They had plenty of accuracy of detail, very valuable as artistic study; but wanted breadth of effect which is needed to make a picture. Photography will give the detail of the landscape under any light and shade, and from any point of view; but the art of the true artist is required to bring his accumulated study of nature to bear on this subject; just as the poet makes 'a thing of beauty' out of what seems homely and prosaic to the common eye. 205

1873 is long removed from the formulation of the Picturesque aesthetic, yet the matter of effect remains paramount in the criticism of landscape painting. To Kane's audience, oil paintings had to resemble traditional oil paintings of nature in order not to be discredited. Thus, there arises a radical disjunction in Kane's oeuvre which best may be illustrated by examples of a sketch and a canvas, an on-the-spot response and a deliberated artifact. The first picture reproduced below is a watercolour, entitled "Fort Edmonton" (Harper, Pl. XXV); the second is an oil painting on paper, entitled "Norway House" (Harper, Pl. XVIII). Although the subject matter is substantially the same, the treatment is altogether different. There is a sense in which Kane appears to strive for accuracy in the Fort Edmonton sketch: even
though, of course, the scene is filtered through a schema, the road to the fort is drawn in an unserpentine line and the picture has two sight lines into the middle ground and background, rather than the conventional one. The North Saskatchewan is made to bend in the picture, but it actually does so in the centre of Edmonton (the Alberta Legislative Buildings now stand where the fort visited and depicted by Kane stood). The middle ground is higher than either the point of view or the background simply because Kane saw it that way, for no convention counselled such a depiction. The emphasis has not been placed on landscape "effect." Trees are not clumped or planted where they do not occur, and although the Indian wigwams are arranged in rows and their camp made uncharacteristically neat, signs of embellishment are not abundant. The blues, greens, and browns of the picture are used simply and harmoniously with almost an Impressionistic delicacy which achieves an impressive unity of sky, water, and land. The consequence, to allude to Harper's thesis, is a landscape that includes a trading post, rather than a painting of a fort.

This last point may be all that "Fort Edmonton" and "Norway House" share. The York boats in the second picture have been rendered in a generalized manner. The sky and water have been painted in an absolutely imported colour, and are accompanied by a mass of yellow and grey Mediterranean cloud which, though faithful in size and shape, robs the northern Manitoba sky of its powerful colours. However, the granitic pre cambrian rock of the Shield has been reddened to a tone that suggests, if not a Mediterranean shore, then anything but the landscape of Playgreen Lake. "The atmosphere both physical and mental, which bathes the scene," comments Lawrence J. Burpee on Kane's canvases generally,
"is essentially European." The remark is exaggerated, for the pronounced vertical and horizontal axes are faithful to the terrain. But Kane's colours make the picture the sort of scene which Nicholas Garry and Frances Simpson might have extolled at Norway House, had they seen it rather than the unpicturesque landscape which they did perceive, and which bore no agreeable effect for them.

Two pictorial responses—one from the field work and another from the studio canvases—are thus apparent, but neither of them appears entirely to deploy the conventions of the Sublime and the Picturesque that have been found operative in the works of other sketchers and journalists of this study. Why Kane, perhaps the most widely known figure under consideration here, must finally be regarded as an exception to general practice lies with further circumstances surrounding the formulation of his modes of perception. Although not Toronto-born, Kane lived in Toronto from the age of eight. As well, he came not from England or Scotland, but Ireland, the home of many explorers and travellers who the foregoing pages have noted practised a decidedly unaesthetic interest in the landscape conventions of their day. Kane's formal education at the District Grammar School in Toronto would certainly have had a British orientation, but Kane makes no mention of it; rather, he writes in his Preface to Wanderings of an Artist of a deep boyhood interest in Indians: "I had been accustomed to see hundreds of Indians about my native village, then little York, muddy and dirty, just struggling into existence, . . . To me the wild woods were not altogether unknown, and the Indians but recalled old friends with whom I had associated in my childhood." Kane's exposure to the conventions of the Sublime and the Picturesque must have been limited. And
his European studies did not expose the Irish-Canadian to British landscape aesthetics to any significant degree, highlighted as they were by Italian galleries and, when briefly in England, from October 20, 1842 until March, 1843, by an American painter. Thus, the expectation, quite properly held, that Kane not only would know the schemata which govern other works considered in this study, but would prove to be a principal exemplar of them must be modified. Before turning to Kane's prose, it may be helpful to consider two final pictorial expressions of Kane's own landscape aesthetic's. They are chosen for illustration here because they depict scenes that Warre had depicted in 1845-1846. The first, illustrated on the following page, is entitled "Red River Settlement." The stone fort at Lower Fort Garry which Warre had drawn and lithographed in 1848 closes the right background in Kanè's studio painting. Rustic nature is the theme of this painting and its style appears to owe a great deal, not to the British Picturesque but to Dutch landscape painting: the sky is a lowland grey; the symmetry of the picture is unpicturesquely prominent, as the foreground tree divides the river scene into two halves, the left bearing a religious and the right a secular motif in the background, the two representing the two dominant aspects of settlement life in 1846. The presence of a horse in the foreground, a rafter in the middle ground, and a windmill in the background unite to form a settled terrain with a pastoral atmosphere whose unity must have satisfied the taste for a "breadth of effect" which the 1873 reviewer demanded in a landscape painting.

While "Red River Settlement" does not follow British picturesque conventions, neither does Kane's watercolour of "Boat Encampment,
Columbia River" (Harper, Pl. XXIX, illustrated on the following page) convey anything like the sublime response which that landscape had elicited from Cox, Ross, Douglas, and even Warre. Not the "anti-social glen" of Cox, nor the "inaccessible barrier . . . shrouded in a dark haze," which Ross imaged, nor a landscape evocative of "horror," as David Douglas had found it to be, Kane's Boat Encampment is entirely different, even though only Cox's response could have been familiar to Kane in 1847, when he spent October 10-31 at Boat Encampment. Kane's library did include a copy of Cox's Adventures on the Columbia River (1831) at the painter's death in 1871 (Harper, Appendix 9, p. 326), but a date for its acquisition is unavailable. His picture contains none of the gloom which Britons familiar with the aesthetic of the Sublime had considered the primary characteristic in the landscape. The mountain range does not tower, as it did for other respondents, but inclines sweepingly from the valley, thereby creating a much more open landscape than the amphitheatrical one recorded in prose by Warre. There is no wall of the Rocky Mountain Trench here. Harper takes pains to argue, at least implicitly, that Kane's rendition is realistic: below another watercolour study of the Rockies, entitled "Mountain peaks as seen from Boat Encampment, Columbia River" (Harper, Fig. 117), Harper has placed "A photograph of the view sketched by Kane in Fig. 117" (Harper, fig.
The photograph interprets the landscape as the watercolour of the peaks and the watercolour of the encampment (shown on the preceding page) do, quite openly and unsublimely. Kane, who spent three weeks at the site, may have become accustomed to the scene in a way that none of the previous respondents could have; as well, although Kane must have been anxious about getting across the mountains before the Pass was filled with snow (it had been in October, 1846, when he crossed to the Pacific Slope with the loss of all the brigade's horses), his scene is painted in autumn, when the valley would not have been as cold or snow-laden as it was in April and May when the previous writers and painter had gone through Boat Encampment. The autumnal weather may have induced a less forlorn response by Kane; yet, he records only poor weather in his narrative: "we had almost constant rain, accompanied by immense snow flakes, which obscured our view of the Mountains nearly the whole time of our remaining here. I, however, managed to pick out some few bright hours for sketching" (1974, p. 236; Harper, p. 130).

"Boat Encampment, Columbia River" is neither entirely sublime nor entirely picturesque, despite the fact that Kane regarded the scenery as "exceedingly grand," when he saw it first, on November 15, 1846 (1974, p. 113; Harper, p. 89). On the one hand, the mountains are anything but excessively tall or grotesquely shaped, and by rising above them the foreground pine tends to diminish their height; on the other hand, the foreground scene gives way to the background with an unpronounced middle ground, and no particular perspective is encouraged since Kane's plethora of foreground details attracts the eye in various directions and impressively captures the ragged appearance of a campsite, especially one that has been occupied for some time. Again,
"effect" is not Káne's concern; if unity does not naturally pervade the landscape, it does not govern his on-the-spot executions which strive for an impressive accuracy of detail that does not accord wholly with the Picturesque.

Káne's narrative depiction of landscape often assumes a conventional tone which does not reflect the unique aspects of his watercolours. On May 25, 1846, he found Kakabeka Falls to "surpass even those of Niagara in picturesque beauty; for, although far inferior in volume of water, their height is nearly equal, and the scenery surrounding them infinitely more wild and romantic" (1974, p. 34; Harper, p. 63). On September 19, 1848, on his return from the West, his opinion remained conventionally intact: "As the day dawned the magnificent spectacle gradually cleared to my view in all its mighty grandeur and magnificence, and I felt more impressed than ever with the opinion that these falls far surpass the Niagara in beauty and picturesque effect . . ." (1974, p. 322; Harper, p. 156). Káne's narrative did not appear until 1859, eleven years after his return to Toronto. It was published in Britain for a British readership, and, with that readership in mind, Káne may have turned to other successful narratives to aid him in his composition. J. Russell Harper states that he has indicated where there exist any significant variations between the journal Káne kept while on his travels, and the published version of Wanderings. No variations exist in the two passages on Kakabeka Falls. Thus, only narratives published by 1848 may be considered as possible influences on Káne's. He may have taken copies of Cox's Adventures and George Back's Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition (1836) with him on his trip; he may have
acquired a copy of George Simpson’s *Narrative* (1847) while out west or shortly after returning to Toronto. Simpson’s book certainly would have been acquired as quickly as possible by his employees in the Northwest. Although conventionality breeds coincidence in landscape description, it remains surprising how much of Kane’s two descriptions can be collated from these other three works in particular. Cox considered that “this stupendous cataract is second only to Niagara” (Adventures, II, 284); Back allowed that the falls did not rival Niagara or Wilberforce in magnitude, but that they “far surpassed both in picturesque effect” (Narrative, p. 39); and Simpson thought Kakabeka inferior to Niagara, only in terms of volume: “the Kakabeka has the advantage of its far-famed rival in the height of fall and wildness of scenery” (Narrative, I, 36). If only because of its date, then, Kane’s double description cannot be considered original. “Picturesque effect” especially is a term which suits Back’s aesthetic perception more comfortably than it does Kane’s.

It would be only fair to trace this suspicion of literary indebtedness through other examples of Kane’s descriptions along the route, but space does not permit extensive discussion. Kane found that the height from Portage du Chien afforded “a splendid view from its summit of the Kaminishtaqueah River, meandering in the distance, as far as the eye can reach, through one of the loveliest valleys in nature” (1974, pp. 35-6; Harper, p. 63). No comment is made on the Rainy River, but the weather was rainy when Kane descended it on June 5, and caterpillars had ravaged the foliage of the deciduous trees (1974, p. 42; Harper, p. 66). However, Kane described the Winnipeg River as “broken by numerous beautiful rapids and falls, being indeed one of the most
picturesque rivers we had passed in the whole route" (1974, p. 43; Harper, p. 66). One landscape in the river merited special attention. Near the present site of St. Georges, Man., Kane described the campsite on June 10, the evening before reaching Fort Alexander:

The evening was very beautiful, and soon after we had pitched our tents and lighted our fires, we were visited by some Saulteaux Indians. As I had plenty of time, I sketched the encampment. Our visitors, the clear stream reflecting the brilliant sky so peculiar to North America, the granite rocks backed by the rich foliage of the woods with Indians and voyageurs moving about, made a most pleasing subject (1974, p. 45; Harper, p. 67).

There is no difficulty in perceiving a picturesque scene here: an animated foreground, a "clear stream" flowing from the middle ground, and a dark background of granite and forest. The brilliance of the sky at sunset marks a further picturesque effect. All appears conventional in this narrative paragraph picture, but the oil sketch (reproduced on the following page) which was made on the spot, and entitled "Encampment, Winnipeg River" (Harper, Pl. XIV), appears very much at odds with the narrative picture. The verbal schema is British but the pastoral schema is European and chiefly Mediterranean. The colours are deep, pure, weighty, perhaps even ponderous, and there is little of the interchange of light and shade which the British seeker after the Picturesque delighted in; that is to say, the nuances, the gradations of light are not apparent. The landscape enthusiast is offered no opportunity to exercise his wit by discovering the interrelations among different features in the view. All is bright or dark. It is too absolute, too Italianate, as is the effort at evoking a "brilliant sky" from the use of pure cerulean blue. This critique is not advanced in absolute judgement on the painting, for it exhibits impressive qualities such
as the figures of the canoëists and the topography of the rocks on the river bank; rather, the judgement is made in terms of the narrative picture which does form a conventional picturesque scene. It would appear that Kane developed one aesthetic response to British North America for his painting (and within it, the practicality of the spontaneous work and the heaviness of the oil canvases are notable), and another aesthetic for his writing. Almost two hundred years before Kane's wanderings, these two aesthetics were still intimately connected in late-Renaissance painting, but by the time Kane studied the Old Masters and copied British narrative conventions of landscape representation, a large distinction separated Mediterranean art and British literature. And it is this distinction which arises as discrepancy in the foregoing pictorial and narrative representations of the same landscape.

Proceeding up the North Saskatchewan River in September, 1846, Kane responded conventionally but thoughtfully to the parkland topography between Carlton House and Fort Pitt, topography which had evoked response from many earlier journalists:

Towards evening, as we were approaching the place where we were to cross the river, I saw some buffaloes idly grazing in a valley, and as I wished to give a general idea of the beauty of the scenery which lies all along the banks of the Saskatchewan from this point to Edmonton, I sat down to make a sketch, the rest of the party promising to wait for me at the crossing place. It was the commencement of Indian summer; the evening was very fine, and threw that peculiar soft, warm haziness over the landscape, which is supposed to proceed from the burning of the immense prairies. The sleepy buffaloes grazing upon the undulating hills, here and there relieved by clumps of small trees, the unbroken stillness, and the approaching evening, rendered it altogether a scene of most enchanting repose (1974, p. 84; Harper, p. 80).
As well, Kane rode, on September 16, "through a most delightful country, covered with luxuriant herbage, the plains being enamelled with flowers of various kinds, presenting more the aspect of a garden than of uncultivated land" (1974, p. 86; Harper, p. 81). In these two passages, Kane discerns a vaguely cultivated appearance in the natural terrain. He does not liken it to a particular British estate (as one aristocrat—Frederick Ulric Graham—would do one year later211), but then Kane did not know British landscapes well. However, he does know that clumped poplars and flower-bedecked meadows remind him of man's shaping of landscape, and that is the salient feature governing his enthusiastic response. This factor bears on many of the landscapes which attract Kane's attention during the sojourn westward.

But why is there no picture for these descriptions? None appears in Harper's collection. Kane does, of course, claim that Indians, not landscape, are his principal interest in the paintings of the West. Even so, apart from the picture of Fort Pitt, which betrays few signs of the "luxuriant herbage" noted in Kane's prose, the pictorial œuvre shows only a lacuna for this part of the trip. Significantly, there is no mention of landscape in Chapter XXIII of Wanderings. Kane's account of his wintertime trip from Fort Edmonton to the parkland at Fort Pitt in January and February, 1848. Where at least a note concerning the contrast between autumn and winter landscapes might be expected, there is nothing. Again, when Kane left Fort Edmonton for the last time in the spring of 1848 (Chpt. XXIV), no mention is made of the landscape en route downriver to Carlton House. The reason for such a hiatus, then, must bear on another factor, one which grows clearer later in the trip.
On October 17-18, 1846, Kane bemoans the monotony of the Athabasca River between Fort Assiniboine and Jasper House, as many others, including David Douglas, had done and would do: "Nothing but point after point appearing, all thickly covered with pine, any extensive view being entirely out of the question," and from October 25 to 27, "the same monotonous scenery still surrounded us" (1974, pp. 100, 102; Harper, p. 85, 86). And on October 29, he noted, rather circumspectly, that he "saw for the first time the sublime and apparently endless chain of the Rocky Mountains." Similarly brief remarks are made at Kettle Falls and the Grand Coulee, on the Columbia River. Finally, however, Kane's written response to nature, like his pictorial response to landscape, dwindles as he comes into contact with the relatively more densely-populated Indian districts on the Pacific Slope.

Kane had proposed in his Preface a threefold purpose for his wanderings—"to sketch pictures of the principal chiefs, and their original costumes, to illustrate their manners and customs, and to represent the scenery of an almost unknown country"—and in his painting as well as his writing a noticeable increase in concentration on the first two aims is discernible once Kane arrives at Fort Vancouver. Landscape comes to serve merely an auxiliary role in the delineations of Indian culture, which take the forms of portraits in painting and of anecdotes in prose. The ethnographical value of Kane's work is thereby established; it will always overshadow any other aspect of his works, not least because his boyhood dream of studying and recording native cultures is pursued with an untiring zeal that leaves all else in its wake. As with Kane's portrayals of fur-trade posts and parkland terrain, the land becomes landscape in his view only when he perceives how
it is inhabited by man or beast. Nature hardly exists apart from man in Kane's schema; hence, both the effort to describe the parkland because it resembles man's shaping of nature, and the lacuna in the pictorial works because Kane discovered no one occupying the land. For Kane, nature is the arena in which lives are lived out; it can, finally, be appreciated only in terms of the rôle assigned it by its denizens. That is the landscape aesthetic which rings loudest and with the greatest confidence in Kane's canon, and any definitive study of Kane must recognize this unique rôle played by landscape in it.

III.6--THE ADVENT OF THE MISSIONARIES

When Paul Kane spent the winter of 1847-1848 at Fort Edmonton, an occasional conversationalist was Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle, a Wesleyan missionary who had been carrying his pastoral efforts as far south as the Bow River, and as far north as Lesser Slave Lake since 1840. Rundle was not the first clergyman in the West, but he was the first Wesleyan missionary, and was at the forefront of the missionary activity in the West which saw its greatest early activity after 1845. The first permanent British clergyman resident in the West was Rev. John West, the Church of England minister sent to the Red River Settlement in 1820. 212

III.6.1--Terrain into Parish: Rev. John West at Red River (1820-1823)

John West (1799-1845) sailed to York Factory from Gravesend on May 27, 1820, one year after the officers of the first Franklin
expedition and one year before the contingent of Swiss emigrants. He was answering the call of John Pritchard, and other Red River settlers for a permanent mission.\textsuperscript{213} They had petitioned the Church Missionary Society (est. 1794), the evangelical wing of the Church of England. Its response took the form of West, who had a plan for converting and teaching Indians and Eskimaux even before leaving England.\textsuperscript{214}

West, like Franklin before him, was struck by the sublimity surrounding him in Hudson Strait. He recorded his response to it in The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony (1824):

\ldots we were completely blocked in with ice, and nothing was to be seen in every part of the horizon, but one vast mass, as a barrier to our proceeding. It was a terrific, and sublime spectacle; and the human mind cannot conceive any thing more awful, than the destruction of a ship, by the meeting of two enormous fields of ice, advancing against each other at the rate of several miles an hour.\textsuperscript{215}

The Hudson's Bay Company brig, Eddystone, survived that sublime ice-escape to deposit West ashore at York Factory on August 14. Again like Franklin, West found the route to Norway House dull; "excepting a few points in some of the small lakes which are picturesque" (p. 16), but he makes less effort than Franklin to hide his disappointment. However, West's enthusiasm does emerge when finally he arrives at Red River in mid-October, and surveys the lands of his charge:

As we proceeded [up Red River], the banks were covered with oak, elm, ash, poplar, and maple, and rose gradually higher as we approached the Colony, when the prairies, or open grassy plains, presented to the eye an agreeable contrast with the almost continued forest of pine we were accustomed to in the route from York Factory (p. 21).

But the agreeable contrast is all that pleases West; when the novelty of the contrast fades, he is left with an open plain and a foreground
insufficiently animated to form a picturesque landscape:

On the 14th of October we reached the settlement, consisting of a number of huts widely scattered along the margin of the river; in vain did I look for a cluster of cottages, where the hum of a small population at least might be heard as in a village. I saw but a few marks of human industry in the cultivation of the soil. Almost every inhabitant we passed bore a gun upon his shoulder and all appeared in a wild and hunter-like state (p. 21).

It is clear that West understood his mission to be a conversion of that insufficient foreground into something resembling the English parish which he disappointedly seeks. As might be expected, his landscape and clerical preferences lacked a basic sympathy with such of his fellow creatures as the half-breeds and Indians, a sympathy vital to converting them to his flock to help realize the transformation of the terrain into parish which he envisaged. Nevertheless, he did persevere during the next three years, making mid-winter trips to Brandon and Qu'appelle, and Pembina in 1821, a spring trip to Pembina in 1822, as well as trips to Norway House and York Factory each summer, meeting the surviving members of Franklin's Coppermine disaster at York Factory in the summer of 1822. Throughout, West plodded on, unblessed by great ministerial gifts, critical where he could have been encouraging, but tenacious in his resolve to realize his picture, and, in the end, successful.216

Clearly frustrated by the Indians who had, in his opinion, "no idea of intellectual enjoyments" (p. 135), West does manage, to his credit, to modify his expectations for his ministry during the course of his charge. By June 10, 1823, he was able to preach in his own church, erected by his parishioners to furnish literally, if not altogether spiritually, a religious foreground for the landscape painting
of the Red River valley:

It is a most gratifying sight to see the Colonists, in groups [sic], direct their steps on the Sabbath morning towards the Mission house, at the ringing of the bell, which is now elevated in a spire that is attached to the building. And it is no small satisfaction to have accomplished the wish so feelingly expressed by a deceased officer of the Company. "I must confess, (he observed) that I am anxious to see the first little Christian church and steeple of wood, slowly rising among the wilds, to hear the sound of the first Sabbath bell that has tolled here since the creation." I never witnessed the Establishment but with peculiar feelings of delight, and contemplated it as the dawn of a brighter day in the dark interior of a moral wilderness. The lengthened shadows of the setting sun cast upon the buildings, as I returned from calling upon some of the Settlers a few evenings ago; and the consideration that there was now a landmark of Christianity in this wild waste, of heathenism, raised in my mind a pleasing train of thought, with the sanguine hope that this Protestant Establishment might be the means of raising a spiritual temple to the Lord, to whom "the heathen are given as an inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth as possession."

I considered it a small point gained, to have a public building dedicated to religious purposes, whose spire should catch the eye, both of the wandering natives, and the stationary Colonists. It would have its effect on the population generally. The people of England look with a degree of veneration to the ancient tower and lofty spire of the Establishment; and they are bound in habitual attachment to her constitution, which protects the monument and turf graves of their ancestors. And where the lamp of spiritual Christianity burns but dimly around her altar, it cannot be denied, that even her established rites and outward form have some moral effect on the population at large.

West is congratulating himself here on erecting the heathen Indians an outward and visible sign of the inward and invisible grace and power of God. He quotes David's paraphrase of God's promise to give him all the people and all the earth, Indians and the Red River valley included:

I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.
Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.
Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel (Ps. 2: 7-9, King James ver.).
West accompanies his prose description with a sketch, entitled "The Protestant Church [Upper Church], and Mission School, at the Red River Colony" (facing p. 155). It is significant primarily for its exclusion of a background. The dark interior of moral wilderness which the western plains remained are ignored, and the cultivated foreground is dwelt upon in picturesque terms. The civilized and peaceful aura which the Picturesque illusion conveys helps to establish the outward and visible "form" of Red River Christianity. Thus, the picturesque comprises an aspect of West's mission work, as well as his report of it: rendering the foreground picturesque at least, is, in part, his four-year project. The Red River flows peacefully past in the immediate foreground, seemingly incapable of the flood which it would cause three years later. A lawn leads up the bank to an enclosed garden, a spiritual baseland secure from intrusions by the immoral/amoral wilderness creations such as wolf packs, grasshoppers, and Sioux war parties,
which periodically harassed the settlement during West's tenure. In a sense, the picture consecrates West's belief that the forms of religion, "have some moral effect on the population at large." Spiritual and aesthetic "effects" coincide. The picturesque forms invest the landscape with the beliefs of a nation that God's natural creation operates in harmony with man; in doing so they keep the chaotic wilderness at bay. Indians are welcome, provided that they acknowledge the sanctity of the British "rites and forms," acknowledge the enclosed terrain as a landscape; otherwise, they are a heathenism against which the British concept of God's chosen people must be defended, and which it must baptize or else dash in pieces like a potter's vessel. Such is West's credo for mission.

The Church of England by way of the Church Missionary Society did not succeed particularly well beyond the bounds of the Red River Settlement, beyond the expanded foreground as it were, during the next few decades. It conducted its missions somewhat as the Hudson's Bay Company originally conducted its trade--by establishing a central base to which all neighbouring peoples were invited to congregate. The alternative to this fur trade practice was adopted by the North West Company: it had taken the trade to the Indians in their own regions and had begun to strangle the Hudson's Bay Company posts on the Bay prior to the merger in 1820. The Roman Catholic missionaries were doing something similar to the Church of England stronghold at Red River by spreading the gospel. Among Protestants, the Wesleyans were the first to travel extensively in the West. Their great early missionary was Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle, who was not sent by his missionary society for the
benefit of European emigrants resident in the wilderness, as West had been, but to live among the "heathen." West's quotation of David makes plain that he never conceived of what Rundle proposed.

III.6.II--Deifying the Landscape: Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle (1840-1847)

Born in Mylor, Cornwall in 1811, Robert Terrill Rundle (1811-1896) was thirty-eight years old when he was accepted into the Methodist Missionary Society in 1839. His formal education in the ministry was short-lived. The upshot of an agreement reached on January 22, 1840, between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Methodist Missionary Society was that Rundle sailed from Liverpool on March 16 of that year. Seven months and one day later, he arrived at Fort Edmonton to take up his duties as the missionary in charge of the Upper Saskatchewan District.

The Wesleyans already had two missionaries in the fur-trade empire: James Evans was posted at Norway House and George Barnley at Moose Factory. Rundle was, therefore, meant to take the Wesleyan gospel inland by one great stride. His journals, first published in 1977 as The Rundle Journals 1840-1848, give details of the difficulties, hazards, and illnesses to which the missionary was exposed in such a tremendous undertaking. Their editor, Hugh A. Dempsey, describes them as, "actually a composite of several documents, with a thick, leather-bound volume forming the nucleus. Other segments are from Rundle's rough notebooks, scattered notes, a typed summary prepared by his daughter, and published excerpts from Wesleyan Missionary Notes." As far as a continuous narrative is concerned, the journal of the trip from New York to Fort Edmonton in 1840 is the most substantial section of the Journals and
will be regarded chiefly in this study. Other records for subsequent years, when winter travel, the effort of remaining a believer and attempting to instil belief in others, and illness tend to silence Rundle, often dwindle to notes of circumstantial details only. Even these, however, hold some interest. On March 17, 1848, for example, Rundle notes an evening spent with Paul Kane: "Mr Kane in at night until late; talked of Venice statuary [sic]" (p. 300).

Departing on the Albany steamer up the Hudson River from New York on April 14, 1840, Rundle tacitly acknowledges received opinion regarding the landscapes of North America:

Weather delightful, scenery grand & imposing but we see only the rugged features of the landscape. Spring had not yet appeared. I believe the scenes of the Hudson is [sic] scarcely equalled on the American Continent. . . . Towering hills & sweeping vales now met our view but all speak of the rude ravage of Winter . . . . The scenery cont'd very interesting & the Catskill mountains rose sublimely in the distance, their rugged features appearing deeply painted on the morng sky (pp. 7-8).

Rundle was not writing this remark for publication. His use of conventional parlance in responding to the Hudson River valley indicates his awareness of and familiarity with British and, in this case, American landscape aesthetics. But Rundle's preconceptions of the American landscapes do not continue to be confirmed by what he observes. The preceding background scene ought, as the work of the Hudson River School may have prepared him to expect, to have had a foreground animated by Indians. This was not the case:

I was full of [curiosity] respecting the Indians. Fancy pictured these encamped on the hills & brot to my ears the splash of their paddles in the water. But it was all fancy; naught was seen but the stable
habitats of the white intruders & naught was heard save the meas'd splash of the steamer as she stemmed the water of the Hudson (pp. 7-8).

Later in the day, towards Lake Champlain, Rundle begins to recognize that the romantic wilderness and the noble savage of the Hudson River valley have been supplanted by a civilization which the Englishman cannot appreciate: "Scenery mountainous & imposing, parts very cramped & uninteresting. What a miserable appearance do the cultivated parts of NYk. present to the eyes of the Englishman! How hideous the trunks of trees appear in the land" (p. 8).

Rundle desires the virgin wilderness and is far happier when, two weeks later, a Hudson's Bay Company brigade ferries him up the Ottawa River: "I think the scenery of the Ottawa (some parts) is superior to the Hudson. There appears such softness, beauty; Hudson romantic" (p. 11). This is not the distinction he seeks, but he can hardly consider the lower Ottawa River romantic. What Rundle wants is a picturesque wilderness—to him this combination is the most "romantic." An unrevised journal might be expected to betray some aesthetic confusion as the landscape enthusiast reviews one scene after another. But there is no doubt that what Rundle hoped to find in the nature of North America presented itself farther up the Ottawa River:

Reach'd Rapids Lac de [sic] Chats abt 5-oClock. Scenery romantic in the extreme. I think eclipses all I have witnessed. A number of beautiful islands stud the surface & have most interesting appearance. Beautiful ev'g. The sun was fast sinking towards the horizon when we ascended the rapids. A cross marks resting place of a Voyageur. This brt us to Lac de Chats. Encamped on an island abt sunset, broad shadows of pine on lake, zephyr straying over the lake, roar of rapids in the distance. Lake like a sea of molten glass, sun streaming thro' pine, western borders of lake; night beautiful. Stars glowed on its bosom. Trees reflected in lake. I named the place of our encampment Isle de Grace, in honour of a dear dear Mother who found her resting place in the picturesque burial place of Mylor [Cornwall] (p. 12).
Perhaps the finest aspect of the river landscape in Rundle's view is its evocation of associations. A picturesque evening sun bathes lacustrine and cataract scenes, as well as a burial ground whose associations put Rundle in mind of his mother's grave. However disjointed the narrative may be, it does signal the contentment with nature which Rundle wants to feel and which he loosely terms romantic. The "zephyr" and the "sea of molten glass" rather confusedly gloss the lake but both images arise from thoughts of the homeland. The "romance" may, therefore, be regarded as the union of wilderness landscape and homeland sensations of contentment.

As Edmund Burke had argued in his Enquiry, only sensation of a more intense kind could erase a dominant train of thought in the mind. Thus Rundle on the succeeding morning: "Smart attack of toothache ended the romance of Lac de Chats; applied kerosene & sand."

During the outward trip to Edmonton, where, in November, he was to assume the mission duties which would thenceforth shape his journals, Rundle sees himself as a landscape tourist; observations on nature motivate journal entries almost exclusively. A change in watercourse particularly excites a detailed response. Such responses are often roughhewn but that quality is not surprising to find in a personal journal, and, moreover, Rundle well may have sensed the suitability of a rough literary style to the landscapes which it depicted. On May 2, his brigade turned off the Ottawa River and into the narrower Mattawa River valley, giving rise to the following observation:

Farewell then beautiful romantic Ottawa. abt noon hills of Ottawa receded from view. After 10 miles scenery very interesting. Magnificent at sudden turn of river. Best ever witnessed. High hills, a steep declination on one side, evergreens of forest ever & anon, silver bark of
birch gleamed thro' dark green foliage. Sun far advance'd sombre light
over the scene, deep current, scarcely ripple. High perpendic' banks in
some parts. Pine shooting forth from sides wild Majes' some parts pine
cross the rocks, dark foliage deeply painted on sky (p. 14).

Discernible in this passage is nearly a painter's eye for detail—what
one might have expected to find in a Kane passage. Rundle demonstrates
a realization that the "beautiful romantic Ottawa" has given way to a
different landscape effect from higher hills, and "evergreens of forest—
ever & anon."

It is worth recalling that the same landscape had reminded Frances
Simpson of landscapes in Scott novels in 1830, and George Back of a
specific painting in 1833. And it may be that Rundle knew Back's re-
response. Two passages hint at this connection. The first comes on May 3,
at the next turn in the Mattawa River, where Back had imagined Martin's
painting, the painting which, it will be remembered, was based on James
Ridley's Tales of the Genii:

... narrow stream, scene of most romantic description. perpen' pile
of rocks either side frozen in solemn grandeur above our heads, threaten-
ing to overwhelm us for disturbing the solitude of the place. Genies
of Romance held her court pine among rocks. rivers from waters edge
& shooting from rocks. Foam on water appears cataract noise soon reach
our ears. Cânoe unloaded, preparation for breakfast, climbed rocks full
view of scene almost overwh'; fit place for prayers amid roar of waters
& Temple all space, Altar every Mountains brow. Sabbath morn the hour
in forest. Ice. Tracks of deer, Gun. Fall of tree in forest rotting
state like Old Bishop of Montreal. Sun beams playing on water. Fish
speared in second lake. Sceptre of old Neptune. Mattawan river from Ot-
tawa to Marie lake ... (p. 15).

Although Rundle may have known neither Back's description nor Ridley's
Tales of the Genii, it is interesting that, as the mythic elements
bump against the Christian in his response to the landscape, he pin-
points the enchantment in the scene. Not yet aware of Indian mythology,
he conjures up pagan figures--Genies, Neptune--to rule the land so far from England and from the light of Christianity. The status of the "Temple" Rundle erects remains vague since he apprehends the image as something "threatening to overwhelm us"/"almost overwhelm by its force." Nature compels prayer, but Rundle's spiritual bearings, like Bottom's on midsummer night, have been enchanted. Was the Old Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal, Jean Jacque Lartigue (1777-1840), who would die by the end of the year, led by such experiences to rot in a state of enchantment, praying to pagan deities in the wilderness of the soul? Perhaps this possibility could be entertained by a budding twenty-nine-year-old Wesleyan Methodist, but it is only one of several that comprise this waking dream on the upper Mattawa River.

The second echo of Back is more certain and pronounced. It comes in Rundle's response to Kakabeka Falls (even though Rundle did not see them) which, incidentally, marks the next aesthetic response to landscape after a lacuna on the route from the Mattawa River to the Kamini-stikwia River. As his brigade was pressed to meet its schedule, time was not allowed for the short detour from the portage to visit the falls. Rundle enters the following note: "In magnitude it is inferior only to Niagara or Falls of Wilberforce & whilst in picturesque effect it surpasses both" (p. 18). The gesture at acknowledging another's aesthetic judgement which the quotation marks might as well have been extended to the whole sentence, since Back's description reads: "... in magnitude it is inferior only to the Niagara or the Falls of Wilberforce, whilst it far surpasses both in picturesque effect." Rundle certainly knows his Back, and employs his Narrative as a guide book through his tour to the West.
Yet, original notes are sounded at times in the journals. An evening view of the approach to Fort Frances at the top of Rainy River is perceived as a picturesquely spiritual sign: "Shortly after our arrival the sun, after bathing the woods in purple and gold, sank in splendour beneath the horizon without a dimming cloud. How auspicious! thought I, as I gazed on the scene & thought of our mission" (p. 19). Moreover, as if to credit his sign, Rundle adds that he met Peter Jacobs at the fort, the "converted [Ojibway] Indian & Assistant [Wesleyan] Miss. from Upper Canada" (pp. 19-20), the embodiment of successful mission work. And, in a paraphrase of the Popian sentiment on how thoughts of the Creator are instilled in the mind when it observes His natural creations, Rundle responds to the landscapes of the Winnipeg River, seen under a sky filled with the aurora borealis:

... who could wish for sleep amid such sublimities! Above were the heavens glowing with beauty & magnificence & at a short distance was the cataract we had passed [Point du Bois], thundering in solitude over its wave-worn precipice! O nature, when thou displayest thy beauties, how insignificant appear all the works of art! But if thou are thus glorious how great & how glorious must be thy Creator! (pp. 20-1)

Again, Rundle is overwhelmed by the aesthetic-spiritual sublimity of the landscape. It is a sublimity which he both feels and reads into the natural scene or—to recall the Wordsworthian aesthetic of nature—which he both receives and creates.

The occasional personal note is noted heard in the journals between the time Rundle leaves the Winnipeg River and the arrival at the parkland on the North Saskatchewan River. Both Rundle's displeasure with the landscapes and marinescapes on this part of the route, and his responses to them follow conventions established by earlier travellers. He finds Lake Winnipeg's lowland scenery "dreary." Despite an abundance
of wildlife, the presence of ice on the lake in the first week of June and the sight of an abandoned post (perhaps Berens River) induce him to surname the lake, "Lake Desolation" (p. 21). After waiting for three months, at the Wesleyan Mission at Norway House (known as Rossville) for the arrival from York Factory of Rev. James Evans, Rundle's journey continued to Cedar Lake, whose islands he found "picturesque" (p. 39), but whose character he judged by the time he reached the northwestern end of the lake as "wretched." Feeling the vast presence of solitude at this lake, just as John Richardson had done at nearby Cumberland House during the winter of 1819-1820, he finds himself imagining it civilized:

The lake is vast recess of solitude where nature displays some of her most powerful attractions. Fancy, however, tried to point it out to me as the abode of man, for she painted to my view in the distant woods a shady terrace lining its banks, the mansion peeping thro' the forest & the temple pointing its spire to the skies and the stack of the manufacturer close to the waters edge. But this was all imagery [sic]; no inhabitants were seen but flocks of wild fowl & the occasional rise & splash of a fish from the waters beneath (p. 39).

As it had at Lac des Chats on the Ottawa River, solitude unsettles Rundle. He prefers to subdue it by picturesque scenes of settlement than to permit it to wash over him as a Romantic would have done. His attitude is interesting for it marks a movement from his initial aesthetic response to the settlements seen on the Hudson River. There, he had sought to escape from civilization in virgin wilderness. Five months later and after more than 2000 miles of wilderness travel, his taste for homeland rural scenes has grown keener than the desire for "romantic" solitude. This change also contradicts Back's example: the explorer had continued to seek the romantic aspect in landscape at least as far as the Methye Portage, which is to say, farther along the route than Rundle even had an intention of travelling.
But if the depression in the lowlands is predictable, so is Rundle's elation upon arriving at the higher second prairie steppe. Near the grand forks of the Saskatchewan River, Rundle finds that more variety in landforms and vegetation facilitates the formation of picturesque landscapes. He remarks on September 22, when the deciduous trees were fired with colour, that the "Scenery [is] much improving. Banks high & richly ornamented groves of poplar & birch line the shores" (p. 40). And by October 6, when his brigade was passing the present site of Battleford Sask., he rejoices over "a fine sweep of [parkland] country composed of woods & plains as far as the eye could reach" (p. 42). The judgemental words, "improving," and "fine," indicate that Rundle's response is thoroughly typical of the Briton's attraction to the parkland landscape since Henry Kelsey's trip in 1690, 150 years before Rundle's.

October 17 brought Rundle finally to Fort Edmonton and the base camp for his next seven years of mission work. He considered it a "hot-bed of Popery" (p. 154), and was much happier when "in the field" at Lesser Slave Lake, in the Beaver Hills, at Rocky Mountain House, or in the nomadic camps of the Cree, Slave, and Blackfoot Indians. But the plains depressed him, especially with the onset of winter, when their appearance was "dreary in the extreme," and offered to Rundle signs of a Godless world, red in tooth and claw:

Occasionally your gaze perchance may see a wolf cautiously stepping along the line of the horizon or perchance hurrying hastily away from the line of your march; wracks of buffalo continuously meet your gaze; carcas falls on the plains & is devoured by hungry wolves & the skeleton whitens the plains, then falls piecemeal--bone from bone--& thus returns to dust (p. 65).
But Rundle generally was not depressed by his mission work; frequently, shortages of food caused temporary crises, but the Indians respected his mettle, as he did theirs, and the human interaction compensated for the miserable terrain of his mission grounds. That he considered his work to involve spreading God's word in the Wilderness, there is no doubt: he writes of the short-grassland plains near modern Calgary as, "a desert," and of his first view of the Rocky Mountains as a considerable disappointment (p. 53). But by April, 1841, he had become more accustomed or inured to the terrain, discovering that his perception at least of the mountains had gradually grown from disappointment to veneration. He writes the following observation from Old Man's Knoll, in the foothills of the Bow River valley to the west of modern Calgary:

It was from this hill I think that I obtained my last view (at this time) of the Ry. Mts. & it was with great reluctance I receded [sic] from them. On Thurs...15th they presented the sublimest spectacle I ever expect to behold until I become an inhabitant of the "New Heaven & the New Earth". I saw them then after a recent fall of snow & they looked as beautiful as if newly risen at the call of Omnipotence & fresh with their makers smile. Their pointed & snowy summits rose high into the heavens like the lofty spires of some vast & magnificent marble temple reared by the Almighty Architect of nature to mock all the works of art. The sight seemed too grand & too glorious for reality. What indeed can vie with these sublime productions of Deity with their drapery of clouds & their vestments the snow of heaven? In comparison with them all the works of art dwindle into insignificance; in them nature reigns without a rival. From their vast recesses nature under the directions of her great author sends forth her streams to the Atlantic Pacific & Arctic. In storm clouds dash along their lofty peaks or sweep furiously along their majestic sides. But when the heavens are bright & unclouded they shoot their dazzling peaks into the translucent atmosphere like objects beautifying heaven itself (pp. 67-8).

The success of Rundle's mission work clearly affects his perception of landscape. From midwinter deserts and alpine disappointments, his perception oscillates considerably. In the passage above, he rejoices
at the wonders of springtime sincerely and powerfully, as if the "mountain glory" were a confirmation and blessing bestowed on his efforts. As has been seen in the cases of the Methye Portage and the Portage du Chien, heights of land infuse the viewer with apocalyptic moments. Here landscape is perceived as God's landscape art compared to which human achievements "dwindle into insignificance." Mountain peaks are equated with church spires in this view from a prominence (though not a height of land geographically speaking). It is a deification of landscape from a North American hill of Truth, and aesthetic-spiritual experience of landscape in the tradition of the Earl of Shaftesbury.

When, finally, Rundle entered the mountains for the first time in the late autumn of 1844, the deification which had occurred from a foothill's prospect acquired a biblical identity as well. In the Bow River valley at the present site of Banff, Rundle and three Indians were stopped by snow on November 8. In his diary, Rundle wrote the following remarks:

Night not clear, perhaps snow before morning. It is rather strange that at the very time appointed for my departure on a visit to England I should be at the farthest distance from my native land. It is now night & I am writing before the fire. Thought today, when at the old Fort [Peigan Fort, 1832-1834, abandoned because of the bellicosity of the Blackfeet], of Sinai & the delivery of the law by Jehovah. What a fine place for such an event! (p. 164).

On the following morning, with neither explanation nor preparation, Rundle began to climb the mountain outside Banff which bears his name today. He makes no connection between this impulsive act and his previous mention of Sinai, but his reader is inclined to make it naturally: having already described the plains as a desert, and the mountains as temples and spires, his perception of one of them as a Sinai towering
over the desert, and, hence, of himself as Moses is patent. The experience of deifying the landscape thus transports him at the climactic peak of his journal, when farthest from home and during the middle year of his tenure in North America. His primary function of mission is sanctified by the thought of Moses receiving God's word and taking it from the heights to the unbelievers. Significantly, this sustaining vision, whose immediate issue is Rundle's ascent of the mountain on the next morning (November 9, 1844), occurs when Rundle's charge was to have terminated; its consequence was four more years of dedicated mission work and travel in all seasons among the Indian tribes in the "deserts" of modern Alberta, rather than Sinai.

III.6.III--The Bishops come West

No missionary himself, George Jehosaphat Mountain (1789-1863), the Church of England Bishop of Montreal, is a study in contrast to Rundle. On May 16, 1844, while Rundle was in the field, Mountain embarked at Lachine in a Hudson's Bay Company canoe to determine whether the Red River Settlement merited designation as a bishopric. As it stood, the Hudson's Bay territory was in the See of the Bishop of London. With neither Rundle's commitment to evangelism, nor his interest in the wilderness through which he travelled, Mountain exhibits at times almost a disdain for mission work in a series of letters written retrospectively from Quebec to the Church Missionary Society, and published under the title, The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal (1845).

Although travelling with his own chaplain, P. J. Manning, Mountain finds himself otherwise surrounded by Roman Catholic voyageurs--French
Canadians or Caughnawaga Indians. This situation loomed, in Mountain's view, as "a great drawback from the comfort of a voyage of many weeks through the wilderness." The English Church of England readers of the Church Missionary Society publications would have appreciated this remark more than the modern reader can: Cardinal John Henry Newman had published Tract XC of Tracts for the Times in 1841, in which he articulated his famous Catholic interpretation of the 39 Articles of the Church of England. For the Bishop to surround himself by Roman Catholics in the spring of 1844 was to enter the Wilderness in both a spiritual and environmental sense as far as most of his readers were concerned.

Since Mountain decides to keep strictly to matters of his office, his Journal does not "trouble the Society with the detail of [his] proceedings; day by day" (p. 58). He arrived at the Red River Settlement on June 23, and left again for Lachine less than three weeks later, on July 10. After being astonished by the good conduct of the Indians under the charges of the Church of England missionaries and ministers, Cowley, Cochran, and Smithurst, Mountain called for the proclamation of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land as soon as possible. His decision rested substantially on the discrepancy he had noticed between the settlement Indians and those whom he had met in the unchurched lands along the fur trade route. In writing of this latter group, he gives the lie to the noble savage myth in a tone that borders on derision:

Nothing can be more pitiable, in my estimation, than the condition of these poor Heathens: nothing more calculated to excite an interest in favour of all rightly-conducted efforts for their conversion. They are sometimes regarded with a sort of admiration, as the unsophisticated children of nature; and, still more, as exhibiting the very impersonation of a high-toned independence, and an unshackled manliness of spir-
it. Children of nature they are: and what kind of moral nurse is mother nature, a Christian has no need to ask. . . . We were particularly struck with the appearance of one savage, who, squatting, with his whole figure in a heap, upon the point of a projecting rock which overhung the river [location not given], perfectly naked and perfectly motionless, staring down upon us out of the hair which buried his head and covered his shoulders, looked like some hideous idol of the East (pp. 34, 36-7).

"They are certainly fine ANIMALS" (p. 40), he adds later, who require the Church to form them into human beings--and that before the Roman Catholics get to them.225

Mountain's call was answered in 1849 in the person of David Anderson (1814-1885), who arrived as a graduate of Oxford University in the days of Newman, Pusey, and Keble, to take up the duties of the first Bishop of Rupertsland.226 He remained Bishop for fifteen years, during which time he founded St. John's College, and ordained twenty-four priests.

The first travels of this "convinced evangelical churchman,"227 took him in the early months of 1851 to the top of Lake Manitoba, where a Church of England mission house was sputtering under the guidance of Rev. Alfred E. Cowley. Anderson left Red River in mid-February, and in an impressive display of muscular Christianity, endured the "cutting sensation" of a winter prairie wind with "a scorching feel . . . enabling one to realize the 'torridu gelu' which Livy applies to Hannibal and his men in crossing the Alps."228 Such literary associations structure many of Anderson's responses to nature in his diocese. Like Anderson, many writers identified landscapes in terms of their resemblances and contrasts to what was familiar to them in their home geography and in their literary landscapes. Anderson, however, goes beyond this
process to discuss how the seasons affect the associative process. This discussion occurs in a passage written after traversing Whitehorse Plains on February 24:

And now commenced the part of the journey more peculiarly characteristic of the country, and more novel to European habits. In summer there is always much around to remind of home; and when one's thoughts are inclined to wander, the sight of the wild rose in thick clusters, the cumbine and the harebell in rich abundance—all these invest the scene with a familiar look. But in winter all is entirely unlike what one has seen before. The extreme purity of snow, the brightness of the sky overhead for days together, the difference of costume, and the novelty of the conveyance, all effect a more entire change of association . . . (257).

The salient feature of this passage is Anderson's combination of discrimination with an absence of aesthetic prejudice. Although picturesque scenes manifestly attract his eye more than others, his responses to the extremities of the season indicate a willingness to adapt his perceptions and predilections. After reaching the "Manitobah Mission" between Lake St. Martin and Portage Bay, Lake Manitoba, on February 28, he writes: "I had travelled about 180 miles, nor had I experienced so much cold as in passing from Derby to London, by railway, on the night of January the 1st, 1849" (260). And on March 2, he suggests that a winter in Rupert's Land ought not to be imagined as sublimely desolate:

By those who have not experienced it, the full beauty and enjoyment of a winter day can hardly be understood. When they hear of the thermometer falling 20°, 30°, or 40° below zero, they can hardly imagine that out-door exercise can be safe, much less that it is really more pleasant to the feelings than the damp temperature of a mild English winter (262-63).

Anderson's willingness to adapt shows a marked progression from, for example, John Richardson's privately-voiced anxiety over the wilderness at Cumberland House thirty-two years earlier. Anderson is writing
to encourage both his own ministers in the diocese as well as the British readers of missionary news and donors to mission work. Moreover, the land must seem less threatening to an ordained minister who has been given it to transform spiritually from a wilderness to a kingdom of God.

The transformation occurs in two ways: first by a diffusion of the anxiety over foreign terrain which most travellers felt; and second, by an appropriation of the terrain, bit by bit, to familiar landscapes already located within the kingdom of God. Reverend John West had realized such a transformation in his description and picture of the Upper Church. Robert Rundle had followed a similar process in bringing the Commandments from Sinai to the Rockies. Anderson completes the process in two stages. The first occurs upon his return to the mission from an Indian camp, and the second while reviewing some engravings of English landscapes:

Our route homeward was the same by which I had travelled in the dark the night of my arrival, and brought before us the very prospect which Mr. Cowley had wished to meet my eye by daylight. The view from the slight rising ground coming down on the river is very much that of an English village, the School tower, as seen through the trees, adding much to the effect. How great, in this and many other instances, the power of association! I feel convinced, that without the tower I should never have experienced half the amount of pleasure from the situation of the place. With the tower, imagination carried me at once to England, and passed on to anticipate the time when our church might be firmly established in this country, and the Church tower be no such uncommon spectacle on the banks of the lake or river (279).

After enjoying the picturesquely humanized and consecrated landscape, Anderson recognizes that there remains only to baptize it:

I had by chance been glancing over some engravings, when my eye fell on one of a pretty church in Gloucestershire. I was taken with the appearance and the name, and asked regarding it; when I found, on inquiry,
that it was the spot with which Mr. Cowley's fondest associations were connected. I said at once, 'Here is a name for us. Partridge Crop is the designation of the sheet of water a little to the west, and is a very awkward and unseemly name: Manitoba it cannot be, as it is six miles from the lake, and sixty miles from Manitoba Fort; but 'Fairford, Manitoba,' may now mark out the spot where I hope a Christian village may gradually be formed. May it then live in the light of God's countenance, and receive largely of the Divine blessing!' (284).

Associations are hereby incarnated in the map of the landscape, and by way of the Picturesque (a landscape engraving). Just as Anderson thought it prudent to rename all converted Indians with English names, so he felt his mission work had achieved its goal when a "spot" could be appropriated, and "a Christian village" built to resemble "an English village." Significantly, many such settlements formed the nucleus, as Fairford did, of what later were designated Indian reserves.

Anderson returned to Red River on March 13, 1851. In May, he sent Rev. Robert James of St. Andrew's, Red River, to establish a mission among the Indians whom Mountain had deplored eight years before. The location was known as the White Dog on the Winnipeg River, but was soon baptized Islington Mission by James. He described its location as a picturesque oasis surrounded by natural grandeur in the form of the falls on the Winnipeg and White Rivers:

Having seen nothing hitherto but mountains of rock rising backward from the river, we looked with surprise on a large piece of open ground, with a rich soil, clear of brush or tree. The chief beauty of this place consists in its rising gently back from the rivers, which flow in three directions, and commanding a lovely and extensive view from its summit. The only distressing object which meets the eye in the whole scenery is the shell of a Roman church, abandoned a few years ago, and a proof of the impotence of that Church permanently to evangelize the heathen. It has not, however, as I heard, the best site. Though at no great distance, I have already fixed upon another, than which there is not a more beautiful spot in the world for a 'church of the Living God.' O that one day the Lord might have a temple here, frequented by those
poor wanderers who have so often trod this very spot without a thought or wish for brighter days. 229

A low-Church delight in "Romish" failure colours an otherwise conventional enjoyment of an open lawn embankment inclining gradually from a novel watercourse which forms the hub of three spokes in the river. Picturesque sentiment permeates this description, informing not only its prayerful petition but also figures forth images of Islington both in the future with a temple, and in the past, when the light of Christianity could not offer the native tribes "a thought or wish for brighter days."

David Anderson planned to travel to Islington in the spring of 1852 on his way to Albany and Moose Factory, by way of the English and Albany River systems. His departure was delayed by the great flood of 1852 on the Red River, his account of which was published as Notes of the Flood at the Red River, 1852 (1852). The flooding broke out on April 25; by May 4, Anderson wondered whether the disaster was sent by God to check his zeal. He therefore set May 5 as "the day appointed for our public humiliation," when prayers were offered up to God to decrease the flood-tide. 230 The flood did not peak until May 17, at which time all settlers had been evacuated to higher land from which Anderson, ever the optimist, surveyed the aesthetically incomplete scene on May 24: "It was like delicious lake scenery at home, but for the want of background. What we here call hills, the Little and Stony Mountain, are but very gentle eminences, of a few hundred feet, scarcely visible as heights; though all felt their value on this occasion" (pp. 62-3). Aesthetically and spiritually, however, Anderson estimated a great (if not the greatest) single loss to be the
desolation of his gardens. A narrative account, dated June 3, details the destruction that occurred, and a picture by one of his Indian students trained in the Picturesque, and entitled "The Bishop's Residence, Red River," which Anderson used for the frontispiece for his

Notes, shows how a landscape which had been transformed and since ruined once resembled an English Christian village:

Stopped at the house, now all dry within; but one can scarcely describe the desolation without. The garden had been a source of great enjoyment to us: its produce very delightful after our long winter, and the flowers which we had seen blooming at home seemed a link connecting us with distant friends, and days gone by. . . . We had taken pleasure in saving seeds of various kinds, and giving them to many of the people around us, thinking that flowers have a harmonizing effect on the mind; but now our garden, without a fence, was covered with a thick shiny mud, and all hope of cultivation this year is gone (pp. 82-3).

The picture is, of course, more a study in architecture than in nature, but it depicts the house (and the bell-tower of the mission school)
in its anglicized setting of shaven lawn, clumped bushes, and natural river bank hedge. The trees behind the house grow to impressive heights for Red River valley vegetation and serve to surround the over-sized manse in 'leafy' splendour.' The prairie is, of course, omitted.231

Anderson's Notes end at June 14, and the narrative of his trip to Hudson Bay via the Islington Mission, entitled The Net in the Bay (1854), commences two weeks later, on June 28, 1852. As with many travellers on the same route, Anderson finds that the aesthetic enjoyment of nature does not commence until he has left Lake Winnipeg and passed Fort Alexander on the Winnipeg River, the voyageur's Riviera, as David Douglas had called it twenty-five years before. "Immediately after leaving the fort," writes Anderson, "the scenery becomes pretty, and improves as you advance."232 But the improvement takes an odd form, for the scenery which next elicits a remark--in the vicinity of Lac du Bonnet--instills a sublime sense of danger rather than a picturesque sensation of pleasure:

While waiting for the men, I contemplated one of the falls for a long time, very beautiful it appeared to the eye, but, as one gazed at the volume of water and the granite rock, one could not separate from it the idea of danger. One wonders at first to find that poetry seems scarcely associated with this scenery, one feels the country not to be poetical, yet the question occurs, Why not? In natural objects the river Winnipeg often presents scenes which equal those of the Rhine, yet what is it which clothes the one with interest, which the other lacks? Is it that human elements are necessary for the creation of poetry? that we must have man and society in some shape, or if not these, the remains of man? Something to tell that life has once been there, the ruined chapel, or the old castle walls? An exception to this may be found in the Songs of the Wilderness, written by the Bishop of Quebec, to beguile his solitary journey to these parts; but the Bishop himself acknowledges the paucity of materials, and has increased the difficulty to any who came after, having exhausted the few subjects which present themselves, the rose, the falls, the water-fowl, the voyageur, and the Indian (pp. 10-11).
As if following William Gilpin's prescription for the Picturesque in landscape, Anderson can only guess that the necessary historical dimension in a landscape differentiates the scenery on the Rhine River, where it is present, from the scenery on the Winnipeg River, where it is not. Even the poetry of Romantic solitude requires some vestige of the human as a catalyst, if only a poet's awareness of what a landscape lacks. Anderson confronts what he perceives in absolute terms; either failing to discern signs of Indian habitation along the river or choosing to discount them, he regrets only the absence of manifestations of European culture. In his estimation of Mountain's poetry, he unintentionally singles out its shallowness in claiming that poetic materials are few and far between in the hinterland. But Mountain wrote picturesque poetry which relied on visual motifs, and did not scratch the surface of the shield's thin soil in search of the land's soul. How could he do so in his official capacity? Moreover, Anderson, having put down his Byron by 1852, discounts solitude as a viable poetic subject: he reports that Mountain wrote poetry to "beguile his solitary journey" (emphasis added). Anderson appears to have sought the settled, cultured picturesque foreground in both his landscape and poetic preferences. The attitude is analogous to W. Mavor's. He, it will be remembered, voiced a standard English landscape preference when he asked: "what real pleasure can arise from the contemplation of wild nature, however inviting her features, if the abodes of men and the comforts of society are excluded?" In this essentially picturesque aesthetic or credo, God reveals His immanence in man's shaping of nature and not where, as Duncan Campbell Scott phrases it in "The Height of Land,"
there is peace in the lofty air
And something comes by flashes
Deeper than peace.

In any event, the foregoing comments only satisfy one aesthetic attitude found in Anderson's writing. The next paragraph provides a transition from an aesthetic which enjoys and, indeed, depends upon humanized landscapes, to its opposite, one that appreciates nature for its virgin beauty. The final paragraph under the date of July 1, 1852, enumerates the components of such a beauty:

In the evening it was full moon; this adds much to the beauty of any spot. Its effect in increasing natural beauties, we had experienced some years ago in visiting Baden; it seemed to invest with double beauty the amphitheatre of hills, in which the town lies embosomed, and, with the music around as the day declined, the scene remains imprinted on the memory almost as one of enchantment. Here we had something of a similar pleasure, though with none of the objects and associations, which cluster around almost every spot in the Old World, nor any melody except the scanty music of the birds; but the delight was the extreme stillness of nature, which rather turned the mind inwards or upwards to God.

We had the noise of the cataract on the ear all night. We had still the oaks with us, but shall soon lose them, and only have the fir, pine, and poplar. We saw during the day some gier falcon and owls. Some ripe strawberries were brought to me at the portages by the men. We had only seen one stray Indian fishing since leaving Fort Alexander (pp. 11-12).

The transition is made from the orchestral music heard on a moonlit night at Baden to the music of the birds on a summer's night on the Winnipeg River. Although Anderson protests that the second scene is devoid of "objects and associations" which render "almost every spot in the Old World" a place, his imported associations, triggered by the appearance of the same moon that shone over Baden, do make that evening's campsite an identifiable place for him. Finally, the last paragraph, written in five unadorned sentences, four of which begin identically, lists the new resources out of which new associations (and other
poetic themes than Mountain had exploited) might breed. The paragraph seems intentionally minimalist in style and tone, but conveys better than does Mountain's poetry a literary form appropriate for the Britons' response to hinterlandscapes. 235

Anderson did find himself a North American "amphitheatre" (p. 15) like Baden's in which to conduct his service of worship on Sunday, July 2, and out of which to create another identifiable place: "What a noble temple! In front, an amphitheatre of wood and rock; with the exquisite foreground of still water, of which there was a large expanse, larger than many of the smaller English lakes. We were ourselves on a rocky eminence, under a thickly wooded bank" (p. 15). On this occasion, the music is made by a congregation who, in singing Church of England hymns, does extend the sense of place to the wilderness, proclaiming, as the title of one of the hymns does, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun" (emphasis added). 236

Anderson's canoe reached the White Dog or Islington on July 6. Aesthetically prepared for its landscape by James's account, Anderson found that he did not "wonder at Mr. James calling it pretty--it is so indeed," and the same elements in the landscape mentioned by James occasion Anderson's delighted response:

... grassy slope and eminence, with beautiful and picturesque openings around; more of the scenery of the Rhine than anything we had seen by the way. ... The scenery was beautiful around, indeed the situation of Islington is just what would be chosen at home for a romantic country-seat; the walks cut through the woods would be picturesque, and the boating in every direction would afford constant amusement and variety (pp. 23, 28).

What has suddenly infused Anderson with a delight in the similarities he can perceive between England and the Winnipeg River, rather than
regret at the dissimilarities? Partly, it is the occasion Islington offered for him to meet, preach to, bless, baptize, and catechize a large group of Indians. Enunciating the prayers in the wilderness in itself might bring the environs closer to home, just as the act was meant to bring the denizens into the Anglican fold. Unsurprisingly, then, Anderson associates prayer on the Sabbath with a picturesque landscape. On Saturday evening, July 10, while approaching Lac Seul on the English River near the height of land that divides the country into three watersheds (Hudson Bay by way of the Albany River, Lake Superior, and Hudson Bay by way of Lake Winnipeg) Anderson "wanted a nice spot for the approaching Sunday." He may have imagined what, in fact, greeted him on the next day:

... it was indeed a beautiful day, more pleasant to the feelings than the previous Sunday, the heat being less intense, and tempered by a gentle breeze. Of the two scenes that of the last Sunday was, perhaps, rather the prettier, the view being more extensive; but though the area now before us was a little smaller, and the foreground nearer, yet the position of the encampment itself was much prettier. ... I could have wished engravings of the two cathedrals under the open heavens, in which we worshipped on these two Sabbaths. ... During the afternoon I had a delightful ramble on the height above us, covered with a profusion of wild roses; there was almost a garden on the top. Here, with the bright sun over head, and the beauties of nature so sweetly spread out at one's feet, I could scarcely refrain from singing, "Let the wilderness and solitary place rejoice" (pp. 44-6).

In small, the wild rose signifies the comparison which elates Anderson: no "decorated churches" (p. 45) host Sunday service, but a wild rose garden in which to worship God, Anderson gratefully feels, is bestowed on him during his picturesque "ramble" to appreciate God by way of his landscapes. Again, his office and calling facilitate the transformation of terrain into place, of land into Christian landscape. (As his canoe conveyed him from one of these landscape shrines to the next,
Anderson baptized it the "wild rose." With that landscape laid out before him, he conceives, perhaps epiphanically, the whole extent of the mission that would carry him from the height of land, down the Albany River to the sea. Indeed, he appears to consecrate the portion of the northern hinterland through which his route lies by alluding to the "Cantate Domino" ("I have a vague impression that there is an anthem on these words"), and the biblical text (Isaiah 42: 10-11) upon which it and the passage he quotes are based (emphases added):

Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth, ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein; the isles, and the inhabitants thereof.

Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up their voice, the villages that Kedar doth inhabit: let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains (King James ver.).

On July 16, Anderson climbed the height of land between Osnaburgh Lake in the Hudson Bay watershed and Lac Seul in the Lake Winnipeg watershed, and, like Mackenzie at the Methye Portage, surveyed his "very picturesque" campsite beneath him (p. 56). Anderson also mused on the simile of a lifetime resembling the traverse of a height of land (p. 57), a simile which may have succeeded more elegantly had he been travelling westward at the time. But he would return by the same portage in September. July 19 brought him to Osnaburgh Lake whose islands formed "magnificent aisles and naves ... Doubtless they must have given the first ideas of what art has constructed for the worship of God" (p. 63). On the next day, the Smooth Stone Portage into the headwaters of the Albany River terminated at "a little creek or bay, with wooded knolls all around, and opening into a small lake, like Lowswater in Cumberland compressed into a smaller compass" (p. 67). Miminiska Lake resembled a "home lake," but its background hills, lush in "wild
fruit...resembled much the undulations of the vineclad banks of the Rhine, as they lay in the sun with the small brushwood down to the water's edge[.] I could imagine that I was looking upon the slopes, where we had seen the ripening grape" (p. 71). Thus, a plethora of associations arises as Anderson travels through the first two-thirds of the route to James Bay. However, the aesthetic responses as well as the unbidden associations are arrested once the brigade reaches the Hudson Bay lowlands. As with John Franklin and many travellers of the Hayes River route inland from York Factory, Anderson is aesthetically silenced by the relative barrenness that he encounters while canoeing through this region's flat topography and meagre vegetation. Virtually no landscapes are enjoyably depicted between the time of his departure from Miminiska Lake on July 21, and his return there on September 20.

In late September, although the ground was already covered with snow, Anderson once again associates the landscapes around the lake with the Rhineland in a description of the Snake Falls which pour into it:

The Snakes certainly struck us more to-day than before, probably from the same cause as the hills—from approaching from a flatter country. But indeed, every fall impresses one more in the ascent, or looking from beneath. Thus few have, I believe, witnessed the Falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen without a momentary disappointment, when viewing it from above; but if a boat is taken and they are seen from below, their majesty is felt, and a more correct idea is formed by the spectator (p. 217).

As if to celebrate his return to a landscape which is identifiable by conventional schemata, Anderson calls up a familiar aesthetic principle—that looking up a vertically structured landscape is more sublime than looking down—and, with it, one of the most familiar river scenes
of nineteenth-century travel literature. From Wordsworth and Cooper to many far less celebrated writers, the Falls of Schaffhausen infused a sublime emotion in their viewer. Here, Anderson reverts to the role of a landscape enthusiast by deploying its parlance ("a more correct idea is formed"), and achieves, in spite of his earlier doubts, an aesthetic mapping of the English River/Albany River tour. The important aesthetic route taken by the tour was from an initial observation of differences from familiar sights to an ultimate recognition of similarities.

III.6.IV--Rev. John Ryerson to Rossville and Jackson's Bay in 1854

In the summer of 1854, Rev. John Ryerson (1799-1878) travelled from Kingston to Lake Winnipeg and York Factory (and on to England) in order to report on the state of the Wesleyan Missions at Rossville, near Norway House, and Jackson's Bay, near Oxford House. His narrative is composed as a series of fifteen letters addressed to Rev. Enoch Wood, president of the Wesleyan Conference, and entitled Hudson's Bay; or, a Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company (1855). Ryerson's response to landscape compares with Bishop Mountain's: both made a summer's tour to the West for information and pleasure, and not, as Ryerson's title would have his reader believe, to undertake mission work; therefore, neither responds to landscapes with the devoted thought shown by such permanent residents as Rundle and Anderson.

By 1854, Ryerson's responses to the various landscapes on the customary fur trade route appear quite familiar. He finds the north shore of Lake Superior sublime: "A more sterile, dreary-looking region I never saw; one barren waste of rocks, rising one above the other."
And the Kaministikwia River valley appears picturesque: "In it grow
trees of large size and rich and most beautiful foliage. The vegetation
all along its banks is remarkably thrifty and luxuriant in its appear-
ance ... adorning them with beauty and filling the air with fra-
grance."238 Farther along the route, Kakabeka Falls "and the surround-
ing scenery, for sublimity, wildness, and novel grandeur, exceed any-
thing of the kind [he] ever saw" (p. 26), while the Rainy River valley,
as it had so many travellers for one hundred years, impressed Ryerson
as "decidedly the most beautiful river of any seen since coming into
the territory" (p. 43). The utter conventionality of Ryerson's account
continues after a three-day stopover at Lower Fort Garry. He set out on
what proved to be a wild traverse of Lake Winnipeg on August 1, 1854:
"Imagination cannot paint much less can language describe the sublimity
and grandeur of a thunder storm, as seen in the forest on the shore of
the lake when the wild waters are raging ... "(pp. 76-7). Not quite as
bombastically descriptive as R. M. Ballantyne's account of a lake storm
in his Hudson's Bay, Ryerson yet cannot stifle the urge to generalized
expressions of emotion. The lake traverse does make his arrival at Ross-
ville seem to him all the more like a deliverance from the wilderness
than the arrival at a Christian sanctuary normally would. From an experi-
ence "too wonderful and sublime to be described but never forgotten"
(pp. 84-5), he comes on August 8 to the "remarkably pleasant" sight of
a church on an island in Playgreen Lake. The written description is not
aesthetically impressive, but Ryerson also includes a picture, sketched
by one Felter S. C., and entitled "Wesleyan Mission Premises, Ross-
ville" (facing p. 88), which idealistically though unimpressively por-
trays the buildings of the mission on a fenced lawn and bounded by
deciduous rather than coniferous trees. Once again, the Picturesque illusion in landscape depiction plays the rôle almost of icon-maker.

After one week at Rossville, Ryerson left the sanctuary for another, at Jackson's Bay, Oxford Lake. One day out from Rossville, he feele the sublimity of the wilderness once again impinging on him: "I have seen no country since leaving Canada, that seems so dreary and utterly worthless as the desolate and barren regions through which we have passed to-day" (pp. 92-3). By the fourth day (August 19) in the dwindling vegetation, he begins to despair of his God: "The sterile barrenness of this part of the country exceeds description; it seems incapable of affording existence to anything having animal life; indeed it is perplexingly unknowable for what purpose such a waste, howling wilderness of rocks, swamps and bogs could have been created" (p. 96). Ryerson thus does not fall silent in response to the boreal landscapes, but cries out against their perceived inhumanity and purposelessness.
Moving from the Sublime to the Picturesque in a narrative moment, however, Ryerson heightens the discrepancy between "sterile wilderness" and a delightful situation by including a highly idealized rendition of the mission by Mr. Slater, entitled "Wesleyan Mission Premises, Jackson's Bay" (facing p. 98) (see preceding page). The embankment on the right-hand side of the semi-circular bay is ridiculously contrived, while the doll's house and wigwams to the left of the flagpole cross bear an absurd proportion to the foreground fishermen. The background trees are hopelessly fanciful and the picture expresses nothing but a fatuous Victorian-religious sentimentality. One wonders, given such a portrayal, whether Ryerson's letters were written and published only to drum up financial support for the mission work. Certainly, neither Rundle nor the "Indian convert," Rev. Peter Jacobs, themselves Methodist missionaries as Ryerson was not, provided any such idyllic description of any mission in which they worked.

Ryerson took his departure from the howling wilderness at York Factory on September 18, 1854, sailing aboard the Prince of Wales with Dr. John Rae, after his latest search for the Franklin voyage. He arrived in London on October 29, and prepared his sublime and picturesque vignettes of the fur trade routes for fellow Wesleyans.
III.7--SURVEYS BY GOVERNMENT EXPEDITIONS (1857-1859)

Ryerson's idealistically picturesque portrayal of the West is grounded in an unwithering spiritual optimism about most of the regions in the Hudson's Bay Company territory. David Douglas, Henry James Warre, and Bishop Anderson all show a similar predilection for the Picturesque because of the great potential which they perceived in different aspects of other regions of the West. But by the close of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, both Britons and British subjects in Canada West wanted a more detailed picture of Western terrain than picturesque "effect" was providing in the unsolicited and personal responses of travellers. In the case of both nations, this desire arose as the time approached for the Hudson's Bay Company to apply for a renewal of its charter. Both the British Parliament and Canadian expansionists wanted to know just what they were permitting a monopoly to control. Thus, virtually simultaneously, these two groups commissioned survey expeditions of the West in 1857. Known today respectively as the Hind (Canadian) and Palliser (British) surveys, these expeditions did not often overlap the country they charted, but they do coincide in one major respect--their reports indicate that the pervasive schemata of the Sublime and the Picturesque extended even to "scientific" studies of the land. As was the case with British mariners in the Arctic, these schemata remained as fundamental to perception as such other metaphors for identifying the earth's surface as latitude and longitude. Indeed, to take one example, two illusions of nature which the Sublime fostered were coinciding in 1857: Leopold Mc'Clintock set out in the Fox to con-
firm that the Arctic had swallowed Franklin's 1845 voyage, while Palliser set out to determine that his notorious triangle encompassed a desert waste as capable of annihilating the traveller as the gelid waste farther north.

III.7.1--John Palliser and the British Survey (1857-1859)

John Palliser was an Irish aristocrat who loved to hunt buffalo. He had spent 1847 and 1848 hunting them in the northern United States, and when he set about organizing his famous expedition one decade later, his initial aim was only to get himself and his gun back to the Prairies. But by the time he embarked for North America on May 15, 1857, he was in the employ of various British institutions, and charged with acquainting the British Parliament and citizenry with that unknown portion of the West lying between 49°-53°N lat., and 100°-115°W long. As well, Palliser was not alone: he was accompanied by the Swiss botanist, Eugene Bourgeau (1813-1877), the geologist, James Hector (1834-1907), the sextant observer and secretary from the Greenwich Naval School, John W. Sullivan (1836-?), and a later member, the magnetical observer, Thomas Blakiston (1832-?). Why he remained the leader of the party is an interesting question which Irene M. Spry addresses in the introduction to her outstanding edition of the Palliser expedition reports, The Papers of the Palliser Expedition 1857-1860 (1968). With neither the experience of a military or naval explorer, nor with the benefit of a fur trader's experience in the region, Palliser nevertheless exhibited the sort of pliable tenacity that was indispensable, as David Thompson had proved, for survival among the more volatile Indian
tribes. As well, Spry notes, he exhibited unbounded resilience in the face of difficult conditions:

He had not only survived a solitary winter journey on the prairies, but had revelled in it. He took pride in his ability to go fast and far, keeping up with native voyageurs. He relished the challenge of having to shoot his own dinner or go without it. He was prepared to stake his ability as a hunter against hunger and even starvation, his toughness against the hazards and privations of a long journey through little-known and difficult country.

Even though an Irishman, Palliser's background both suited him well for arduous travel and ensured that his perception of landscape would share the schemata employed by his fellow gentlemen of the day. Even with the likes of Héctor and Bourgeau assisting him, Palliser still associated the absence of vertical vegetation on the grasslands with aridity and sterility, and with sublime barrenness, associations which are grounded largely in well-worn aesthetic premises.

Palliser considered the upper Kaministikwia River "beautifully picturesque" (p. 58) when his party camped above Kakabeka Falls on June 20, after steaming to Isle Royale in Lake Superior and pushing ahead from there by canoe. By June 30, the brigade had reached Namakan Lake, just upstream from Rainy Lake, today at the northwest end of Quetico Provincial Park. An account which commences by factually estimating the agricultural potential of the land (as Parliament would have wanted in a report) soon develops at the hand of an aristocrat into a landscape prospect of an estate park:

The morning was exceedingly beautiful . . . . We halted on the right bank of the river at one of the most lovely spots for agricultural purposes that we have seen on the whole route. There was something in the natural grouping of the trees and shrubs at this place which irresistibly called to mind rural scenes at home, and it was hard to realize
the fact that the hand of man had taken no part in producing this effect. . . . Here were fine oaks and ash growing singly and in clumps, as if in grounds laid out by the landscape gardener, and a shrubby growth of underwood interspersed with large willows grew luxuriantly (pp. 73-4).

(Were George Vancouver still alive, he might well have thought that Palliser had lifted this description from his own remarks on Puget Sound: "... we had no reason to imagine that this country had ever been indebted for any of its decorations to the hand of man..." [I, 227]. Such was the pervasive and enduring response to meadows clumped with foliage that it occurred to Britons travelling fifty-five years apart.) Richard Payne Knight would have found this description more promising than would Jethro Tull or Adam Bede. Palliser appears as a real landscape tourist in such a passage--one that alerts the reader to the significance for him of aesthetic schemata. Similar passages constitute his response to Fort Frances, where he composed narrative landscape paintings in which "the eye can embrace in one view" the fort, the river, Indian wigwams, and the falls, whose "white waters" are seen "finely contrasting with the deep green of the surrounding woods" (p. 79). Similar is his response to the Winnipeg River at Rat Portage (modern Kenora), where "The scenery here is very wild, having all the requisites for grandeur, such as dashing waters, rugged precipices, and variegated foliage" (p. 81). It is important to realize at this stage of the expedition how strong Palliser's enthusiasm for identifiable landscape was, because then his later remarks, which might otherwise appear unaesthetic, can be seen for what they are--comparative silences in aesthetic response to nature, rather than merely factual reports.

The expedition reached Lower Fort Garry on July 11, and departed on horseback along the main 'road' south for the 49th parallel on July...
This route provided the Britons with their first view that year of the grassland Prairies: "The country to the west is dead flat, and the eye rests in that direction on nothing but extensive swamps" (p. 90). Despite their initial, largely aesthetically formed, response to the terrain as "dead," Palliser found that the terrain actually teemed with life. The following description of a day's travel north of Pembina may not indicate any conversion of the initial sublime response to a picturesque one, but it does point out that the Prairies were not presenting mere uniformity to Palliser when he viewed them in proximity, rather than by means of the schema of a slightly elevated and distant prospect:

After again proceeding on the march we encountered irregular country with many hollows, and traversed by small creeks, thus rendering the road very bad. The heat throughout the day has been excessive, and, towards evening, a cloud of great density appeared in the north-west and before we could erect our tents a heavy thunder-shower fell. Our encampment afforded excellent feeding for our horses, the grass for some miles around growing far above the knees. Since the shower, millions of insects have infested our tents. . . . Travelling here is more like passing through a tropical country, so numerous and plentiful is insect life (p. 97).

Viewed or experienced in proximity, the Prairies were found to exhibit local features which forced the traveller to perceive local phenomena in the environment, and not to be overwhelmed by the entire region under survey. From tropical sojournings, the party advanced on July 31, 1857, to Pembina Hill, where it found landscape qualities which reminded the men of Britain: "After dinner our course has been very zigzag, winding among the mounds and hollows which have been already noticed; but as these now became skirted and clothed with green woods, while the grass which covered the open spaces was in full grain, the landscape assumed a rich brown tint, and reminded us of parks attached.
to domains in England" (p. 107). And on August 3, to the east of Turtle Mountain, between Pembina River and the international border, Palliser was struck by the landscape which was "rolling and irregular, and from the number of small swampy lakes, it presents more the character of moorland than prairie" (p. 112). Associationism thus remains a possible, and Palliser's chief method of landscape identification as he composes an aesthetic chart of modern southwestern Manitoba.

However, the narrative mapping plots fewer and fewer features of the aesthetic map as the surveyors proceeded westward to the Souris River. On August 11, Hector scaled the "gentle swell" (p. 114) of Turtle Mountain from whose summit, "he obtained not only an extensive view to the north, but away to the south and west over American territory, where nothing as far as the eye could reach was to be seen but bare and barren prairie stretching in every direction" (p. 118). The party then continued northward, skirting the open plain at modern Deloraine and Lauder, Man., and crossing the Souris River before riding up to Fort Ellice, near the forks of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine River on August 15. There, the party re-horsed and re-provisioned for a variety of side trips in the last half of August to the Moose Mountain district. Then the full group departed up the Qu'Appelle River valley in early September, and again hit the side of the imaginary Palliser Triangle at Squirrel Hill, overlooking the Regina Plain on September 14. Hector's account of that day's ride indicates how the sublimity of great expanses of open land, devoid of horizontal vegetation, made this Briton anxious, in the same way that it had Samuel Hearne when he first viewed the Barrens in 1769:
Our road during the early part of today was mostly through a country moderately well wooded, over good land, well suited to agricultural purposes, where there were also lakes and hay-producing swamps, but towards evening we began to observe symptoms that showed us that we were again nearing the line of desert country, or northern extension of the North American arid basin; . . . Our course [on Sept. 25] was due west, and as far as the eye can reach nothing but desolate plains meet the view (pp. 138-39).

A tone of anxiety surfaces in this passage. It derives largely from an aesthetic response to the terrain, although other factors are also at work to cause the surveyors to restrict their explorations to the outer edge of the grassland plains, keeping some semblance of parkland within a few days' ride at all times. Attending the purely aesthetic response are the concerns over Indians and provisions: the bellicose Blackfeet held the grassland plains as their dominion and suffered very few intrusions without retaliation; and the survey team could count on no assistance from the Hudson's Bay Company which had maintained no posts in the grassland country defined by the Palliser Triangle since the abandonment of Chesterfield House in 1800 because of Indian raids and the paucity of beaver in the region.

Aware of all these factors, Palliser also had his mandate to survey along the international border. He "had hoped to press on to the forks of the Red Deer River and South Saskatchewan," notes Spry, "but the men's alarm at going further into hostile Indian country and the lateness of the season decided him to turn north for Fort Carlton on the north branch" (p. lxxvii). He rested as far as modern Riverhurst Ferry, on Lake Diefenbaker, above the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan, before turning north to reach Carlton House on October 8, 1857.
While Palliser departed for Montreal on October 11 in order to determine on a strategy and to obtain his orders for the following summer's survey, Hector took charge of the wintering party. He disliked life at the Hudson's Bay Company post. Offended by drunken and violent Indians, he spent much of the intervening months away from the fort on three trips—to the Thickwood Hills in the autumn, to Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House in the winter, and to Fort Pitt in the spring. But he delighted in the environs of Carlton House, since they lay in the parkland portion of the North Saskatchewan River valley. One example of this delight is his description of a grouse-shooting excursion to the west of Carlton House on October 13: "The country along both sides of the Saskatchewan in this part of its course, when back from the river bank, forms exceedingly rich pasturage, abounding in vetches, and interspersed with small lakes and clumps of aspen poplar. The distribution of the wood is most beautiful, resembling that of a home park . . ." (pp. 175-76). The very act of shooting grouse surely sponsors certain landscape associations for Hector. Coupled with his relief at being once again in wooded areas, these figure forth a landscape harmony in his view. In every sense, then, Hector is right to associate the way the parkland appears and makes him feel with "home."

During his second trip, at the end of 1857, Héctor continued farther up through the parkland and found the landscape at Fort Pitt undulating, with a "very open and pleasant look" (p. 194). But the aesthetic highlight of this protracted second ramble was Hector's sublimely exhilarating first view of the Rocky Mountains on January 14, 1858, from the North Saskatchewan River near Rocky Mountain House. Not perhaps familiar with the Swiss Alps as Henry James Warre was, Hector is
as genuinely excited by the sudden emergence of the Rockies as Warre
seems to have been disappointed: 

The effect was quite exhilarating as they became lighted up rapidly
by the pinky line of morning, and then I found that the black appear-
ance which they presented the evening before arose from the immense
proportions of abrupt cliffs which they present, on which the snow can-
not rest. We got quite excited with the view, and went on without
halting for 30 miles . . . (p. 207).

This response marks the beginning of Hector's fascination with the geog-
raphy which he would come to know in the next two years as intimately
as David Thompson knew it. Even as bands of pink and black extending
across the horizon, the geologist finds the mountains a ravishing sight.

From mid-January until mid-June, 1858, Hector came to know every
point of the North Saskatchewan River between Rocky Mountain House and
Carlton House. He considered the most attractive springtime view in
the parkland to be the site of modern Battleford, the same sight by
which Rev. Rudle had been allured in 1840: "There are many beautiful
spots, and the scenery in early spring, when the poplars were unfolding
their bright green foliage, was exquisite. The most beautiful part of
the river is near the mouth of the Battle River" (p. 228). Habitation
is a clear possibility in this parkland region where aesthetic pleas-
ures abound. And, indeed, it was only the parkland which Palliser and
his men came to recommend for settlement by Britons. In his summation
to the Secretary of State in 1860, Palliser described the parkland as,
"a partially wooded country, abounding in lakes and rich natural pastur-
age, in some parts rivalling the finest park scenery of our own coun-
try" (p. 538). Of course, implicit in this response is a certain social
message: if the landscape resembles parkland, those fortunate to farm
it may live like those Englishmen possessed of such parkland in their
own country. And the farming of it appeared to involve no more than tending Eden. The Swiss botanist, Eugene Bourgeau, proclaimed a similarly emphatic view in estimating the parkland's agricultural potential:

Mais il ne reste à appeler l'attention du Gouvernement Anglais sur les avantages qu'il y aurait à établir des centres agricoles dans les vastes plaines des Terres Ruperts et particulièrement dans le Saskatchewan aux environs du fort Carlton. Là pour mettre la terre en culture, il n'y aurait absolument qu'à labourer, sans défrichement préalable, les prairies offrent des paturages naturels aussi favorables pour l'élevage de nombreux troupeaux que si elles avaient été créées artificiellement (pp. 588-89).

In Bourgeau's view, the land requires only stewardship to produce abundantly. Soil conditions appear beyond consideration at this time as Bourgeois joins the list of those who stressed the dichotomy between the worthlessness of the grasslands and the wonderfulness of the parklands. The factual, scientific survey was beginning only to reinforce the previously-drawn aesthetic dichotomy of the Prairies.

Palliser rejoined the expedition in July 1858, as it proceeded up and down the top of the Triangle. On July 1, south of Manitou Lake, below the North Saskatchewan River and near the Saskatchewan/Alberta border, John Sullivan was fascinated by the variety in the country straddling the Triangle line:

The scenery in the neighbourhood of the Wiquaatinon [coulee] is very beautiful and diversified. Fine-bluffs of wood and open glades, hills with bold outlines, rising sometimes 400 feet above the level of the valley, abrupt escarpments of white chalky strata with ferruginous streaks, desolate wastes of blown sand, and beautiful lakes with clear limpid water, are all combined within a small compass in this neighbourhood. There are a few spots where the soil is rich, but as a rule this region is barren and desolate (p. 239).

Landscape diversity is a thrilling prospect at this junction of waste and plenty, as Sullivan views it. And the thrill is heightened by the
scale of the presentation—"within a small compass"—because the diversity can thus be viewed at a single glance as an oasis in a region generally "barren and desolate." But such spectacles occur seldom during the summer of 1858. Sullivan captures the sentiments of all the Britons when he states on July 23, in response to his first view of the Rocky Mountains from Hillsdown, Alta., that, "Great excitement prevailed among our party at this sudden and unexpected sight, and we all looked to the Rocky Mountains as the long-desired object which was to relieve us from the monotony of prairie life" (p. 254).

On July 30, the surveyors were at Slaughter Camp, near today's Irricana, Alta. From there, Hector rode west into the mountains along the Bow River valley, while Palliser travelled straight down to the international border near the Waterton Lakes, and then up to Old Bow fort, on the Bow River to the east of modern Steebe, Alta. He found the Bow River an aesthetic delight, its falls "like the whole surrounding scene, were wild and beautiful" (p. 266). On October 18, he began to explore the Kananaskis/Palliser Rivers mountain pass. He reached the Kootenay River on August 26, followed it south, and crossed the mountains through the North Kootenay Pass in early September. His impressive seven-week ride concluded when he reached Fort Edmonton on September 20.

As a geologist, Hector relished the opportunity to surround himself with mountains. Riding westward on August 6 from Slaughter Camp, he found "the snow of the mountains in the foreground, sharply lined projecting ledges of rock ... quite exhilarating, after the dreary monotony of the arid plains" (p. 287). With the peaks marking the landscape's background, he found the site of his encampment worthy of the
name, "Dream Hill": "Our camp was in a most picturesque position surrounded by well timbered hills except to the west, in which direction a level plain seemed to sweep up to the base of the mountains..." (p. 288). This description manages to capture the atmosphere of the terrain in the foothills, where picturesque, enclosed views break suddenly into vistas of the great mountain wall which powerfully impress any traveller with the sense that he is witnessing the continent's great geographical event—the meeting of the horizontal Sublime with the vertical Sublime, the floor and the wall of North America.

Hector crossed the mountains first at Vermilion Pass, near Sir George Simpson's 1841 and Henry James Warre's 1845 route. Then he proceeded up the Kootenay and down the Beaverfoot Rivers to the Kicking Horse River, whose Pass he discovered at the end of August, and where the violent accident with his mule gave the river and the pass the names they bear today.243 But his love for mountains—a true Victorian geologist's aesthetic response—kept him in their shadows for another month. Once the Stony Indians, relations of Hector's hunter, Nimrod, supervised the geologist's convalescence, he travelled north up the Bow River valley, discovering the Bow Pass, through which the modern Banff—Jasper highway runs. He named Mount Murchison, Lyell Glacier, and Mount Forbes after prominent Victorian geologists and continued north to the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River, returning to Fort Edmonton on October 7.

Thomas Blakiston also surveyed mountain passes in August and September. From Old Bow fort, he proceeded along the Elk River after crossing the North Kootenay Pass, "through magnificent open forests with patches of prairie sometimes of considerable extent" (p. 572). After
Resting his horses at the Tobacco Plains, he turned east again on September 2, electing to explore, not the Crowsnest Pass but the South Kootenay Pass which took him, at the outset, through American territory. At Lone Brook, the first eastward-flowing water after the height of land, "the trail continued mostly through woods down the valley due east. The rocks on the tops of the mountains on either side were often of very curious shapes, and the strata in places much contorted; there were also some magnificent cliffs, and the cascades of snow water falling down the narrow gullies added motion to the grandeur of the scene" (pp. 577-78). But the next day brought Blakiston to a landscape which he could not resist sketching--the Waterton Lakes in today's Waterton Lakes National Park: "The scenery here is grand and picturesque, and I took care to make a sketch from the narrows between the upper or southernmost and second lake" (p. 578).

Proportionately few views charmed Blakiston or the other surveyors in all the terrain they saw from 1857-1858, but those that did were either parkland settings, ranging from the Kaministikwia River valley to Fort Pitt, or landscapes of meadows or lakes with mountain backgrounds. For example, Blakiston's response to the Waterton Lakes is not dissimilar from Hector's to Jasper, which he saw on one of his many winter surveys, on January 31, 1859, and which he paints in the frame of a single paragraph:

Jasper House is beautifully situated on an open plain, about six miles in extent, within the first range of the mountains. As the valley makes a bend above and below, it appears to be completely encircled by mountains, which rise from 4,000 to 5,000 feet, with bold craggy outlines; the little group of buildings which form the "fort" have been constructed; in keeping with their picturesque situation, after the Swiss style, with overhanging roofs and trellised porticos (p. 369).
A foreground humanized by the fort, a middle ground plain, and background mountains furnish in 1859 as readily a composable landscape in picture as had Jasper House for Alexander Ross 1825, or as the town of Jasper does for many travellers today. In addition, the European motif in the cabin design agrees favourably with the geologist's sense of what is artistically in "keeping" in an integrated landscape view.

Such picturesque prospects are noticeably infrequent, however, even when the expedition explored the mountain terrain which, to a man, they preferred to the Prairies. The final year, 1859, opened with winter assaults on the passes by Hector, but most of the party remained in the vicinity of Fort Edmonton. Regardless of the season, the travellers remarked on the traverse of the tree-line when embarking onto the grasslands. On December 15, 1858, near modern Cremona, Alta. (northwest of Calgary), Hector passed "the edge of the woods" on high land, "so that I got a fine view of the mountains and also of the plain country. The latter, with its snowy surface and the dark well-defined margin of wooded country, looked like a great frozen sea" (p. 358). The maritime sublime had, of course, been deployed by Thomas Simpson to describe the winter Prairies in 1836, but Hector is nothing if not a genuine respondent. His colleagues had a similar response: when Palliser moved south to Buffalo Lake, he lamented on May 29, "the last of the pines, which we observed on the way to the plains" (p. 397). Without a doubt, whenever the expedition crossed into the Triangle, its members felt threatened aesthetically. And now in 1859, Palliser, Hector, and Sullivan were on their own, for both Bourgeau and Blakiston had, for a variety of reasons, departed.
Mid-June saw the expedition struggling down the Red Deer River near the modern Dinosaur Provincial Park, where Palliser found "a wretched soil everywhere; the horses miserably off for grass" (p. 411). But Palliser persisted, venturing through the Badlands, and farther towards the middle of the Triangle, arriving at the forks of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan Rivers on July 18, 1859. He was still almost 140 miles west of Riverhurst Ferry, the farthest west he had reached in 1857. Of great significance is the landscape which he chose to describe from the forks; it was not an imaginative sketching of the centre of the Triangle—a sketching gaze eastward; instead, he turned his back on the unknown central core and described the views up the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan Rivers (p. 412). Even Palliser loathed the country. He practised, quite simply, an aesthetics of elision, and his Triangle remains the symbol of that aesthetic; it marks off tracts which Palliser confidently declared could not have interested the society he represented. The stark simplicity in the style of his entry for July 20 tells how the sublimity was wearing even his resiliency thin: "Continued our journey [due north of modern Medicine Hat]; found the ground very much broken, and the travelling very severe for the horses. Soil worthless. Found a human skull on the plain... We camped on a swamp, where we killed several snakes" (p. 414).

The expedition travelled in the short-grassland prairie because its orders had been to survey especially along the 49th parallel. After resting at the oasis of the arid country—Cypress Hills— at the end of July, Palliser was satisfied with and exhausted from his travel on the Prairies, as well as tired of placating threatening Indians. He turned his party round to the west. Hector lost no time in reaching the
mountains, rejoicing at his arrival on the Bow River near the southern
city limits of modern Calgary on August 13:

We started at noon to-day; ... At the same time the whole camp
started, and as the long straggling train of men, women, and children
[Stony Indians], ditto the loaded horses and drags [travois], wound up
the zigzag trail that leads from this pretty little valley to the level
of the plain above, the scene was very picturesque. ... The pasture
is now very fine everywhere, and timber plentiful in many places, as
we have now entered the belt of fine country that skirts the base of
the mountains (pp. 432-33).

The view, including a humanized foreground, gradations of elevation
in the prospect, vegetation, and a river, seems to welcome Hector back
to aesthetically identifiable topography. The view cheered him notice-
ably as he set out to discover Pipestone Pass, and to survey David
Thompson's Howse Pass in September, before turning into a dead end at
the Purcell Mountains, whose access would not be discovered until the
Rogers Pass and Albert Canyon were opened more than a decade later.
Hector's only alternative was to ascend the Columbia River and cross to
the Kootenay River at Canal Flats. From there, he proceeded along the
nominal fur trade route first established by David Thompson in 1811, to
Fort Colvile on the lower Columbia River, where he rendezvoused with
Palisser and Sullivan, and members of the British Boundary Commission
who had been cutting the boundary inland from the Pacific Ocean. He
arrived on October 27, but would have welcomed a week's repose in the
valley of the upper Columbia River near Canal Flats; near where Sir
George Simpson rejoiced at the sight of a "fine park" eighteen years
before, in 1841:

The open appearance of the country was very pleasant to us, and even
seemed to put new life into the horses. The ground was dusty, and the
bunch-grass is more sparse than turf, but in other respects it was like
riding through the open glades of a deer park, and if we had only been supplied with a sufficiency of good food at the time, there are few spots in the country that would have left a pleasanter impression than the upper part of the Columbia valley (p. 458).

Eyen given the necessary adaptations, the plain which was dry and bereft of anything resembling a lawn attracts Hector's notice for he finds himself cantering through an English domain in his imagination. His thirst for the Picturesque, however, remained unsated as he pushed on to his rendezvous.

Palliser and Sullivan had struck west from the Cypress Hills, and could not get shot quickly enough of the "arid prairie, so level as to be devoid of any points by which we could continue our direction unvaried" (p. 471). They crossed Oldman River near the modern town of Diamond City on August 8, and crossed the Rockies by the North Kootenay Pass in the third week of the month. Like Hector, Palliser was looking for a route west through the Purcell Range in British territory, but the Kootenay Indians assured him he would find no Indians or trails in those mountains. In view of the advice, Palliser decided to descend to Fort Colvile and resupply from there in an effort northeastward or northwesterward. Limited success was achieved. Sullivan discovered the Moyle River route to Kootenay River by way of modern Cranbrook, while Palliser found accessible trails north of the 49th parallel as far west as today's Grand Forks, B.C. Near that site he met Lieutenant Henry Spencer Palmer of the Royal Engineers, and, soon after, the contingent of the British Boundary Commission. His massive survey had reached an exhausted conclusion in an obscure mountain valley. It had filled the topographical map with almost an infinity of details in addition to the
Palliser Triangle. The aesthetic map it had left virtually unchanged.

III.7.II--The Canadian Exploring Expeditions (1857-1858)

As noteworthy as Palliser's account for its display of the pervasiveness of the conventions of landscape perception is the account of the Canadian exploring expedition of the year West, written by the leader, Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908), and entitled Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858 (1860). A native of Nottingham, Hind was professor of chemistry and biology at Trinity College, Toronto. He was nominated second-in-command of the 1857 survey and commander of the 1858 survey. Despite his scientific background, and even though he understood his appointment to be a survey of the "physical aspect of the country," he opens the narrative with a description of nature based upon an aesthetic schema rather than a scientific taxonomy.

Steaming up Lake Superior on July 23, 1857, while Palliser was following the Red River valley south from Fort Garry, Hind points out like a guide on a landscape tour the beauty of the scenery, and then pauses to consider the sky whose "extreme beauty and singularity" make it a "spectacle" (1: 9, 10) of the sort so fervently sought by the British landscape enthusiast. As Doug Owram has argued in Promise of Eden (1981), it is worth considering Hind's response to landscape in terms of his sponsors' interest in showing the West as potentially an edenic region for settlement. Such descriptions as that of the Lake Superior sky deploy landscape conventions to lure the Briton from his
homeland. (Hind's Narrative was published, strategically, in London, even though Canadian expansionists sponsored the surveys.)

Because Hind's party travelled the Fort William to Fort Garry route almost six weeks later than Palliser and the normal fur brigades, Hind perceives summer landscapes where previous writers saw only spring-time scenes. This difference is most emphatic in his comments on Kakabeka Falls:

The scenery of the Grand Falls is extremely beautiful. The river precipitates its yellowish-brown waters over a sharp ledge into a narrow and profound gorge. The plateau above the portage cliff, and nearly on a level with the summit of the falls, is covered with a profusion of blueberries, strawberries, raspberries, pigeon cherry, and various flowering plants, among which the bluebell was most conspicuous. On the left side of the falls a loose talus is covered with wild mint and grasses which grow luxuriantly under the spray. Beautiful rainbows of very intense colour are continually projected on this talus, when the position of the sun and the clearness of the sky is favourable (I. 36-7).

Besides a biologist's or geologist's greater interest in specific detail, Hind's passage shows a deflection from the sublime features of the falls, and towards a composition by colours—in the river water, in the fruit and various flowering plants, and in the rainbow which Ross Cox had sought forty years before, in 1817. Beauty, not sublimity, is the overriding effect of the landscape in early August. Hind demonstrates his keen awareness of the subtle nuances that can distinguish aesthetic categories when he explores the terrain around a portage on the Little Dog River in mid-August:

The great falls of Little Dog River are surprisingly beautiful. The course of the canoe route lies some distance to the right of the falls, hence the reason why they have not been described by former travellers in these regions. In picturesque beauty they far surpass Ka-ka-beka, and would probably take rank with the most charming and attractive falls on the continent. They have not the grandeur of the
Silver Falls on the Winnipeg, nor do they approach Niagara in magnificence or sublimity, but their extraordinary height, and the broken surface they present, impart to them singular and beautiful peculiarities. The strange aspect they must possess in winter, when fringed with masses of frozen spray, would probably be unrivalled; and in spring, when the feeding lake is from three to four feet higher than during the summer months, their augmented volume would give them an appearance of magnitude which is lost when the waters are low, in consequence of the succession of ledges of rock over which they leap being partially screened by the foliage of overhanging trees (I, 41-2).

Even for a scientist, the aesthetic schemata remain the paramount ones by which to identify a river falls. Neither rising to a sufficient size to be grand nor inducing a sufficiently intense effect to be sublime, these little-known falls are picturesque because of their "broken surface," which appears all the more broken when the coulisses of summer foliage preclude "an appearance of magnitude" which might make the falls sublime in the spring. John Fleming (1836-1876), provincial land surveyor and draughtsman, and the expedition artist, appears to have concurred with Hind's understanding of the Picturesque—in his accom-
panying picture, entitled "Great Falls on Little Dog River" (facing I, 42). Although the foliage does not perform the function accorded it by Hind, the river in the Fifeshire Scot's picture breaks into sections whose effect--neither chaotic, nor artificial--achieves an impressive sense of concordia discors. The river breaks easily into three cas-cades: the foreground and background étapes run at similar angles from right to left, while the middle ground étape resists them; meeting them at approximately the same angle. Such organization controls the scenery without depriving it of its ruggedness. Here is the epitome of the Pic-turesque, in other words. 248

Hind's aesthetic and the difference of the season combine to preclude descriptions of the more commonly-described landscapes on the fur trade route. The view from the top of the Portage du Chien is not mentioned. Nor do the banks of Rainy River elicit any aesthetic re-sponse. In the latter case, the expedition explored the shore thorough-ly, probably because it had been described as perfectly suitable for settlement so often in the past. By exploring the banks carefully, rather than simply estimating their picturesque effect while canoeing downstream, the surveyors found the land quite swampy (p. 84), and though potentially quite fertile, not at all as immediately and ideally cul tiyable as the view from a mid-stream distance-that-lends-enchant-ment had led Sir George Simpson and many other travellers to opine. In this case, then, Hind explodes a picturesque illusion.

When he reached the Winnipeg River on August 28, Hind found it aesthetically as exhilaratingly beautiful as Nicholas Garry and many others had, and felt that
The pencil of a skilful artist may succeed in conveying an impression of the beauty and grandeur which belong to the cascades and rapids of the Winnipeg, but neither sketch nor language can portray the astonishing variety they present under different aspects; in the grey dawn of morning, or rose-coloured by the setting sun, or flashing in the brightness of the noon day, or silvered by the soft light of the moon (I, 107).

But this estimation of what he earlier called "the wildest and most picturesque scenery"(I, 106), is qualified by the description Hind gives four days later, on September 1, when he sheds the schema of the landscape enthusiast and dons the perception of an emigrant to the region: "The general surface was either bare, and so smooth and polished as to make walking dangerous, or else thickly covered with cariboo moss and tripe de roche. . . . Until we arrived at Islington Mission, the general features of the country maintained an appearance of hopeless sterility, and inhospitable seclusion" (I, 110). Hind's response marks a new awareness of the landscape that is consonant with his mandate to determine the character of the region. He appears comfortable with two responses to the land, one that relishes its aesthetic prospects, another which discounts its prospects for settlement. Thus, the distinction between visiting and residing in a region is made for the first time, apart from the estimation of settlement in the Rainy River valley that was made by John Jeremiah Bigsby in _The Shoe and Canoe_ (pub. 1850). Palliser did not make it because, presumably, aesthetic perception was for him not dissociable from other modes of identifying topography: if a landscape appeared picturesquely agreeable, it would in all likelihood prove agreeably habitable. As a sportsman first and foremost, Palliser had no trouble imagining a life spent fishing and shooting his way up and down the river valley. Hind was more discriminating in his willingness to distinguish aesthetic properties
which might attract the "skilful artist" from cultivable qualities
which might provoke emigration by British farmers; however, as will be
seen, Hind too was less discriminating about his responses to other
regions. In particular, he too erred in his underestimation of the
short grasslands as an extension of the Great American desert, and in
his overestimation of the prospects for the North Saskatchewan River
valley.

Once the expedition arrived at Fort Garry, various members sur-
veyed different routes east from the Red River valley. Their western
work was confined to the following year, 1858. Hind travelled in the
Red River valley, finding none of the "irregular" details noted by
Palliser a few months earlier, but only an "ordinary aspect of sameness
and immensity" (I, 134). In a passage which shows none of the discrimi-
nation between aesthetic and geographical qualities noted in his de-
scriptions of the Winnipeg River, he details various aspects of sub-
limity in a scene,

opening upon the right which discloses on the one hand the white
houses and cottages of the inhabitants, with their barns, haystacks,
and cattle yards, grouped at short distances from one another, and
stretching away in a thin vanishing line to the south; while on the
other hand, a boundless, treeless ocean of grass, seemingly a perfect
level, meets the horizon on the west.

The vast ocean of level prairie which lies to the west of Red River
must be seen in its extraordinary aspects, before it can be rightly
valued and understood in reference to its future occupation by an ener-
ggetic and civilised race, able to improve its vast capabilities and
appreciate its marvellous beauties. It must be seen at sunrise, when
the boundless plain suddenly flashes with rose-coloured light, as the
first rays of the sun sparkle in the dew on the long rich grass, gently
stirred by the unfailling morning breeze. It must be seen at noon-day,
when refraction swells into the forms of distant hill ranges the
ancient beaches and ridges of Lake Winnipeg, which mark its former ex-
tension; when each willow bush is magnified into a grove, each distant
clump of aspeas, not seen before, into wide forests, and the outline of
wooded river banks, far beyond unassisted vision, rise into view. It must be seen at sunset, when, just as the huge ball of fire is dipping below the horizon, he throws a flood of red light, indescribably magnificent upon the illimitable waving green, the colours blending and separating with the gentle roll of the long grass in the evening breeze, and seemingly magnified towards the horizon into the distant heaving swell of a parti-coloured sea. It must be seen, too, by moonlight, when the summits of the low green grass waves are tipped with silver, and the stars in the west disappear suddenly as they touch the earth. Finally, it must be seen at night, when the distant prairies are in a blaze, thirty, fifty, or seventy miles away; when the fire reaches clumps of aspen, and the forked tips of the flames, magnified by refraction, flash and quiver in the horizon, and the reflected lights from rolling clouds of smoke above tell of the havoc which is raging below.

These are some of the scenes which must be witnessed and felt before the mind forms a true conception of the Red River prairies in that unrelieved immensity which belongs to them in common with the ocean, but which, unlike the ever-changing and unstable sea, seem to promise a bountiful recompense to millions of our fellow-men (134-35).

Here is the epitome of the Sublime in landscape as well as literary style: sentences building upon each other in a mimetic of the distance, the refraction-produced crescendo of natural growth, and the raging inflammation of the land. Visual splendour is undeniably the aesthetic character of the passage, but the sense of transport which it induces can hardly, despite what Hind claims, impart to a prospective settler a great desire to emigrate. Indeed, the enthusiasm of the narrative is surely qualified if not eclipsed by the accompanying chromoxylograph of a photograph by Humphrey Lloyd Hime (1833-1903), starkly entitled "The Prairie looking West" (facing 1, 135). Its blankness, together with the presence of the skull and bones provides a bleak prospect as sublime as the rhetoric of Hind's prose, a prospect, moreover, which echoes forward to Hind's own response, untinged by expansionist propagandism, to the grasslands once he launches onto them.
That launching did not take place until the summer of 1858. For all three months of that year's expedition, the survey team was divided into two parties. Simon James Dawson (1820-1902), a Scottish-born civil engineer, conducted his 1858 survey north from Portage la Prairie. Hind, after coming up from Toronto on April 29, explored to the south, to the west up the Qu'Appelle River valley, and to the northwest as far as the South Saskatchewan and Saskatchewan Rivers. After leaving the Red River on June 15, 1858, Hind's division, including fourteen men, six Red River Carts, and fifteen horses, travelled up the Little Souris River, below present-day Brandon, Man. He had James Austin Dickinson as his surveyor and engineer, John Fleming as assistant surveyor and draughtsman, and Hime as photographer. They travelled through a country whose "general character is that of sterility" (1, 237), and arrived on June 27 at the last of the Blue Hills, near modern Margaret, Man. There they looked out at "one of the most sublime and grand
spectacles of its kind ... a boundless level prairie on the opposite side of the river, one hundred and fifty feet below us, of a rich, dark-green colour, without a tree or shrub to vary its uniform level. . ." (I, 291). They continued along the Souris to its traverse of the 49th parallel, and then proceeded overland directly to Fort Ellice, as Palliser had done in the previous August, and arrived on July 10. Such treeless sublimity as that perceived from the Blue Hills convinced Hind, as it had Palliser, of the worthlessness of all the land between the 49th and 51st parallels: "There can be little doubt that the sterility of the Great Prairie between the Qu'Appelle and the 49th parallel is owing to the small quantity of dew and rain, and the occurrence of fires" (I, 317).

Hind determined on a survey of the Qu'Appelle valley since an increased presence of trees to its north suggested it as a frontier between dry and more humid areas. At the Qu'Appelle Mission (modern Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask.) Hind delighted in the view of the moderately sized Fishing Lakes:

The Qu'Appelle Mission is situated between the second and third Fishing Lakes. The situation is beautiful, and the country on all sides of a very novel and peculiar character. Here the Qu'Appelle valley is 1,1/4 miles broad and 250 feet deep. On the south a vast level prairie extends to the Indian Head Hills, fertile, inviting, but treeless; towards the north the country is studded with groves of aspen over a light and sometimes gravelly soil. Most beautiful and attractive, however, are the lakes, four in number, which from the rich store of fish they contain, are well named the Fishing Lakes. A belt of timber fringes their sides at the foot of the steep hills they wash, for they fill the entire breadth of the valley. Ancient elm trees with long-and drooping branches bend over their waters; the ash-leaved maple acquires dimensions not seen since leaving the Red River, and the Me-sas-ka-tomi-na (la Poire) (Amelanchier Canadensis) is no longer a bush, but a tree eighteen to twenty feet high, and loaded with the most luscious fruit (I, 321).
Lakes of moderate size, full of fish, and ranged by wooded shores provide Hind with a reasonable facsimile of an English landscape, the sort of prospect which caused an aesthetic response and a catalogue of plants whenever he encountered it.

After the expedition had surveyed the Qu'Appelle River valley up to the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan River, Hind paddled downstream to the Saskatchewan River. He had had his fill of more careful estimations of the flat grasslands which had so enchanted him from a distance in the settled Red River valley. He welcomes his re-entry into treed country which he judges "good country, well fitted for settlement" (I, 391). He is simply delighted to be off the grasslands and in the parkland where he no longer feels space so intensely. On the grasslands, as Yorke Edwards puts it, "one feels so conspicuous. There is no shelter from the space. The whole world seems to be looking. The scale of things seems to have changed...." Given his modes of perceiving nature, Hind mistakes his thirst for the Picturesque with the reappearance of signs of forest. That the parkland was initially known, by David Thompson and others, as the "fertile belt," throws into relief this mistake, or at least this judgmental designation made by Palliser, Hector, and Bourgeau as well, of parkland as "good country." And within the parkland, an increase in picturesque variety of scenery merits the judgement of the country by Hind at one grade higher. Thus, "the 14th [August, 1858] brought us to a better country, still undulating, yet containing many beautiful lakelets fringed with aspens" (I, 411). Here is land whose landforms, on a smaller scale, permit visual organization by the viewer trained in landscape composition. The very possibility of practising such an aesthetic schema reawakens the
landscape viewer's belief--all but annihilated on the open grasslands--that he could exert an order over the external world, could perceive a harmonious relation with it. Hope for the establishment of picturesque English villages nestled in a hill-and-dale topography is rejuvenated, reaching its apogee with Hind's discovery in the Touchwood Hills of "land of the best quality." (I, 412) (emphasis added), an apparently natural English landscape park, such as Vancouver might have seen on the Pacific coast:

In journeying from the Lumpy Hill we crossed three 'belts of woods,' as the Indian guide termed them, before arriving at the great prairie west of the Touchwood Hills. These belts, which consist of groves of small aspen following a low gravelly ridge about a mile broad, and having a north-east and south-west direction, are separated by prairie valleys which sustain in their parts a good soil and fine pasturage. There are many delightful spots in the belts, the herbage is clean as a well shaven lawn, the clumps of aspen are neatly rounded as if by art, and, where little lakes alive with water-fowl abound, the scenery is very charming, and appears to be the result of taste and skill, rather than the natural features of a wild and almost uninhabited country (I, 411-12).

Not only does Hind find it difficult to believe that the land has not been landscaped but he confidently and expansionistically asserts of the "romantic" (I, 413), "delightful," and "picturesque" (I, 421) country that it will soon be home to thousands: "The Greater and Lesser Touchwood Hills, the Pheasant Hill, and the File Hill, all appear to be rich, humid tracts, which will become important centres when civilization in conjunction with population reaches these solitudes" (I, 422). Ironically, many of these specific landscapes appear as Indian reservations on modern maps, or, where they were not chosen by Indians, as recently-legislated national and provincial parks.252
James Austin Dickinson, a surveyor and engineer, charted the Qu'Appelle River from Fort Qu'Appelle to Fort Ellice while Hind was paddling down the South Saskatchewan and crossing overland from Fort à la Corne to Fort Ellice. On July 23, 1858, he came to Crooked Lake, where his thirst for the picturesque was slaked by a view from an elevated prospect of a small-scaled watercourse, a view which clearly he has no trouble in envisaging as the Kendal of the Canadian West. That he uses the single-paragraph structure—the narrative equivalent of the picture frame—for his view, attests to his regard of the scene's potential for a picture-making mode of perception and, thereby, as a landscape tourist's mecca:

As I stood upon the summit of the bluff, looking down upon the glittering lake 300 feet below, and across the boundless plains, no living thing in view, no sound of life anywhere, I thought of the time to come when will be seen passing swiftly along the distant horizon the white cloud of the locomotive on its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and when the valley will resound with the merry voices of those who have come from the busy banks of Red River to see the beautiful lakes on the Qu'Appelle. The view down the valley, where the river, after issuing from the lake, commences again its strange contortions, was doubtless very pretty, but it showed too the trouble that was before me, that there would be no rest for eye or finger, such as I had when taking long straight courses on the lake (I, 373).

Judging, it appears, Crooked Lake at about the same distance from Fort Garry as Kendal and the English Lake District are from the busy banks of the Thames, Dickinson deives what amounts to an entry in a guide book of the Canadian West. (As with other landscapes possessing picturesque properties, this one is also an Indian reservation today.) And at the Claudian hour of sunset, he basks in a picturesque delight. The landscape of Crooked Lake, complete with gradations of light and a humanized middle ground, forms a "picture" (I, 374) too varied, in
Dickinson’s view, to be subdued into an integrated landscape. 253

The last members of Hind’s survey arrived at Fort Garry on September 15, 1858. Meanwhile, Simon James Dawson, who had left Fort Garry in May, surveyed and reported on the prairie region between Lake Winnipeg and the Assiniboine River in a series of letters to the Provincial Secretary of the Canada West Legislature. His expansionist sentiments are spelled out most clearly in his accompanying map of the territory between Lake Superior and the forks of the Saskatchewan River, over which he stamps the name, C A N Á D A.

One instance in particular may stand to illustrate how Dawson employs British landscape aesthetics to identify the lands which he surveyed. Under the heading of "appearance of country," he chooses the most picturesque landscape to represent the entire region from the international border up to the Saskatchewan River. In a purported "extract from a journal I kept," he forms an idyllic picture of present and future scenes along the Swan River, from Swan Lake to Fort Pelly, in modern Manitoba, in the week of June 7-13:

As we passed through Swan Lake, the sun was setting behind a range of hills which rose over a low wooded country to the west. To the south the blue outline of the Duck Mountain was just discernible on the verge of the horizon; while we, in our tiny craft, were gliding on through woody islands, rich in the first green drapery of summer. . . . This morning [June 10] we were awakened by a regular serenade from the birds; the woods here are positively alive with them. . . . As we proceed the country becomes still more open; and to judge by the progress of the vegetation, and the black mould thrown up in countless hillocks by the moles, the soil must be very rich. . . . To-day we saw some elk, but failed to get a shot; we also saw numerous bear tracks, but saw none of those interesting animals. The weather continues clear and fine. . . . [June 11] We pass through a beautiful country, present about an equal extent of woodland and prairie. As we proceed [overland to Fort Pelly], the openings become larger, and the wood less frequent. . . . The weather to-day was delightful, and the appearance of the country so pleasing, that we wandered too far, and, being unable to rejoin our party, had to sleep supperless and without covering. . . . [June 12]
Rejoin the party. . . . Such a country as we have passed through to-day I have never before seen in a state of nature. The beautiful green of the rolling prairie, the trees rising in isolated groves, looking at a distance as if laid out by the hand of art, and the blue hills bounding the prospect, presented a picture pleasing in itself and highly interesting when considered in relation to the future. It required no great effort of the imagination in weary travellers to see civilization advancing in a region so admirably prepared by nature for its development, to picture herds of domestic cattle roaming over plains still deeply furrowed with the tracks of the buffalo, which with the hunters who pursued them had disappeared forever; or to plant cottages among groves which seemed but to want them, with the stir of existence, to give the whole the appearance of a highly cultivated country. The weather to-day has been as fine as we have had it for some days past.

Only after this passage does Dawson proceed in his legislative report to discuss geology, climate, the Red River Settlement, and the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly. A sunset view with blue hills for a background—a Claudian motif par excellence—initiates this aesthetic report on the Swan River valley, a report which develops into a pastoral dream vision of floating through "the first green drapery of summer." The pasturage exemplifies expansionist rhetoric at its most patently idyllic. Once he has engaged the landscape tourist, Dawson proceeds to engage the prospective farmer by describing the rich colour and implying the rich quality of the soil (allowing moles to do his soil analysis for him), completely disregarding any consideration of, for example, the length of growing season in a region only one hundred miles south of The Pas. Thereafter, the hunter is enticed by sightings of elk and bear, and all three groups of emigrants are serenaded by descriptions of "clear and fine," and, the reader infers, mosquitoless summer days. Artifice, in the form of the picturesque landscape estate or a landscape painting, arises to depict parkland scenery, as it did for Henry Kelsey in 1691, or for George Vancouver in 1792. And the customary leap of logic carries the reader from that trope to the
conclusion that only "the industry of man" is wanting to render this Swan River, a river actually full of swans and meandering through the North American estate of a gentleman capable of sharing and realizing such prospects. And, if only to arouse the interest of the citizen of Canada West or Britain, Dawson implies that if the land is not soon claimed by outsiders, it may be claimed by residents of the Red River Settlement who have also been raised to appreciate such picturesque prospects: "At the collegiate school established by the Bishop Anderson of Rupert's Land, the high branches of education are taught, and some of the young gentlemen of the settlement instructed there, have subsequently distinguished themselves in other lands, winning the highest degree at Cambridge and elsewhere." 256

Once again, the parkland is championed as a picturesque Eden, already possessed of aesthetic perfection (at least in the second week of June, 1858) and awaiting only the modest labour of man before it might epitomize agricultural perfection. The Picturesque as rhetorical device had come of age, and would continue to serve to lure Britons to the West in the fifth and sixth decades of the century. While Dawson and Hind were exploiting its power in the near-West, propagandists for the settlement of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were about to deploy it in the far-West:

III.8--VANCOUVER ISLAND AND BRITISH COLUMBIA (1857-1865)

When the Hudson's Bay Company recognized that such developments as the American formation of the Oregon Colonization Society (1832) spelled the eventual demise of the monopoly's control of the Columbia
District, it sought to relocate its Pacific Slope operations on Vancouver Island. Earl Grey granted the island to the company in 1843 under an agreement which called for the development of a British colony within five years. James Douglas (1803-1877), a British Guianan by birth, a Scot by education, and a veteran trader who had joined the North West Company in 1819, was sent to determine on a location for the company depot. Under the supervision of John McLoughlin, he erected Fort Camosun in 1843. It became known as Fort Albert and then Fort Victoria before the end of the year. In a letter to James Hargrave at York Factory, Douglas gives his reasons for the selection of the site:

The site we intend to build upon is well adapted to the purpose of settlement; it lies about half a mile off the main strait of De Fuca, in a snug sheltered cove from 5 to 10 fathoms deep, accessible at all seasons to vessels, which may anchor within 50 feet of the bank on which the Fort will stand. A narrow canal [Outer Harbour, Inner Harbour, Selkirk Water, Gorge Waters, and Portage Inlet] passes the Fort and runs 5 miles into the interior of the island, affording, at one point [the Reversible Falls], a water power of incalculable force, and abundance of Pine with other valuable timber on its banks. The place itself appears a perfect "Eden," in the midst of the dreary wilderness of the North west coast, and so different is its general aspect, from the wooded, rugged regions around, that one might be pardoned for supposing it had dropped from the clouds into its present position.

The extent of this singular District is about 9 miles square, the size of a goodly Parish in the land of cakes [i.e. Scotland]; the surface undulating into hill and dale and rendered strikingly picturesque by groups [sic] of fir and oaks, coeval I should think with the land itself. The growth of indigenous vegetation is more luxuriant, than in any other place, I have seen in America, indicating a rich productive soil. . . . I was delighted in ranging over fields knee deep in clover, tall grasses and ferns reaching above our heads, at these unequivocal proofs of fertility. Not a mosquito, that plague of plagues did we feel, nor meet with molestation from the natives. 257

The genus and formation of vegetation represent Douglas' primary reasons for calling the site of modern Victoria Edenic and picturesque. The soil is again presumed to be excellent by virtue of its natural
productions; and it certainly is an Eden in comparison with York. Factory where Hargrave and his wife spent ten dismal years. Clearly, aesthetic effect played a large part in Douglas' decision on the site.

Charles Ross was the first factor at Fort Camosun/Albert/Victoria. Arriving on June 3, 1843, he superintended the fort until his death from appendicitis on June 27, 1844. In a letter to Donald Ross (no relation) on January 10, 1844, he represented the site as rivalling "some of the noble domains at home." On the same day, in a letter to Sir George Simpson, Ross asserted that "Nothing can be finer than the climate and scenery of this place." Simpson replied to Ross on June 20, from the Red River Settlement, congratulating him, after years in less pleasant districts of the company's domain: "You have now got to a very Elysium in point of climate & scenery, if I may judge from the reports I have of the Southern end of Vancouver's Island." Regrettably, Ross never received the letter, having ascended to his ethereal Elysium on June 27.

By June, 1846, when the Oregon Treaty was signed, the picturesque Eden surrounded by sublime wilderness, which Douglas only imagined in early 1843, had been realized. Berthold Carl Seemann, the naturalist aboard HMS Herald (Henry Kellett), which was surveying west coast waters in the years prior to being ordered to the Arctic as part of the 1848 search for the Franklin vessels, testifies with unwitting accuracy to the realization of Douglas' envisioned landscape:

In walking from Ogden Point round to Fort Victoria, a distance of little more than a mile, we thought we had never seen a more beautiful country; it quite exceeded our expectation; and yet [Capt. George] Vancouver's descriptions [of Puget Sound?] made us look for something beyond common scenery. It is a natural park; noble oaks and ferns are seen in the greatest luxuriance, thickets of the hazel and the willow,
shrubberies of the poplar and the alder, are dotted about. One could hardly believe that this was not the work of art; more particularly when finding signs of cultivation in every direction, enclosed pastureland, fields of wheat, potatoes, and turnips. Civilization had encroached upon the beautiful domain, and the savage could no longer exist in the filth and indolence of mere animal life.

Perhaps after spending a protracted period of time at sea, even a turnip patch may appear picturesque to a sailor. Despite Seemann's exaggerated delight in signs of civilization and his misapplication of Vancouver's descriptions of Puget Sound to a stretch of island coastline which the celebrated mariner did not survey in 1792, it is clear that the site of the fort did conduce naturally to organization as a picturesque landscape, and, with a humanized foreground after 1843, presented a welcome sight to the sojourning Briton or European. The creation in 1858 of Beacon Hill Park, a 171-acre plot of the natural terrain, provided that future Britons would continue to extol the landscape's naturally picturesque character. Such Britons would begin to come in waves with the discovery of gold on the Thompson River in 1856.

III. 8.1--William Colquhoun Grant, a First Settler on Vancouver Island

Captain William Colquhoun Grant (1822-1861) arrived at Victoria on the ship Harpoon in 1849 as one of the first eight settlers brought out from Britain as part of the Hudson's Bay Company's agreement with the British Parliament. Grant published his "Description of Vancouver Island" in 1857 after it was read before the Royal Geographical Society on June 22 of that year. The work came to assume disproportionate significance in 1858, when the first gold rush to the Cariboo broke out. The excessively desperate picture which Grant draws of the
island (and which the British gold seeker would have to ignore) derives from two sources: from an objectivity which does not share in Douglas' or Seemann's correction of landscape and from his own bitter experience of building up and then losing an extensive farm at Sooke Harbour. The disagreeable Sublime is the cast into which Grant molds the entire island:

The general aspect of the country throughout the island from the seaward is peculiarly uninviting. Dark frowning cliffs sternly repel the foaming sea, as it rushes impetuously against them, and beyond these, with scarcely any interval of land, rounded hills, densely covered with fir, rise one above the other in dull uninteresting monotony; over these again appear bare mountains of trap rock, with peaks jagged like the edge of a saw, a veritable Montserrat, forming a culminating ridge, which may be said to run with little intermission, like a back bone, all down the centre of the island, from the northern to the southern extremity; nor does a nearer approach present one with many more favourable features in the aspect of the country.

Virtually a monster cursed with a hyperextended backbone, the island fends off a raging ocean in a description which does its level best to adjure all Britons to revise the impression of the island which former picturesque views of Victoria may have created.

The "nearer approach" to which Grant alludes at the close of this passage is developed at length thereafter. The author predicts that only a geologist could be lured by the interior of the island, "the sight of which, seen from the first eminence that he ascends, causes to the explorer a hopeless elongation of visage" (271), which would perhaps generate, to follow Edmund Burke's physiological theory of the Sublime, a correspondent elongation and pain in the optic nerve. The remark also recalls James Tyley's comment in 1823, about "unbroken tracts" straining the sight. Grant promises the explorer of the interior a "confusion worse confounded, "the whole [having] the
appearance of a vast boiling mass, which had been suddenly cooled and solidified in its bubbling position" (273). Beyond the geography, the climate also plays its sublime rôle with the addition to the atmosphere of autumn's dense fogs, "enveloping everything in obscurity, and preventing, as I think, the rays of the sun from having a due vivifying effect on the crops" (275). And, for good measure, after adding that "the Flora of Vancouver Island is poor, and no new varieties of plants have been discovered in the country" (289), Grant crosses the Strait of Georgia to condemn the mainland as, "if anything ... more forbidding" (311).

What must be remembered is Grant's point of view. An unfortunate farmer who has left the country in dispirited disgust cannot be expected to view the land from which he retreats with favour. Conversely, a mariner who visits one of the island's most fertile enclaves and neither sees the interior's ruggedness nor resides in the landscape he extols is able to record a first "land-ahoy" impression objectively. As well, a fur trader such as Douglas is perfectly aware that Victoria exceeds in picturesque aspect most of the sites of other fur trade posts, and certainly that of York Factory. He cannot help gloating. In the cases of both favourable and unfavourable early accounts of Vancouver Island then, perception and description are conditioned by circumstance.

III.8.II--Charles Wilson and the British Boundary Commission (1858-1862)

Charles William Wilson (1836-1905) was forty-nine years of age when his notorious moment of caution in the Khartoum campaign--sending a reconnaissance party downriver, rather than proceeding immediately up
the Nile to end the siege of Khartoum by the Mahdis—spelled the doom of General Charles George ("Chinese") Gordon. But he was less than half that age in 1858, when the British Boundary Commission under Captain John Summerfield Hawkins (1812-1895) docked at Esquimalt on July 12. Wilson acted as the commission’s secretary and general factotum, while John Keast Lord served as naturalist and surgeon. The latter published in 1866 an account of his years in British Columbia which will be considered subsequently; Wilson did not, but his journals were edited and published by George F. G. Stanley in 1970 under the title, Mapping the Frontier. The journals run from April 20, 1858 to July 17, 1862, and were, according to Stanley, "originally intended for the entertainment of his sister, Fanny."264

Wilson sailed up Juan de Fuca Strait at sunrise on a cloudless July 12, 1858, at the same time that Francis Leopold M’Clintock was negotiating the Fox through Lancaster Sound, the Palliser expedition was making its way to the southern tip of Battle River, Henry Youle Hind was surveying his way up the Qu’Appelle River valley from Fort Ellice, and while many of the estimated 20,000 gold seekers who raced to the Fraser River between April 1 and August 30 were discovering that the new Eldorado was not easily reached.265 Conditioned, it would appear, by Vancouver’s narrative, the Royal Engineer provides the following picture of the continental shoreline:

Thousands of puffins kept flying across our bow reminding one very much of home. The scenery going up the straits is perfectly lovely, alternately beautiful glades with trees scattered about, the very facsimile of an English park & the dark forests of gigantic pines, cedars, & firs, whilst in the background you can see the Cascade [Olympic] Mountains, with their snowy heads (p. 23).
Probably, Wilson was referring to the southern shore of the strait, for his ship had passed near Tatoosh Island. He is delighted by the parkland-like mixture of "glades" and trees, especially since it is enclosed by snow-capped mountains. The puffins animate the foreground with an English motif, finishing the "facsimile" in a virtually complete manner.

Wilson offers no first aesthetic impression of Victoria. He saw it first when answering a call for troops after a riot in the town. Stationed at Esquimalt, he sailed over to a village overrun by the confusion of miners' tents, and spent much of the time making sure that his men did not desert to become miners. On August 12, the first meeting with the American survey commission officer, Archibald Campbell, was arranged at Semiahmoo Bay, where the continent meets the Strait of Georgia at the 49th parallel. Wilson "had a most delightful sail through the islands in the gulf of Georgia; they are truly beautiful, dense forest with open glades & scattered clumps of oak, arbutus, maple, exactly like an English park scene, the woods are crowded with game of all kinds" (p. 30). Part of the fascination for Wilson is to arrive in such islands after a lengthy ocean voyage. The fact that the vastness of the ocean is here picturesquely broken into irregular and enclosed straits and islands, the latter bearing the resources needed by English gardeners and sportsmen, disposes the Briton to an aesthetically enjoyable tour to the mainland.

Wilson was tied down at the Esquimalt headquarters for the commission through the early autumn. In mid-October, he and John Keast Lord steamed up to "Tsanaimo" (Nanaimo) through the Gulf Islands on a "beautiful" day, "the water as smooth as glass & completely landlocked by
the most beautiful islands imaginable. Lord describes it as the very picture of the large American lakes with the additional advantage of the ranges of snowy mountains in the background" (p. 34). The spatial parlance of the landscape painting is deployed in this picturesque rendering of Grant's sublime monster of an island.

After reaching Nanaimo, Wilson crossed the Strait of Georgia on October 14, "anchored at 6 inside the much dreaded bar of the Fraser river" (p. 36), and proceeded over "flat" country to Fort Langley on the next day, apparently as unattracted by the estuary landscape as George Vancouver had been sixty-four years before. From Langley, Wilson moved the commission's supplies to a camp at Sumas Lake (northeast, down Sumas River, from modern Abbotsford, B.C.). He found the Fraser a "beautiful" river, even when cursed by autumn downpours: "the foliage was at its best, the bright red of the dog wood, the yellow of the maple, & the dark cedars & pines, made a gorgeous scene which would seem unnatural in a painting" (p. 38) because the outstanding colours of the vegetation were individually impressive in a way not conducive to the portrayal of an harmonious British or European landscape. But the view was the only alluring aspect in what amounted to a sodden trudge through downpours and quagmires. October 31 saw Lord and Wilson thankfully back at Victoria, where Wilson spent a leisurely winter entertained by a flow of reports of death by starvation among the miners on the Fraser River.

In May, 1859, Wilson organized supplies for that summer's survey and sailed on May 10 to Semiahmoo Bay, finding the Gulf and San Juan Islands almost ineffable in springtime: "I cannot describe to you the scenery of the islands, as it baffles all description. . . . it was
like walking through a flower bed in an English garden the flowers were nearly all new to me; some of them very beautiful & would be prized in any English garden" (p. 47). The disputed island of San Juan unfortunately held the greatest aesthetic attraction: "some portions were very like Mount Edgecombe" near Plymouth, which John McLean had found exquisite while on furlough from Ungava in 1842. Wilson adds the aesthetic qualification that, at San Juan, "all is natural & there [Mount Edgecombe] artificial." One month later saw him at the commission's depot at "Chilukweyuk" (modern Chilliwack, B.C.), where "the scenery is most lovely but as far as I have seen[,] the place abounds in snakes, mosquitoes, sand flies, rain & thunder with an occasional roasting day up to 113°" (p. 48). Yet, he unmistakably looks forward to a tour of inland duty, if only to change the scenery for a different sort of "most beautiful place I was ever in." The Chilliwack prairie in mid-June was "covered with flowers & strawberries & even in this early period of the year the grass is nearly up to the waist" (p. 49). This remark signals a new note in landscape aesthetics—the Victorian interest in flower beds and floral groupings per se, rather than in the entire landscape. Just as with his frequent references to Dickens' novels, this landscape taste marks Wilson as the exponent of a transitional aesthetic taste that is the product of his age. It is only transitional: Wilson also proves comfortable with a picturesque landscape organization of space, as in the following passage:

The prairie runs down to the bank of the Chilukweyuk from which we are about 2 miles distant; the view from the camp is superb, the prairie in front with its beautiful waving grass & belts of poplar, willow, ash & maple in the foreground, right in front a view of the Fraser river valley for about 60 miles with snow capped mountains on either side; on the right, the Chilukweyuk valley, at the head of which stands
a very prominent & peculiar peak of the Cascades [Mount Pierce] with its snowy summit & the other sides of the prairie bordered in by high hills covered to the summit with dark green pine & cedar forming a beautiful background to the light green of the trees on the prairie. There are plenty of bear & deer about us here & beaver about 25 miles off (pp. 49-50).

Besides selecting a moderately sized foreground and middle ground (two miles), Wilson appreciates the closural properties of the mountain ranges in the background, as well as the river valley hills as coullisses to each side. The dual vanishing point (up the Fraser, and up the Chilliwack Rivers) is unique but the common prairie foreground acts almost as the hub in the wheel on to which converge two river valleys, as in a patte d'oise. The Englishman appreciates the contrast between snow-capped mountains and forested hills for their differences in colour, elevation, and effect, and also appreciates the contrast between the greens of the deciduous trees in the foreground and those of the needleleaf trees in the middle ground and background. It is also noteworthy that Wilson reflects the taste of the Victorian age by showing delight rather than fear at the sight of the mountains.

Response to landscape is banished in the late spring and summer, when the surveyors were blanketed by mosquitoes. Escaping them or suffering their torment generates the only theme of Wilson's journal entries beyond the circumstances of keeping the survey camps supplied:

July 20th. One of the most trying days I ever spent. The mosquitoes very bad, the sun shining down with scorching heat & not a breath of wind or any shade on the open prairie. We could not stop in our tents, but had to keep pacing up & down, something like caged animals, the whole day. I felt as tired in the evening as if I had walked 30 miles (p. 61).

Finally, near the end of July, work was halted only hours before the axemen hired to hew out the 20-yard-wide demarcation line along the
parallel mutinied. The mosquitoes had plagued one officer so incessantly, "that he has scratched into a vein in his neck which bled a good deal & we had to keep bathing it during the day" (p. 62). For his part, Wilson could barely bend his swollen fingers. Only a coat of vermilion, applied by a charitable Indian who pitied Wilson's condition, assuaged his pain. John Keast Lord actually "look[ed] some years older than before, [his] face drawn in as if [it] had been on short food" (p. 63).

When the mosquitoes relented, forest fires ravaged the countryside in the autumn. Wilson did enjoy one exquisite horseback ramble up the valley of Slashe Creek where vertical sublimity delighted his aesthetic taste, while the peaks formed a natural hotbed on the valley floor whose fruits—"strawberries, black currants and raspberries in great profusion" (p. 70)—charmed his gastronomical tastes. A trying late fall was put in at Chilliwack as the teams strove to complete the cutting on the western side of the Cascade Mountains: "... after the manner of Englishmen we grumble at everything & everybody" (p. 75), Wilson writes— at one point. November brought first rain; then snowfalls, then gales of snow. The cutting to the height of land was completed on December 22, however, and the entire commission was back at Victoria by the end of 1859.

The highlight of the winter season was a ball given by John Palliser on January 28, 1860, before his return to England on March 14. On April 28, the commission sailed from Esquimault for the Columbia River. It had been determined that the most efficient means of supplying the cutting parties on the east side of the Cascades during 1860 would be by transporting provisions up the Columbia River to Fort
Colvile, thirty miles below the 49th parallel. Wilson arrived there on June 30, and although a settled landscape awaited him, his delight in the tamed view rivals that of David Douglas in the fortress valley in 1826:

In the afternoon we found ourselves toiling up a steep hill, on reaching the top of which a view burst on our eyes which I shall never forget. We were on a considerable elevation & far beneath us lay the Colville valley; a small stream winding its way amongst the cornfields, of the most luxuriant green & sparkling in the sun like a streak of silver, with the scattered hamlets & dark clumps of trees, formed a scene which of its kind I never saw surpassed. After having been travelling over the hot sandy desert of Walla Walla [which Henry James Warre had found sublime in 1846], the grassy & immense Spokane plateau & the wild forest of the last two days, the moment I saw it, I exclaimed 'here is the happy valley of Rasselas' (pp. 109-10).

That the terrain forms a scene, distinguishes it immediately as a picturesque landscape. That it bursts upon the viewer, places it in the tradition of the effect on James Thomson of Hagley Park in The Seasons. But it accrues in picturesque qualities as well from the contrast it offers to deserts, highlands, and forests, which were encountered by Wilson during his travels to it. Moreover, an ideal quality is generated from the settled aspect of the valley as Wilson surveys it from his elevated prospect: a meandering stream traces a silver thread through the middle ground of cultivated crop land, "hamlets" (an oddly English name for a frontier American town), and the ubiquitous clumped vegetation. Such a close approximation in nature of a landscape painting shocks Wilson, bursting upon him as it does after days in the wilderness. For this reason primarily, he likens the scene to the alleged ideality of the valley in the kingdom of Amhara in Samuel Johnson's The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia (1759), where, "all the diversities of the world were brought together, the blessings of nature were collected,
and its evils extracted and excluded.”

Trips westward from Fort Colvile in 1860 took Wilson to Osoyoos Lake, in the Okanagan valley, and to the Ashnola, Pasayten, and Similkameen River valleys. Each valley provided a certain grandeur of scenery which Wilson noted but did not develop. However, he did stop on August 24, 1860, to consider the sublime effect on him of mountain touring in the Cascade range generally:

the tints on the mountains at sunset were such that an artist might (if he spent his whole life in the endeavour) despair of imitating. There is something indescribably pleasant rambling about a mountain at such an altitude [7500 feet]; the air sharp and clear, the magnificent panorama before the eye & a buoyant & elastic feeling both of mind & body, which is never felt elsewhere, always make me more contented & feel that after all, the world is not so bad as it is painted. One seems as it were to be drawn nearer to the Master hand that made all that is around (p. 123).

This is a late-Addisonian (in the eighteenth century) or mid-Victorian (in the nineteenth) admiration of sublime mountain topography, rather than a Dennisonian trepidation or Burnetian alarm. It evinces Wilson's habituation to the mountains in his second full season of travel in them. These ranges can be rambled in. They are not merely passed through or scaled, but are themselves a destination for a Briton's excursions. To that extent, they delight rather than threaten in their sublime effect. But another very significant factor plays its part in this altered perception. It was the overwhelming sense of solitude which cast the mountainous regions on the Pacific Slope in gloom for earlier respondents. By the time of Wilson's rambles, the southern regions of what is now modern British Columbia were being opened. Far from the solitary European at a fur trade post, as Ross and Cox were, in the second decade of the century, Wilson is surrounded by labourers,
miners, and soldiers. He travels to their camps and can rely upon a humanized foreground in the landscape of his destination. The chances are good that he will meet fellow Europeans, Americans, or Britons in each successive mountain valley. Moreover, he is participating in a massive project of landscape identification—the cutting of the boundary—which is suddenly transforming the wilderness into a place belonging to one or another civilized country. In the midst of such makings of landscape, the Briton is not bound to detect a great burden of natural solitude, or an anxious apprehension of the wilderness. The Victorian "Master hand" oversees all, at any rate, and all is Britishly right.

Wilson did continue to encounter picturesque landscapes on his rambles. On August 29, he rode over the divide between Lake Osoyoos and Rock Creek, and "then passed over a beautiful tract of country, splendid grass with scattered trees, looking very much like an English park" (p. 125). He followed Rock Creek down to the town of the same name: "The town [Rock Creek, B.C.] is situated at the point where Rock creek falls into the Nenokalpitku [Kettle River] & a very pretty situation it is; the latter river being more like an English stream than any I have seen, the valley open & thinly timbered through which one can ride anywhere" (p. 126). Again, English parkland marks the picturesque standard for the travelling Briton, and in terms of that standard Wilson deplores the loss of trees to fire and the axe with the advent of miners in the summer of 1860. He pursued the Kettle River valley, perhaps for its aesthetic attraction, and was not disappointed on August 31 when he found the scenery and the sport as quintessentially English as he or Izaak Walton might have wished.
We started off to continue our journey to Colville & passing through the town of Rock Creek, followed down the stream of the Nehoialpiku Ok! valley of Nehoialpiku; how shall I sing thy praises! those shady groves abounding with grouse! those grassy plains inviting a gallop! those green hazel trees overloaded with nuts & those deep pools where monster trout only wait the coming of the much loved grasshopper to transfer themselves to the frying pan. Lastly the silvery stream now babbling along through meadows of the most luxuriant grass, then forcing itself through mountains of gneiss, whose blue rocks tower overhead, left an impression on me which I shall never forget, in spite of the frequent showers which we had, keeping us in a continual state of damp; but I find I am getting out of my line, which is certainly not the poetical. (p. 128).

Even the weather is disposed to remind Wilson of England, and although the mountains provide a grandeur not typically English, their Claudian bluish tint serves only to enhance the foreground "babbling" stream winding through meadows and transporting the Briton in poetic associations and apostrophes back to his own landscapes and poetry.

Wilson returned to Fort Colville in September and wintered there with the other members of the Boundary Commission in preparation for the final season of cutting the parallel to the Great Divide in 1861. He made one winter return trip to San Francisco in February, and was back at the end of April. Summer trips in 1861 took him now eastward from Fort Colville, but English parkland scenery did not desert him: on May 21, 1861, en route to Pend’Oreille Lake, he rode "over a terrace at some height above the Spokan, it was just like travelling over a gravel drive in England and as the trees were very scattered we cantered along pleasantly" (p. 146). Undoubtedly, Wilson's means of conveyance disposes him to image picturesque landscapes almost uniquely in terms of English estates: although he also found parkland scenery while sailing through the Gulf and San Juan Islands, the associations evoked from horseback riding in the West clearly depend upon riding excursions.
which he enjoyed as a boy. Nowhere is this path of association clearer than in his description of the Spokane valley: "... the ground slightly undulating and covered with fine grass, with clumps of trees scattered about in just sufficient quantity to break the monotony of the plain, each side bordered by darkly wooded hills and the river running down the centre in a deep sunken channel. The ground was in excellent order for riding, the young grass being not too high to prevent a horse going along" (p. 146). The same valley had reminded David Douglas of "an English lawn" in April, 1826.

After spending six weeks at the "Sínγaqwaṭen Dépòt" on Pend'Oreille Lake, Wilson rode to the Chelempa Dépòt on the Kootenay River (near modern Bonners Ferry, Idaho) in mid-July, and then proceeded up the Kootenay, past the Moyie River which John Sullivan had surveyed for Palliser in the autumn of 1859, and around its Big Bend to the Tobacco River (in Montana, just below the boundary). As had been David Thompson fifty years, and Sir George Simpson twenty years before, Wilson was impressed by the parkland features of the Tobacco Plains, which he remarked from a prospect high above the Kootenay River valley, on July 22: "dotted over with clumps of trees and hemmed in at about 30 miles' distance by the abrupt spurs of the Galton mountains, whilst to give a little air of civilization to the scene, numerous herds of cattle and horses (the property of the Indians) were roaming about at will" (p. 154). The herds of wild cattle and horses perhaps clinch the parkland association for the Briton.

But the aesthetic climax of the trip was Wilson's sighting of the abruptly sublime meeting of the horizontal plane and the vertical mountain on the east side of the continental divide. He had followed the
Kishinena Creek up to Waterton River and surveyed a "sea of peaks" on
July 26. That evening, he anticipated the view of the plains "in a
rather excited state of mind" (p. 157), as excited as Hector, Henry
James Warre, or any traveller coming from the east across the Prairies
and anticipating a first view of the Rockies—one sublimity being ex-
changed completely and suddenly for another. And for the sportsman
headed east, there was also the tantalizing prospect of a buffalo run:

July 27th [1861]. On getting up in the morning at about five we had
a beautiful sight, the deep gorge we were in, being still in the dark
shade of the night, with the moon shining gloriously overhead, whilst
the high peaks around us were tipped with the bright gold of the rising
sun. For about 6 miles we kept down the valley which was open and
grassy though closed in on either side by the high mountains, when,
taking a sharp turn to the left we suddenly came out on the plains;
rolling prairie as far as the eye could reach, without a tree, save
where a belt of green marked the course of the Waterton river and the
green border around Waterton or Chief Mountain lake, which lay spark-
ling at the foot of the lofty mountains on our right. We followed the
Waterton River down for some distance, camped on its banks and then
went on to see if we could find anything; but though we saw numerous
signs of buffalo that had been here in the spring... we were not for-
tunate enough to get a sight of a living animal... However I was
glad to have had even such a peep at the plains and the scenery was, I
think, finer than any we had yet come across, the mountains being bare
of trees rugged and rising in one long unbroken line abruptly from the
plain (p. 158).

This is a curious scene, for the enclosed pictures of the mountain
gorge and Waterton Lake give way to the immensity of the plains
stretching away in their background. Unlike Thomas Blakiston, who
sketched the second Waterton Lake in 1858, Wilson has his eye on the
background as much as on the nearer views. In 1858, Blakiston had
responded only to the "grand" and "picturesque" qualities of the Water-
ton Lakes because he had had his fill of the flatland Prairies. But Wilson sees the enthralling aspect of the Waterton area as residing
in the coming together of the horizontal, the vertical, and the
lacustrine. Yet, he may be distinguishing degrees of aesthetic interest; it is difficult to determine from the syntax of the last sentence whether "scenery" includes only the mountains. Was he glad to have seen the Prairies for the sake only of saying that he saw them? Whether they are included or not in the subsequent aesthetic judgement is perhaps not as significant as Wilson's location of his greatest aesthetic interest in the "line" of rock rising "abruptly from the plain."

The meeting of two uniform planes of immense scale compounds the evocation of sublimity which, ever since Thomas Burnet in the late seventeenth century, was considered to arise from any one instance of topographic uniformity.

Wilson retraced his route to Fort Colvile in the autumn and spent the gelid winter of 1861-1862 in winter quarters there. The Boundary Commission had completed its demarcation of the parallel to the continental divide, leaving the return to England as the only item on the itinerary for 1862. Leaving Fort Colvile on April 2, 1862, "four years to the very day from the date of our leaving England" (p. 17), the party did not meet spring weather on its descent of the Columbia River until April 17. But they reached Fort Vancouver on May 5, and steamed through the Solent on July 14, concluding a "sojourn [which] will always be amongst my pleasantest reminiscences."


Because it was published, John Keast Lord's account of his four years with the Boundary Commission includes fewer intimate remarks and more information for the emigrant than Wilson's journals. His responses to landscape in The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia
(1866), apart from a marked interest in wildlife less as sport than as specimen, rival Wilson's. Lord (1818-1872) also travelled over some terrain not seen by Wilson, whose work kept him in the vicinity of commission supply depots and camps.

In October, 1858, while Wilson organized matters in Victoria, Lord sailed in the Hudson's Bay Company steamer, Otter, to Prince Rupert. He describes the view from the steamer as it sails from Victoria:

On a bright but cold morning in October the 'Otter' twisted, puffed, and worked her way through the somewhat intricate passage leading out of Victoria Harbour. Leaving the harbour, the scenery opens out like a magnificent panorama, indescribably wild and beautiful. In front, the sharp jagged mountains of the coast range, wooded to the sea-line, tower in the far distance to the regions of eternal snow; to the left, the rounder hills of the island slope easily to the water's edge, in grassy glades and lawnlike openings, belted with scrub-oaks; higher up, the hill-sides are overshadowed by the Douglas pines and cedars; whilst just visible in our course, like a green speck, is the famed island of St. Juan; and bending away to the right, as far as the eye could reach, dense forests look like one vast unbroken sea of green.

The Sublime and the Picturesque are present in both topography and vegetation—in the Olympic Mountains, and the "grassy glades and lawnlike openings" on Vancouver Island, in the "unbroken sea" of forests in the distance, and in the belts of individual species in the foreground. William Colquhoun Grant's wild island coastline here undergoes a newly-arrived visitor's interpretation of the "wild and beautiful," giving rise to a far less threatening picture of the island than Grant conjured up.

In a way similar to his unstated refutation of Grant's charge of sublimity, Lord implicitly refutes the sublimely desolate picture of northern Vancouver Island painted by George Vancouver. Steaming through Johnstone Strait and knowing, as Vancouver did not, that the passage would take him to the Pacific ocean, Lord surveys the landscape without
anxiety:

As we steamed steadily along through Johnston's [sic] Straits, I could recall to my remembrance no scenery that was comparable, in wild grandeur and picturesque grouping, to the scenery on my left. The coastline of Vancouver Island presented a series of small projecting headlands; the bays and creeks between, seldom rippled by the breeze, are very Edens for wildfowl. In the background, the hills rise sharp and conical, at this time crowned with snow, but all alike densely timbered. In the distance, Hardwicke Island, like a floating emerald, hid the water beyond it. To the right, islands of all sizes and shapes, so thick that one might suppose it had rained islands at some time or other: on the least of them grew pine-trees, any of which would have made a mainmast for the largest ship ever built. I have again and again threaded the intricate passages through the 'Lake of a Thousand Islands,' in the Great St. Lawrence; but I say without fear of contradiction, that the scenery from Chatham Point [at the top of Quadra Island] to the mouth of the Nimmish river [on Vancouver Island, at 50°33'N lat., 126°57'W long.] is wilder, bolder, and in every respect more beautiful, lovely as I admit the Canadian scenery to be (I, 156-57).

Since Johnstone and Vancouver's other surveyors had sorted out its cartographic nightmare in 1792, the archipelago at the top of the Strait of Georgia could be considered aesthetically by Lord and other travellers. On a pleasure cruise himself, Lord pauses to compare the beauty of the islands to another celebrated group of British North American islands—the Thousand Islands—a tour through which had long been regarded as one of the most picturesque excursions on the eastern side of the continent, and a poetic treatment of which by Charles Sangster had appeared in 1856 under the title "The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay."

As has been seen, a comparison of scenes emerges—especially after the rise of Associationist philosophy—as a favourite mode of identifying a landscape for any British traveller. Whether it is a specific landscape or a general landscape quality with which he compares the new scene before him, Lord utilizes this mode of landscape
identification widely. But he is not always a careful associationist. For instance, while describing an "indescribably lovely" trip up the Similkameen River valley in the summer of 1859 (presumably during a lull in that mosquito plague which made him look so aged in Wilson's view) Lord awkwardly defines sublime beauty in terms of the Picturesque: "There is a wild and massive grandeur about the eastern side of the Cascades, unlike the scenery of the west or coast slope, which is densely wooded. Here it was like riding through a succession of parks, covered with grass and flowers of varied species" (I, 321-22). No effort at deliberation appears to have been made: the parkland is called "wild and massive." Lord might better have left the valley as 'undescribedly' lovely, since he has not sorted out how, if at all, the sublimity of the mountains and "grim hills" (I, 322) unite with the parkland scenery on the valley floor. 270

The naturalist does, however, use effectively another mode of landscape description. His interest in biology is often a paramount element in his natural descriptions, as in Vol. II, chpt. 4, which is entitled "Nature of Country," and which amounts exclusively to a catalogue of animal and bird species found along the parallel from Boundary Bay to the Ashnola River. When the naturalist and landscape enthusiast join their interests, a compelling literary technique is achieved: Lord moves from the description of an animal or bird to a landscape appreciation of its habitat, as in the following passage, which follows a description of an Urotrichus, a cross between a shrew and a mole:

The first and only place in which I ever met this strange little fellow was on the Chilkawayuk [Chilliwack] prairies. These large grassy openings, or prairies, are situated near the Fraser river, on the wes
tern side of the Cascade Mountains. Small streams wind and twist through these prairies like huge water-snakes, widening out here and there into large glassy pools.

The scenery is romantic and beautiful beyond description. Towering up into the very clouds, as a background, are the mighty hills of the Cascade range, their misty summits capped with perpetual snow—their craggy sides rent into chasms and ravines, whose depths and solitudes no man's foot has ever trodden, and clad up to the very snow-line with mighty pine and cedar-trees. The Chilkwewyuk river already referred to washes one side of the prairie. Silvery-green and ever-trembling cotton-wood trees, ruddy black-birch, and hawthorn, like a girdle, encircle the prairie, and form a border, of Nature's own weaving, to the brilliant carpet of emerald grass, patterned with wild flowers of every hue and tint—all shading pleasantly away, and losing their brilliancy in the dark green pine-trees (1, 341-42).

This technique conjoins a specific landscape feature—that of a rodent's habitat—with the general sublime and picturesque effects of the landscape. The former tends, if bathetically, to cut across the romantic bulge of the latter. In terms of the planes of viewing involved in this description, the animal occupies the lower foreground. After scaling the elevated background Lord returns to the low prairie. Finally, in the following paragraph, he descends below the prairie floor as he returns to the specific biological focus in order to describe the dens of the Urotrichus that are dug into the sand banks of the Chilliwack River.

Another description shows how this technique may be reworked. Still on the Chilliwack prairie, Lord discovers how his response to landscape alters with the approach of evening:

The Indian summer is drawing to a close; the maple, the cottonwood, and the hawthorn, fringing the winding waterways, like silver cords intersecting the prairie, have assumed their autumn tints, and, clad in browns and yellows, stand out in brilliant contrast to the green of the pine-forest. The prairie looks bright and lovely; the grass, as yet untouched by the frost-fairy's fingers, waves lazily; wild flowers, of varied tints, peep out from their hiding places, enjoying to the last the lingering summer.

I had been for some time sitting on a log, admiring the sublime beauty
of the scene, spread out before me like a gorgeous picture; the sun was fast receding behind the hilltops, the lengthening shadows were fading and growing dimly indistinct, the birds had settled down to sleep, and the busy hum of insect life was hushed. A deathlike quiet steals over everything in the wilderness as night comes on—a stillness that is painful from its intensity. The sound of your own breathing, the crack of a branch, a stone suddenly rattling down the hillside, the howl of the coyote, or the whoop of the night-owl, seem all intensified to an unnatural loudness. I know of nothing more appalling to the lonely wanderer camping by himself than this 'jungle silence,' that reigns through the weary hours of night (I, 347-48).

From outward aspects of a charming landscape, the passage moves to consider the inward response by the viewer and, with the fading light, from a visual to an aural response. This technique is not novel—it had been, after all, practised with astonishing results by the Romantic poets after the turn of the century—but it is interesting how picturesque features of a landscape foreground—"winding waterways, like silver cords," and grass that "waves lazily"—give way to a textbook example of Burke's theory of the pain attached to the Sublime. With the fading of the picturesque sunset hour, the obscurity of sublime nightfall comes, transforming the landscape, and, in the process, transforming the viewer from an enthusiastic spectator of, to a "lonely wanderer" in, nature.

At this point, and after introducing an apparently unsuitable reference to "'jungle silence,'" Lord commences his description of the mountain leopards, Aplodontia leporina. The evocation of sublimity in the landscape has set up the portrait of an animal that normally evoked a sublime response in a Briton. Thus, Lord achieves an interesting technique for describing the natural world in the years following Darwin's publication of Origin of Species in 1859, the year, as it happens, in which Lord experienced this landscape, though seven years
before he published his response to it.

III.8.IV--R. C. Mayne on the Maritime Boundary Commission

An adjunct to the terrestrial survey by the boundary commission was the marine demarcation of the 49th parallel through the Strait of Georgia and the Gulf and San Juan Islands. This part of the enterprise was performed by HMS Plumper, under the command of Capt. (later Admiral Sir) George Henry Richards (1820-1896). A veteran of the Arctic search for Franklin, Richards had captained HMS Assistance under the nominal command of Sir Edward Belcher in the 1852-1854 search that ended in Belcher's disgraceful call to abandon all ships. Richards' Pacific survey serves as the basis of a narrative of travel on the west coast by Lieutenant Richard Charles Mayne (1835-1892), entitled Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (1862).

When Mayne sailed up Haro Strait on November 18, 1857, he did not greet the view of the Gulf Islands with the aesthetic alacrity shown by Wilson or Lord after him, even though he realized that he was not seeing the landscapes/seascapes "to advantage":

"It would be unjust to the scenery of these channels to describe it as we then saw it in the depth of winter. Although the weather was open, and there was hardly any snow upon the ground, both the shores of Vancouver and the numerous other islands that we passed wore that dull, sombre hue common to northern countries at such a season. At all times, indeed, the scenery of these islands, with that of the shores of the mainland, is little attractive, covered as they are with pine-trees to the water's edge, through which knobs of trap show in places, but in winter it is peculiarly uninviting." 272

Much more Grantian in his response than others had been, Mayne views the scenery in the off-season and dislikes the needleleaf forests and
grey rock that he sees, apparently to the exclusion of everything else on the island's shores. But as his narrative progresses, it appears clear that Mayne is another Ross Cox or William Fraser Tolmie, as it were, whose perception of picturesque landscapes depends heavily on humanized foregrounds. Thus, he generalizes the complex wilderness geography of the coast as the "grotesque" outpourings of sublime "volcanic action" (pp. 42-3).

Survey work occupied the Plumper in the Gulf Islands during the 1858 and 1859 seasons, and was highlighted by the San Juan crisis (which arose after American troops occupied San Juan Island, part of the Hudson's Bay Company claim since 1845). The mariners were called upon to carry out a miscellany of commissions during that time: some, including Mayne, were sent to quell a miners' riot at Yale, in the Fraser River valley, in January, 1859. Mayne himself was commissioned to survey the Fraser River up to Lillooet and overland to New Westminster by way of Seton, Anderson, Lillooet, and Harrison Lakes in April, May, and June, 1859.

Mayne's description of the lower Fraser River is confined largely to its settlements. Little attention is paid to the sublime canyons which, fifty-one years before, Simon Fraser had found a nightmare. In April, 1859, Mayne praised the "thriving aspect" of New Westminster, the capital of the colony of British Columbia which the Royal Engineers had been building since their arrival in January of that year. Mayne gets great aesthetic mileage from the town, employing it as the foreground for fancifully elongated views up Pitt Lake, up the Fraser valley, "almost as far as Fort Hope [modern Hope, B.C.]" (p. 89), and "over level land ... as far almost as Admiralty Inlet and Puget
Sound." Like many other travellers, he considered Hope, "the prettiest
town on the Fraser":

Behind it Olgie Peak rises abruptly to a height of 5000 feet; to the
right stretches the valley of the Que-que-alla [Coquihala River],
through which the trail to the new gold districts in the Semilkameen
[Similkameen River valley] country is cut; while in the front the river
glides, its channel divided by a beautiful little green island, the
hills upon its opposite bank rising gradually to a considerable height,
and forming a charming background to the prospect (p. 95).

This panorama uses the humanized townsites in the same manner as the
previous word picture had used New Westminster—as a foreground nexus.
The expanding sentence also fights to deflect the aesthetic deficiency
of the town: by building the sentence view by view, the author
impresses the reader with the variety to be seen, though in fact the
views from Hope are all restricted quite narrowly by the mountains.

Beyond Yale, the terminus for steamboat travel on the Fraser,
Mayne followed the Cariboo trail along the cliff-face past Hell's Gate.
He would grant the river scenery no more than "grand" status, but did
admit to its evocation of a conventional, sublime sensation of vertigo:
"Grand as the scene was, watching it, my brain grew dizzy, and I was
glad to turn away and continue my journey, fearful lest, if I looked
longer, that strange desire which creeps over you to spring into the
boiling torrent should become too strong for further resistance" (p.
105).

At Lytton, named after the novelist and Colonial Secretary in 1858,
Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Mayne apparently had been surfeited by the
sublimity of the Fraser, for he turned inland off his intended route
and followed the marginally less violent Thompson River to Kamloops.
At the forks of the Nicola River (near modern Spences Bridge, B.C.),
he was greeted by a picturesque landscape the like of which he had not
expected to find away from settled areas:

The view from this spot was one of the most lovely I ever saw in Bri-
tish Columbia. It was a fine, clear May day. The sun shone brightly;
giving a warmth and freshness to the hill-side, which sloped to the
water’s edge, not in craggy, precipitous masses like those of the
canyons on the Fraser River, but clothed with long, soft grass, and
bright with the numberless wild flowers which grow so luxuriously in
this country. Unlike them, too, instead of terminating abruptly at the
water’s edge, they sloped down to it in plateaux a mile or so in
breadth, terminating sometimes in steep, perpendicular banks, but as
often sweeping down gradually to a neutral ground of reeds and swamp
yet always vying with the hill-sides in fertility and luxuriance.
Between these banks the Nicola coursed with great rapidity, leaping
over the many rocks which check its progress, and sweeping round the
numerous small islets that dot its surface.

It is very difficult to impress the reader with the beauty of the
view on which we stood gazing, unwilling to tear ourselves from it.
As yet we had seen nothing at all equal to it in British Columbia. The
shores of the coast are lined with dense, almost impenetrable forests,
while the Fraser cuts its way through steep and rugged mountains (p.
112).

All is moderation; hills gradually slope, grass is soft, the Nicola
River does not boil in "wild reverberations" (p. 105) as the Fraser
had, but "course[s] with great rapidity," and sweeps and leaps along,
one might say, merrily. Let his reader miss the obvious contrast to
the Fraser valley, Mayne pointedly declares how this picturesque view
mesmerizes him, not by vertigo, but by enchantment into a state in
which he was "unwilling to tear [himself] from it." Mayne’s route pro-
vided nothing which he considered naturally so picturesque as this land-
scape. After visiting Kamloops, he proceeded to Lillooet via the
Thompson, Bonaparte, and Chapeau (Hat Creek) Rivers, and Pavilion Lake
and Pavilion River. Then he proceeded west along the Lillooet trail to
Harrison Lake, whose lacustrine scenery pleased him, and on to
Esquimalt, where he boarded the Plumper on June 19. One landscape on
the route did, however, catch his eye one year later. Exploring inland
from Jervis Inlet in July, 1860, he crossed the "Squawmisht" (Squamish) River and followed the "Tseearkamisht" (Cheakamus) River up past the modern site of Whistler, B.C., discovering and naming Green Lake, before reaching the meadows at modern Pemberton, B.C. on July 17, in the vicinity of the Green, Lillooet, and Birkenhead Rivers.

An hour's walk on the following morning brought us to the top of a hill from which we looked down on the Lilloett [sic] Meadows. A small lake, at certain seasons nearly dry, lay at our feet, and before us, for some miles east and west, dotted at long intervals with log huts—the ripe corn surrounding them, and the long hay which grew all over the plain sending up a delicious perfume—lay the Lilloet Meadows. Through them flowed the river, which came from the high rugged mountains in the east, where the sterile country ended. It was lovely weather, calm and bright as July mornings always are here, and the scene was most attractive and beautiful. Our sense of its charms was not a little heightened perhaps by the few signs of civilization, before us, and the sight far off of the thin white smoke which told where the huts which constitute the important city of Pemberton, whither we were bound, lay (p. 203).

If the potential for habitation of the picturesque landscape in the Nicola valley had enchanted Mayne, the realization of it ravished him at Pemberton. Here a "scene" boasting a humanized foreground appeared on July 17, in lovely weather and effectively in contrast to the "sterile country" of the picture's mountainous background. "Civilizing the wilderness" might well be Mayne's choice of title for his single-paragraph narrative picture. His account of four years on the west coast is virtually structured in terms of the landscapes encountered in the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia which he observed to be or forecasted would become civilized.
Gold was first discovered in 1856 on the Thompson River. By 1858 thousands of Americans, Britons, Chinese, and Europeans had arrived to try their fortune behind the Cascade mountains. The lower reaches of the Fraser were prospected first, but new discoveries in the Cariboo district (north and east of Williams Lake) and in the Similkameen River valley continued to entice young men to British Columbia. In June and July 1858, the San Francisco correspondent for The Times of London wrote a series of panegyrical articles on the gold rush and its prospects which contained such bold exaggerations as the following from June 17, 1858: "There is no longer room to doubt that all the country bordering on Fraser River is one continuous gold bed." A spate of authoritative guide books to the mines and the colonies generally had appeared in England by the end of the year, most written by Britons who had never seen North America and entertained no desire to do so. They were "offered to the public," as William Hazlitt's grandson, William Carew Hazlitt, put it in the preface to the first of his two compendia of previously published material and government reports, "at a price which will place it within the reach of every class of purchasers."274

Among Britons who did travel to the mines, two wrote accounts for publication in 1858. The first was Kinahan Cornwallis (1839-1917), who started for the Fraser River on April 20, 1858. His account begins seven chapters into a most disjointed book, entitled The New El Dorado: or, British Columbia (1858), in which Cornwallis makes liberal use of Sir George Simpson's Narrative and John McLean's Notes and feels pressed to let his reader know that "the scenery of Red River is
neither grand nor picturesque." His descriptions of landscape are
general, often vapid and bombastic, and marked by a surprisingly unin-
formed air which bears witness to the fact that he spent much more time
in digging for gold than in appreciating landscape; probably his five
short weeks spent on the Fraser River simply did not provide sufficient
experience to support a literary effort of the scope undertaken by him.
Without distinguishing any particular valleys, he proclaims, for
example, that, "Few Countries present a more bold and beautiful variety
of scenery than British Columbia, where towering mountains, hill and
dale, valley and plain, forest and lake, all blend together in pictur-
esque antithesis, and can be taken in at one meandering glance" (p.
125). This is the sort of insidious encomium which lured so many unpre-
pared Britons to the upper Fraser River to meet financial if not physi-
cal ruin. Preying upon a nation's aesthetic illusions, Cornwallis
purveys contaminated bunk to a readership starving for any details of
British Columbia. Against such unpublished descriptions of Victoria as
Wilson's, which noted how the streets of Victoria could engulf a man in
their mud in the fall of 1858, Cornwallis speaks of "strolling a little
way inland along green Jamaica-looking lanes, running like channels
through a continent of cultivation" (p. 186). Cornwallis' panegyric on
mining on the Fraser below Yale with his "geological shovel," ignores
all the harsh realities of the place:

We were up and at work by six o'clock, and on one of the most lovely
mornings that the month of June ever ushered into existence—the air
at once warm and fragrant of the forest and wild clover, was just suf-
fi ciently stirring to prevent the heat feeling oppressive, while the
enchanting rays of the rising sun decked out the prospect in magnifi-
cent array, brightening the more prominent parts of the mountains hun-
dreds of miles away, and leaving the recesses lost in a deeply con-
trasting shade, while far and high in the background the lofty
snow-capped summits shone in crystal purity, white and dazzling in the midst of a sky tranquil blue; further down, the picturesque shores of the river enhanced the beauty of the scene, and as the eye ranged far and wide over the landscapes of forest and prairie, gentle hill and sloping valley, admiration could not fail in taking possession of the beholder, and imbuing the most imaginative with feelings of delight, and making even the most practical of gold diggers feel that he stood up within view of a perfect paradise of scenery—a land as rich and as beautiful, a clime as golden and luxurious as any upon which Nature ever lavished her inviting treasures (pp. 201-02).

Even the modern reader is left breathless by this conversion of Fraser's hell into the valley of Rasselas. The Picturesque had come of age in the far-West, as it had under the pen of Simon James Dawson in the near-West, as a tool of pamphleteers.

Alfred Pendrill Waddington (1800-1872) had emigrated to Victoria in the years prior to the gold rush to open a branch of his family's grocery firm. He wrote *The Fraser Mines Vindicated; or, the History of Four Months* (1858)—the first book to be published in either Vancouver Island or British Columbia—to stem the exodus of disappointed miners who failed in the 1858 season. Although not apparent from Cornwallis' glowing account, the rush sputtered in 1858, owing to unusually high water levels on the Fraser. Waddington reasoned intelligently that the placer deposits in the river bars—the bars accounted for much of the gold production up to 1858—could not be dug in their submerged state: "Rumour said that the river did not fall, some even said that it would never fall; and as nobody had ever thought of mining any where else except on the river, the state of the river became the barometer of public hopes and the pivot on which every body's expectations turned. This untoward news soon spread abroad..."
Cornwallis' overblown and Waddington's unaesthetic, rational accounts mark two contrasting responses to the same event. Together, they help to explain why riots broke out in the early months of 1859: hopes had been excessive, success limited in 1858, and thousands of men were camped out in the wilderness with rumour as their only sustenance. At the end of 1858, Colonel Richard Clement Moody (1813-1887) arrived with the command of 165 Royal Engineers. Moody was selected as Commissioner of Lands and Public Works and the mainland's commander of the forces. Although his establishment of New Westminster (originally, Queenborough) as the mainland capital is regarded as his notable achievement, his first task was to establish peace at Yale. Moody's aesthetic response to the Fraser valley appears in his "First Impressions," a letter written to a friend after only thirty-eight days on the Pacific Slope. After downplaying the navigational difficulties of the Fraser estuary, he proceeds to an aesthetic response which relies on a familiarity with Dutch landscape painting, a familiarity which was not part of the aesthetic baggage of George Vancouver, who, it will be remembered, all but ignored the lowland landscape:

The entrance to the Fraser [sic] is very striking—Extending miles to the right & left are low marsh lands (apparently of very rich qualities) & yet fr[om]the Background of Superb Mountains—Swiss in outline, dark in woods, grandly towering into the Clouds there is a sublimity that deeply impresses you. Everthing is large and magnificent worthy of the entrance to the Queen of England's dominions on the Pacific Mainland. I scarcely ever enjoyed a scene so much in my life. My imagination converted the silent marshes into Cuypp-[Aelbert Cuypp, 1620-1691, Dutch]-like pictures of horses & cattle lazily fattening in rich meadows in a glowing sunset. One cannot write prosaically at any time about this most beautiful country. The water of the deep clear Fraser (such a name! the proper one is "Tatouche") was of a glassy stillness, not a ripple before us, except when a fish rose to the surface or broods of wild ducks fluttered away. Soon we reached the woodland district. The contrast with the treeless meadows just past was very striking.
Appropriations of Swiss and Dutch geography and art assist Moody's "imagination" in depicting and identifying the lower-mainland topography. The river plays a suitably tranquil rôle in the landscape picture. Trophies of sport animate the foreground. Moreover, the contrast between meadow and mountain is compounded latterly by the appearance of an elevated woodland, which both improves the picturesque properties of the landscape by increasing its variety, and pleases the soldier in search of a secure location on which to construct his defenses for the landscape.

In January, Moody was called up to Yale. Ned McGowan, a Californian, had led an insurrection against the British-held order of the district. But although Moody was anxious to diffuse tempers and firearms, his thoughts of landscape remained prominent as he steamed up the Fraser River:

The scenery was very grand all the way, & as "Bar" succeeded "Bar" with Miners all at their work at their "Rockers" & Sluices gathering in the Gold dust, it had a very lively cheerful look. The blue smoke their log Cabins curled up among the trees, & f' the banks of the River when Fires were on the Bank. The trees being chiefly Cedar and Black Spruce contrasted with the dazzling Snow. The River was alternately "Rapids" & "Still-water" reflecting every thing--Reflecting cottages, blue smoke, trees, mountains, & moving figures. A scene full of life. The sun shone splendidly over all--In summer it must be enchanting--It was the Tyrol all over in scenery--This magnificent Valley I call "Glen Albert"--It extends f' a few miles below Fort Hope to the defiles above Fort Yale, a distance of about 20 miles.

Fifty years before Moody, Simon Fraser had likened the Fraser valley to landscapes familiar to his mother--the Highlands of Scotland. Moody identifies the terrain in terms of landscapes familiar to him. Like the mariner's perception of icebergs as castles, these examples illustrate the first stage in a traveller's identification of places new to him.
Gradually, Moody would come to appreciate the genuine qualities of the valley, especially in the summer runoff. In his "First Impressions," however, he accords the valley a European character and another British name to help secure himself aesthetically in these new environs, and to provide an identifiable picture for his reader. He is, of course, assisted immeasurably by the humanized foreground, past which he steams on a pleasure excursion the likes of which certainly lay beyond the imagination of Simon Fraser.

Moody arrived at Yale with Mayne. One month later the same trip was made by the newly appointed judge for the Crown Colony of British Columbia, Matthew Baillie Begbie (1819-1894), and by Arthur Thomas Bushby (b.1835), the son of a respectable London merchant, who, like Moody, arrived in Victoria in December, 1858. In his journal, Bushby had applauded the establishment of Beacon Hill Park in Victoria, especially since he found some views in it "exactly like Richmond Park." When Bushby travelled to the mainland to visit Moody in early January, he was not particularly disposed aesthetically to the Fraser estuary, but found it more to his liking after practise some "correction": "... if these same mountains could be taken away at different places one could imagine oneself on the old Thames" (128).

After attending the Assizes at Yale (which Begbie conducted) Bushby and the judge continued overland to Lytton, occasionally spotting the "superb sight" of the Fraser River, "winding its way through immense rocks and precipices" (151). They continued up the valley to Fountain, above Lillooet, and then proceeded down the Lillooet Trail to Harrison Lake in April, 1859, finding a particularly picturesque campsite below the narrows of Lillooet Lake on April 15:
Our camp was the most picturesque we have yet had, it was pitched in the centre of a clump of cedar trees the lake at the foot backed by some high snow mountains—a glorious wood fire throwing a bright glare on the white canvas of the tent and lighting up the different figures standing and sitting around and a beautiful clear moon sparkling through the cedars and in its turn giving a light silvery effect to the whole, we all agreed that a finer scene could not be imagined and I must say I never saw anything so beautiful and truly romantic in my life (158-59).

Like the scenes of voyageur encampments on the Ottawa River, which had enchanted Rundle in 1840, Simpson in 1841, and Lefroy in 1843, this landscape—with-campsite-foreground marks another example in this narrative landscape genre which enchants a travelling Briton: novel scenery and novel lifestyle conjoin in a painting which bears enough vague traits of rustic pastoral scenes to seem familiar without becoming entirely so, for it is the difference from civilized life which renders the scene "romantic" for Bushby. Or at least temporarily romantic—the illusion may burst at any moment into a Mel-Brooksian bathos, given that Bushby mentions "a nice sized trout which we cooked and demolished for dinner along with some beans."

III.8.VI—The Rhetorical Picturesque in 1860 and 1861

In 1858, the Government of Vancouver Island consisted of Governor James Douglas, a council of three advisors who deliberated privately, and a seven-member House of Assembly. The acting colonial surveyor in the House was Joseph Despard Pemberton (1821-1893) who, in 1860, published a glowing account of the island and the mainland that deployed and exploited the Picturesque aesthetic fully. Entitled Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia, Pemberton's
work may well be considered government propaganda, written to entice emigrants and miners to British Columbia. One reads hard and long in Pemberton before finding many hard facts and figures. He is a poor embodiment of the "skilful panegyrist" whom George Vancouver had called for to describe the wonders of the coast. 282

Not surprisingly, Pemberton begins by refuting William Colquhoun Grant's portrayal of the island's geography which had appeared in 1857:

The [Grant's] publication says, 'It is difficult to convey upon paper a correct impression of the interior, the sight of which, seen from the first eminence that he ascends, causes to the explorer a hopeless elongation of visage.' No single view should have been so discouraging as this: had the explorer ascended a second hill, or perhaps a third, so agreeable might have been the prospect, as to have caused his countenance with pleasure to expand in the opposite direction. But it may be asked, how is it that some others who have seen the island have carried away a similar unfavourable impression? The answer is obvious: they have seen the island, but not explored it; they have seen from a distance the elevated rocks and hills, but have not wandered through the open lawns and rich valleys, which appear, in number and extent, to increase with every fresh addition to our knowledge of the country. To illustrate this in a familiar way: if dinner were on the table, and the arrangement looked at from a point on a level with the table-cloth, the mind would receive an impression of legs of mutton and cover dishes only, and the intervals of flowered damask would be unseen and unrecorded. 283

The refutation commences rationally but swells preposterously and concludes ridiculously, as Pemberton strives to introduce a metaphor of civilization into the landscape. He succeeds only in supplanting Grant's sublime island monster with a bathetic island dining table. A far more appropriate method for his argument would have been to employ an English analogy: just as the visitor entering England from the north might be discouraged by the landscapes he meets long before arriving at picturesque Suffolk or Devonshire, so the travelling Briton might also happen to enter Vancouver Island by an unpicturesque door. "Lawn" is
the trigger-word in Pemberton's account, for it connotes to the British reader all that is settled, fertile, temperate, picturesque, English, in a landscape. There is no question that the government propagandist is fully cognizant of the word's aesthetic import. And it is clear that Pemberton is aware of the effect on the British reader of his deployment of the Picturesque.

Quickly it becomes apparent that Pemberton is only warming to his task. His description of the prospect upon entering Juan de Fuca Strait does a wonderful job of downplaying the aesthetic attraction of the southern coast which had so attracted Vancouver when it was not American territory. By transferring the picturesque qualities of Admiralty Inlet, which Vancouver had noted, to the Gulf and San Juan Islands, and of managing aesthetically to ignore the coast of Vancouver Island, he avoids the topic of Grant's sublime portrayal of it as a raging, tempest-battered realm.

Steaming for the first time eastward into the Straits of Juan de Fuca, the scene which presents itself to a stranger is exceedingly novel and interesting. On his right hand is Washington Territory, with its snowy mountain range stretching parallel to his course for sixty miles, flanked with Mount Rainier and culminating in the centre with Mount Olympus. Of these mountains the base is in some places at the coast; in others many miles from it. This range is occasionally intersected with deep and gloomy valleys, of which the Valley of Angels is the gloomiest and most remarkable; and every succession of cloud and sunshine changes the panorama. On his left is Vancouver Island, in contrast looking low, although even there as late as June some specks of snow may be detected in distant mountain tops. Straight before him is the Gulf of Georgia, studded with innumerable islands, which, to be seen to advantage, should be viewed toward evening, when, as is often the case, the sun is reflected from waters as smooth as those of an inland lake. In the background is British Columbia, and the furthest of all the Cascade Range, and glittering peaks of Mount Baker. At first sight the whole country appears to be clothed with forest, for it is not until we travel inland that we ascertain that in the lowlands the pines take frequently the form of belts, enclosing rich valleys and open prairies, lawns in which oaks and maples; not pines, predominate; marshes covered with long coarse grass, and lakes fringed with flowering shrubs, willows, and poplars. Nor is the scene in the straight
wanting in animation: vessels trading with the sound, steamers, canoes filled with painted Indians, enliven the picture, to say nothing of vast numbers of waterfowl, which awaken the echoes on every side (pp. 8-9).

The slightly too strident insistence on picturesque properties in the central view ("oaks and maples, not pines, predominate") betrays the illusion, if the "canoes filled with painted Indians" do not. The sort of description which, half a century later had been corrupted into the "scenic" brochure, this passage is ripe for the pen of a Leacock: replace the Hudson's Bay Company steamer, Otter, with the Mariposa Belle, the miners with Knights of Pythias, and Pemberton's proclamation with Leacock's adjuration--"Don't talk to me of the Italian lakes, or the Tyrol or the Swiss Alps. Take them away"--and the excursion is well-satirized. Pemberton supplies belted pine groves, deciduous clumps in rich valleys, an animated foreground in the waters among the islands, and snow-covered mountain peaks for a background. The Picturesque is prostituted at the hands of the unskilful panegyrist to produce a holiday atmosphere in the Strait, giving the British reader to think that the region is Edenic. Ideas that the waterway is capable of unseasonable weather or gloom of any kind, such as Henry James Warre painted in his sketch of an autumn traverse, are simply not entertained.

After declaring Victoria "thoroughly English," with the advantage of "distant snow-capped mountains" (p. 50) visible from every street, Pemberton crosses effortlessly to the mainland to praise the townscape of Hope, a former Indian village. This detail, presumably one of Pemberton's few "facts," is not lost on the author, who, having relieved the Indians of the land, salts their wound by recording "the impression
that the "savage has a clear conception of, and knows how to appreciate, the picturesque and the beautiful" (p. 55). Such an innate quality will surely, the reader infers, bode well for the Indians' conduct among Britons.

A more judicious aesthetic estimation of the island and mainland interior was published also in 1862 by Captain C. E. Barrett-Lennard as Travels in British Columbia. It is based on the author's visit in 1860 and 1861. After a yachting excursion around Vancouver Island in the last twelve weeks of 1860, Barrett-Lennard travelled the lower interior route from New Westminster, up the Fraser to Lillooet, down the Lillooet Trail to Harrison Lake and back to New Westminster in 1861. Himself an officer like Moody, he is disposed to see the prospects of and from Moody's town (incorporated as a city, July 16, 1860) of New Westminster as his fellow officer had fancied them. The town presented a most picturesque coup d'oeil from whichever side it is approached, both on account of the graceful, high-pitched roofs of the buildings themselves, as well as the romantic character of the site they occupy. The choice of this situation certainly reflects great credit, at least, on the taste of Colonel Moody, as, the river here forming an angle, a most extensive prospect may, in fine weather, be enjoyed— not only of its richly-wooded banks, but of the blue ranges of lofty mountains that shut in the distant horizon.

The blue ranges close a nearly Claudian view. The foreground prospect looks down from the wooded river banks to the lower estuary in the middle ground, and the mountains of modern West and North Vancouver in the background.

On the whole, Barrett-Lennard expresses delight with what he perceives as the sublime beauty of the mountain valleys of the near-interior:
The scenery of these mountain districts wherever I have traversed them—whether on the Harrison River or on the Fraser above Fort Hope—is of the most romantic and picturesque character, in some parts resembling the Highlands of Scotland, while in others I could fancy myself in Switzerland, the lofty and snow-covered mountains being quite Alpine in their character, and the train of mules carrying baggage through their rugged passes assisting to complete the illusion (pp. 172-73).

The last remark reflects a singular exception in accounts which deploy the Picturesque bombastically and propagandistically. Barrett-Lennard is not a government minister like Pemberton. He therefore has no vested interest in the land. But his use of the word "illusion" in itself distinguishes some of his aesthetic responses from the more invidious of Pemberton's. Without such a qualification—that the landscape being imaged is an illusion formed from the "interface," to recall P. T. Newby's remark, between nature and the mind's processes of association—the illusion passes into the reality. As I have argued, this movement from acknowledged illusion to apparent reality is how any mode of perception gains credibility and authority in a society. But as disillusioned British gold-diggers were to realize, the Picturesque and the reality were severed on the Cariboo trail. And even though he is aware of the illusory aspect of his picture, Barrett-Lennard, like most Britons of his time, understands nature only in terms of the schemata of the Sublime and the Picturesque. He finds Harrison Lake "very picturesque," because it resembles "certain districts in the Highlands of Scotland" (p. 144); yet, the lake's length appears to admit of some transition, for when he reaches Fort Douglas (modern Douglas, B.C.) at its northern end, he discovers "a wild mountainous district, quite Alpine in its character, forcibly recalling some of the Swiss or Tyrolese villages one meets with among the Alps" (pp. 145-46). It is
interesting that the Swiss "motif" remains a characteristic of Canadian mountain resort architecture: today, Barrett-Lennard would only have to cross Garibaldi Provincial Park from Douglas to Whistler to find the "Swiss or Tyrolese village" he imagined in 1861.

Also less prone to exaggeration than Pemberton was Dr. Alexander Rattray, a naval surgeon appointed to HMS Topaze. The ship arrived on the Pacific station in March, 1860, and stayed until 1863. His book is based on an essay which won the runner-up prize in the Government essay competition of June 1862. (The winner was written by Rev. Brown, and is discussed below.) Rattray's book is less an essay than a compendium of facts—what one may have expected from Pemberton's title. Rattray's title is: Vancouver Island and British Columbia, where they are; what they are; and what they may become (1862). His book "lays claim only to the merit of accuracy."287

Rattray's special interest is climate, especially as it affects agriculture and coastal navigation. The work's lack of narrative aesthetic responses to landscape may explain why it was not selected (perhaps by a committee that included James Douglas and Pemberton) ahead of Rev. Brown's more picturesque description of landscape in the colonies. But Rattray does include, at least in the published version, a picturesque view of landscape, entitled "Town of Yale, B.C. Fraser River" (facing p. 32) (see following page). It shows a sylvan Fraser River meandering past settled river banks, and out of a background of rounded, "Lake-District" mountains. Apart from the exclusive presence of needleleaf trees, the scene has picturesquely emasculated the valley and river's character.
III.8.VII--The Church of England in the Fraser River valley (1859-1864)

The 1858 gold rush necessitated that the Church of England expand its work on the island and the mainland. For this reason, Rev. George Hills (1816-1895) was consecrated as first Bishop of Columbia in 1859. He arrived in Victoria on January 6, 1860. A number of his first letters to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge were published as *An Occasional Paper* in June, 1860. The first, dated January 13, 1860, contains Hills's optimistic portrayal of Victoria out of season:

*Victoria must be, I think, the most lovely and beautifully situated place in the world. I never saw anything like it before. In the summer it must be quite exquisite. I was agreeably struck with it altogether: there is every sort of scenery. Sublime mountains, placid sea, noble forest trees, undulating park-like glades, interspersed with venerable oaks, inland lakes, and river abounding with fish. The climate is thoroughly English--a little milder.*
Optimism is, not surprisingly, expressed in terms of the variety of landscape scenery available in the town. Pemberton had not gone so far as to applaud the site of Victoria in his overblown estimation of the colonies, resorting instead to the specious argument that no great capital of the world is particularly aesthetically well located. But Hills enjoys the developed site as much as James Douglas had enjoyed envisioning it seventeen years earlier. "Every sort of scenery," which can be viewed in a mild climate produces ideal conditions for a landscape tour, as far as the Bishop is concerned. And he is concerned: aesthetic matters enter into his writing far more often than do spiritual or religious matters connected with his charge.

Given this generous aesthetic disposition on the part of the Bishop—perhaps a published letter left him little alternative—it is not a surprise to read of the "exquisite . . . island scenery" seen by him in passing over to New Westminster. He utilizes a special aesthetic device to praise the prospect from Colonel Moody's house at New Westminster. The window casings enclose, as they did for Ross Cox in August, 1817, on the Ottawa River, a superior landscape which, from Moody's point of view, does not look down to the Fraser estuary, but upriver:

New Westminster is . . . beautifully situated on the Fraser, about nineteen miles up; the river a mile and a half wide. At present the mighty forest is pushed back not very far. I found Colonel Moody and his good lady ready to receive me; they have an excellent house, with every comfort. The view from their drawing-room is unsurpassed. It looks up a wider reach of the river, in which are several islands; the banks are covered with trees. In the distance are remarkable mountains, glacier clad. On the left a range of hills nearer. A little river called the Brunette emerges near the house, and a rising bank behind leads into the dense forest.
The balance in this picture between wild and composed nature is an intriguing one, for it captures the excitement of a town on the frontier of the wilderness, its inhabitants striving to hew and compose a place out of a sublime wilderness. In such a location, any extensive view would be highly prized, although Moody appears to have chosen the Swiss over the Dutch landscape when erecting his house/viewing "station," since his window looks upriver, not downriver.

Hills returned to New Westminster on May 19 to commence a series of preaching circuits in the Fraser River valley and along the Lillooet Trail, accounts of which were published in Report of the Columbia Mission (1860). He met the newly arrived Rev. John Sheepshanks (1834-1912) (the twenty-six-year-old minister with the charge of erecting and rectoring Holy Trinity, New Westminster) and then canoed up Brunette River on May 22, where the blossoms of the wild apple trees reminded him of hawthorns and England. He then took a boating excursion on the Queen's birthday (May 24) to Pitt Lake, which he found to look, "exactly like a Scotch lake, and we seemed to be on Loch Ness." As Barrett-Lennard had found Harrison Lake landscapes to resemble those of the Scottish Highlands, Hills finds the lake itself (and Pitt Lake as well)-Scottish in character. The Bishop next proceeded up the Fraser River with Governor Douglas on June 4, arriving at Hope at ten o'clock in the evening. The town's amphitheatre setting delighted him, especially as it permitted him intimations of his travels as a Grand Tourist:

At length Hope was reached, and the echoes were startling and long, loudly responding to the whistle of the steamer and the guns of the fort which greeted the Governor. It was ten o'clock ere we touched the pier. I went on shore and had a lovely stroll by the pale moonlight.
The air was balmy and scenery entirely Swiss. You might have believed yourself in Chamouni or by the upper Rhine, except there are no glaciers shining in the clouds. . . . No spot can be more beautiful than Hope. The river Fraser flows past it. The site is on the river bank; on either side are noble mountains; opposite an island. To the back, mountain scenery; trees from the foot to the summit, and deep valleys between, through which flow the rapid and beautiful Quequealla [Coquihalla River] and its tributaries, and in which are situated several lakes. This evening we walked up the Quequealla, crossed its picturesque bridge, and proceeded along the Brigade Trail; a walk winding through trees and flowers, and where at times you might fancy yourself in the wilder part of some cultivated domain in England. The scenery is a combination of Swiss and Scotch. It had been rainy, and all nature was fresh and lovely and fragrant. About three miles brought us to Dallas [Kawakawa] Lake, a sweet spot, where one felt one could live for ages. "O Lord how manifold are thy works!"

Hills certainly comes nearer to capturing the character of the river valley than R. C. Mayne had done one year before when visiting Hope. He continues, however, to identify the environs in terms of "stations" on better-known landscape tours. Taming the wilderness, making it a place in his aesthetic bailiwick, Hills imagines the trail as a distant "walk" from an English estate. He is thrilled by the mountain wilderness, but, like most in the Victorian age, thrilled with delight rather than apprehension. A mountain valley could be landscaped; a bridge thrown across the chasm in an expression of engineering and aesthetics which Simon Fraser would have imagined with difficulty. Even the awareness of the fact that the Fraser claimed many lives during the 1858 gold rush cannot deter Hills from mentioning, almost in the same breath, that "Nothing could exceed the picturesque beauty everywhere. The banks were frequently covered with flowers, and we actually gathered roses." Of course, the simple European comparison of the valley to Scottish and Swiss landscapes tames the terrain, rendering it a "station" on, by 1860, an increasingly well-worn route, if not tour. Half a century after Simon Fraser's descent of it, the river valley, or
at least, the portion of it seen by Hills, had become a place where even bishops could venture. 297

III.8.VIII--British Columbia from the Miners' Perspective (1862)

New and sizable gold deposits were discovered along the Quesnel River, Keithley Creek, and Antler Creek in 1860. In 1861, Williams and Lightning Creek also disclosed profitable deposits. Thereafter, the Cariboo region opened promisingly for the next two years. Besides attracting the Times correspondent, Donald Fraser, for another series of articles, published in the early months of 1862, the news of new finds brought a new wave of approximately 5,000 fortune seekers, a larger percentage of which were Britons than Californians this time. Unlike the 1858 rushers, the 1862 group produced a number of narrative accounts by unsuccessful miners who rued what they viewed as the deceitful representation of their prospects in the Cariboo.

W. Champness arrived in Victoria from Southampton by way of the Panama Canal in early June, 1862, and proceeded up to Antler Creek by way of Harrison, Lillooet, Anderson, and Seton Lakes along the Lillooet Trail. In To Cariboo and back in 1862 (1865), he provides a new, factual representation of landscape. His description of Harrison Lake mentions "scenery of wild grandeur," without any Scottish or Swiss/Tyrolean amplification; indeed, the remark even of wild grandeur is deflated by the following statement: "But we need not thus specially characterize any one lake in British Columbia, for every lake, pond, stream, or valley hereabouts is embedded in mountains: the latter, like pine trees and mosquitoes, are universal features and facts of the country." 298
The route from Harrison Lake to Williams Lake took sixteen days, "Sundays not included," during which Champness passed through one sublime peril after another:

Some portions of our route lay across mountain ranges, from whose summits we enjoyed most magnificent views, and down whose steep pine-forested sides we had to lead our horses singly, and with the utmost care. . . .

In other parts of the journey, especially in the river gorges, our track conducted us along the most frightful precipices. There was no help for this, as we could select no route more passable. . . . [The] rivers flow oftentimes through dark and awful gorges, whose rocky sides tower perpendicularly from a thousand to fifteen hundred feet. By a series of zigzag paths, often but a yard in width, man and beast have to traverse these scenes of grandeur. Sad and fatal accidents often occur, and horses and their owners are dashed to pieces on the rocks below, or drowned in the deep foaming waters rushing down the narrow defiles from the vast regions of mountain snow melting in the summer heat (pp. 54-7).

The description reverts to the sublimity found in the river valley by Simon Fraser. It is the eighteenth-century Sublime, describing, not the
views of the landscape but, the perils of penetrating those views under the power only of one's own resources. The "scenes of grandeur" have to be 'traversed' in Champness' case. The accompanying picture, (see preceding page) entitled "Mountain Roads" (p. 55), evokes the fearful Sublime effectively by emphasizing the vertical, deploying diminutive human figures, and obscuring the watery floor of the "dark and awful" gorge. Such a sublime scene is a miner's testimony against the sort of picturesque rendition of mining life which Matthew Macfie had included in Vancouver Island and British Columbia, a book published in the same year as Champness' work. Entitled "Ground Sluicing," the woodcut shows an active foreground, and a picturesque middle ground of idyllic pastoral dimensions: a well-built cottage, with a sward in front that is surrounded by deciduous trees. The temperature of the water and the success of the miners' labours are at once inferred by the viewer to be
moderate.

But although Champness reported that only eight of the seventy Britons who left Southampton with him reached the Cariboo (p. 70), he does not portray the whole colony as one continuous sublimity. And although he claims that, "no country in the world can be compared with British Columbia" regarding the "truly stupendous . . . difficulties of travel" (p. 70) that had been so misrepresented by "certain writers" (Donald Fraser, Kinahan Cornwallis, and Joseph Pemberton to name three), his perception is not blinded to picturesque landscapes. Upon his return from the Cariboo after a very brief stay and the expenditure of all his financial resources, he came to the "fine rolling country" below Williams Lake, which he had not encountered on the way north. As John McLean had been pleased by a portion of that same prairie near Fort Alexander twenty years before, Champness was "delighted with the picturesque scenery of Green Lake" (p. 83), below 100 Mile House. He found Loon Lake "romantic" (p. 84), and spent a "quiet autumn" working at a farm south of Scottie's Creek, near "several picturesque sheets of water" (p. 88), the impression of which "will be long remembered."

John Emmerson, of Wolsingham, Durham, also arrived at Esquimalt on June 10. He encountered what he considered "mountain scenery of an indescribable grandeur" as he crossed the Strait of Georgia, but his response to the interior of the mainland in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (1865) quickly adopts an unexalted tone. His expressive response to the sight of Port Douglas on June 18 exemplifies this tone: "Surrounded by immense mountains of the most wild and awe-inspiring description are a few dozens of rachety wooden buildings, the sight
of which is sufficient to give a man the horrors for the remainder of
his life—and this is the City of Douglas. ... While Maria Tippett
and Douglas Cole, in From Desolation to Splendour, argue that Emmerson
uses the "conventional sublime" to describe some of the views of
the interior as "wild, romantic ... grand and impressive" (p. 37),
they fail to remark that Emmerson is establishing a disjunction between
the beauty he perceives and the hell of travelling through it. He states
baldly that hunger precluded all aesthetic appreciation of nature at
more than one point when the "novelty and romance of our station" (p.
53) were remarkable:

Often would our recollections wander back to Old England. How pleas-
ing it had been to sit over the kitchen fire at home, behind a long
pipe, reading glowing accounts in the Times about the gold fields of
British Columbia, with visions of gold flitting through the brain, and
imagining that were we but there what wonders we would perform! My God!
how terribly different was the reality. It seemed as if we had been
lured away from our happy homes by some tempting bait and then caught
in a horrible trap, from which there was no possibility of escape. It
seemed as if a whole lifetime of usual privation was being compressed
into intense suffering, and crowded into each day (pp. 52-3).

Emmerson did not get within one hundred miles of the Cariboo before
hunger, exhaustion, and the desperate reports of returning miners forced
him back. He saw Douglas again on July 6, twenty-five days after leaving
it, and was back in Victoria on July 9, amid despair and suicide. There,
he worked for eight months in a blacksmith's shop to raise the funds
for a return fare to England in April, 1836. The final insult for him
was learning that Donald Fraser, the Times correspondent, had never
travelled north of Lillooet (p. 94).

William Mark travelled to the Cariboo with Emmerson, but resolved
to press on with one of his two sons when Emmerson turned back at
Williams Lake on June 24, 1862. In Cariboo: a True and Correct Narrative (1863), he attempts, in a passage written as he travelled from Keithley Creek to Antler Creek, to reconcile the aesthetic pleasure with the physical torment which British Columbia had evoked and provoked:

Next day was spent in wading swamps and climbing mountains; the wet day and night not having improved the roads at all, we arrived about mid-day at the foot of the great mountain, called Snow Shoes, after a few hours toiling and sweating, we stood upon his snow-capped summit, with as magnificent a view before us as eye can behold, the whole range of Rocky Mountains lay stretched out in thousands before us, as far as the eye could reach; a vast number of them had their snow-crowned heads amid the clouds. It was a mountainous sight, underneath as, around us, on every side, east, west, north and south, were mountains. I cannot describe the view, 'tis folly to attempt it, this view alone, I thought was worth all the troubles and hardships we had passed through and at the moment I felt as though I could have forgiven [Donajd] Frazer [sic] for what he had done, but again, when I thought how many hundreds, nay thousands through his false statements, had been brought to ruin and starvation, my feelings were changed.

Genuinely overwhelmed by the panorama on the height of land, Mark is aesthetically transported out of the valley of death into which Fraser's fiction has cast him and thousands of others. But just as the aesthetic vision is momentary, so is its illusive masking of the torment to be endured below. Mark spent only sixteen days at Antler's Creek, and though he admitted to the presence of gold there, he assured himself that it was virtually inaccessible, lying twenty to thirty feet below the surface and usually submerged by water. When water was not the problem, ice and snow were, as the final paragraphs of his narrative make explicit:

Fine country this to come to. As for the weather, we had rain either through the day or night, all the time we stayed; and the last day we were working, we came upon ground so hard frozen, that it was with difficulty we broke it up.
Quite satisfied, and sick of the place, we packed up our trap-
sticks, and walked off on the 20th of July. All the ground was white
with hoar frost, and the morning was cold as Christmas, I felt a glow
of pleasure, when I got my back turned of one of the most disagreeable
and inhospitable places man ever lived in.

We remained in the country below some time, but before I left Port
Pemberton in October, Cariboo was buried deep in snow, and report said
that seventeen hundred pack animals had perished in the storm, and a
vast number of men were missing. A fine specimen this of a great agri-
cultural country, possessing a first-rate climate. I feel astonished
above all things, that Donald Frazer does not at once go out, and take
up his abode there.

The enchantment which propagandists had transferred from sublime moun-
tain scenery to the interior's agricultural, mineral, and commercial
potential in effusive portrayals of British Columbia as a paradise
across the mountains—an illusion which still holds currency today—is
bitterly dispatched by Mark from the point of view of his expensive
and utterly unrewarding travels. Still, Mark's disappointment does
not measure against the disappointment, and sometimes the tragedy, en-
countered by those gold seekers who crossed British North America by
land in the spring and summer of 1862.

III.8.IX—The Overlanders of 1862

Overland parties were organized in the spring of 1862 at Kingston,
Montreal, St. Catharines, London, and St. Thomas. The largest group
of gold hunters was organized by Thomas McMicking (1827–1866), a native
of Stamford, near Queenston, Canada West, a graduate of Knox College,
Toronto, an unsuccessful Clear Grit candidate in the 1861 election,
and an ordained elder in the Presbyterian Church, Stamford. He left
St. Catharines on April 23, 1862, armed, in the opinion of his modern
editor, Joanne Leduc, with the information and prospects provided by
Henry Youle Hind's Sketch of an Overland Route to British Columbia
McMicking assumed command of a group of 150 men at Fort Garry on June 3, and retained captaincy until its arrival at Tête Jaune Cache on September 1, when smaller groups were formed to raft down either the Fraser or North Thompson Rivers. The largest party ever to cross the Prairies in that era required ninety-seven carts and approximately one hundred and ten animals (p. 13). It travelled at the rate of two and one-half miles per hour. Like other travellers, McMicking found the treed valleys of the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle Rivers "picturesque" (p. 17), and the open plains skirted on the way to Carlton House "monotonous." July 21 brought the crawling brigade to Fort Edmonton, through the parkland of the North Saskatchewan River valley. In McMicking's estimation, "all description had failed to convey to the mind a full and accurate idea of its vast extent, the exuberance of its vegetation, the surpassing beauty of some of its parts, or its fitness and capacity for becoming the homes of a dense population; that, in short, the country must be seen to be appreciated" (p. 26). McMicking is no exception to the general rule: aesthetic response to the valley governed travellers' forecasts of its potential for settlement.

No less conventional is McMicking's account of the route taken after leaving Fort Edmonton on July 29. The monotony of the swamp country between Fort Edmonton and the Athabasca River gave way only on August 13 at the first sighting of the Rocky Mountains. They "enraptured" the travellers: "for whatever dangers or difficulties might possibly be in store for us among them, all were heartily tired of the endless succession of hills and streams and swamps, and swamps and streams and hills, and were willing to face almost any danger that
would be likely to terminate or vary our toils" (p. 34). This is an ominous expression of zeal, for the overlanders had no idea what a transmontane trek would demand of them. The season was already late, oxen were to be driven over a narrow pass, and the men were more eager than experienced. But McMicking kept the men together, empowered and emboldened by the effect which the sublime geography had on him, a Presbyterian elder, at his August 16-18 camp near the present site of Jasper:

... we were presented with a view at once sublime and overpowering. Two of our company ascended the rock [Roche Miette] on the left of our camp, and when they reached the top they were scarcely discernible; they appeared like pigmies, and their loudest shout was scarcely audible to the rest of us at the bottom.

In examining and comparing these apparently confused and disordered heaps on opposite sides of the river, one cannot help remarking the striking similarity in many particulars that exists between them. In the order of their strata, their size or thickness, their dip or inclination, their composition, and indeed their whole geological structure, there is such a correspondence as must convince the most casual observer that at some period in the world's history they formed contiguous and adjacent portions of the crust of the earth; while the present disrupted condition of these huge masses of rock, and the violent contortions to which they have evidently been subjected, will convey to the mind some faint idea of the irresistible power of those internal fires, that mighty agency by which these terrible convulsions have been effected. And from a consideration of these terrestrial objects, the meditative mind, by a natural and easy graduation, will rise to the contemplation of that almighty and infinite Being, who makes all these powers subservient to His will, who spoke a world into existence,—at whose sovereign fiat a universe was created.

McMicking is neither a proponent of Thomas Burnet's theory that mountains were formed by God at the Deluge to demonstrate His wrath with the sinfulness of man, nor a typically delighted Victorian respondent. He is an awed worshipper of the wonders of nature. Untroubled by the sorts of geological developments which concerned Samuel Black, McMicking simply imputes all geological change to the will of God.
Proof, as McMicking may have interpreted it, of His presence during the overlanders' traverse of Athabasca Pass came in the form of a spectacular thunderstorm on August 18, when external "liquid fire," rather than "internal fires," scored the mountain valley in a scene reminiscent of the storm which Samuel Black had witnessed and marvelled over on June 1, 1821.

McMicking's account becomes rarely circumstantial after his resignation of command at Tête Jaune Cache on September 1. From there, he made one of the party who attempted to raft down the Fraser River. In McMicking's words, the rafters, more rash than courageous, "committed [themselves] to the mercy of the Fraser, amid the sorrowful exclamations of the Indians, 'Poor white men no more'" (p. 40).

A full account of the descent of the Fraser River between the departure for Tête Jaune Cache on September 15, until the arrival at Quesnel on October 13, is given by Richard Henry Alexander (1844-1915), the Edinburgh-born, Toronto-raised eighteen-year-old who led another contingent of the overlanders that included, for a time, the expedition's artist, William George Richardson Hind (1833-1889), brother to Henry Youle Hind.307 In the recently edited and published Diary and Narrative of Richard Henry Alexander (1973), this Scottish-Canadian boy delights in sighting a mountain near the Athabasca River below Jasper, which "just looks like Edinburgh Castle."308 But this marked the last display of sublime nature which Alexander found familiar and comforting. The descent of the Fraser in dug-out tree trunks demanded an experience of river travel which the prospective miners did not possess. They were indeed the poor white men some of whom would be no more. And as may
be inferred from McMicking's comment regarding trusting their souls
to the mercy of the Fraser, these men and boys were committing them-
selves to an aquatic sublimity beyond their imaginations, but not be-
yond grim réalization:

... Carpenter who had been managing the canoes all along, said, we
could not get along the rocks to let the canoe down with the line, and
that we would be obliged to run it. As I thought it rather dangerous
I took off my boots and buckskin shirt before we started [down the first
Canyon of the Fraser River on September 29, 1862]. We went at a tremen-
dous rate for a short while when we got among some big waves and the
canoe filled over the stern and went down. When it came to the surface
again Capenter was holding to the stern and I to the bow, the canoe
then turned broadside to the current and rolled over and over. I then
let go and swam for it. Carpenter I never saw again nor yet the canoe.
I was carried for a long way under water by the under current but
I kept thinking it was not all up yet and resolutely kept my mouth shut	
till I would come to the surface and get another gulp of air and down
I would go again. Sometime I would be so long under water that I could
scarcely hold my breath; at last I got down out of the boiling surf
and the water though rapid was smooth, I then began to keep myself bet-
ter afloat, and began to swim for shore... I was so much exhausted
I had to swim on my back and lay gasping for breath, but I was quite
cool all the time (the water was remarkable cold) and managed to pull
my shirt up out of my pants so as to let the water out. I had on heavy
Canadian cloth pants. At last after swimming a distance of about three
quarters of a mile I touched the shore but was so benumbed with the
cold that I could not hold on to it, but drifted off again. Soon how-
ever, I made the shore again and dug my hands among the pebbles and
pulled myself out of the water and lay there... I forgot to tell
you that Carpenter wrote something in his diary just before starting,
which on examination proved to be the following as near as I can recol-
lect: "Arrived this day at the canyone at 10 a.m. and drowned running
the canoe down; God keep my poor wife." 309

With a boyish simplicity of style suitable to this sublime episode and
reminiscent of the narrative account of Simon Fraser's harrowing descent
of other canyons on the river, Alexander depicts the "mercy" with which
the Fraser greeted the desperate travellers. "The surprising thing,"
as Victor Hopwood has noted, "is that the majority of those who trusted
themselves to such waters should have survived." 310 Indeed, all who
heard of the attempt had concluded sure death for the overlanders: on
November 7, 1862, while walking on the Lillooet Trail between Port Pemberton and Port Douglas, Alexander read his own obituary in a copy of the British Columbian. Such, perhaps, is the grotesque underside of encounters with sublime nature which the propagandists never included in their abuse of the aesthetic conventions to sell the future of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

III.8.X -- The Sublime, the Picturesque, and the Bombastic (1862-1865)

Accounts by gold seekers, some unpublished, others published by obscure presses, did nothing to reverse the tide established by the more widely read rhetorical works. The years 1862 and 1865 brought new waves of them, as efforts were made first to broaden and then simply to preserve the economic base which the gold rushes of 1858 and 1862 had established.

Duncan George Forbes Macdonald (1823?-1884) wrote a bombastic and inaccurate account, entitled British Columbia and Vancouver's Island in 1862. The alteration of the names of the two colonies in his title reflects a new emphasis on the mainland colony made by the discoveries of gold. Macdonald, a British civil engineer who surveyed with the British Boundary Commission for two years until his independent work was discovered to be "valueless," had similar problems with topographical and aesthetic accuracy in his narrative. The full force of his bombast stuns the reader at the outset of the work:

The computed area of British Columbia is, including Queen Charlotte's Island, 225,250 square miles, and the general appearance of the country is very picturesque. Indeed, the impressions left on the mind are of grandeur, gloomy vastness, awful solitude, rendered more dismal by the howl of beasts of prey. Streams white with foam, flowing
amid cliffs and ravines, forming at places magnificent waterfalls, whose lonely thunder swells and dies away in the interminable solitude of unpeopled space. Tremendous precipices, yawning gulls, and towering rocks, whose naked backs have withstood the storms of six thousand years, are all there to astonish and rivet the attention. Forests of the deepest green present to the wandering eye vast masses of foliage fresh and glittering in the sunlight: whilst far above, overhanging cliffs and mountains in the sky, glow piles and pyramids of snow and ice, and glacier gorges of remarkable splendour. It may with truth be said, that in these wild regions you get such awful glimpses of sublime scenery that your very soul is hushed within you.

After an initial fact which is some 140,000 square miles (or twice the area of Great Britain) shy of the accurate figure, Macdonald lapses into reveries which do not bother even to keep aesthetic categories distinct. Picturesque scenery overwhelms the mind with awe and fear—emotions which, even when they were in vogue, were associated of course not with picturesque but with sublime topography. Several claims to truth or fact follow to substantiate the truth of the emotional response: the mountains have been weathered for six thousand years; many peaks in the Cascades reach 15,000 feet (most do not not exceed 10,000); the interior is "Literally studded with lakes" (p. 3); sublime scenery "in truth" hushes the soul; "truly a delicious scene"; "the very echoes" capture the mind. These attempt to impart to the bombast an informational quality, but they are drowned out by a timely thunderstorm: "peal followed peal from on high, sounded like the solemn response, the deep 'Amen,' of Nature to commands from Nature's God" (p. 5). Few landscapes are considered individually, and one that is—Lake Chilliwack—is found to exhibit aspects of all three of Macdonald's aesthetic categories: "Nothing is more ennobling, nothing more softening, than the contemplation of the beautiful, the peaceful, and the grand; and few spots on earth can present these characteristics more harmoniously and gloriously than do this Lake and silent Valley" (p.
4). Not only are Macdonald's aesthetics unclear in this opening passage but the reader is left wondering about the author's purpose for writing. This problem does not disappear in subsequent pages.

It is curious that Macdonald, who had written about farming practices in Scotland a decade before, takes great pains to dissuade the settlement, the farming, even the enjoyment of the smaller beauties of nature. British Columbia is a "poor field" (p. 172) for the naturalist as well; presenting "but a poor flora" (p. 193) as far as the Scot is concerned. As far as agriculture is specifically concerned, "the largest portion of the entire territory is an inhospitable wilderness... It is useless to disguise the fact, that the country is not adapted to agricultural pursuits on any extensive scale" (p. 29). Macdonald reinforces his agricultural view by charging that picturesque landscape qualities simply do not exist. This, despite his opening salvo:

When the intending emigrant hears of the mellow Italian softness of the climate, the balmy fragrance of the atmosphere, the serenity of the sky, that the mere upturning of the plough is all that is needful to convert the whole territory into a fruitful garden, let him not believe one word of it; it is all untrue. British Columbia is a miserable country, neither adapted for cattle nor suited for cereals (p. 29).

Only sublimity prevails, apparently—and a sublimity which miners alone stand a chance of tackling and surviving in Macdonald's view. Because "the humble beauties smiling in the shade and filling the woodlands of more temperate climes with loveliness, are wanting there in British Columbia" (p. 193), temperance of character neither flourishes nor survives. Following a Thompsonian logic regarding the relation between character on the one hand, and geography and climate on the other, Macdonald echoes the Times correspondent in arguing that British Columbia will thrive only with "'wild men [inhabiting] wilder nature'" (p. 71).
and engaged in those sublime natural realms with which the mainland is
richly endowed—"the animal and mineral kingdoms" (p. 194). Amidst
those base realms are fortunes sought and found. Clearly, the lower
end of the social scale is all that Macdonald feels would comfortably
inhabit the intemperate wilderness. And if this implication does not
sound strongly enough, Macdonald repeats his message by imaging the
emigration to British Columbia as an aesthetic abjuration of all that
is picturesque, of all, in short, that is British in nature:

Few love more than I do to contemplate nature; to wander by the banks
of gentle translucent streams in lone glens, and to linger in seques-
tered spots over the hallowed ashes of the dead who slumber in verdure,
beauty, and solitude; to tread the ruined homes of departed patriarchs;
to wander abroad in the solemn stillness of the heath-clad desert famed
in song and story, sung and told by those now passed away; but I do
not love to roam over a wild and desolate land inhabited by tribes of
savage men who delight in bloodshed, violence, and death.

In these deserts the freedom of the savage and the pleasurable enjoy-
ments common in more favoured colonies are not conjoined. Even in your
bed at night dreams of desperate and bloody native fights disturb your
slumbers; instead of peaceful visions of enchanting prairies, studded
with roses and fragrant thickets, and all the wild charms which form
an Indian paradise. Pleasing and delicious, indeed, is it, at the dead
hour of night, in your quiet slumbers under the branches of some forest
tree, to conjure up beautiful swelling hills and wooded slopes, with
antelope and elk bounding across the plain to shelter in groves filled
with the sweet melody of the feathered songster, and the gurgling music
of the rushing brook. What British Columbian would not revel himself
in such a dream, however transitory, in so sterile a land?

Truly the sporting pleasures of British Columbia are not reality.
To those who desire water from the glaciers, who love boundless sombre
forests and eternal snow, who feel charmed by broad and wild wastes
with but solitary patches of cleared land like an oasis in the wilder-
ness; who prefer naked savages, armed robbers, and bush-rangers, to
civilised man; who choose a miserable scrubby soil, rather than lovely
verdure, charming lakes, and scenes which fill the soul with an admira-
tion which renders it scarcely possible to conceive that nature and
not art had perfected the landscape; to such persons British Columbia
may afford pleasure, but I envy not their taste (pp. 198-99).

Macdonald has here backtracked considerably from his opening remarks
to draw a distinction between two kinds of wilderness—the one, that
solitude found occasionally in a remote Scottish glen, in which the
contemplative rambler can muse on his environs' history, and the other, the virgin wilderness which has never been civilized and, Macdonald declares, never will be. Again, "wild and desolate land" breeds men of wild actions. To make a hunting excursion into such wilderness is fine, but to take up residence is to declare for oneself a new reality with which civilization and reality as a Briton knows it have nothing in common.

Why then did Macdonald undertake this literary endeavour? If he meant to discourage settlement of the colonies, why does he include appendices describing travel routes to British Columbia? It would appear that he understands the whole colony to offer only the gold miner bright prospects. In dissuading emigrants intending any livelihood other than mining, Macdonald, it finally becomes apparent, is writing another gold miner's prospectus, but doing so in a quite novel way; rather than encouraging the emigration of miners, he promotes the corollary—a discouragement of anyone else. The field is thereby left open to the enterprising digger, for whom alone the wilderness will prove a paradise. The narrative purpose is thus as convoluted as Macdonald's confused aesthetic.

Writing three years later than Macdonald, Matthew Macfie devoted his emphasis in 1865, not to mining (for by then the gold rush had dwindled to a trickle) but to the general commercial viability of the colonies and (again because of the fate of the gold rush) to Vancouver Island in particular. Macfie directs Vancouver Island and British Columbia to "merchants, statesmen, and intending emigrants," in that order. Himself a "Five Years resident in Victoria," Macfie deploys
the Picturesque and the Sublime chiefly to enhance economic prospects. He professes at the outset that, "the country is neither a perfect Elysium, nor an absolute Sahara" (p. xi). Yet, he certainly utilizes the end of the gamut near Elysium extensively, as in the following description of May in Victoria: not only flora and fauna but "islets and inlets, together with distant snow-peaks bursting upon the view, as one ascends some contiguous eminence, combine, in that month, to fill the mind with enchantment unequalled out of Paradise" (p. 180). And it is the Eden of England which Macfie has particularly in view, at least for Vancouver Island. His intentions are drawn clearly in the following geographical analogy:

By a remarkable coincidence, while for the most part in the latitude of Great Britain, the colony sustains a geographical relation to the Continent of North America in the Pacific, similar to that which the parent country does to the continent of Europe in the Atlantic. So that Vancouver Island has been not unaptly designated the England of the Great Western ocean; and it is no exaggeration to assert that it only requires a vigorous application of British capital, enterprise, and labour in the development of its resources, to secure for it supremacy as a commercial and manufacturing centre in the Western Hemisphere, such as England has acquired in the Eastern (p. 39).

Through an impressive use of parallelism, this single-sentence paragraph achieves a symmetry which enhances the geographical and projects the economic analogies. It would not be lost on the British reader that a common latitude between the island of Great Britain and Vancouver (in fact, Exeter, in the south of England, shares the same latitude with Port Hardy, in the north of Vancouver Island) bodes well for the latter. Of course, the affiliation depends upon a metaphor for spatial orientation—the measurement of latitude—which is only another illusion, having no authority in respect of climatic and agricultural conditions. Like the metaphor of the Picturesque which James
Douglas had deployed in 1843 to identify the future site of Fort Victoria as a paradise, such illusions were nevertheless the authoritative ones of the day, and they could carry the force of an argument. Isotherms and isobars were still only beginning to be understood in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Two descriptions of Victoria add another dimension to the analogy by relating the cities of London and Victoria. Macfie swiftly discounts by implication William Colquhoun Grant's charge that the coast is "peculiarly uninviting." Recalling Grant's "frowning cliffs," he images them as "portals" (p. 40) through which one peers at an inner garden (even a hortus conclusus) resplendent with "pine, oak, willow, alder, cedar, and maple, together with various species of wild flowers and fruits in profusion." This is not quite an Elysium, but it is not far from the mark. Nor is it far, either, from the "Elysium" which Sir George Simpson had called Fort Victoria in his letter to Charles Ross in 1844 or from Pemberton's damask table-setting. One of the diadems secluded behind the sombre heights, now advantageously situated on the coast in Macfie's schema, is the site of Victoria.

Victoria is more flourishing and populous than any other centre in this or the sister colony, and is palpably marked out by the unrivalled advantages of its geographical position for the grand British mercantile emporium of the Pacific in coming years. Nothing could exceed the loveliness of its environs. Whether approached by land or by sea from Esquimalt, the gentle slope on which it stands exhibits with fine effect the buildings of all forms and colours that continue to rise in quick succession. Large patches of excellent land exist in the vicinity, and in whatever direction the admirer of nature turns, his vision is charmed with scenery charmingly diversified (pp. 44-5).

So fertile is this new Eden that even buildings appear to thrive on their own in its soil, rising in independent growth in this London of the West. Nearly one century after such traders as Pertlock, Dixon,
Meares, and others had envisaged Nootka and other "portals" along the coast as commercial emporia, Macfie is still becomimg those with "vision" to realize the prospects of New Albion that await them on Van-
couver Island and, specifically, in Victoria. The economic prospects are, significantly, evaluated only after a "Description of Victoria" opens with a description of the gem in the town's diadem:

A magnificent natural park, called Beaconhill, of large extent, with a high knoll in the centre, and fringed with pines and oaks, has been reserved for public use. On one side it reaches to the sea-beach, and from the elevation referred to a lovely view is gained of the gulf in the direction of the Race Rocks, and of the mountain range in Washington territory in the other direction. This suburban enclosure is used as a race-course and cricket-ground, and is the favourite resort of the inhabitants when taking an airing on foot or on horseback. The variety and beauty of the walks and drives around Victoria are, in the opinion of visitors from every part of the world, matchless. The Government offices, Supreme Court, and the hall occupied by the Parliament, form one pile of buildings, and are situated some distance from the chief thoroughfare of the town, on James's Bay; although composed of only frame and brick work, the coup d'oeil of this structure, with the lofty pines in the background, is highly picturesque (pp. 77-8).

All the institutions of British society are present in this comprehen-
sive scene: a British Parliament, British Law, British Sport, and, above all perhaps, British landscape. What more could the merchant, statesman, or intending emigrant desire? Far more than a supply depot for an exhausted gold rush, Victoria possesses a coup d'oeil that con-
tains all the appearances of prosperity, as Britons understand it. Since the Picturesque, to recall Christopher Hussey's remark, confines itself to the surface textures, never probing deeply into a scene, it becomes here the ideal schema for bolstering the sagging prospects of the gold-rush town. The architect of the buildings might not be flattered to hear his works called "piles," but in Macfie's illusion-
building, their architectural value does not carry the weight of their
symbolical value, or their aesthetic importance in civilizing the landscape, in balancing the human construct against "the lofty pines in the background." To this day, the picturesque illusion of England remains Victoria's principal means of advertising itself to the world.

The transition to the mainland poses no problem for Macfie: he merely elides all but aesthetic consideration, gradually advancing from the Picturesque to the genial Sublime. The advance is effected in the Gulf Islands: "For alternate beauty and sublimity, the scenery passed through cannot be equalled by any to be met with on the coasts of the Old World" (p. 215). It may be a "wild and gloomy grandeur" (p. 222) which the Fraser River valley imparts, but that is merely momentary. Macfie discovers (or creates) an astonishingly optimistic miner, perhaps one of those depicted in his picture, "Ground Sluicing" (reproduced above, p. 718), who describes the Lillooet Trail from Port Douglas to Anderson Lake in a way that ignores all but the appreciation of landscape:

"We passed through all sorts of interesting scenery; rich prairie called 'the Meadows' [at Pemberton], 7 or 8 miles long, and from half a mile to a mile wide. Beyond the half-way house is a watershed, 1,482 feet above the level of the sea. From the road is seen a roaring cataract dashing from the snowy summits of the mountains. Here are the sublime and the beautiful in perfection" (p. 225).

Thus, landscape perfection, if not Elysium, extends to the mainland and the interior. Locating Victoria as the natural aesthetic and economic hub of the British occupation of the two colonies, Macfie, at times quite deftly, transforms terrain into alluring landscapes festooned with commercial opportunities which men of similar vision need only
explore for themselves to attain. A resource-based economy, based in part on the aesthetic qualities of the land as a bombastically-described landscape is propounded by Macfie as early as 1865. All is seen and articulated in terms of British schemata perhaps in the hope that, thereby, the threat of American annexation will be obviated, and the British emporium, not to say Elysium, will be populated by British director Macfie's prospectus parallels those of the British merchant-mariners, as well as the one of Alexander Mackenzie from the Methye Portage. It is as a mid-nineteenth century updating of what may be called the phenomenon of New-Albionism--British imperialism on the Pacific coast.

In this last look at the opening of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, then, the Sublime and the Picturesque continue to be used conventionally and effectively: Macdonald employed a bombastic form of the Sublime to dissuade emigrants, while Macfie used a slightly less bombastic form of the Picturesque to promote emigration. Macdonald's message was simply that British Columbia was not England, while Macfie's was simply that Vancouver Island was England. The continued prominence of the two aesthetics, in amplified forms, is manifest.

III.9--BRITISH SPORTSMEN IN THE WEST (1847-1872)

Sir George Simpson came up to Fort Garry in 1841 on his transworld sojourn with two British aristocrats, the Earls of Caledon and Mulgrave. Although they did not accompany him farther west across the Prairies of British North America, their excursion initiated a trend among British and European sportsmen (quite often, landed gentry) of visiting
the Prairies, eager to add a buffalo hide to their lists of big game bagged. Sufficient numbers of wealthy sportsmen had arrived in the Hudson's Bay Company domain by the year 1861, that the Northern Department instituted a daily rate of ten shillings for any gentleman and five shillings for each servant who was bedded and boarded at a company post. This fee was instituted fourteen years after a Scottish aristocrat from Netherby, the Borders, came west from the grouse moors of Bencastle to ride for buffalo.

III.9.I--At Home in the Parkland: Frederick Ulric Graham (1847)

Frederick Ulric Graham (b.1814) was twenty-seven years of age when he steamed up Lake Huron in May, 1847, to rendezvous with the Hudson's Bay Company brigade under Frank Ermatinger at Sault Ste. Marie. He found canoe travel to his liking after learning quickly to appreciate the adaptations of lifestyle demanded by it. These he enumerates in his diary which, with his paintings, was published posthumously by his family under the title, Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada 1847: "We sailed till breakfast [on Monday, May 24, 1847], and had a good bathe; but very cold at my toilet, with a rock for my dressing-table, 'the Father of Waters' [Lake Superior] for my basin, and the forest for a window curtain." Graham's perception of nature, like his lifestyle, underwent as ready an adaptation: he found Kakabeka Falls, as did most travellers before and after him, "the finest in America after Niagara" (p. 16), but, uniquely, compared the size of the Kaministikwia River to that of the Esk River in Cumberland, a river familiar to him and to his family of readers. It is not clear whether
Graham would have had with him, like Paul Kane one year before, a copy of Sir George Simpson's *Narrative of a Journey round the World* (1847) from which to pluck an obvious enough comparison between Kakabeka Falls and Niagara Falls. The comparison between the Kaministikwia and Esk is certainly Graham's, however, as is the description on June 2 of the scene on the Savanne Portage, across the geographical height of land between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, a description which diverges radically from Simpson's own pictures of happy voyageurs, and one which the governor certainly would not have permitted to be published:

... the 'Savanne,' very long and very swampy. Day hot, but overcast, and the shores of the lake flat and ugly. Dined at the other end of last portage: Men exhausted. The Iroquois who carried the canoes looking like fiends, their shirts off, their skins like heated copper, and their long black hair all loose, with their wild black eyes glowing like hot coals. Each man jumped into the river as soon as the canoes were by, and after a flounder or two, to cool themselves, took the back track for another load, just as fresh as at starting.

The poor 'mangeurs de lard' terribly cooked! Loads were left, and thrashings administered by the old hands, in some cases, to make them carry through. Cruel work! Ten or twelve miles in a day with 180 pounds to carry (p. 18).

Graham is not above an appreciation of the human torment which the monopoly exacted in the pursuit of what Peter Skene Ogden and William Fraser Tolmie had called "filthy lucre." Caughnawaga Indians, their heads obscured by the overturned canoe on their shoulders, appear as hellish fiends, complete with "heated" skin and eyes like "hot coals."

Similarly, the voyageurs (*mangeurs de lard* was the name accorded those French Canadians who made return trips from Lachine each summer but did not winter in the company's territories) looked as though roasted in a swampy Hell: only a brief plunge into a Lethe of forgetfulness rejuvenated the "men." It was a recurrent nightmare for Graham, whose eyes were not accustomed to such scenes at home; to make matters
worse, at each of the many portages, the scene was repeated, so that at
the portage into Rainy Lake, "the poor men [were] dead beat, several
vomiting, many bleeding at the nose" (p. 23).
Such inhuman scenes did not mark the only sublime landscapes en-
countered by Graham on his route west. By June 9, the interminable wil-
derness forests were beginning to depress him with their uniformity.
"The scenery very similar to the lakes we have previously passed
through. Trees, trees, trees for everlasting!" he complained, "I shall
hate the sight of a wood for the future" (p. 27). Almost coincidental
with the complaint, deciduous trees, including oaks, as Nicholas Garry
had remarked in 1821, began to blossom with a beauty in which Graham
rejoiced. However, his delight in landscape began to occur with regular-
ity only when, six weeks later, along the Carlton Trail, he began to
encounter the parkland vegetation of the Assiniboine River valley.
There, after traversing that "never-ending White Horse Plain" (p. 33),
which Bishop Anderson would find so cold three years later, Graham dis-
covered that only a slight adaptation of his mode of picturesque percep-
tion was necessary. Thus the following passage: "We camped at Eagle
Tail Creek, a very pretty river, with beautiful green banks, sloping
down to a lovely vale on each side, studded with clusters of poplar
bushes doing duty for timber; but the effect very good from the western
summit. I thought many a nobleman at home would be glad of such a park
for his house" (p. 37). The analogy between the natural parkland and
the nobleman's estate perhaps signifies more in Graham's use of it than
in the writing of other travellers. He, after all, would have spent
much of his life on estates. In any event, he certainly does feel at
home in the parkland.
Landscape pictures are not formed in his entries for July. Single landscape features are merely noted as resembling parkland generally. But once he arrived at the aspen-grove belt in the valley of the North Saskatchewan River, where the parkland most resembled British estates in the view of many writers already considered (including another aristocrat, John Palliser) associations of particular landscapes are evoked and, with them, landscape organization into pictures occurs.

The acme of these associations is reached both narratively and pictorially by Graham on August 2, when "Bloodberry Lake" [Redberry Lake, on the north side of the Elbow of the North Saskatchewan River] appeared as a "large and pretty sheet of water, which with its swelling and broken 'côtes' reminded [him] of bonnie Glen Affric" (p. 53). The next day, he painted (or took the sketches for a later painting) part of the valley upriver, "very pretty, and broken with wood on most of the large bluffs" (p. 54). Entitled "Stalking buffalo" (facing p. 55), the picture's title clearly signals its principal theme—that of sport.
Yet it holds much interest for the present discussion in view of the
degree to which the terrain has been "corrected" from merely resembling
an estate into an identical estate setting where the buffalo, not the
hunters, look as if they are not in their natural environment. The
buffalo are clumped like vegetation along middle ground orthogonals
which parallel the background row of rounded hills (not "bluffs" as
stated in the narrative). The prairie has been shaved like a lawn and
the undulations are levelled. The buffalo decorate the landscape more
than they impress the viewer as a difficult animal for the sportsmen to
bag. The picturesque illusion, it may be said, is complete.

It is difficult to determine whether this sight caused Graham as
much pleasure as another, seen at the Vermilion Lakes, on August 9.
After crossing the North Saskatchewan River at Fort Pitt (whose sit-
uation Graham likened to "what we call on the Border a 'Holme' [a
grass-meadow river bank], by the side of a river, with the 'High 'coté'
[sic] towering above it behind, and a still higher one in front" [p.
58]), his party proceeded along what John Warkentin, in "The Desert
Goes North," has called the "well-watered and well-treed... avenue
across the plains." In this landscape Eden, the sportsman

Overtook the camp travelling along a chain of lovely little lakes as
full as they could hold of wild-fowl, and of many geese:... The open
plain to the left, black with animals.... A grand day's sport! Killed
several more [buffalo]. Saw herds after herds all day, in the most
beautiful country that can be imagined. Lakes, woods, and creeks in
all directions, and mesasqueton berries thick as blackberries in Eng-
land. Camped at night at the end of the lakes. Buffalo herds all round
us, and their roaring at a distance sounded like the thunder of a huge
waterfall. Several alarms at night from hulls frightening the horses,
which came galloping into camp, and nearly knocked over the tents. Had
to fire at two buffaloes [sic] before morning (p. 63).
In the obscurity of nightfall, the buffalo herds become an example of Edmund Burke's painful Sublime. Above all, the land is for Graham an exciting hunting ground, as it had been for Duncan M'Gillivray in 1794, when he waded through an earlier generation of the sea of buffalo which greets Graham. Graham's trip, fifty-three years later, is that much more pleasurable, for the fur trade company had by then neutralized the threat of violent Indian attacks which had plagued M'Gillivray before the turn of the century. 321

Satiated as a hunter and as a landscape enthusiast, Graham arrived at Fort Edmonton on August 11, 1847. Paul Kane would be there at Christmas, and Rev. Robert Terril Rundle was there then. Like Rundle, Graham disliked fort life, disliked being surrounded by hundreds of dogs and by people who had spent too much time in unpeopled landscapes and who, consequently, looked "as if they had been buried for a century or two, and dug up again, and had scarcely yet got their eyes open for they look frightened when they see a stranger!" (p. 74). After one return trip down the Battle River, Graham got shot of fort life as quickly as possible. Memory of it lingered, however, and resurfaced in the ruins motif of a landscape which Alexander Henry the Younger had created in part, in 1809-1810:

Some of the views of the noble [North Saskatchewan] river, with its steep wooded bluffs, and long reaches through the forest vistas, very very, bonnie! While every now and then we look down from a high bluff upon a large 'holme' by the water side, studded with clumps of fine timber and single trees, like an English park. In one of these, at 'la rivière de la terre blanche,' the remains of two old forts of the rival companies were situated, in a lovely spot, which would have made a Belvoir or a Chatsworth had it been in England; but here it was only known as a good camping spot to the rough Nor'-wester, or scarcely more wild and savage Indian. The two forts had quarrelled as usual, and
fought, till (like Kilkenny cats) there was very little left of them—i.e., of the men belonging to them—when the Blackfeet stepped in, and settled the matter by knocking the remainder on the head, and burning the forts (pp. 77–8).

The landscape associations are English, but the particular "ruins" motif are local. Graham could not possibly imagine that a fur trader had selected the site for aesthetic reasons. (Henry's choice, though, was partly aesthetic, although the principal reason for the site selection was that it occupied a seam between warring native factions.) Thus, in his opinion, the picturesque potential of the landscape has been desecrated by the dilapidated forts, and by the savagery that they imply. He summarily laments the preclusion of his picturesque illusion of the landscape. This bit of blindness is explicable, in part, by the fact that Graham had spent and was to spend no winter in the district, and that, in his limited experience of it, the parkland had come to represent much more than an attractive picturesque setting. It is the beau idéal of nature, and ought, one can infer from other remarks, to be set aside as a shooting syndicate, a membership of which, presumably, would be exclusive to rambling aristocrats.

Graham shot his way back to Fort Garry (strewing ruins of his own in his wake), along a route similar to his outward trip, where the terrain continued to evoke associations of British landscapes (pp. 79, 85). His journal concludes on October 31, 1847, with his arrival at the mecca of the landscape enthusiast—Niagara Falls.
III.9.2-A Discriminating Appreciation of Landscape: the Earl of Southesk (1859)

During the summer of 1859, while the Palliser expedition explored westward from Fort Edmonton to Fort Colvile, and Charles Wilson and John Keast Lord worked the Boundary Commission eastward from the Pacific Ocean, James Carnegie, the "sixth de facto and ninth de jure Earl of Southesk" (1827-1905), arrived in the West to repair his health and improve his sport. Equipped with a portable table, camp stool, india-rubber bath, and the complete works of Shakespeare, the thirty-three-year-old travelled, as Lewis G. Thomas has said, "essentially for his own diversion." It was essentially for his own diversion also that fifteen years after his excursion Southesk published Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains (1875). The epigraph which he chose for his volume clarifies his and his fellow aristocrats' conception of western British North America as a vast Forest of Arden:

Duke Senior. Here we feel but the penalty of Adam, The seasons' difference, as the icy fang And churlish chiding of the winter's wind. And this our life exempt from public haunt Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones, and good in everything. I would not change it.

_as You Like It (II.i.3-7, 15-17)_

Southesk, who knew his Shakespeare and continued to read him on the Prairies, evidently identified his opportunity for travel as no banishment but, as it was for Duke Senior in the Forest of Arden, as an enchanted education. He embarked at Liverpool, April 15, 1859, and at New York boarded a train in order to visit Niagara Falls before meeting Sir
George Simpson at Lachine in early May. There, he happened to meet both Paul Kane and Dr. John Rae, and departed by train with Simpson who was making his final trip west (and the first by train) as the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Southesk had found the natural landscape of Niagara Falls appealing but not entralling. Various factors had mitigated against his enjoyment of the view:

'It is too huge, and the disgustingly obtrusive civilization that crawls over its sides turns my very heart sick... Be it not supposed that I felt no delight in the beauty and grandeur of the noble cataract. No one could fail to be impressed in beholding an object so sublime, but the impression rests rather on the mind than in the heart.

... It is the all-pervading vulgarity which surrounds it that makes the whole scene distasteful to me. ... The Canadian side is not strikingly offensive, but the American side teems with glaring wooden structures hanging over the very precipice, down which, moreover, a staircase enclosed in a hideous wooden box conducts the public to the ferry boat. ... Some wretched person has built a mock ruin on a little island that actually overhangs the Fall' (p. 4).

Doubtless, natural terrain intrigues Southesk far more than the tasteless intrusions on it of the masses. This may help to explain his choice of epigraph: leaving society is not construed by him as any form of banishment. Also apparent in this passage is an aspect of the aesthetic response to nature which comes to dominate Southesk's narrative, that of a discriminating eye. The sublimity of Niagara Falls elicits less an emotional than an intellectual response from him.

Southesk and Simpson reached Fort Garry at the end of May, when Hobson and M'Clintock were gathering up the bones of Franklin's mariners. The Earl had already experienced a new sensation of space on the grassland near the international border: "It is strange to find oneself on an apparently flat disc of grass, nothing but grass meeting the plain horizon line all around. One feels as if crawling about in
view of high Heaven on a circular table punched out from the world and stuck on a spike" (pp. 26-7). No comparable description of space has occurred in a previous journal by a traveller in the West. Southesk appears almost to comprehend the sensation—experienced so frequently on the treeless plains by twentieth-century writers—of being transported into cosmic or interstellar space overseen by no Deity and in which, to remember Yorke Edwards’ response, there is no place to hide because "one feels so conspicuous." It is space as Edward Parry came to know it on his first and third Arctic voyages—space that crushes man by its very interminableness. The tiny figure perched on a "disc" of landscape suffers a standard and chronic case of Burkean weakness and vulnerability.

Yet, it is typical of Southesk that he can find sublime situations exhilarating as well as terrifying. One month later (June 28), after some habituation to this entirely new sense of space, Southesk realizes in the Qu’Appelle River valley that this experience rejuvenates him in some nebulous way:

"This open-air life suits me well, though, when one considers it bit by bit, it does not seem so very charming. Long wearisome riding, indifferent monotonous eating, no sport to speak of, hard bed upon the ground, hot sun, wet, no companion of my own class; nevertheless I am happier than I have been for years." (p. 54).

Part of his sojourn will be undertaken to understand more clearly that the source of this happiness is that freedom to ramble which Duke Senior had in Arden.

While still working on the nature of his aesthetic/psychological/spiritual condition, Southesk finds some of the Prairies’ smaller expressions of sublime beauty in "acres and acres . . . . [of] intermingled masses of the orange lily and the pendulous blue bell . . . . [which]
seemed as if a vast oriental carpet had been thrown upon the plain" (p. 70). This surprising show of beauty near the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan River introduces Southesk to the sand-hills lying between the ocean of grassland, and the parkland district. They were "entirely composed of sand as fine as that of sea-shores. Near them the grass grows short and scantily, much as on some of the 'links' along the Scottish coast" (p. 71). Here again Southesk definitely manifests an acutely observant eye for landscape. Compared even with Palliser and Hector, his discriminations among various landscapes and his recognition of the exceptions to predominant topographies are noted with a care not found in the accounts by "scientific" surveyors. Travelling from the Elbow up to Carlton House, for example, Southesk delineates a valley landscape, a plains-swamp landscape, long-grass prairie, and parkland. Palliser had followed virtually the same route two years before and provided less careful observations. Southesk does, however, retain the common landscape preference: he finds the country generally "uninteresting" (p. 126) until coming to the North Saskatchewan River valley's fine grazing country of undulating character, diversified with many small lakes and poplar groves, and covered with grass of the richest description abounding in different kinds of vetches. Looking back towards the Fort [Carlton], the opposite banks of the river seemed like an English park, rising after the first steep ascent [from the river] in gradual slopes luxuriantly clothed with wood, disposed by nature in groups and gladed masses, as if some skilful hand had been cutting the forest into forms of symmetry (p. 129).

As for Graham and many others, the clumped trees and "gradual" changes in elevation produce the effect of a landscape park for Southesk. Unlike many others, however, Southesk examines this illusion more carefully. While the variety between open "lawns" and treed spaces
bears an affinity with English landscapes, especially when viewed from the conventional elevated and moderately distant prospect, the variety is not sustained by a closer inspection: "Similar as they are in some respects, these rich pastures look quite unlike anything in England. The difference chiefly arises from the prevalence of poplars, which stamp a peculiar character on the landscape, for even when young and no larger than weeds, they grow so thickly through the herbage as to give it a strange unhomelike tinge" (p. 133). Unlike Henry Kelsey almost one hundred and fifty years before him (and, indeed, most travellers in the interval), Southesk notices that the density, the shape, and the colour of a poplar stand make it appear park-like, without appearing English. At any rate, three other reasons mitigate against his pleasure in a poplar meadow, and promote a different landscape preference. One is the mosquito:

'I hate the very sight of these poplar prairies, because they swarm with mosquitoes, which always abound in long grass. My joy is in a vast sandy plain, broken with bluffs, and carpeted with short, crisp, yellow-brown turf. There game abounds, and the abominable fly scarcely dares to show his proboscis. Well may the Evil One be called Baal-zebub—the god of flies!' (p. 134).

The other reasons stem from his familiarity with certain landscapes in Scotland. Kinnaird Castle, the Southesk family seat, is located at Brechin, Strathmore, on the South Esk River, eight miles or so distant from the North Sea at Montrose. Clearly, those native sea "links" landscapes are what Southesk had in mind in the sand-hills and what he has in mind in this expression of landscape preference. (Perhaps the difference in topography between Southesk's Strathmore and Graham's Borders helps to explain Graham's greater enjoyment of the North Saskatchewan River valley parkland.) The third factor in the Earl's landscape
preference is that he stood a much better chance of finding buffaloes in his chosen landscape than in "these poplar prairies."

Southesk's narrative shows almost the taste of a late nineteenth-century aesthete. His discrimination in all matters remains notable as he rides toward Fort Edmonton: he complains of a poor draw after discovering a crack in his meerschaum; he describes the entire "North Branch ... country ... as trying to break out into a wood and half succeeding" (p. 134) (although he also calls the effect of the country "picturesque" [p. 137]); he rather undiplomatically declines to meet a Thickwood Cree, preferring instead to retire to his tent to read _Hamlet_ (p. 137); and he contests the validity of the myth of North American forests—"In the whole British territory I have not yet seen one tree that would be called large in Scotland, to speak of England. A tree thirty feet high and four feet round seems a giant here, and is rarely to be met with" (p. 139). Why he is looking for a forest in Prairies and parklands which were often burnt over is a wonder; nevertheless, these judgements do demonstrate that Southesk is at least habituated to the country now. No sensation of being pinned to a suspended disc of terrain colours his landscape response while he is in the parkland. While he does not find "good in everything," as Duke Senfor professed he could, Southesk has established a relation with space which does not make him anxious or fearful.

On August 19, 1859, Southesk left Fort Edmonton. There, he had found the river valley "picturesquely broken" (p. 147). Then, unlike Graham, he proceeded westward to hunt mountain game, one week after James Hector at Bow River, and John Palliser and John Sullivan at the
Oldman River, had entered the mountains. Henry Moberly, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Jasper House, met Southesk on the route, and dissuaded him from seeking game in the Athabasca River valley. Instead, Moberly directed him to take the McLeod River valley to the Kootenay Plains. Southesk adopted this route for the notoriety it might bring him, for the scenes it promised to his discriminating aesthetic eye, and for the sport it would bring his gun: "The highest peaks, he informed us, rose near the point at which I should in that case enter; and southwards from thence to the head of the South Saskatchewan [i.e. Bow River], there extended about a ten days' march of country, which, as he believed, no European had ever seen... where bears and sheep were certain to be abundant" (p. 167).

The route was arduous. McLeod River was not crossed until August 25, but Southesk was gratified by a first view of the Rocky Mountains on August 27. He was "quite overwhelmed. Then one of those strange tides of emotion that transcend both control and analysis, rushed through me from head to foot,—I trembled all over,—my limbs lost their strength, I could hardly sit on my horse" (p. 178). This is a consummate example of sublime response because, as Burke argued a truly sublime experience should, it evoked a physiological response in Southesk.

The 'perfection' of the view was encountered later in the day by Southesk and Antoine Blandoine, a Métis engaged by the Earl as a hunter for the outward trip from Fort Edmonton.

'The clouds blew off, and the day became sunny and very pleasant. I rode forward as usual with old Antoine, and presently, arriving at the brow of a hill that overhangs the Embarras [River], a glorious sight opened upon my view—the Rocky Mountain range, stretching along the horizon far as the eye could reach. Below us rolled the river among dark pines; hills, also covered with pines—some black and scorched
with fire, some green and flourishing,—filled up the prospect for many
miles; then came flat bare eminences, the footstools of the loftier
range, and then uprose the mountains themselves, rugged in form, peaked
and talled, and scored with gashes,—not magnified hills, but rocks
in the very archetype. Too remote to display any smaller modulations,
they rose flat against the blue sky, themselves all steeped in a soft
mellow grey from summit to base; but in certain ravines, and on some
of the high shoulders of the greater peaks, spots and masses of snow
glittered in the sun, or looked cold as death where no rays were able
to reach them.

With feelings almost too deep for utterance, I turned to Antoine,
hoping to find in him some sympathetic response. His eyes gleamed and
sparkled as they met mine; with a pleasant smile he pointed first to
the nearer hills, then to the grand range that stretched far away be-
yond: "Monsieur Milord," said he, with impressive earnestness, "il n'y
a pas des moutons ici;--mais la [sic] bas--ah!!" {pp. 179-80)

Southesk's sublime transport suffers a rather baticic setback here,
but not before the Earl has composed a fully-formed landscape painting
from an elevated prospect. His prose description follows the con-
ventional formula of an initial expression of the effect of distant
view—"glorious . . . as far as the eye could reach"—then a sentence
working through the landscape from the foreground river to the distant
mountains, and, finally, a specification of the most impressive quali-
ties of the view—in this case, the combination in the mountain wall of
glittering snow and dark rock, "cold as death." At this point, the il-
luision is burst by Antoine—playing Sancho Panza to the aristocrat's
Don Quixote—who reminds the Earl that aesthetic windmills are not the
"legitimate" motive for their gruelling march up the valley. His re-
joinder casts Southesk into a somewhat different sensation, too deeply
baticic for utterance. Of course, the implicit jibe at French land-
scape taste would not have been lost on many of Southesk's British
readers.

Southesk's sketch of the landscape is not entirely successful. Entitled "The Rocky Mountains, from the Embarrass River" (facing p. 180),
it exhibits a problem of scale at the two transition points, between foreground and middle ground, and between middle ground and background. But many writers and painters have encountered this problem with respect to the Rocky Mountain wall. Coming off the Prairies, the traveller retains the sense of a "high sky," whose inclusion tends to diminish the stature of the mountains. Moreover, the mountain peaks which do appear boldly, are, as in Southesk's picture, modified strangely where the foothills occupy the middle ground of a view. Southesk achieves a nice contrast between the simple, regular shapes in the foreground--the curve of the river, and the upright and parallel tree trunks--and the jumble of peaks in the background. But the "flat bare eminence" in the middle ground violates the extensive scale which he wants by appearing too near, and, at least from the prospect, as high as the peaks in the distance. Simply, the problem for Southesk and other sketchers who employ the Claudian schema is that the middle ground of foothills does
not descend, but, rather, ascends to become the unfortunate obstacle to the eye's passage into the background. Such views of the Rockies as the one obtained from the top of the hill above Cochrane, Alta. (on the old Calgary-Banff highway), or the ones obtained by Hector from "Dream Hill," or by Warre when sketching "The Rocky Mountains, July 23, 1845," provide exceptions to this common problem of the foothills' vertical intrusion on the distant view of the mountain wall. As well, another factor plays a rôle in Southesk's response to the landscape. While particular mountains give rise to associations in his mind of other landscapes, so too do the foothills because of their resemblance to the Highlands of Scotland. Thus, the foothills are not an incidental aspect in the mountain landscape for Southesk:

"The general colouring of the subordinate hills and valleys is nearly the same as in the Highlands of Scotland, for, although the beautiful heather is not found here, there are grasses and small-leaved plants, which impart a subdued richness like that which the heather preserves after its purple bloom is past. The streams, however, are more lovely than many of the Scottish rivulets, for they are clear, instead of running dark with the black stain of peat-moss" (p. 202).

Apparently, then, the landscape fascinated Southesk on two counts. His attempt to combine these two fascinations in the same portrayal instead of making two pictures results in failure, or, at best, only qualified success.

Southesk's route lay south, past the Medicine Tent (modern Rocky) and North (Southesk) Rivers. Beyond the headwaters of the Brazeau River, he reached the Kootenay Plain with which he was not particularly enamoured (p. 235). He did not venerate the sight of the mountains near Howse Pass, as David Thompson had in 1807, more than fifty years
before, but he was not caught in early-spring avalanches either. However, the landscape did continue generally to delight him. He had a momentary falling-out with Piskan Munroe, a half-breed Scottish-Blackfoot interpreter, over the selection of campsites. The reason for this dispute is interesting: "[... though in ordinary cases the guide was the proper person to settle camp arrangements, my sport and pleasure were the objects of the present journey, and that while fully believing in Munroe's competency to choose the best camping-places, I sometimes preferred inferior sites, on account of the beauty of the scenery]" (p. 225).

The party traversed Pipestone Pass, between Mount Murchison on the west, and the Sawback Range on the east, in the third week of September (coincidentally, only two weeks after James Hector had discovered the pass while travelling in the opposite direction). He arrived at Old Fort on the Bow River on September 30, where he met six Americans travelling to the Cariboo at a precariously late date in the year. Also at the fort, Southesk, without alluding to his former condemnation of it, was forced to revalue his opinion of the poplar, at least in the context of an autumn view of the Bow valley that was replete with a picturesque ruins: "... at this season the bright yellow of the dying leaves contrasts very beautifully with dark pines that overspread the surrounding crags, often to their very top" (p. 250).

Picturesque views ended as the party rode out onto the short-grasslands for Fort Edmonton, but Southesk was content with the change in landscape: "'On the 1st of September I entered the mountains with joy, on the 1st of October I leave them with greater joy'" (p. 253).
Delighted to be in the open after a period of time in the mountains, Southesk painted in prose the unsurpassed beauty of the prairie sky in an autumn sunset (pp. 267-68). After arriving at Fort Edmonton on October 12, he found little aesthetic enjoyment in the landscapes which followed. Early-winter storms precluded much appreciation of nature, heralding the "severest winter ever known in the district" (p. 356). Ice stopped Southesk's boat only twenty miles downstream from Fort Edmonton on October 20, and horses finally had to be fetched from Fort Edmonton. The parkland held no charms for the Briton in its winter attitude:

'It is astonishing how winter transforms an uncultivated country. There are no houses and fences to serve as landmarks, and divide the snowy waste; all that lovely colouring of trees, grass, and water, which in the genial months of the year lend charm and variety to the scene, is hidden and obliterated under a garment of weary whiteness. The plains are mere heaps of snow, dotted with brown spots where naked clumps of poplar brush uplift their heads, and the lakes are only distinguishable by the absence of bushes, and by the greater smoothness of the surface (pp. 295-96).

An apparent corollary to this response is that moderate weather was, though he did not often speak of it, vital to the summer traveller's discovery of picturesque landscapes. In the North American context, a landscape may be picturesque only at certain times of the year; the "penalty of Adam," unfortunately, includes the seasonal disappearance of familiar and cherished landscape views. Duke Senior, like the Scottish Earl, would be hard pressed to find "good in everything," when everything but the once-detested poplar is frozen or buried beneath snow. But Southesk did persevere in the face of another six weeks of travel to St. Paul (Minn.), through a winter world in which landscape is, to recall a phrase from the foregoing passage, "indistinguishable
by the absence," and from which "'frail [human] nature shrinks'" (p. 294).

On the day before a snowstorm froze his eyes shut in a nightmare which recalls the experiences of John Ross in Prince Regent's Inlet, Southesk saw the sublimity of a winter sky in lurid starkness, and re-collected in a fresh metaphor the sensation of peril which besieged him near Pembina in May, when he felt himself with nowhere to hide:

[I think it was on this day that the setting sun shed wild and wonderful hues over a snow-covered range of hills directly in front of us [Eagle Hills]. They seemed to be all aglow with fire; not in soft roseate or golden tints, but with a supernatural, lurid glare of cold combustion, a hellish light, hateful though beautiful to behold. One other day, about the same time, I was more than commonly struck with the exquisite beauty of the contrast, where the glittering white intensity of the snowy, boundless plains, cut sharp against the clear azure intensity of the boundless sky, unsullied by the slightest speck of cloud. It was the very type of "light without sweetness," of a pure passionless angel of judgment, to whom error and mercy were alike unknown] (p. 297). 328

In a sense, the sublime images of a disc of prairie and a passionless angel hover over the picturesque landscapes which Southesk normally paints. They are the prairie equivalents of the utter press of space which John Ross found in the Arctic in 1829-1833. 329 While Southesk's wintry prairie is not the world envisaged by Joseph René Bellot seven years before (1852) in which "Moral nature seems to have abdicated, and nothing remains but a chaos without a purpose," 330 the Earl's sense of space generates parallel sensations of annihilation. A Victorian aesthetic prepared Southesk, like his British counterparts in the Arctic, to delight in mountain sublimity, but no British perception had familiarized him with space as a void, at least on land. Henry Kneisel has stated poignantly that, "all discussion of the literature produced in the Canadian west must of necessity begin with the impact of the landscape upon the mind," 331 and Southesk's narrative, as well as any
literature, attests to the truth of that view. Without the "soft
roseate or golden tints" of a Claudian sunset, the landscape takes on
an appearance which modern eyes might take for a moonscape. At any
rate, it struck Southesk as "supernatural," as lying beyond and above
nature as he perceived it, and called forth from him the extraordinary
analogies of "light without sweetness" and "a pure passionless angel
of judgement." In such a void, anything may happen. On November 28 in
the Touchwood Hills, Southesk found himself "woefully deceived,
through the levelness of the snow-covered plain" (p. 309). Ironically,
he sought refuge in "the first poplar clumps," clumps which had ap-
peared so hateful to him in a picturesque summer landscape.

Instead of deliverance from life by the passionless angel of judg-
ment, Southesk's morale is rescued by an "angel" of mercy, who visits
him on his route to Fort Pelly on December 1, 1859, while he is reading
Troilus and Cressida:

[As I read this fine, although singular play, certain lines in Aga-
memnon's speech to the princes so forcibly impressed themselves on me,
that for days afterwards they were constantly in my thoughts, as streng-
theners and consolers amidst all the hardships of the journey. When
the frost bit keenest, and the icy winds congealed one's blood, and
the men were cheerless and silent, and the skeleton horses slayed wear-
ily along, --hour following hour in miserable monotony, till life was
almost too grievous to endure, --ever and again some angel's voice seemed
to breathe into my inner hearing, in calm yet triumphant tones--
"And call them shames? which are indeed nought else
But the protractive trials of great Jove
To find persitivse constancy in man:
The fineness of which metal is not found
In fortune's love."

[III.19-23]

It is true that these words were not entirely appropriate, --for we
could not have retreated if we would, --but they were not the less con-
soling: Shakespeare's utterances are magical, there is occult virtue
in them. They speak in plain language to the understanding, but they
have also an inexplicable power to strengthen the spirit in mysterious,
hidden ways] (pp. 313-14).
It is appropriate that Southesk feels his spirits strengthened "in mysterious, hidden ways" by reading Shakespeare. Just as he had felt the presence of some force spiking him high in the air at Pembina, and had felt the Old Testament angel of judgement in the North Saskatchewan River valley, so now he feels the presence of a New Testament angel challenging him to save himself from a Jaques-like despair in the Touchwood Hills. In each case, he finds the experience difficult to articulate, but in each case it is a question of imaging space in a way that no schema may be followed, only attempts made until the right mode of perception is found. As Dick Harrison has argued in *Unnamed Country* (1977) this effort to articulate a new relation to space which the Prairies demand was the central challenge-cum-crisis for the European. Although Harrison deals largely with twentieth-century fiction, his remarks concerning the figure of Mrs. Bentley in Sinclair Ross's *As for Me and My House* are appropriate to the efforts made by Southesk to deal with a new spatial orientation:

... she isolated the purest threat of the unknown country, which is intangible and undefinable. It is simply the empty spaces intimating chaos and unmeaning: 'The stillness and solitude—we think a force or presence into it—ven a hostile presence, deliberately aligned against us—for we dare not admit no meaning at all'.

Almost a century before Sinclair Ross articulated this problem of a new spatial orientation in the character of Mrs. Bentley, the Earl of Southesk was attempting to delineate it by means of his acute aesthetic discriminations. Finally, however, he can relate only that he was delivered, not articulate how. The entire month of December tested Southesk's "persistive constancy" before he was delivered by cariole out of this wild Arden to Fort Garry in January, 1860.

Rosalind. Well, this is the forest of Arden.

Touchstone. Ay, now I am in Arden; the more fool I; when I was at home, I was in a better place: but travellers must be content.

As You Like It [II.iv.13-16]

The romance of visiting the Canadian West in the middle of the nineteenth century is recognized by the Earl of Southesk and by the twenty-three-year-old Viscount Milton (William Fitzwilliam, 1839-1877) through their use of conversations in the Forest of Arden from Shakespeare's romance/comedy, As You Like It, as the epigraphs for their accounts of years spent in crossing the British North American West. While Southesk's narrative explores the reality of that apparently romantic world, Milton's book, entitled The North-West Passage by land (1865), is a bombastic rendition of his fellow traveller's journal. It disfigures and romanticizes the immediacy of discrimination displayed by Milton's personal physician, Walter Butler Cheadle (1835-1910), "the first transcanadian tourist," in a journal that was published only posthumously, as Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada 1862-1863 (1931). A discussion of the excursion by these two men will necessitate comparing and contrasting the modes of perception of a blind Rosalind (Milton) and a knowing Touchstone (Cheadle), to the landscapes of British North America, chiefly those of the West.

Milton and Cheadle arrived in Québec City from Liverpool on July 2, 1862. In picturing the town, Milton employs a distant prospect and a landscape schema: "The city of Quebec, with its bright white houses,
picked [picketted] out with green, clinging to the sides of a command-
ing bluff, which appears to rise up in the middle of the great river so
as to bar all passage, has a striking beauty beyond comparison. 334 But
Cheadle probes inward from the distant view with a curiosity which one
might expect in a medically trained perception. If Milton's response
may be approximated to Susanna Moodie's distant view of Quebec in
Roughing It in the Bush (1852), then Cheadle's narrows from the en-
chanted distance to a view in proximity which may be likened to
Moodie's closer look, a look that discovers the cholera quarantine:
"The City of Quebec is built round the base & up the sides of the
bluff, some streets very steep. Country round & on banks pretty, well
wooded & studded with very clean white villas. Town itself poor, lower-
town streets very narrow, dirty & ill paved with planks, others with
boulders." 335

A similar divergence of response occurs at Niagara Falls, where
both respondents note initial disappointment. Cheadle allows that,
"After a time Horseshoe fall very fine" (CJ, p. 27), while Milton con-
vulses into raptures that, as with the description of Quebec, conclude
by avowing the ineffability of the view:

But the scene rapidly began to exercise a charm over us, and as we stood
on the edge of the Horseshoe Fall, on the very brink of the precipice
over which the vast flood hurls itself, we confessed the sublimity of
the spectacle. We returned continually to gaze on it, more and more
fascinated, and in the bright clear moonlight of a beautiful summer's
night, viewed the grand cataract at its loveliest time... what so
many have tried, but never succeeded, in painting either with pen or
pencil (NWP, pp. 6-7).

These examples are cited only to appreciate better the degree and kind
of divergence apparent in the travellers' responses to less celebrated
aesthetic sights when in the West. Chéadle is rarely overwhelmed and
often circumspect in his landscape description, and the customs and manners of the people whom he sees often make as strong a claim on his attention as nature does. At Toronto, for instance, he appears as captivated by "Nigger waiters" at the Rossin Hotel--"Curious effect of black hands waiting at table" (CJ, p. 27)--as he was at Niagara by the Falls. Milton, on the other hand, though he does not evince any careful observation of nature, emphasizes the effect of landscape and events on him. Such is his general romantic penchant and, perhaps, aristocratic self-interest.

After a relatively uneventful train and coach trip through the United States to Fort Garry, and an ascent of the Calton Trail to Carlton House on the North Saskatchewan River in September, when the Overlanders of 1862 were rafting down the Fraser and North Thompson Rivers, Cheadle and Milton took the Isle à la Cross trail north from Carlton House and arrived at "La Belle," or "La Jolie Prairie" on October 17, 1862. Although they had planned to proceed farther, they returned to this site mostly for aesthetic reasons, and built a winter lodging, Milton House. Cheadle described the landscape as "surrounded by woods & small hills & one or two lakes in the opening; a pretty promontory jutting into one lake, covered with pine & poplar. Strikes both Milton & myself as a very beautiful site for a house" (CJ, p. 71). Characteristically, Milton embellishes the published description. As well, he introduces one of his favourite and prominent themes, a call for imperial expansion and western settlement:

The next day brought us to a lovely little spot, a small prairie of perhaps 200 acres, surrounded by low wooded hills, and on one side
a lake winding with many an inlet amongst the hills and into the plain, while here and there a tiny promontory, richly clothed with pines and aspens, stretched out into the water. The beauty of the place had struck the rude voyageurs, its only visitors, except the Indians, and they had named it La Belle Prairie.

As we crossed it, we remarked, to one another what a magnificent site for a house one of the promontories would be, and how happy many a poor farmer who tilled unkindly soil at home would feel in possession of the rich land which lay before us (NWP, p. 72).

This description is not quite similar to Graham's discoveries of noblemen's parks in the parkland topography, for Milton voices the unmistakable opinion that the landscape he enjoys as a winter campsite will suffice for the lower classes as a permanent residence. (He may well be influenced here by the fact that voyageurs enjoyed the landscape.) Still, the view's aesthetic properties, especially the outline of the lake, attract his eye as well. And Milton is wrong about the list of visitors to this Arden, for, being on the Carlton House-Ile à la Cross trail, it appears to be the same scene whose sufficient wood for ornamentation so pleased John Franklin in February, 1820, forty-three years before. It need hardly be added that this coincidence bears testimony to the endurance of the Picturesque schema through the first half of the nineteenth century.

Winter at Milton House was singular for its solitude. Milton remarked on the psychological effect of being trapped in a soundless void, echoing as he does so, a similar lament by Sir John Richardson when he was at Cumberland House in 1819-1820:

The intense stillness and solitude, the travelling day after day through endless woods without meeting a sign of man, and rarely seeing a living creature, strikes very strangely on the mind at first. The half-breed trapper delights in wandering alone in the forest; but Cheadle, who tried the experiment for two days, found the silence and loneliness so oppressive as to be quite unbearable (NWP, p. 107).
However identifiable La Belle Prairie and Milton House may be as a place, their influence over the neighbouring region extends only as far as they remain visible; outside the perimeter, the crushing void which Richardson felt imperilling even his faith in God exists with an annihilating oppressiveness.

Both men were delighted to be on the move again with the return of spring. They reached Fort Edmonton on May 14, having passed through the parkland which Milton alone describes in a single-paragraph scene that again couples the plea for a settlement policy with a response to picturesque scenery:

We now [April 28, 1863, after leaving Fort Pitt] entered a most glorious country—not indeed grandly picturesque but rich and beautiful: a country of rolling hills and fertile valleys, of lakes and streams, groves of birch and aspen, and miniature prairies; a land of a kindly soil, and full of promise to the settler to come in future years, when an enlightened policy shall open out the wealth now uncared-for or unknown (NWP, p. 178).

Like Palliser and Hind before him, Milton infers in picturesque landscape scenery great agricultural potential: where hills roll, where recognizable deciduous trees clump together in groves, and where prairies show the good taste to remain moderately sized, the farmer would seem to be as at home as the nobleman or landscape gardener. Milton goes further: an enlightened perception of such a terrain can only lead to the conclusion, he reasons, that an enlightened policy of settlement and agricultural development is required.

The first view of the Rocky Mountains came for the party on June 25, 1863, from a knoll on the banks of the Athabasca River. Milton nearly apes (NWP, pp. 228-29) Cheadle's journal entry, an entry which is
noteworthy as one of Cheadle's few fully-formed landscape pictures:

A beautiful prospect, & a bluish haze softened off the picture very completely. In the foreground before us rolled the rapid Athabaska between its high banks, clothed with pine, spruce & poplar. Beyond, ranges of hills clothed with pines, & running nearly north & south. Farther still & parallel dimly in the haze stood out the first chain of the mountains 'de facto', backed by still higher ones behind; the sun shone on the snow still lying in the hollows & on the peaks. A cleft in the range, cut clean as with a knife, shewed us what we supposed to be the position of Jasper's House & the opening of the gorge through which we were to pass across. It looked not more than 12 or 15 miles off, & we hoped to reach it by sundown . . . (CJ, p. 158).

Foreground, middle ground, and background are readily distinguishable: each is accorded a single sentence as Cheadle works from the river, through the foothills, to the mountains. Since they provide a standard background motif which also happens to be the right colour, i.e. blue (as occurs frequently in the Rockies, where gneiss dominates), the mountains induce Cheadle, as they had Southesk, to use the schema of a landscape painting. But while Cheadle comprehends the relations among the three areas of his picture, he has no sense of scale coming off the Prairies (a problem that Southesk's picture also encountered). The Jasper-House which he hopefully forecasts to be one day's travel distant, stood as much as fifty miles from his prospect. It was not reached until June 29, four days later. Viewing the landscape by the picturesque mode of perception seems to have hindered Cheadle from accurately understanding space.

As the tourists made their way into the mountains, Cheadle found that several views of the mountains "remind[ed] him forcibly of some pictures of scenes in the Alps, the snow-clad tops, abrupt cliffs, covered with soft blue haze, & amid lower hills clothed with pine (CJ, p. 159). He has little difficulty comparing landscape to art. Once in
the mountains proper, a widening of the Fraser River (Moose Lake) which he came to on July 11 seemed, "a sort of cross between Wast water & Ulleswater" (CJ, pp. 173-74) in the English Lake District. With the traverse of the Yellowhead Pass came the end of primarily aesthetic responses to landscape. The party now consisted of Louis Battenote ("Assiniboine") and his wife, and son, Milton, Cheadle, and a loafer by the name of Eugene Francis O'Beirne, none of whom had ever seen the far side of the Rocky Mountains. Esther Fraser recapitulates their odds for a successful descent of the North Thompson River valley in The Canadian Rockies:

Their prospects were bleak. It had taken the Overlanders approximately four weeks to reach Fort Kamloops from the Fraser [one year before, in 1862]; they had had the services of more than thirty potential axemen and a supply of meat. Milton and Cheadle thought their provisions would last for ten days, in which time they hoped to be at the fort. They had two axemen (one ["Assiniboine"] handicapped) and one little axe.

They began their trek through the forest. The giant cedars hid the sky; rank ferns rose shoulder-high and the tangled undergrowth was rank with the devil's club—that abominable plant with great thorny stems which puncture the skin and leave festering wounds. 338

Matters grew worse. It had taken the "party of pleasure" two weeks to cross from Jasper House to old Tête Jaune Cache. Another two weeks brought them, on July 29, to Slaughter Camp, where the Overlanders, finding the valley forests impenetrable, had killed their livestock on September 23, 1862, and taken to the river. Thus, Cheadle encountered a dead-end trail, a sight which Richard Principal Leitch (fl.1840-1875) of Glasgow portrayed from Milton's and Cheadle's accounts in a picture, entitled simply "The Trail at an End" (NWP; facing p. 28); CJ, p. 195). 339 No egress appears in this entirely closed view except the river, to whose "mercy," (to recall Thomas McMicking's description
of the Overlander contingent's embarkation on the Fraser) Cheadle had no intention of committing his party. The Shuswap Indians at Tête Jaune Cache who had prophesied to the rash Overlanders, "Poor white men, no more," the year before, had similarly warned Cheadle that the North Thompson was "impracticable for a raft, and very hazardous for canoes" (NWP, p. 284). The figures are dwarfed in the picture by mammoth prostrate and upright conifers, thrown together in an unorganizable, impenetrable landscape of confusion worse confounded. So thick were the forests that to find a break in them was, in Cheadle's words, "like coming out of a darkened room into broad sunlight" (CJ, p. 199).

The sublimity of the landscape impenetrability and gloom began to affect the men's minds as much as it imperilled their physical welfare. By August 3, Cheadle took emergency steps: "The gloom of the forest being so great Milton & I, upon my strong representation, agreed not to discuss disagreeable subjects, or squabble any more" (CJ, p. 199). The fop, Eugene Francis O'Beirne, was induced by despair to stop reading
his copy of *View of Evidences of Christianity* (1794) by Archdeacon William Paley (1743-1805), a book which "he had not missed, a day reading hard . . . since we left Edmonton" (CJ, p. 205). Paley, an arguer from Design, who had been capable of blithely ignoring the explosion of such theology by David Hume in his *Dialogues on Natural Religion* (1779), often comforted the Christian traveller who was confronted by apparent evidences of natural chaos produced by a power apparently not at all resembling the Christian God. O'Beirne's jettisoning of Paley's work illustrates just how depressed and anxious the party had grown.

Finally, however, less densely wooded country was reached on August 22, three weeks after leaving the trail behind at Slaughter Camp and five weeks after leaving the Fraser River at Tête Jaune Cache. Cheadle was transformed, finding in the more open district "Beautiful country. Partially wooded hills, cliffs, little park-like prairies" (CJ, p. 213). Milton "fairly shouted for joy as we emerged from the gloom in which we had so long been imprisoned, on to a beautiful little prairie, and saw before us a tree, open country, diversified with rounded hills and stretches of woodland" (NWP, p. 310). And O'Beirne was induced by the change in landscape to "resume the study of Paley with renewed zest." All had found the country as gloomy as Alexander Ross had found it slightly to the west in 1817 when travelling north from the "She Whaps" fort. All were much more pleased than Ross, however, at rediscovering picturesque landscapes in the meadows and brief prairies which appear in the North Thompson valley shortly before its junction with the South Thompson at the modern city of Kamloops.

The party recuperated at Fort Kamloops and then set off down the
Thompson River valley for Lytton and, ultimately, to Victoria. Cheadle agreed with those with whom he spoke en route, that "the country had been grossly misrepresented, & B.C. would never be a great farming country" (CJ, p. 229). From Victoria, Milton and Cheadle made a return trip up the Fraser, taking the Lillooet Trail to Lillooet and the Cariboo Trail as far as Williams Lake. Arriving there on October 20, they then descended the Fraser by trails to Yale, and steamed down to Victoria again. Their principal interest on this leg of the sojourn was mining: landscape becomes far less of a concern once they have trails to follow; people to see, and provisions readily to acquire. Their accounts of landscape, where they do occur, are conventional and uninteresting when compared with those of the other journalists considered in the foregoing pages.

III.9:IV--The Aesthetic of Bombast: William Francis Butler (1870-1873)

The works of William Francis Butler (1838-1910) operate less within the schemata of perception of the Sublime and the Picturesque than do earlier narratives of the Arctic and the West because Butler exhibits a more Victorian attitude towards nature. The narratives of his two western sojourns, The Great Long Land (1872), and The Wild North Land (1873) merit brief consideration at the end of this study, however, for the ways in which they reflect the transition from ways of seeing the West which have here been called the Sublime and the Picturesque, to modes of perception that anticipated the West as a settled, civilized, accessible, and cultivated realm. Certainly, other works considered in this study have forecasted and heralded these changes in landscape
orientation, and where they have, their amplification or modification of the schemata have been delineated. But Butler is an important transitional figure, for, even while recognizing the need for and urging the formation of a law enforcement agency in the West, for example, he delighted in travelling across unlimited, ungoverned, wild terrain, and in celebrating the liberty of Indian life. Sent west in 1870 to determine how best to quell the first Métis insurrection, he himself cherished and lived the freedom which Métis life had propagated: "There is no other portion of the globe, in which travel is possible where loneliness can be said to live so thoroughly."

Butler was thirty-two years of age when he telegraphed Colonel Garnet Wolseley from Ireland to volunteer as a member of the expedition being formed to suppress Louis Riel and his confrères at Red River. Wolseley appointed him as a special intelligence agent and sent him to Fort Garry on a secret reconnaissance mission. Butler had seen the Prairies in 1867 while a member of the forces sent to defend the border from Fenians, and wanted to cross the Prairies after performing his duties for Wolseley. Thus, as Edward McCourt notes in his introduction to the reprint of The Great Lohe Land (1968), Butler found another commission which would take him west:

Butler was commissioned by the Canadian Government to travel west to the Rockies, report in detail on conditions prevailing among the native tribes of the North West Territories, and recommend steps to be taken to ensure the reign of law throughout the huge area in which the authority of the Government had recently replaced that of the Hudson's Bay Company (p. x).

Butler's stylistic weakness, or, it may be, strength, in his responses to landscape is his tendency to bombast. As was the case with
the writing of R. M. Ballantyne, when this tendency is contained it is effective; when not, it is irritatingly verbose. He warms to his discussion of the West in The Great Lone Land with a bird's-eye view of a continent containing "3000 miles of meadow" (p. 18). He is the Sherard Osborn of the West, and more. Everything is tremendous, superior, unmatchable, incomparable, ineffable, unimaginable. At his worst, Sir William Francis Butler is the Sir Tremendous Longinus of his day. Southesk's and Cheadle's close observations and discriminations are as foreign to him as to the propagandists on the west coast—the MacDonalds and Macfies, Cornwallises and Pembertons. After asserting uninformedly and unauthoritatively that the Red River flows through a plain "fertile beyond description" (p. 94), Butler indulges in one of his stylistic signatures—a tautology: "... to look over the plains from an elevation of twelve feet above the earth is to survey at a glance a space so vast that distance alone seems to bound its limits" (p. 95). Neither as graphic as Alexander Henry the Younger's description of climbing a tree to survey the prairie farther up the Red River valley at the end of the eighteenth century, nor as imaginative as William Combe's placement of the azure Pacific at the end of the vista in his description of the Clearwater River valley for Alexander Mackenzie's Voyages, Butler's description fails to engage the reader in an attempt to comprehend the qualities of prairie space.

Butler's forte, however, is the expansive, sometimes vapid, embrace of sheer magnitude. When he does introduce detail, he invariably plots his pictures with romanticized Indians on innocent quests through virgin tracts:
For the Winnipeg [River] by the multiplicity of its perils and the ever-changing beauty of its character, defies the description of civilized men as it defies the puny efforts of civilized travel. It seems part of the savage--fitted alone for him and for his ways, useless to carry the burden of man's labour, but useful to shelter the wild things of wood and water which dwell in its waves and along its shores. And the red man who steers his little birch-bark canoe through the foaming rapids of the Winnipeg, how well he knows its various ways! To him it seems to possess life and instinct, he speaks of it as one would of a high-mettled charger which will do any thing if he be rightly handled. It gives him his test of superiority, his proof of courage (p. 144).

Protesting that the landscape "defies the description of civilized men," Butler conveniently ignores it and moves to one of his favourite topics--the virtue, prowess, and demise of the North American Indian. His apparent ignorance of earlier responses to the river is barely excusable at this late date in the opening of the West. In no way can the Winnipeg River be said, by 1870, to defy description. But, of course, Butler maintains the illusion of defiance because it bolsters his fictional portrayal of the West still as a virgin wilderness. To consolidate this fiction, Butler makes little mention of his own reasons for travel, dates and places seen; they are introduced incidentally so as not to interrupt the rhetorical flow of effect, impression, and sentiment. Thus: "The sun would be just tipping the western shores with his first rays when the canoe would be lifted from its ledge or rock and laid gently on the water . . ." (p. 146). With this generality ("would be lifted" signals to the reader Butler's journalistic interests in the general, the archetypal, but not the specific), Butler initiates a 111-line paragraph on canoeing, which includes a broadcast of an upstream struggle in an utterly conventional picture, entitled "Working up the Winnipeg" (facing p. 147).

Butler met the Red River forces at Fort Frances in late July and
all the troops were at Fort Garry by August 20. They stayed only ten days, after which—the forces led by Riel having fled Fort Garry, their siege aborted—the soldiers returned to Ontario. Butler received his second commission and proceeded west in wintry weather along the Carlton Trail, crossing the South Saskatchewan River with difficulty near Batoche, the future scene of the second Riel Rebellion. His response to the parkland is quite novel in comparison with previous accounts, only because, by 1870, the eastern grasslands were a graveyard of slaughtered buffaloes:

Upon whatever side the eye turns when crossing these great expanses, the same wrecks of the monarch of the prairie lie thickly strewn over the surface. Hundreds of thousands of skeletons dot the short scant grass; and when fire has laid barer still the level surface, the bleached ribs and skulls of long-killed bison whiten far and near the dark burnt prairie. There is something unspeakably melancholy in the aspect of this portion of the North-west. From one of the westward jutting spurs of the Touchwood Hills the eye sees far away over an immense plain; the sun goes down, and as he sinks upon the earth the straight line of the horizon becomes visible for a moment across his blood-red disc, but so distant, so far away that it seems dreamlike in its immensity. There is not a sound in the air or on the earth; on every side lie spread the relics of the great fight waged by man against the brute creation; all is silent and deserted—the Indian and the buffalo gone, the settler not yet come. You turn quickly to the right or left; over a hilltop, close by, a solitary wolf steals away. Quickly the vast prairie begins to grow dim, and darkness forsakes the skies because they light their stars, coming down to seek in the utter solitude of the blackened plains a kindred spirit for the night (pp. 217-18).

Not content with leaving the powerful symbol of the bones as their own latent testimony to the sublimity and solitude of the terrain, Butler cannot resist splattering his picture with two more sentences full of egregiously histrionic details such as "solitary wolf." But in terms of natural terrain, his description of the parkland is inexcusably reductive given the date of his narrative:
It has on the north a huge forest, on the west a huge mountain, on the south an immense desert, on the east an immense marsh. From the forest to the desert there lies a distance varying from 40 to 150 miles, and from the marsh to the mountain, 800 miles of land lie spread in every varying phase of undulating fertility. This is the Fertile Belt, the land of the Saskatchewan, the winter home of the buffalo, the war country of the Crees and Blackfeet, the future home of millions yet unborn (p. 230).

Butler sounds more like a government propagandist in this passage of undiscriminating simplicity.343 No respondent had dealt with the vegetation map of the West as cavalierly as does Butler here. Moreover, no traveller had so summarily described the parkland as "one vast park" (p. 256), as did Butler when he reached Fort Edmonton.

He left the fort on December 1, and travelled to Rocky Mountain House, from which he viewed the Rocky Mountains in the first week of the month. His initial response is uncharacteristically succinct and impressive for its focus on the meeting of the horizontal and vertical planes:

An immense plain stretched from my feet to the mountain—a plain so vast that every object of hill and wood and lake lay dwarfed into one continuous level, and at the back of this level, beyond the pines and the lakes and the river-courses, rose the giant range, solid, impassable, silent—a mighty barrier rising midst an immense land, standing sentinel over the plains and prairies of America, over the measureless solitudes of this Great Lone Land. Here, at last, lay the Rocky Mountains (pp. 274-75).

The sentence first expands in clauses and phrases to embrace the "immense plain," and then contracts to come up against three distinct adjectives whose placement mimics the eye's halt and change of direction as the plain meets the wall. The sentence then again expands into clauses and phrases as the vertical "measureless" immensity is scaled by the eye. Parallel effects are found in Butler's sketch, entitled
"The Rocky Mountains at the Sources of the Saskatchewan" (facing p. 275). Foothills are excluded to leave the landscape a confrontation of the horizontal and vertical. Although the apparently leaved deciduous tree is an anomaly in the frozen landscape, there is little else to deflect the eye from the nexus of the two topographies: indeed, although Butler deploys foreground coulisses, the line of vision, quite properly expands rather than narrows behind them, thereby inverting the convention and inviting an expanded rather than contracted view. The entire wall, uniform in height, becomes the vanishing point, or the consummate obstacle to a vanishing point.

Regrettably, Butler continues his narrative picture, extending his view to the left and right, taking in the mountain chain's entirety from the "Lake of Mexico" to the "estuary of the Mackenzie." The narrative flails on, marring the clear and sublime contrast which it and the picture had initially produced.
Butler returned down the North Saskatchewan and Saskatchewan Rivers, remarking at the Forks that, "the mind had little difficulty in seeing another picture, when the river forks would be a busy scene of commerce, and man's labour would wake echoes now answering only to the wild things of plain and forest" (p. 331). He arrived at Fort Garry in February, 1871. Little more than one year later, in early 1873, he was back in the west on a trip over the Methye Portage to the Peace River district and on to Victoria by way of the Ominica mines in northern British Columbia. The account of this second trip appeared as The Wild North Land (1873), and is noteworthy for the occasional, strong narrative passages and a few aesthetic insights. Anticipating T. E. Hulme's recognition of the need of a new aesthetic to identify and a new taxonomy to name prairie vastness, Butler asks at the outset, "What shall we call this land to those who follow us into its depths?" One aesthetic possibility remained "the colouring of Claude" (p. 9), but it was not the one on which Butler settled. He first presents an overblown version of the maritime analogy:

He, who rides for months through the vast solitudes sees during the hours of his daily travel an unbroken panorama of distance. The seasons come and go; grass grows and flowers die; the fire leaps with tiger bounds along the earth; the snow lies still and quiet over hill and lake; the rivers rise and fall, but the rigid features of the wilderness rest unchanged. Lonely, silent, and impassive; heedless of man, season, or time, the weight of the Infinite seems to brood over it. Once only in the hours of day and night a moment comes when this impassive veil is drawn from its features, and the eye of the wandèrer catches a glimpse of the sunken soul of the wilderness; it is the moment which follows the sunset; then a deeper stillness steals over the earth, colours of wondrous hue rise and spread along the western horizon. In a deep sea of emerald and orange of fifty shades, mingled and interwoven together, rose-coloured isles float anchored to great golden threads; while, far away, seemingly beyond and above all, one broad flash of crimson light, the parting sun's last gift, reddens upwards to the zenith. And then, when every moment brings a change, and the night gathers closer to the earth, and some waveless, nameless lake
glimmers in uncertain shoreline and in shadow of inverted hill-top; when a light that seems born of another world (so weirdly distant is it from ours) lingers along the western sky, then hanging like a lamp over the tomb of the sun, the Evening star gleams out upon the darkening wilderness. It may be only a fancy, a conceit bred from loneliness and long wandering, but at such times the great solitude has seemed to me to open its soul, and that in its depths I read its secrets (pp. 22-3).

Butler remains exhilarated by space. A sense of the infinite, of Armageddon, of an Old Testament judgemental God does not impinge upon him in the way that it did upon Southesk when he responded to the winter light of the Prairies in November, 1859. Butler does not cower, but feels that the wilderness has opened its soul to him, and shared its secrets. Although his narrative suggests affinities with both Shelley's quest to stain the white radiance of eternity and the physical quests of the British mariners in the Arctic, his histrionics are not compelling: his colours are garish, his depiction of the drama of life cosmically artificial and verbose. There is none of the insight shown unpretentiously by David Thompson at Manito Lake in 1796.

It would be convenient to dismiss Butler thus, but one landscape in The Wild North Land redeems him somewhat from the charge of presenting mere rhetoric. Still searching for the appropriate aesthetic, he ascends the sacred Indian hill of truth, Spathanaw Watchi, the Dog Knoll, which Thomas Simpson had visited in the winter of 1836 and which Sir George Simpson had visited in the summer of 1841. Butler surveys the expanse of grassland with a seldom-shown sympathy and care:

Alone in a vast waste the Spathanaw Watchi lifts his head, thickets and lakes are at his base, a lonely grave at top, around four hundred miles of horizon; a view so vast that endless space seems for once to find embodiment, and at a single glance the eye is satiated with immensity. There is no mountain range to come up across the sky-line, no river to lay its glistening folds along the middle distance, no dark
forest to give shade to foreground or to fringe perspective, no speck of life, no track of man, nothing but the wilderness. Reduced thus to its own nakedness, space stands forth with almost terrible grandeur. One is suddenly brought face to face with that enigma which we try to comprehend by giving to it the names of endless, interminable, measureless, that dark inanity which broods upon a waste of moorland at dusk, and in which fancy sees the spectral and the shadowy.

Yet in this view from the Spathanaw there is nothing dimly seen; the eye travels to the farthest distance without one effort of vision, and, reaching there, rests untired by its long gaze. As the traveller looks at this wonderful view he stands by the grave of an Indian, and he sees around him for four hundred miles the Indian Paradise. It was from scenes such as this, when the spring had covered them with greensward, and the wild herds darkened them by their myriads, that the shadowy sense of a life beyond the tomb took shape and form in the Red man's mind (p. 30).

Admitting to an enigma of nature whose comprehension lies beyond him, Butler relies again on a tautology—"space seems for once to find embodiment"—but he does not rest with it until he has explored the picturesque schema of foreground, middle ground, and background, and found it foreign to a terrain bearing few signs of the human and fewer of the civilized. Then, as if trying to answer the question posed at the outset of the work—the question of what to call the land—-he supplies a list of adjectives ("endless, interminable, measureless"), knowing that individually they are unsatisfactory but hoping that they might suffice collectively. Any attribution of a quality to a void ("space, "reduced to nakedness") must appear redundant. Only by turning to Indian history can Butler invest the prospect on which he stands with some sense of place, and, at that, it is a foreign sense which does not belong to him, does not reflect his or his society's modes of perception.

The accompanying picture, entitled "View from the Spathanaw Watchi" (facing p. 31) (see following page), is as impressive and ultimately unsatisfactory as the prose attempt. The tiny human figure located on a sea-shore cliff romantically, perhaps lyrically, surveying an ocean of land spreading out to Infinity is perhaps all that his aesthetics can
achieve. Butler wrote copiously and verbosely in an attempt to meet the aesthetic challenge of the grasslands but the most impressive attempts at comprehension and articulation are the passages in which he addresses the dimensions of space carefully, succinctly, and, it should be said, honestly. As has been seen, his best description and depiction of the mountains were similarly achieved. He did not possess the tools of the Duncan Campbell Scott, in his use of the Spathanawatchi in "Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris" (1913), who speaks of "the preconscious moment" and the turning planets, and for whom "Contours came at [his] call." But Scott came nearly half a century later with an aesthetic that did not require the viewing eye to feel failure at not controlling vast space, and, moreover, when the space of the Prairies had already been surveyed, organized, and partly settled. T. E. Hulme recognized that a mammoth overhaul of perception and poetic form was still required in the early twentieth century, when, in "A Lecture on Modern Poetry" (c.1908), he spoke of the Prairies needing their own aesthetic: ". . . the first I ever felt the necessity or
inevitableness of verse, was in the desire to reproduce the peculiar quality of feeling which is induced by the flat spaces and wide horizons of the virgin prairie of western Canada. You see this is essentially different to the lyrical impulse. John Richardson had felt this peculiar quality at Cumberland House in 1819-1820. So had Thomas Simpson when he spoke, after traversing the Prairies, late in 1836, of "time and space seem[ing] equally a blank." 347

It can thus be said in conclusion that, although the Sublime and the Picturesque may have ultimately left huge areas of the West uncharted and unnamed, 348 between 1772 and 1872 these aesthetics did successfully capture and preserve much of the colour and character of the lands that were in the process of becoming Canada's northern territories and western provinces. Northrop Frye is right to continue to ask, "Where is here?" but, as the foregoing pages have shown, the aesthetic map of the North and the West was being plotted, point by point, in the century prior to nationhood. On occasion, these points acknowledged British discoveries of the absence of meaning in terrain, as in Vancouver's Desolation Sound, Franklin's Point Turnagain, McLean's Fort Chimo, and Hector's view from Turtle Mountain. On other occasions, land was found to be chartable as landscape and able to sustain a Briton's aesthetic identity, as in Parry's and Lyon's Barrow River, Bishop Anderson's Fairford House, Tolmie's Nisqually, and many writers' Methye Portage and Rainy River. In the first aesthetic exploration of this huge realm, writers who were expressing various interests—geographical, botanical, commercial, spiritual, cartographical, artistic, and sporting—adapted the Sublime and the Picturesque in a variety of ways in order to
identify terrain. The adaptability and durability of these two aesthetics as the aesthetic baggage for Britons travelling through an almost infinite variety of terrain is truly impressive. As fundamental sources of twentieth-century Canadian literature which continues to carry out subsequent aesthetic explorations of man's relations to nature, the Sublime and the Picturesque permitted several generations of British explorers and travellers to attempt to answer the question which Butler posed a century before Frye—how to name the unnameable, how to make places out of mere space.
Chapter III: Notes.

1 Captain James Cook, *The Voyage of the "Resolution" and "Discovery"*, in 2 pts., in *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, for the Hakluyt Society, 1965), III, i, xlii. Subsequent references to Cook's works will depend upon this edition and will appear in parentheses after the quoted material in the text.

2 Under his "Nautical Remarks," Cook does voice some concern about the safety of his chosen anchorage in Resolution Cove: "it is covered from the Sea but has little else to recommend it, being exposed to the SE winds which we found to blow with great violence and the devastation they sometimes make was apparent in many places" (III, i, 308-09), including, presumably, the denuded tree trunks shown by Webber.

A wholly different reading of Webber's picture, one which sees it as emphasizing the Sublime in nature, is offered by Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole in *From Desolation to Splendour: Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape* (Toronto, Vancouver: Clarke Irwin, 1977), pp. 18-19. Tippett and Cole consider Webber's terrain "terrifying and desolate in its overpowering presence [which forms] an inhospitable barrier to man. The ships and sailors, even the natives, are active only on the coastal fringe" (p. 18). But the scene, regardless of which way one views it (the reproduction in Tippett and Cole is backwards, unfortunately), does not evoke sublimity. The trees are often individually painted, and while they collectively present a dense forest, hardly do they "rear up as walls overwhelming the fragile human endeavours" (p. 18). The mountain is kept in the background and the land does not rise precipitately from the sea, as it often does elsewhere on the British Columbia coast. Finally, the density of the forest can not be said to overwhelm the mariners' endeavours: Tippett and Cole themselves go on to emphasize that Webber's is primarily an historical painting. This is correct, and the value of depicting the dense forest inheres in the fact that its density in large measure provided the cover from the sea which Cook sought at Ship's Cove. Ultimately, what makes this landscape view more rudely picturesque than sublime is the effect evoked by the emphasis on the horizontal. The watercolour measures 23 1/2 X 58 1/2 in., making it more than twice as wide as it is high. It would be very difficult indeed for a painter of a space with such dimensions to evoke the Sublime, which, except in subjects involving barren waste or open prairie or seas, usually is structured with a vertical emphasis. And of the little vertical quality in Webber's painting, the main mast of the Resolution rises above the heights of the mountain and all but a few individual trees. Again, then, the natural scene cannot be said to overwhelm the human endeavour.


4 Though coasting the west side of the islands from June to July, Dixon did not deduce their insularity until July 29. See Captain George
[Beresford], A Voyage round the World, p. 80.

Quoted in Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole, "Pleasing Diversity and Sublime Desolation: The 18th-Century British Perception of the Northwest Coast," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 65 (1974), 6, where it is mistakenly attributed to Dixon, the purported author.

John Meares, Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America. To which are prefixed, an Introductory Narrative of a Voyage performed in 1786, from Bengal, in the Ship Nootka; Observations on the probable Existence of A North West Passage; and Some Account of the Trade between the North West Coast of America and China; and the latter Country and Great Britain (London: n.p., 1790); facs. rpt. (Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Da Capo, 1967), p. 222. Subsequent references will depend upon the 1967 reprint and will appear after the quoted passage in the text in parentheses.

The particulars of this controversy are not germane to this study. One contemporary account, written by James Colnett (1752-1806), a captain in the employ of Messrs. John and Cadman Etches, with whom Meares had formed a quick partnership in the winter of 1788, is given in The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791, ed., intro., and notes F. W. Howay (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940).

"Vancouver, George," DNB, XX, 96.


The following discussion of the response to the Pacific coast by members of Vancouver's expedition will be found to coincide in places with the studies made by Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole. See above, notes 2 and 6.

Captain George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World; in which the Coast of North-West America has been carefully examined and accurately surveyed. Undertaken by His Majesty's Command, principally with a View to ascertain the Existence of any navigable Communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans; and performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver, 3 vols. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, and J. Edwards, 1798); facs rpt. (Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Da Capo, 1967), I, 210. Subsequent references will
depend upon the 1967 reprint and will appear in parentheses after the quoted passage in the text.


15 Tippett and Cole, "Pleasing Diversity and Sublime Desolation;"

3.

16 Colonel R. E. Moody (1813-1887), the Royal Engineer sent to British Columbia by Sir Bulwer-Lytton in 1858 to build roads to the Cariboo, was well versed in navigational difficulties, having been the first Governor of the Falkland Islands. He provides the following estimate of the southern arm of the Fraser: "There does not exist any difficulty whatever in entering the Frazer [sic]. The channel is quite straight & of depth sufficient for any ordinary merchant man & for most small class Men of War. There is rarely any sea on. It has no "fetch" across the Gulf. There is no room for any sea of consequence to get up and there are anchorages far distant to run into. The channel of the River across the sands however tho' deep & straight is rarely (I believe never) with any sea of consequence on, is narrow 4 miles long, & there is no room to "beat" in with a sailing vessel. "With a wind" any vessel could go in." (Colonel Richard Clement Moody, "First Impressions: Letter of Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R.E., to Arthur Blackwood, February 1, 1859," ed., and intro. Willard E. Ireland The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, XV [1951], 91.) It should be noted, however, that Moody was writing in February, after making only his first trip up to the future site of New Westminster in January. Vancouver, on the other hand, was confronting the prospect in mid-June, when the freshets swell the Fraser considerably.


18 Godwin, Vancouver, a Life, p. 66.

19 A picturesque response to the estuary based on Dutch landscape painting is offered by Richard Clement Moody. See below, section III.8. V.

20 Bern Anderson, Surveyor of the Sea, p. 87.

21 Lieut. Peter Puget, "The Vancouver Expedition: Peter Puget's
22 Tippett and Cole quite rightly note, in reference to this passage, the aesthetic value attached to cascades. They quote Dugald Stewart's well-known comment as an example: "Masses of water in the form of a mountain torrent, or of a cataract present to us one of the most impressive images of irresistible impetuosity which terrestrial phenomena afford." (Dugald Stewart, "On the Sublime," in Philosophical Essays [1810], 3d. ed. [Edinburgh, 1813], pp. 409-10; in Tippett and Cole, "Pleasing Diversity and Sublime Desolation," 5-6.)


24 Godwin, Vancouver, a Life, p. 73.

25 For a discussion of the degree to which Vancouver was debilitated by these ailments, see Godwin, Vancouver, a Life, pp. 96-7.


32 See, for example, the otherwise informative essay by D. W. Moodie, "Early British Images of Rupert's Land," in Canadian Plains Studies 6: Man and Nature on the Prairies, pp. 1-20.

33 Whillans, First in the West, p. 136.
34 See below, section III.3.VI.


38 As if acknowledging that Radcliffian debt, Henry pauses dramatically in his narrative to identify the fictional aspects of his real predicament: "The reader’s imagination is here distracted by the variety of our fortunes, and he may well paint to himself the state of mind of those who sustained them; who were the sport, or the victims, of a series of events, more like dreams than realities, more like fiction than truth!" (Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776 [New York: I. Riley, 1809]; rpt., intro. J. Bain [Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.; Toronto: G. N. Morang and Co., 1901]; facs. rpt. of 1901 ed., intro. Lewis G. Thomas [Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969], p. 96. Subsequent references will depend upon the 1969 rpt., and will appear in parentheses after the quoted passage in the text.) But as the captivity prolongs into weeks and months, the tension wanes and the impetus of the narrative is transferred from the gothic sublimity of imprisonment to the anthropological aspects of the descriptions of Indian life. When, almost one year later, Henry effects his escape to Sault Ste. Marie; the degree of relief felt by the reader cannot be considered extreme. Indeed, Indian tales form the foundation of the whole first part of Henry’s narrative. The title is a misnomer, for "Travels" in which landscape description might be expected to form a central feature occupy only a fraction of the text.

39 Whether these passages are Henry’s, or the result of collaboration "with someone with more education than he," remains a long-standing question in the study of Henry, with no clear answer of the kind provided in the case of Alexander Mackenzie’s writings. See Thomas’ introduction to the Edmonton edition, p. x. Arguably, Henry must have had some knowledge of the more sophisticated manners and tastes of his age to have been successfully received at the court of Marie Antoinette in 1777.

40 For clarification of the various canoe routes used by the fur brigades at different periods, consult the valuable reference by Eric Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada/Then and Now (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1968); rpt. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1979).

41 Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures, pp. 240-41.
42 See Appendix B.

43 The discussion of the Arctic expedition down the Mackenzie River appears above, chpt. II, pp. 117-27.

44 The term "parkland," is used formally to classify the ecosystem of the Peace River valley from a point in the vicinity of Carcajou, Alta., and upstream from there. The term will also be used formally in subsequent discussions to denote the section of the North Saskatchewan River valley between Carlton House and Fort Edmonton. In the case of the Peace River valley, see Atlas of Alberta, comp. Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Alberta (Edmonton: Univ. of Alberta Press, 1969), p. 38.

45 See above, chpt. II, pp. 121-22.

46 See above, chpt. I, p. 63, and note 82.

47 The second transcontinental expedition, of course, was that performed by the Americans in 1805-1806 under the leadership of Captains Lewis and Clark. See Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, intro. Bernard de Voto, 8 vols. (New York: Arno, 1969).


49 See Lamb's comments in The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, pp. 31 and 37.

50 Fraser to Stuart, February 1, 1807, p. 252; quoted by Lamb, p. 37.

51 Other people than Fraser respected Stuart's learnedness. Daniel Williams Harmon (1778-1843), who, like Fraser, was born at Bennington, Vermont, was the North West Company agent posted at Fort Dunvegan on the Peace River in 1809, when Stuart came over the mountains with the New Caledonia district's returns for the previous summer and descended to the Strait of Georgia with Fraser. Harmon describes the week of July 12-19 when Stuart stayed at his post: "... the few Days he was here were by me past with much satisfaction. We rambled along together in the adjacent Plains, and conversed as we walked but now and then we would stop to eat a few Berries, which are plentiful everywhere. He I perceive has read much & reflected a little--and how happy should I be to have such a Companion for the whole summer." (Daniel Williams Harmon, Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: the Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon 1800-1816, ed. W. Kaye Lamb [Toronto: Macmillan, 1957], p. 122.) Notable here is the location of Harmon's pleasurable ramble with Stuart--in the foreground and middle ground of the scene pictured by Mackenzie/Combe in 1793 on the Peace River.
52 Lamb (p. 96) cites the passage in Commander R. C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island Island. An Account of their Forests, Rivers, Coasts, Gold Fields, and Resources for Colonisation (London: John Murray, 1862), p. 106. See below, section III.8.1V for a discussion of Mayne's work.


55 David Thompson, Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812, ed. Vittor G. Hopwood (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 15-35, p. 34. The three editions of Thompson's writing provide different texts. Hopwood's will be cited for the most part here. I acknowledge the valuable introductions to the earlier editions by Tyrrell (1916) and Glover (1962).

56 I have been assured by Professor R. J. Shroyer that charity school standards were exceedingly high, that Coleridge was indulging in some typical exaggeration when demeaning his, and that sufficient scholarly research has yet to be undertaken on the activities of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which established and oversaw the running of a number of these schools.

57 Hopwood cites no curriculum as evidence that Thompson learned no classical languages at school. Although curriculae were not taught universally, and Thompson had been assigned mathematics, Coleridge certainly learned some Latin and Greek at a Charity School.


59 I rely here on Glover's Introduction (1962).

60 I have quoted Glover's edition, David Thompson's Narrative 1784-1812, pp. 111-12, since Hopwood's edition (pp. 135-36) has elisions of two key sections. Missing from the later edition are lines 7-19 and lines 46-56. Hopwood, who informs his reader that, "in making cuts I have indicated omissions internal to a sentence by three elision dots (...)", and omissions which include one or more full stops by four elision dots (...)" (p. 37), replaces the first long elision with three dots only, somewhat misleading the reader.

61 Edward Umfreville encountered the same illusion at York Factory in 1785-1788. See Appendix B.

63 Hopwood has remarked, though not in terms of Thompson's landscape description, that, "sometimes, deep Christian though he is, Thompson's empathy with the Indian mind makes him write almost as though he were thinking in Indian terms, although notes of the European scientific and religious observer set in" (pp. 23-4).

64 From Tyrrell's itinerary for 1860, in Glover's edition, p. lxxxvi.

65 Thompson had not always quite so enthralled a response to the Rockies. On June 8, 1801, travelling up the North Saskatchewan River from Rocky Mountain House in search of a mountain pass, he writes: "At 7 1/4 pm we camped at the foot of the first chain of mountains, where we found snow in several places. The scene around us had nothing of the agreeable in it; all nature seemed to frown; the mountains were dreary, rude, and wild beyond the power of the pencil" (p. 228). It is significant that the gloomy response, reminiscent of Vancouver's to the Pacific Coastal Range, is stated in terms of the scene's amenability to pictorial depiction.

66 The elision at the end of this sentence in Hopwood's. It is therefore not clear whether the innocent ring in this understated phrase derives from Thompson's intentions or the editor's, as no indication is given as to whether or not the sentence ends with "me," and what follows it. Given the problems touched on earlier regarding other of Hopwood's elisions, a conclusion cannot be reached easily.

For a recapitulation of the route taken by Thompson, see James K. Smith, David Thompson: Fur trader, explorer, geographer (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 75-6.

67 See Glover's discussion of this period, in his introduction to the 1962 edition, pp. xlix-lxiv.

68 Montreal born, Franchère certainly did not grow up with an English orientation toward landscape, and so his work cannot be considered fully under the terms of this study. Aesthetic evaluation of Franchère's text is made problematical by the book's publication history. It was edited by the well known French-Canadian poet, historian, and journalist, Michel Bibaud (1782-1837), in 1819 and then lost. Thus, the original diary differed from the first edition which was printed by C. B. Pasteur at Montreal in 1820.

The first English translation was made by Jedediah Vincent Huntington, and was published in New York by Redfield in 1854 under the title, Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the years
1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814, or The First American Settlement on the Pacific. Several subsequent editions have appeared which are noted by W. Kaye Lamb in the Introduction to Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America during the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814, trans. and trans. Wessie Tipping Lamb, ed.; intro., and notes W. Kaye Lamb, Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. xliv (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969), pp. 32-7. This edition printed for the first time an English translation of the Franchère/Bibaud French first edition. Previous English translations had altered the text variously. But Lamb makes plain why an examination of Franchère's aesthetic response to the landscapes of the Columbia River district and transcontinental fur trade route is not possible: "Franchère gave him [Bibaud] a simply expressed, straightforward narrative. Bibaud made the language in many places more literary and elaborated and, perhaps in consultation with Franchère, added descriptive passages, a few of a philosophical nature, but mostly devoted to descriptions of geographical features, birds and animals. In addition he made innumerable changes in the order of the contents, transposing phrases, sentences and whole sections of the manuscript to suit himself" (p. 33).

69 Alexander Ross, Adventures of the first Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River: Being a Narrative of the Expedition fitted out by John Jacob Astor, to establish the "Pacific Fur Company"; with an Account of some Indian Tribes on the Coast of the Pacific (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849); facs. rpt. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), pp. 20, 31. All subsequent references will depend on the 1966 reprint and will appear in parentheses after the quoted passage in the text.

70 Aside from the dense, closed character of a conifer forest, Ross is expressing a universal English distaste for needleleaf trees because of their colour and shape. Owing to these uninviting qualities, according to eighteenth-century British aesthetics, they could only contribute a sublime melancholy to a landscape. This matter is discussed and well documented in Tippett and Cole "Pleasing Diversity and Sublime Desolation," 6.


72 Stuart's route lay along the Snake River for some distance (in the south branch of which, near McCoy Creek, his horses were stolen in September), before following Teton Pass through the mountains to Green River (Wyoming) in the Colorado River watershed, and thence to the Sweetwater River in the Mississippi River watershed.

73 This information is supplied by Cox's modern editors. See Ross

74 Ross Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, including the Narrative of a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains, among Various Tribes of Indians hitherto unknown: together with a Journey across the American Continent, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), I, viii. All subsequent references will depend on this edition and will appear in parentheses after the quoted material in the text.

75 Cox began in the employ of the Pacific Fur company, but joined the North West Company in 1813, the year in which George McTavish, a partner in that Montreal-based concern, descended the Columbia and purchased Astoria from Astor's men, renaming it Fort George. McTavish informed the Astorians that their much-needed supply ships would not pass the British blockade set up as part of the War of 1812 naval strategy. The original traders thus felt no option was left them but to sell and be supplied by the North West Company or starve.

76 Johann Georg Ritter von Zimmermann (1728-1795), a Swiss physician and philosopher, published essays on solitude in 1756, 1773, and 1784-86. Their first edition in English appeared in 1791, entitled Solitude considered with Respect to Influence upon the Mind and the Heart, written originally in German, by M. Zimmermann, trans. from the French of J. B. Mercier (London: pr. for C. Dilly, 1791). Continental physician to King George III of England from 1768, Zimmermann found that his works enjoyed enormous popularity in England and the United States, being published once a year from 1791 to 1813, and frequently thereafter as well, until approximately 1840. Thus, Cox could be quite certain of his readers' knowledge of the existence at least of the treatise on solitude. It is by no means clear how well Cox himself knew the work, for while Zimmermann does praise the efficacy of "occasional retirement," he does not advise it as a way of life, and much of his work treats of the deleterious effects on the mind of extended periods of solitude. It would be interesting to determine how well Byron knew Zimmermann's work.

77 Edgar and Jane Stewart, Cox's modern editors, may have a point about their author's habit of dragging in literary quotations for their own sake and because his readership expected them (1957 ed., p. xxxi). However, on balance, the Stewarts' historical orientation does not deal carefully with the allusions and quotations. That "the text was made for the quotation," is a perverse and insensitive charge, given the considerable wit with which the Jonson allusion is made in the foregoing passage. Nor do Cox's allusions to mythic figures seem gratuitous or unsalutary contributions to his landscape descriptions.

78 Cox's route took him up the Columbia River to Boat Encampment at the mouth of Canoe River (modern Canoe Reach after flooding for a
dam project), across Athabasca Pass, down the Athabasca River to Rivière La Biche, Lac La Biche, Beaver River, Cold Lake, Waterhen River, Ile à la Crosse, Lac La Ronge, English (Churchill) River, Sturgeon-Weir River, Cumberland House, and from Lake Winnipeg down the normal canoe route to Lachine.

79 See above, chpt. II, section II.4.ii, p. 142.

80 Demosthenes, however, was also a fault finder. His unceasing attacks on the growing power of Philip of Macedon were so replete with invective that the term, "Phillipics," was taken as a title for speeches of invective by Cicero for his own verbal attacks on Mark Antony after the death of Caesar. See Betty Radice, Who's Who in the Ancient World: A Handbook to the Survivors of the Greek and Roman Classics (London: Anthony Blond, 1971), p. 43:

81 See, for instance, the Claude-influenced work of Jan Both (c. 1618-1652), including his "Roman Folk Life" view of the Colosseum with foreground peasants (reproduced in Wolfgang Stichow, Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century, Pl. 297); and the genre scenes by Jan Miel (1599-1663), including "The Carnival in Rome," and "A Travelers' Halt"; and by Johannes Langelbach (1622-1674), including "The Campo Vaccino," and "A Peasant Feast." (Both Miel's and Langelbach's works here mentioned are reproduced in Luigi Salerno, Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome, I, 338, 340; II, 595.)

82 See above, chpt. II, section II.8.1, p. 226.


84 See Appendix C.


86 The phrase, "But perils and pleasures succeed each other" exists only in the MS, and follows, "The sight in many places is truly magnificent." See Spaulding's edition, p. 31.

87 One edition by Ross's 1855 editor is substantive: he substitutes the word, "sterile," for "straight," in the MS. See Spaulding's edition, p. 119. Some change from "straight" appears neccessary, but it is not at all clear that Ross intended by "straight" quite so extreme or pejorative a sense as the word, "sterile," conveys. Likewise, in the second paragraph, the fourth word of the MS -- "security" -- has been changed in the 1855 edition to "serenity," a change that adds the correct aesthetic veneer to the description but which loses the important connotation for Ross -- that he does not find the landscape threatening.
Any landscape description reflects a particular interpretation of nature; of course, and complete agreement between two viewers on the same landscape cannot be expected. Still, the degree of disagreement to be found between Ross and the next chief trader at Fort Nez Percés, Samuel Black, is exceptional. Black, who was posted at the fort from 1825-1830, wrote the following account: "The whole district is a Barren Tract no parts entirely covered with Sand altho in Strong Winds which are frequent the air is filled with Sand so fine making its way through the smallest pores & perhaps the cause of Sore, and specked Eyes the Inds. are Subject to." (Samuel Black, A Journal of a Voyage from Rocky Mountain Portage in Peace River to the Sources of Finlays Branch and North West Ward in Summer 1824, ed. E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, intro. R. M. Patterson [London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1955], p. lxxxvii.) It is surprising that Ross, who reads gloom into anything approaching barrenness, would have responded quite so happily to the fort's environs.

Apparently Ross did not see the country of the lower Snake River valley and canyon. He does record what he calls McKenzie's descriptions of it (I, 202-04), but that they were from Ross's pen must be suspected, in view of a later reference to McKenzie's "great aversion to writing. . . . He detested spending five minutes scribbling in a journal" (I, 282-83).

I rely, at various points, on Spaulding's notes to the 1956 edition, which chart Ross's route on a modern map.


In the MS the phrase, "as if planted by the hand of man," reads, "as if set off by the hand of man"; and "beauty and fertility" is originally "beauty and utility." (Spaulding, 1956 edition, p. 278.)

One of the least helpful aspects of Spaulding's 1956 edition is that he decides not to print the MS for the last three chapters, those which contain the account of Ross's journey to Fort Garry. His reasons for so doing appear only to rest on taste: "The remaining chapters were omitted only because they contrast sharply both in subject matter and interest from the rest of the manuscript. At the middle of Chapter Thirteenth, Ross began a travelogue interlarded with philanthropic proposals concerning contemporary matters. Here the present edition has been ended, because at this point the narrative of the fur trade is over. The remaining chapters are the observations of a man vacationing through a pleasant and moderately well-known countryside. The description is conventional, as are the philanthropic proposals for the care of good Indians and bad half-breeds, until the reader is inclined to believe that Ross was caught up by an urge to be commonplace in a literary way and not by a desire to commit important matters to paper. Interest falls away sharply at this point, and for that reason the final three chapters were omitted" (pp. xxii-xxiii). Clearly, the historian has read his falling away of interest for his author's. The historian
of United States history may consider that Ross was moving from a record of "important matters" to a travelogue, but there is no evidence that Ross shared his view. How Spaulding conceives of a fur trade brigade's express travel as "vacationing," is a wonder. It is true that Ross, by entering what is now Canada, was travelling for his own sake rather than an employer's but he would hardly have been travelling at a vacationer's leisure. Nor does Spaulding's cavalier dismissal of the narrative as travelogue stand up: the guide book was the obvious form for the narrative to take at this juncture, and clearly affords Ross a latitude for descriptive writing which he laments the denial of earlier in The Fur Hunters.

94 Had Spaulding the foresight to print the last chapters, he may have been able to compare Ross's responses to the landscapes of the "pleasant and moderately well-known countryside" ("countryside" is hardly the appropriate word for the uninhabited wilderness) with those made by his contemporary travellers. Such a comparison indicates how, even with the framework of conventions, one traveller's taste differs from another's. The value to the historian of such a comparison is patent: it permits him to read his subject's personality in a much more refined light.

95 A similar, although not identical, use of the let-the-reader-imagine device was used by Alexander Fisher in his attempt to describe the scene of icy vastness that confronted him on his first voyage to the Arctic in 1818. See above, chpt. II, section II.5.i, p. 189.

96 The first impression of the valley appears to have remained Ross's enduring one. In his last book, published posthumously in 1856 and entitled The Red River Settlement, Ross makes the following general observation: "Red River is more of a plain than a wooded country, bleak and almost shelterless. The burning sun of the summer is oppressive; the winter no less severe in the opposite degree." (Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. With some account of the Native-Races and its General History, to the Present Day [London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856], p. 387.)


98 For another, more sympathetic, view of how the Hudson's Bay Company treated its servants, see the description of the crossing of Savanne Portage in 1847 by Frederick Ulric Graham, below, section III. 9.1.

99 A similar avowal by the Governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, George Simpson, cost him some difficult moments before a Parliamentary Committee reviewing the monopoly's application for a renewal
of its charter in 1857. (See below, section III.3.VI.iii.) It had been the Company policy to discourage thoughts of settlement in the territory, as it could only detract from the fur trade. This policy, prosecuted more actively and violently by the North West Company prior to merger in 1820, fomented the violence at the Red River Settlement which culminated in the massacre at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816 of the Governor of Assinibola, Robert Semple, and twenty others by a group of métis and Indians incited by the North West Company's Cuthbert Grant.

100 Modern names for the sites on the fur trade routes are helpful supplied by Eric Morse in Fur Trade Routes, p. 90. Morse also provides a reason for the naming of Portage du Chien. It probably got its name from an Indian-carved effigy of a dog located at the best "station" from which to view the landscape. See Morse, p. 81.

101 See below, section III.6.i.

102 The word is Garry's (p. 162). He had melancholy forebodings about the Swiss, whose situation he found "truly pitiable" at York Factory. All the Swiss had been led to expect an Eden by Lord Selkirk's agent, Captain Rudolph von May, who had described the settlement in a pamphlet, entitled Brief and True Account of All the Advantages A Colonist in the Red River Colony Located in North America May Expect and Enjoy, and at meetings in Neuchâtel, Vaud, and Geneva. According to Alvin M. Josephy Jr., the picture which May presented was "highly colored and exaggerated," and "deceptively rosy"--picturesque, quite probably. (Alvin M. Josephy Jr., The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970), p. 7.

103 See above, chpt. II, section II.IV.i, p. 139.

104 Dr. John J. Bigsby, The Shoe and Canoe, or, Pictures of Travel in the Canadas. Illustrative of their Scenery and the Colonial Life; with Facts and Opinions on Emigration, State Policy, and Other Points of Public Interest, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850), 1, v. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses in the text.

105 Bartlett's scenes depict landscapes either on or in proximity to the water route between Niagara and Quebec City. See Nathaniel Parker Willis, Canadian Scenery, 2 vols. (London: James S. Virtue, 1842).


107 I am unable to determine which modern name represents this lake. As Morse points out (Fur Trade Canoe Routes, p. 79), the names of the Pigeon River lakes were: Rose, Mow, Watap, Mountain, and Moose. Bigsby's mention of a "rushy narrow" bisecting the lake would suggest the cartographical features of Mountain Lake.
Bigsby did sketch some of the landscapes he saw. One in particular shows how completely conventional his artistic talent was. Entitled "Outlet of Lake Boisblanc--South Hudson’s Bay" (facing 11, 253; engraved R. Young, and reproduced here), the picture evinces the use of cedars, a blasted tree (portrayed with some novelty), and a standard use of Indians as staffage, which one can only imagine would have offended his travelling companion, David Thompson.

See Appendix C.


This phrase and the charge of prolixity are quoted by Patterson from George Simpson’s “Character Book,” in A Journal of a Voyage, pp. xix, xliii.


Rich and Johnson’s note, p. 32.
Patterson, Introduction, p. lix

This was the Chipewyan half-breed, La Prise, who, nine summers
later, was contracted as one of the hunters on George Back's journey down the Back River.

116 One particular description is memorable: "The Thencanies with their Siffieu Robes look like as many half-drowned Rats crawling amongst the willows copiously bedaubed with mud & mire, and their long lank black hair sticking or cemented as it were to their swarthy Countinances & disordered Redish eyes, they give an Idea of a family of the descendants of Promethèus's creating out of the mud & slime of the Rocky Mountains" (pp. 138-39).

117 Patterson, Introduction, p. lx.

118 See above, chpt. I, section I.2.i.


120 See above, chpt. II, section II.10.ii.

121 In the spring of 1844, Captain Henry Lefroy was stationed at Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River with McLean (see Appendix A). Lefroy considered the trader "indeed a man of rather superior intelligence and information; he is now amusing himself in reviving his Latin! ... I have also come to a conclusion rather adverse to the general theory, that such solitude as theirs [fur traders'] rather refines the mind and the manners, than the contrary. Half the vices which make constrained society often disagreeable on board ship, in garrisons and so forth, are struck out by aggregation, and disappear when the individuals can be taken apart ... With a few solid books few situations would be better adapted for study and reflection than that of a 'winter'er' [hiverain] in this country. 'The world-forgetting, by the world forgot' [Alexander Pope, "Eloisa to Abelard, I. 207] he has just enough of occupation to relieve the mind, and nothing to hinder study for the remainder of his time. Accordingly I find people frequently to possess information and conversation much beyond what I expected, and here and there instances of self-education to a high degree are met with." (Capt. Henry Lefroy, In Search of the Magnetic North: a Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West 1843-1844, ed. George F. G. Stanley [Toronto: Macmillan, 1955], pp. 119, 111.)

122 See above, chpt. II, section II.10.i.

123 I am unable to find the source of the quoted material.

124 There is a lacuna between McLean's last days in New Caledonia and his departure from York Factory for Fort Chimo at the end of August. Thus, no record of his continental crossing exists.


126 John S. Galbraith, "Review of The Journals of William Fraser

127 John Abercrombie, Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1830): 11th ed. (London: John Murray, 1847), p. 173. Given the importance which Abercrombie's text assumes in Tolmie's thinking (he lists parts of the Inquiries in his Sunday reading throughout November, and December, 1832, and again later), it is worth noting that Abercrombie exemplifies his own ideas of imagination by referring to landscape painting: "In the exercise of imagination, we take the component elements of real scenes, events, or characters, and combine them anew by a process of the mind itself, so as to form compounds which may have no existence in nature. A painter, by this process, depicts a landscape combining the beauties of various real landscapes, and excluding their defects. . . . The compound in these cases is entirely fictitious and arbitrary; but it is expected, that the individual elements shall be such as actually occur in nature, and that the combination shall not differ remarkably from what might really happen. When this is not attended to, as in a picture or a novel, we speak of the work being extravagant or out of nature . . . The union of elements, in all such productions of the imagination, is regulated by the knowledge, the taste, and the intellectual habits of the author; and, we must add, by his moral principle. According to the views, the habits, and the principles of him who frames them, therefore they may either contribute to moral and intellectual improvement; or they may tend to mislead the judgment, vitiate the taste, and corrupt the moral feelings.

". . . If it [the imagination] be allowed to wander at discretion, through scenes of imagined wealth, ambition, frivolity, or pleasure, it tends to withdraw the mind from the important pursuits of life, to weaken the habit of attention, and to impair the judgment." (Inquiries, 11th ed., pp. 170, 173, 176.)

128 This trip was made with Factor Archibald MacDohald (1790-1853) who had come to the West in Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement programme in 1813. Joining the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, he journeyed from York Factory to the Columbia River with Governor George Simpson in 1828 (see below, section III.3.VI.i). Tolmie accompanied him in 1833 as he led a herd of cattle up to Puget Sound, and then resumed his posting at Fort Langley, near the mouth of the Fraser River.

129 See above, section III.1.II, p. 365.

130 Tolmie mentions reading Vancouver's work on the next Sunday, June 9 (p. 202). Clearly, with Sunday readings such as this, Tolmie's control over his imagination was beginning to dwindle.

131 It is not at all surprising to find that Tolmie and his companion at Fort McLoughlin, Donald Manson, who had climbed the Finlay River with Samuel Black in 1824, started the Hudson's Bay Company's lending library at Fort Vancouver, from where books were lent to traders posted anywhere in the company's territory.
Fort Simpson is called a "beautiful bay" by John Dunn, another Hudson's Bay Company trader on board the Dryad. (John Dunn, History of the Oregon Territory and British North-American Fur Trade: with an Account of the Habits and Customs of the Principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent. By John Dunn, late of the Hudson's Company, eight Years Resident in the Country [London: Edward and Hughes, 1846], p. 279.) Dunn exhibits little interest in landscape, so that even this slight remark is telling in its context.

Tolmie was reading the play at Fort McLoughlin on May 17, two months before (p. 278).


Tolmie's idea here is similar to Back's imagery in his description of the landscape being assembled at Fort Reliance in the autumn of 1833. Back speaks of the men "chipping the shapeless granite into something like form." See above, chpt. II, section II.8.iii, p. 233.

Tolmie's contact at Fort Simpson during the previous summer with Ogden may have prompted his notion of the fur trade as the pursuit of "filthy lucre." Ogden had used the phrase in his journal for 1827-1828. See Appendix C.

See Ross Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River (1831), II; 16-17, and above, section III.2.V.iili, p. 427.

In this regard, see The Journal of John Work January to October, 1835, intro., and notes Henry Drummond Dee, Archives of British Columbia Memoir no. X (Victoria, B.C.: Provincial Archives, 1945). Dee mentions in a note that, "the fort [McLoughlin] was always pictured as an extremely damp and dreary spot" (p. 16n). As well, there is a contemporary allusion to the landscape of Fort McLoughlin in a letter by Governor George Simpson to Charles Ross, the first factor at Fort Victoria. Simpson congratulates Ross on having escaped from the hell of Fort McLoughlin to the paradise of Victoria. (Letter, Sir George Simpson to Charles Ross, 20 June, 1844, in "Five Letters of Charles Ross, 1842-44," ed., intro., and notes W. Kaye Lamb, The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, 7 [1943], 117.)

McLean found during his furlough that he could no longer live within the confines of civilization. See above, chpt. II, section II.10.ii, p. 260.

Tolmie did write, in a moment of enthusiasm, and as a response to a natural scene on the Columbia River, that he "experienced a buoyancy & elasticity of spirit & a feeling of exultation almost, that it was not my lot to toil in a large pent up city" (p. 184), but this statement was made on May 20, 1833, after he had been in North America only three weeks. As to a question of returning to the North West coast because of opportunity, Tolmie does mention that his brother Alick was planning to come out to the Columbia River with his family because of the depressed economic situation in Glasgow (p. 335).
See the wholly business-oriented report of this trip: Fur Trade and Empire; George Simpson's journal; Remarks connected with the Fur Trade in the course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and back to York Factory 1824-1825; together with accompanying Documents, ed., and intro. Frederick Merk (Cambridge; Mass: Harvard Univ. Press; London: H. Milford, and Oxford Univ. Press, 1931).

A similar lack of aesthetic interest characterizes a narrative written by the son of Archibald McDonald/MacDonald (spellings vary), Ranald MacDonald, who was born of an Indian mother in 1824, brought to McDonald at Fort George (old Fort Astoria), and raised mostly at Fort Langley, where Archibald was stationed from 1828-1833. See Ranald MacDonald, The Narrative of his early life on the Columbia under the Hudson's Bay Company's regime; of his experiences in the Pacific Whale Fishery; and of his great Adventure to Japan; with a sketch of his later life on the Western frontier 1824-1894, ed., and annot. William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami (Spokane: The Eastern Washington State Historical Society, 1923).


McDonald, Peace River, p. 64, note xxxiv.


Such an inference may be read into this comment in light of another, made in the winter of 1820-1821, when, stationed at Fort Wedderburn, Lake Athabasca; Simpson prophesied disaster for the first Franklin expediters: "[Feb., 1821] 8th, Thursday: Severe Frost and very cold. Sent Tait and six trains to the Fishery. Mr. Back paid me a visit preparatory to his departure; from his remarks I infer there is little probability of the objects of the expedition being accomplished, not so much on account of any serious difficulties to be apprehended, but from a want of unanimity amongst themselves; indeed it appears to me that the mission was projected and entered into without mature consideration and the necessary previous arrangements totally neglected; moreover Lieut. Franklin, the Officer who commands the party has not the physical powers required for the labor of moderate Voyaging in this country; he must have three meals p diem, Tea is indispensible, and with the utmost exertion he cannot walk above Eight miles in one.
day, so that it does not follow if those gentlemen are unsuccessful that the difficulties are insurmountable." (Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report, ed. E. E. Rich, fwd. Lord Tweedsmuir [John Buchan], intro. Chester Martin, Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company series, I [Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938], p. 261.)


149 For a different aesthetic response to Lake Huron, one much less melancholy, see the account of Anna Jameson's summer trip on the lake six years later, in 1836, in Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.


151 Ibid.


153 The rôle of Barclay and Thom in the preparation and edition of the manuscript is mentioned but not delineated by Arthur S. Morton in his study of Simpson. See Sir George Simpson, overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company: a Pen Picture of a Man of Action (Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1944), pp. 233-34.


155 A further example confirms the distinctions Simpson recognizes between himself and his "servants." Travelling across the prairie west of Fort Garry in early July, he comments on the differences between the speed of travel by horseback and by canoe. While the means of conveyance differ greatly, Simpson apparently considers the sources of horse-power quite comparable: "This meal [breakfast], contrary to the snapping system of the aquatic part of our journey, now became quite a luxurious lounge. Inasmuch as the horses could not eat, like the voyageurs, as fast as ourselves" (I, 60).


157 See above, section III.2.1.1.

158 Thomas Simpson, Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America, I, 42.
Thomas Simpson, Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America, I, 42.

William Fraser Tolmie is a good example. Coming overland on his furlough in 1841, he passed south of Big Quill Lake in late May, and "encamped in a beautiful woodland on the banks of a grassy rivulet." (Tolmie, Journals, p. 339.) Tolmie met Simpson at Fort Garry on June 11.

A seasonal contrast is possible regarding the view of the Prairies from Dog Knoll or Spathanaw Watchi. George Simpson considered the knoll "as an islet in the centre" of the plain, which "had evidently once been the bed of a lake." (I, 73). From the knoll, he looked out "over a boundless prairie, as level and smooth as a pond." Thomas Simpson provides a winter view: "... suddenly we emerged into the open plains, where an illimitable snow-covered waste alone met the view. We made for an eminence five miles distant, whence we gained a full view of the extraordinary country in which we now found ourselves. What are here called plains consist of a collection of barren hills and hollows, tossed together in a wild wave-like form, as if some ocean had been suddenly petrified while heaving its huge billows in a tumultuous swell." (Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America, I, 44-5.) (For a later winter view, see William Francis Butler's account below, section III.9.IV.) Winter shows may well have been driven into wave-like forms by the winds, but Thomas captures the prevailing vastness of the scene much more vividly than his cousin's use of the image of a "pond" does.

It is worth noting that Thomas Simpson had with him on his surveys a copy of George Back's account of his 1833-1835 discovery of the Great Fish (Back) River. Simpson may have had the book or read it at Fort Garry before departing, since it was published in 1836. At any rate, Simpson; it will be recalled, knew Back's book in 1838, when he alluded in his own narrative to Back's picture of the Victoria Headland (II, 372; see above, chpt. II, section II.10.i, p. 253.). As well, he may have been thinking of Back's description of the view of the Barrens as "a stormy ocean suddenly petrified." (Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, p. 178.)

I rely for the identification of Simpson's route through the mountains on the information provided by Esther Fraser in The Canadian Rockies: Early Travels and Explorations (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969), p. 5.

Fraser, The Canadian Rockies; p. 5.

Fraser, The Canadian Rockies, p. 6.

Robert Watson has stated that all "illustrations in his [Ballantyne's] 'Hudson's Bay' were from sketches made by himself, and his water-colour pictures were exhibited for many years in the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh." ("R. M. Ballantyne: H.B.C. Apprentice Clerk--Author--Artist," The Beaver, vol. IV, no. iii [Dec. 1923], 82.)

Victor Hopwood, in introducing David Thompson's Travels, makes a contrast between Ballantyne's style and Thompson's which is helpful despite his clear preference for Thompson's, and even though it does not address specifically their two responses to nature: "After [Ballantyne's] such conventionalized floridity and facetiousness, it is a relief to turn to the precision, speed, colloquial ease, character, and genuine humour of Thompson's Travels." (Travels in Western North America, p. 19.)


See "Dr. John Scouler's Journal of a Voyage to N. W. America (1824-'25-'26)," Oregon Historical Quarterly, VI (1905), 54-75, 159-205, 276-87. Only nineteen years old in 1825, Scouler had been sent at a very young age to the University of Edinburgh, and then to study at the Jardin des Plantes, Paris. He remained with Douglas on the Columbia River until June, 1825, when the William and Anne crossed the Columbia bar and sailed up the coast as far as Portland Canal (on the modern Alaska/British Columbia border). In the middle of August, the ship was coasting along the south shore of Juan de Fuca Strait, and over to the mainland. Scouler was no more impressed with the view of the lowlands of the Fraser estuary than Vancouver had been thirty-three years before. He found it to be "an extensive flat marsh ... impenetrable on account of its semifluid, [sic] consistence" (202). As for the abundance of driftwood in the estuary, he wrote: "... the ground seemed a mass of serpents. One could not overturn any piece of old wood without dislodging from 18 to 20 of them" (203).
Scouler was back on the Columbia River on September 3 and was botanizing with Douglas again at Fort Vancouver in that month. He departed for England on October 26, and made no more trips to British North America during a lifetime spent largely as a practising physician and university lecturer (DNB, XVII, 1060-61).

A good and representative example of how his perception of the natural world was governed by the schema of the sciences is the entry for April 17, 1825, when he and Douglas collected specimens from Fort George (Astoria) to Tongue Point: "Seldom have I made an excursion attended by more interesting results. My vascula & handkerchiefs were filled with mosses and land shells; phoenogamous plants were abundant; the pools along the banks of the river contained plenty of fluvial crabs; and the features of the rocks gave me a clear idea of the geological structure of the surrounding country" (168-69).

172 The editions of Douglas' work pose some difficulties. This passage appeared as quoted only in David Douglas, "A Sketch of a Journey to the North-Western Parts of the Continent of North America; during the Years 1824, 5, 6, and 7," in Sir W. J. Hooker, Companion to the Botanical Magazine; being a Journal, containing such interesting botanical information as does not come within the prescribed limits of the Magazine, with Occasional Figures, vol. II (London: Samuel Curtis, 1836), p. 89. This "Sketch" was reprinted in Oregon Historical Quarterly, V (1904), 243-71, 325-69; and VI (1905), 76-97, 206-18. According to Harvey, one of Douglas' biographers, this "Sketch" was composed of "extensive selections from what is believed to be the revision of his journal which Douglas prepared for [the publisher John Murray]. . . ." (Harvey, Douglas of the Fir, pp. 261-62.) Upon his return to England in 1827, Douglas had been approached by John Murray who extended him the prestigious honour of a request to publish his work. Murray had never published a naturalist's work. However, Douglas never managed to complete his revisions, and most of the journals, but for the portion published as this "Sketch," did not appear until 1914. (See Morwood, Traveler in a Vanished Landscape, pp. 122-23.)

As far as Douglas' 1825-1826 journals of his plant-collecting expeditions in the Columbia Basin are concerned, the most accessible and informative edition is not the Journal (1914, 1959), but, rather, The Oregon Journals of David Douglas, of his Travels and Adventures among the Traders & Indians in the Columbia, Willamette and Snake River Regions during the Years 1825, 1826, & 1827, ed., and intro. David Lavender, 2 vols. (Ashland, Ore.: The Oregon Book Society, 1972). This edition, which does not include that portion of the journals describing Douglas' departure from what is now American territory on his transcontinental trip in 1827 to York Factory, prints the original journals, and no portions of the "Sketch." In contrast to the wording in the passage just quoted in the text, the journals read as follows: "The scenery in many parts is exceedingly grand; twenty-seven miles from the ocean the country is undulating, the most part covered with wood, chiefly pine. On both sides of the river are extensive plains of deep rich alluvial soil, with a thick herbage of herbaceous plants. Here the country becomes mountainous, and on the banks of the river the rocks rise perpendicularly to the height of several hundred feet in some parts, over which are some fine waterfalls. The rocks are chiefly secondary, sandstone and limestone bedded on blue granite. The country continues
mountainous as far as the lower branch of the Multnomah river [Willamette River], the Belle Vue Point of Vancouver [of Broughton], about seventy miles from the ocean, when it again becomes low on the banks and rises gradually on the back ground. On the south, towards the head waters of the Multnomah, which are supposed to be in a ridge of snowy mountains which run in a south-west direction from the Columbia, the view is very fine. A very conspicuous conical mountain is seen in the distance far exceeding the others in height; this I have no doubt is Mount Jefferson of Lewis and Clarke; two others equally conspicuous are observed, one due east and one to the north, the former Mount Hood, the latter Mount St. Helens of Vancouver. Their height must be very great (at least 10,000 to 12,000 ft.), two-thirds are I am informed continually enwrapped in perpetual snow" (Oregon Journals, I, 32-3). Douglas delineates the changes in the landscape during the upriver trip much more carefully in his journal than in the "Sketch." Probably he was cautioned that the public wanted more a readable account than an exact one. Interestingly, the word, "exceedingly" in his journals is replaced by "sublimely" in the "Sketch"; moreover, mention of a "rich sward of grass" at Fort Vancouver is made only in the "Sketch." In these epeditions, Douglas signals his comprehension of what Murray and his British readership anticipated from his journals.

In the following reading of Douglas' work, the following short forms will be used: "Sketch," for the 1836 selections in the Companion to the Botanical Magazine; Journal, for the 1974, 1959 edition of the original journal kept by David Douglas; and Oregon Journals, for that portion of the original Journal edited by Lavender in 1972. Another edition, which will not be cited here, is: Douglas of the Forests: The North American Journals of David Douglas, ed. John Davies (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1979).

173 Morwood, Traveler in a Vanished Landscape, p. 73.

174 Morwood, Traveler in a Vanished Landscape, p. 77.

175 See below, section III.8.II, p. 686.

176 Another similar example occurs in Douglas' description of the return journey to Spokane House near mid-May. On May 11, the journal entry reads, in part: "At seven in the morning gained the summit of the last range of hills between the two rivers, and had one of the most sublime views I ever beheld. Reached the old establishment at Spokane at eleven o'clock . . ." (Oregon Journals, I, 80). Rather than editing out the airy aesthetic response in his "Sketch," Douglas this time attempts to flesh it out: ". . . beheld one of the most sublime views that could possibly be, of rugged mountains, deep valleys, and mountain-rills. At noon reached the old Establishment . . ." ("Sketch," 110).

177 The Oregon Journals are printed in two volumes, and the pagination is continuous.

178 See Morwood, Traveler in a Vanished Landscape, p. 90.

179 Harvey, Douglas of the Fir, p. 102.
Morwood, *Traveler in a Vanished Landscape*, p. 100.

As mentioned earlier, the portion of Douglas' work dealing with the journey from Fort Vancouver to York Factory in 1827 was not reprinted by Lavender in *Oregon Journals*; thus, references for this next section will revert to *Journal kept by David Douglas* (1914, 1959), and will continue to appear in parentheses following the quoted material in the text.

Alexander Ross did not produce a complete picture of Upper Arrow Lake for his guide book, probably because the weather was wet and cold when he traversed it in April, 1825. See *Fur Hunters of the Far West* (1855), II, 171-73.


In regard to speculations on Douglas' faith, Morwood offers the following view whose botanical orientation may apply equally to any aesthetic response to nature by Douglas: "We have noted that one of Thomas Nuttall's American naturalist, whose work, *A Journal of Travels into the-Arkansas Territory, during the year 1819, Douglas revered and hoped to emulate in the publication of his own journal* botanizing objectives was 'to admire the wisdom and beauty of creation.' The phrase might well serve as a text to cover much pre-Darwin scientific investigation. Douglas and his contemporaries believed that their purpose was to reveal the perfection of God's completed world, not to suggest that the scaffolding was still up and His work still in progress. If this approach sometimes led to puzzling anomalies--such as random boulders from Scotland on the shal1 downs of Kent or hippopotami bones in Siberia--it was only because man's mind was unable to penetrate the full light of divine wisdom. Douglas desperately clung to this mystic position when, years later [he lived only for seven more years], finding the foundations of his scientific world beginning to shake, he declared and reiterated his determination never to yield to the 'philosophical scepticism which makes us deny the reality of what we have not seen and doubt the truth of what we do not perfectly comprehend' (*Traveler in a Vanished Landscape*, p. 48).

See above, chpt. II, section II.5.1, p. 181.

This collection of fragments was later formed into a sentence for the "Sketch," (136).

Douglas provides this mileage estimate himself (*Journal*, pp. 254-55).

Drummond was at Carlton House in May, 1827, when Douglas and the express brigade made their transmontane trek to Jasper House. The
two naturalists met at Cumberland House on July 19. Drummond's brief memoir of travels in British North America appears devoid of aesthetic interest, despite the fact that he spent a great deal of time near the Rockies in the Jasper area. See Thomas Drummond, "Sketch of a Journey to the Rocky Mountains and to the Columbia River in North America," Botanical Miscellany, I (1830), 178-219.

A partial record of the second expedition was patched together by Sir W. J. Hooker from letters sent him by Douglas. See "Second Journey to the Northwestern Parts of the Continent of North America during the Years 1829-'30-'31-'32-'33," The Companion to the Botanical Magazine, II (1836), pp. 146-82; rpt. in Oregon Historical Quarterly, 6 (1905), 288-309.

See above, note 102.


For the sake of clarity, all three editions will be referred to by their dates: 1848 for Sketches containing 18 lithographs; 1970 for Sketches containing the watercolours from Warre's sketchbook; and 1976 for the Public Archives selections, ed., and intro. Madeleine Major-Frégéau (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1976).

See above, chpt. II, section II.1, p. 113.

A good example of the colour contrast is found in "Crossing a Ford, MaGillivray's [Kootenay] River" (1970, Pl. 25) reproduced on the following page. The greys and whites of the granitic peaks present a distinct landscape unit from the river valley's green/black forest.
One example of this material can represent much of it. It was written by a Briton who had never visited North America and who amassed information on Oregon from many previously published sources. See Rev. Charles Grenfell Nicolay, *The Oregon Territory: A Geographical and Physical Account of that Country and its Inhabitants; with Outlines of its History and Discovery* (London: Charles Knight, 1846); facs. rpt., intro. Robert Hitchman (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1967). Nicolay argues that a compendium such as his provides the truest picture of a country: "Abstractedly, with reference to any country, it [truth] must be derived from the combined accounts and different phases of truth afforded by many" (p. 19).

See above, section III.2.V.ii, p. 421.


See above, section III.1.II, pp. 360-62.

A similar landscape of Protection Island, drawn by Warre in pencil, appears in the 1976 Public Archives of Canada edition, Pl. 48. It bears the structural marks of the topographical artist, being lined vertically into 20 spaces, each 5/16" wide.

See above, section III.1.II, p. 365.

A similar subject—the traverse of Lake Superior—is treated quite like Juan de Fuca Strait. See "Squall on Lake Superior, c. May 19, 1845" (1976, Pl. 3).

See above, sections III.2.V.iii, p. 428; III.2.V.iv, p. 437;
and III.4, p. 5.

204 A dissimilar conclusion is reached by Tippet and Cole (From Desolation to Splendour, pp. 32-5) who identify a distinction between the style of Warre's pictorial and narrative responses to Boat Encampment.


206 Canadian Magazine and National Review, III (1873), 545; quoted in Harper, p. 37.


210 Like Cox's, Back's and Simpson's books are listed as belonging to Kane at his death. (See Harper, Appendix 9, p. 326.)

211 See below, section III.9.1, p. 740.


213 See John Pritchard (1777-1866), Glimpses of the Past in the Red River Settlement: from Letters of Mr. John Pritchard, 1805-1836, notes Rev. Dr. George Bryce (Middle Church, Man.: Rupert's Land Indian Industrial School Press, 1892).


Nicholas Garry recounts the effect which West's preaching had on his congregation at York Factory on September 2, 1821: "All the Swiss Settlers, who are (with the exception of seven) Calvinists, attended, and all the Officers and Servants of the company, nearly 200 People. Mr. West is not a good Preacher; he unfortunately attempts to preach Extàmopre from Notes, for which he has not the Capacity, his Discourses being unconnected and ill-delivered. He likewise mistakes his Point, fancying that by touching severely and pointedly on the Weaknesses of People he will produce Repentance." ("Diary of Nicholas Garry," p. 157.)

This remark was made in 1815 by Robert Semple (1766-1816), Governor of Assiniboia, who was killed at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816. It is contained in a letter written by Semple, which was reprinted in [George Jehosaphat Mountain] The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal, during a Visit to the Church Missionary Society's North-West America Mission. To which is added, by the Secretaries, an Appendix, giving an Account of the Formation of the Mission, and its Progress to the Present Time (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley; Hatchard and Son; Nisbet and Co., 1845), p. 191.

The Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada had initiated missions as far west as the Pacific by 1840. The journals of its French-Canadian missionaries lie beyond the perimeter of this study, being written in French. See Father François Norbert Blanchet, et al., *Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest... 1838 to 1847...* trans. Carl Landerholm (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1956).


See above, chpt. II, section II.8.1, pp. 226-27, where Back's 1833 response to the view of the Clearwater River valley is quoted. It focuses on the response to solitude which the naval captain prefers
to admit melancholy rather than lachrymose. But it does also mention the "genius of the place," which may be echoed faintly by Rundle's "Geniæ of Romance."

221 Captain George Back, Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition, p. 39.

222 Although the only Wesleyan Methodist missionary in the region, Rundle was not alone among missionaries. The famous Father Pierre-Jean de Smet (1801-1873), a Belgian-American Roman Catholic Missionary, was at Fort Edmonton in 1845 and 1846, and had met Henry James Ware and Paul Kane at different times on his journeys. His nationality precludes a discussion of his writings in this study. See Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46 (New York: Edward Dunigan, 1857); rpt., ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels 1748-1846 series, vol. xxix (New York: AMS, 1966).

223 T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. 54.

224 [George Jehosaphat Mountain], The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal, during a Visit to the Church Missionary Society's North-West America Mission, p. 4. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted passage in the text.

225 See also [George Jehosaphat Mountain], Songs of the Wilderness: being a Collection of Poems, written in some different Parts of the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in the Wilds of Canada, on the Route to that Territory in the Spring and Summer of 1844: interspersed with some illustrative Notes (London: Francis & John Rivington, 1846).


227 T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. 68.

228 [David Anderson], "The Bishop of Rupert's Land's Narrative of his Visit to Fairford, Manitoba," The Church Missionary Intelligencer, A Monthly Journal of Missionary Information, II (1851); 257. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses in the text.

229 Rev. R. James, "Visit of the Rev. R. James to White Dog, or Islington (with map of the locality)," The Church Missionary Intelligencer, A Monthly Journal of Missionary Information, III (1852), 69.

230 [David Anderson], Notes of the Flood at the Red River, 1852 (London: Hatchards, [1852]), p. 12. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses in the text.
231 For an interesting contrast to this picture, see the photographic interpretation of the same scene made by H. L. Hime, entitled "Bishop's Court (the residence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land) on the banks of Red River, September-October, 1858," in R. Huyda, Camera in the Interior, 1858: H. L. Hime, photographer: the Assinboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition (Toronto: Coach House, 1975), pt. 17.


233 See above, chpt. I, section I.2.IV, p. 43.


236 Currently Hymn no. 164 in The Hymn Book of the Anglican Church of Canada and The United Church of Canada, this hymn was written by Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and arranged by John Warrington Hatton (2-1793). It is based on some verses of a Davidic Psalm (Ps. 72.8-9): "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto to the ends of the earth. / They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; . . ." The significance to a wilderness Bishop such as Anderson is patent.

237 Rev. Peter Jacobs, an Ojibway Indian who became a Wesleyan Missionary, published an account of his trip to the northwest in 1852. Entitled Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay Territory, and returning. Commencing May, 1852. With a Brief Account of his Life, and a Short History of the Wesleyan Mission in that Country (Toronto: Anson Green; Boston: Rand, 1853; New York: for the Author, 1855, 1857, 1858), the journal manifests the convert's typical affectation of British aesthetic conventions. But the native Indian perception is not entirely masked in Jacobs' aesthetic responses to landscape. For example, in his description of the north shore of Lake Huron near Drummond Island (U. S.), he remarks quite 'unBritishly' that, "Wherever you direct your eye, you see the granite stones showing their teeth to you" (p. 16).

238 Rev. John Ryerson, Hudson's Bay; or, a Missionary Tour in the Territories of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company, by the Rev. John Ryerson, co-delegate, and Deputation to the Wesleyan Missions in Hudson's Bay; with brief introductory missionary Memorials, and Illustrations (Toronto: G. N. Sanderson, 1855), pp. 7, 25. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses after the quoted passage in the text.


It should, however, be noted at the outset, as Spry emphasizes, that, "The Expedition's insistence that there were exceptions to the general aridity or semi-aridity of the lands of the Triangle is often forgotten, as is the fact that the explorers were at pains to emphasise that the central American desert extended 'but a short way into British territory' and that, even though, in the summer of 1859, the Expedition 'traversed the most arid plains that lie within the British territory', they did not encounter 'any of the great expanses of true desert country which exist further to the south, within the United States'. Hector, with his usual wise moderation, emphasised that 'many statements have gone forth giving an exaggerated view' of the 'worthlessness on the one hand' or of the 'wonderful qualities on the other' of the country under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company" (p. cx). The extremes to which Hector alludes and which, it must be said, he helps to confirm, were the result of the tendency to polarize landscape into the Sublime or the Picturesque, which occurred especially in response to the frontier between grassland and parkland on the Prairies. This response has been noted in a number of journals already considered. See, for example, Sir George Simpson's *Narrative*, above, section III.3.VI.iii.

Palliser's Triangle is the name given to a roughly triangular region of the continent having as its base the 49th parallel, and two other sides projecting from there in a north-east and north-west direction, and meeting in the vicinity of the Alberta/Saskatchewan border. On a modern map, these sides, beginning at the southwestern angle of the triangle, cover the following route: north from Del Bonita, Alta., through Spring Coulee, passing east of Fort Macleod, up to Calgary roughly along the line of Highway #2, then, in a north-eastward arc that passes through Airdrie, crosses the Red Deer River at Tolman, and comes no nearer the Battle River than Veldt, at which point the line continues roughly eastward, through Lakesend and Provost, crossing the Alberta/Saskatchewan border at Macklin, Sask., before beginning another gradual arc, now to the southeast, passing just to the south of Biggar and Tessier. The line then veers northeast to a point midway between Allan Hills and South Allan, before resuming a southeastern course along the top of Last Mountain Lake, through Fort Qu'Appelle and Indian Head, and skirting around the western and southern sides of Moose Mountain. At Carlyle, Sask., it again turns east, crossing the Saskatchewan/Manitoba border at Antler, Sask., and Sinclair, Man., thence southeast again at Reston, passing through Lauder, to terminate at the 49th parallel to the west of Turtle Mountain, near Metigoshe.
243 Esther Fraser mentions that, after a distinguished career in New Zealand, Hector returned to the Kicking Horse Pass in 1903: "Along the steep hillside, where, forty-five years before, he'd picked blueberries to stave off hunger, astride the precipices beside the foaming river, a black locomotive carried the old man over the gleaming rails thrust through Kicking Horse Pass." (Esther Fraser, The Canadian Rockies, p. 80.)


245 Augustus J. Thibido, a native of Kingston, C.W., travelled up the South Saskatchewan River and across an obscure Indian mountain pass north of the South Kootenay Pass later in the same year (1859) as Palliser surveyed from the forks. He shared Palliser's loathing of the middle of the Triangle. On September 3, two days' ride upriver from the Elbow, Thibido found "the scenery on this river . . . very strange, wild looking, an appearance peculiar to this Western country." And the next day, he wrote: "Great Bluffs & broken country towards the river, horrid country, no grass, bad water, sand and blue clay for soil, trees cherry bushes and scrub ash." (Dr. Augustus J. Thibido, "Diary of Dr. Augustus J. Thibido of the Northwest Exploring Expedition, 1839," ed., and intro. Howard S. Brode, Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 31 [1940], 309, 310.)


248 It is the same broken appearance of the landscape at Sturgeon Lake, reached late in August, that strikes Hind equally as picturesque (1, 68-9).

249 This photograph was made by Hime in 1858, not 1857. He was not part of the 1857 expedition, but was hired the following year because, in the words of R. Huyda, Hind "felt that photography could provide a most accurate and faithful record of places and things." (R. Huyda, "Exploration Photographer: Humphry Lloyd Hime and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858 (Accompanied by Slides)," Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, ed. Linda McDowell, ser. III, no. 30 [1973-74], p. 46. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses. See also, R. Huyda, Camera in the Interior, 1858 [note 23], above).

The picture which appears as "The Prairie Looking West" in Hind
(facing 1, 135) is included as Pl. 44, under the title "The Prairie looking west, September-October, 1858" in Camera in the Interior. Besides the tremendous difficulty which Hime encountered in taking and developing his pictures, he did not manage to capture any landscape photographs expressive of a sense of depth. But one view is particularly interesting for its flatness because it contrasts extremely with the picture of the Bishop's Residence at Fort Garry, shown in Bishop Anderson's Notes of a Flood. (See above, note 231.)

Hime's subjects are seldom landscapes, partly because the camera did not represent them picturesquely, partly because the expedition seldom stopped long enough in the daytime for a picture to be taken (2 hours were needed for one exposure), and when it did, the weather often did not co-operate, plaguing the men with sudden thunderstorms in the summer of 1858, and partly because Hime had contracted with Mr. McKay, the Editor-in-Chief of the Illustrated London News, to publish a series of sketches and photographs to be made of HBC forts, Indians and scenery" in that order ("Exploratiorl Photograplher," p. 48).

250 Hind's response is difficult to delineate since it appears that his personal response to the grasslands altered after he returned to Toronto and before he published his Narrative. John Warkentin has compared the response in Hind's unpublished notebooks with the response in the published Narrative, and deduces from apparent discrepancies that Hind viewed the grassland as desolate only after reading works by Americans, Blodget, Hall and Whitney, Hayden, and Henry, all published in 1857 or 1858, that is, during the Hind surveys, and all pouncing a Great-American-Desert theory. See John Warkentin, "The Desert Goes North," in Images of the Plains, pp. 152-55. (Warkentin's bibliography gives full details for the American works cited.)


252 The reasons for this fate suffered (from the point of view of white society) by these aesthetically pleasant tracts appears to lie in the conquest of aesthetics by commerce in the late nineteenth century. Wooded, or partially wooded terrain caught the Picturesque eye, but not the land speculator's. Once it was determined that the grasslands could sustain grain crops, land which was already cleared (i.e. bare) rose in commercial value while picturesque property did not. Deemed valueless by the prospective settler, parkland was thus left to Indian tribes. Only recently, with the establishment of a variety of parks in the parkland and one on the grasslands, has the Picturesque resumed a value in the regional determination of land use.

253 The hallmark of the Picturesque landscape—a humanized foreground—also informs Hime's rendition of the Qu'Appelle Valley, entitled "Fishing Lakes, Qu'appelle River" (facing 1, 321), showing the canoes brought from Fort Garry. Again, the camera much more successfully captures foreground detail than landscape.

255 Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery, I, 259.


261 Berthold Carl Seemann, Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald, I, 101-02. For Seemann's response to the Arctic, see above, chpt. II, section II,11,1, pp. 264-65, where he is similarly disparaging of
the Esquimaux.


263 For Burke and Tyley, see above, chpt. I, pp. 29, 80.


265 The estimate of the numbers of gold seekers is provided in the Chronology of British Columbia, contained in Charles deVolpi, British Columbia, a Pictorial Record: Historical Prints and Illustrations of the Province of British Columbia, Canada 1778-1891 (Toronto and Sherbrooke, Que.: Longman, 1973), pp. 5-17.

266 See above, chpt. II, section II.10.1, pp. 259-60.


268 See above, section III.7.1, pp. 650-51.

269 John Keast Lord, The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1866), 1, 153. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted material in the text.

An anonymous contemporary of Lord still agreed absolutely with George Vancouver's impression of the coast at Johnstone Strait. Perhaps intimately familiar with another mariner's (i.e. Vancouver) response to landscape, to which he was deferring, this mariner explains that he has "said nothing of the coast we have just passed, simply because there is nothing whatever to say of it; it is a dense mass of mountains, their steep sides thickly covered by dark pine forests." (A Cruise in the Pacific. From the Log of a Naval Officer, ed. Capt. Fenton Aylmer, 2 vols. in one [London: Hurst and Blackett, 1860], II, 147-48.) Moreover, this description comes from a writer who, in describing Victoria, is well disposed to "forêts of oak and pine [which] softened the distance" (II, 71).

270 Like Wilson, Lord manifests a strong predilection toward viewing lightly-wooded lowlands as British parkland. At the Syniakwateen depot, he wrote that: "The scenery is picturesque beyond description; densely wooded on each side, the river winds its way through a series of grassy banks, flat and verdant as English meadows" (II, 158); and in the neighbourhood, he "came suddenly on an open glade (or more aptly,
perhaps, I may compare it to a meadow), such as one often stumbles on in Devonshire" (II, 169).


272 Commander R. C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island. An Account of their Forests, Rivers, Coasts, Gold Fields, and Resources for Colonisation (London: John Murray, 1862), pp. 32-3. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted passage in the text.

273 For other accounts of this trip, see below, section III.8.5, for the accounts by Moody, Bushby, and Begbie.

274 For a list of publications by Britons who did not see the Pacific coast, see Appendix D.

275 Kinahan Cornwallis, The New El Dorado; or, British Columbia (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1858), p. 65. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted passage in the text.


277 See above, chpt., III, note 16.


279 Moody, "First Impressions," 97.


282 See above; section III.1.II, p. 364.
Joseph Despard Pemberton, Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia showing what to expect and how to get there (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), p. 4. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses after the quoted passage.

See above, section III.5.I, p. 578.

Capt. C. E. Barrett-Lennard, Travels in British Columbia, with the Narrative of a Yacht Voyage round Vancouver's Island (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), p. 31. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses after the quoted passage in the text.


Dr. Alexander Rattray, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, where they are; what they are; and what they may become. A Sketch of their History, Topography, Climate, Resources, Capabilities, and Advantages, especially as Colonies for Settlement (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), p. V.

For brief remarks on the inception of other churches in these colonies, see the note by Dorothy Blakey Smith in Sophia Cracroft, Lady Franklin's Visits to the Pacific Northwest: Being Extracts from the Letters of Miss Sophia Cracroft, Sir John Franklin's Niece, February to April 1861 and April to July 1870, ed., intro., and notes Dorothy Blakey Smith, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Memoir no. XI (Victoria, B.C.: Provincial Archives, 1974), p. 9n. I am indebted to Smith's notes for much of the historical and biographical information, and dates used in III.8.


Joseph Despard Pemberton, Facts and Figures, p. 49.


Selections from the journals of Rev. Sheepshanks were published shortly before his death, in 1809; See Rev. John Sheepshanks, A Bishop in the Rough, ed. Rev. D. Wallace Duthie, pref. Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Norwich (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909). The publication is heavily annotated by Duthie who uses Sheepshanks' writings primarily to illustrate his own remarks which are uninformed by any experience in British Columbia. Of most interest are the accounts of Sheepshanks' trips to the Cariboo region in 1862, and 1863-1864, during the latter of which he supervised the construction of a church at Richfield, B.C. He writes in the spring of 1862, on his way north, of daily meeting "groups of men, chiefly young men and Englishmen, turning back, never
having reached the mines, disappointed, broken down, haggard, furious with those whose lying representations (as they said) had brought them to this accursed country. "Back, back," they cried; "to go on is madness. You will never get to the mines... Oh, that times correspondent, if I catch him! Oh, this God-forsaken country!" (p. 75).


Perhaps the taming of the sublime Fraser River reached its acme (or nadir) in March, 1861, when the valley was visited by Lady Franklin and Sophia Cracroft, who were greeted by another spanning of the valley. Miss Cracroft describes the use of the canyon at Spuzzum as a billboard. Lady Franklin had come to Victoria in 1861 for two reasons, according to Dorothy Blakey Smith (see above, note 288): "First, she wanted to see her old friend, Capt. George H. Richards, who had played so large a part in the search for her husband and who would indeed have commanded the Fox for her, if he had not been appointed in 1856 to the Northwest Boundary Commission... Second, she had been asked by Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts, to pay a visit to Bishop George Hills, (who had arrived in Victoria little more than one year before) and to bring back news of the progress of the Church of England in these colonial wilds" (Lady Franklin's Visits, p. x).

Governor Dallas of the Hudson's Bay Company (successor to Sir George Simpson in 1860) arranged a canoe brigade to take the two ladies north from Yale (the highest point on the river served by steamer) to see one of the Fraser's awesome canyons: "On reaching the narrowest part of the Cañon, we beheld (suspended from the rafters of a salmon drying shed) a long pole stretching over the stream, on which was hung a white banner with the words 'Lady Franklin Pass' printed in large letters. The Indians stopped their paddling and we were told that this name was bestowed by the inhabitants of Yale [probably at the instigation of the minister, Rev. W. Burton Crickmer] in honor of my Aunt's visit, the said inscription being saluted from the opposite bank, by dipping a flag (the Union Jack) 3 times" (pp. 58-9). It appears from Cracroft's comments that she and Lady Franklin were not insensible to the garishness of this use of the Fraser valley.


Four miles above Yale, Hills interprets the next "station" on, by 1860, a well-worn tour up the river, as, "exactly similar to that from the Baster in Saxon-Switzerland, where the Elbe passes out of the Bohemia into Saxony through the mountain" (p. 46). On June 30, at Lytton, the next "station," "The valley of the Fraser, looking north as I see from my tent-door, reminds me of Wharf Dale on a large scale" (p. 58).

Rev. Robert Christopher Lyndin Brown (d.1876), the Rector of St. Mary's, Lillooet, won the Government Essay competition in 1862 with his entry, entitled "British Columbia. An Essay" (1863). The enterprise was actually the effort of a number of pens, including Rev. John Sheep-
shanks' and Colonel Moody's, though the lion's share was Brown's. See Robert Christopher Lundin Brown, British Columbia. An Essay (New Westminster, B.C.: pr. at the Royal Engineer Press, 1863). But Brown's more significant work remains that published in 1873, after his return to England. It is titled Klatsassin, and other Reminiscences of Missionary Life in British Columbia (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1873). It is a disjointed collection of anecdotes, some of which had appeared in The Leisure Hour, People's Magazine, and other periodicals, and one of which is comprised of parts of the prize-winning essay. The whole is based loosely on the Indian insurrection led by Chief Klatsassin in the Chilcotin region in 1864. The uprising resulted from the encroachment on Indian lands by the Cariboo road builders who were, with a party of miners, exploring the feasibility of a road inland from Bentinck Arm to the Fraser River. Landscape descriptions are confined largely, though not exclusively, to sections of the work, entitled "Down the River," and "From New Westminster to Lillooet," (pp. 122-44), the latter of the two perhaps having been written by Moody. Of special note are landscape pictures of Lillooet (pp. 142-43), and images of canyon walls on the Fraser as a series of "fantastic or sublime forms. . . . Here was a fairy castle like the Rheinstein—that thing of beauty and joy for ever to all travellers am Rhein--here again a fortress like Ehrenbreitstein—that thing of massive strength" (pp. 132-33).

298 W. Champness, "To Cariboo and back in 1862," The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation, 14 (1855), 203-60; rpt. as To Cariboo and back in 1862, intro. William R. Sampson (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon, 1972), pp. 45, 47. Subsequent references will depend upon the 1972 reprint, and will appear in parentheses after the quoted material in the text.

299 Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Their History, Resources, and Prospects (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1865), p. 275. A discussion of Macfie's work will be found in section III.1.B.X.

300 John Emmerson, British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Voyages, Travels, and Adventures (Durham, Eng.: pr. and pub. for the author by Wm. Ainsley, 1865), p. 36. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted passage in the text.

301 Tippett and Cole, From Desolation to Splendour, p. 35.


303 Mark, Cariboo, p. 34.

304 Somewhat less bitter are three other writers who travelled to the Cariboo in 1862 and 1863. Harry Guillod (b.1823) travelled north approximately two weeks later than Champness, Emmerson, and Mark. His success was no better than theirs, but his spirits remained surprisingly
high, and his journal records delighted aesthetic responses much more often than circumstantial difficulties. He may have been less interested in achieving instant wealth from the venture, for his travels marked a conversion in his life. After remarking during his upward trip to Cariboo that, "A journey out here soon destroys all romantic illusions with regard to the Indians; they are dirty, immoral and fond of tawdry finery," he became a catechist of the Anglican Church at Victoria in 1866, and spent the rest of his life in Indian missionary work. See Harry Guilford's "Harry Guilford's Journal of a Trip to Cariboo, 1862," ed., intro., and notes Dorothy Blakey Smith, *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XIX (1955), 187-232; passage cited above, p. 200.

Richard Byron-Johnson appears at ease in *Very Far West Indeed* (1872) with a discrepancy between his exclamations of aesthetic pleasure and condemnations of those writers who had described British Columbia as an "Eden." (Richard Byron Johnson, *Very Far West Indeed: a few rough experiences on the North-West Pacific Coast* [London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 1872], p. 44.) He found the sight of New Westminster "noble," from a distance, but less so in proximity: "as if in mockery of their puny slayers, the blackened stumps of the huge trees stand forth in every direction, from the edge of the water to the unattacked domains of the forest in the background, bidding defiance to man's efforts at destruction" (p. 53). Scenery on the lower Fraser River was, "of course, the grandest... but, we missed the signs of life requisite to complete the picture by relieving it of monotony" (p. 77). And the valley of the lower Thompson River reminded Johnson of a sublime literary landscape: "the valley of the Shadow of Death in *Pilgrim's Progress'*" (p. 94). Each aesthetic response is qualified to some extent, and the sum total of all the responses does not compensate, as one view almost did for Mark, for the failure in the gold fields: in one paragraph, Johnson recapitulates the summer's work of sinking a fifty foot shaft, then running out of good weather and money. But the summer of 1863 ended with the discovery of gold at Bear River, and the landscape is accordingly viewed unreservedly as, "beyond words to describe, or the artist's pencil to paint, in its immeasurable beauty" (p. 244).

Other accounts include the following: Cariboo: The newly discovered Gold Fields of British Columbia, fully described by a returned Digger, who has made his own fortune there, and advises others to go and do likewise. (London: Darton and Co., 1862; facs. rpt., intro. Mel Rothenberger (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon, 1975); and Malcolm Cameron, Lecture delivered by the Hon. Malcolm Cameron to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese in the Chair, (Quebec: pr. G. E. Desbarats, 1865).


Henry Youle Hind's sketch was published as *Sketch of an Overland Route to British Columbia* (Toronto: W. C. Chewett and Co., 1862). Chiefly a practical assortment of facts on supplies needed, routes to be followed, and so on, Hind's work also balloons into stellar overassessments of a country he had never seen. His expansionist rhetoric may have done to the Overlander what the Times correspondent's rhetoric had done to the Briton arriving by sea. The following are passages from the introduction and conclusion of Hind's Sketch: "... the entire western flank of the mountains is a region rich in gold. It is as if we were a step from the Fertile Belt, drained by the North Saskatchewan, to one of the richest gold fields in the world, in the midst of grand mountains, towering precipices, and foaming rivers, but with little pasture land, or land fit for tillage. Is there not in this a providential disposition? Does not that Fertile Belt point out the true path across the continent? The way by which, first British Columbia, then China, then India, may be reached from Europe. The way by which British civilization, laws and liberty are to be arrived at the Pacific, and thence to Asia, through BRITISH AMERICA. ... Suffice it to say, that as gold has been discovered at many points all over this vast surface, and in quantities hitherto unequalled, the gold field of British Columbia is practically, illimitable, and its wealth inexhaustible" (pp. v-vi, 126). Here is the first step in viewing British Columbia as a Lotusland.


307 Although of significant historical note and artistic merit, Hind's work will not be considered at length in this study because of its clear affiliation with a later British Art movement than that which espouses chiefly the theories of the Picturesque. His life and paintings are discussed by Leduc (Overland from Canada, pp. xxxii-xxxvi), who reports that Hind's sketchbook, which contains no scenes after August 29, 1862 (i.e. west of Yellowhead Pass), was brought east by W. H. Ellis in 1863. Two other works discuss Hind's art: Tippett and Cole, in *From Desolation to Splendour*, note how Hind's concentration on foreground detail, down to the representation of individual blades of grass, reflects his study of Pre-Raphaelite painting which he had made during a brief visit to England early in 1862 (p. 39); J. Russell Harper, in his study, *William G. R. Hind*, in the Canadian Artists Series, explains the detailed foregrounds in Hind's paintings in suggesting that, "Hind, like other English artists of the time, had turned from the kind of picturesque romanticism characterized by swags of foliage enveloping crumbling walls to embrace a vision of reality reflecting the spirit of materialism. It was a time of scientific probing into the natural world with some men peering through microscopes and telescopes, and
others, such as Darwin, analytically categorizing species." (J. Russell Harper, William G. R. Hind, Canadian Artist Series, no. 2 [Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976], p. 19.)


310 Introduction, in Margaret MacNaughton, Overland to Cariboo, facs. rpt. (1973), n.p.

311 Alexander, The Diary and Narrative, p. 31.

312 While the Overlanders were struggling up the Athabasca Pass, a civil engineer named Francis Poole steered for the Queen Charlotte Islands to mine for copper. The enterprise was an unmitigated failure. It also issued in tragedy, for it introduced smallpox to the Haida Indians. Lavish and indiscriminate aesthetic flourishes blemish Poole's narrative, entitled Queen Charlotte Islands: A Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the North Pacific, ed., John W. Lyndon (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1872); facs. rpt., Intro. Susan Davidson (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas, 1972). Descriptions of landscape occur at pp. 76-8, 80, 88-9, 93-4, 272-74 (where the Queen Charlottes are denominated "the Eden of the North Pacific").

In June, 1864, an expedition set out to determine the character of the southwestern interior of Vancouver Island. An account was written by its leader, Robert Brown, a naturalist from Edinburgh, and appeared under the title, "The First Journey of Exploration across Vancouver's Island," in Illustrated Travels: a Record of Discovery, Geography, and Adventure, ed. Henry Walter Bates, 6 vols. (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1869-1875), I, 254-55, 274-76, 302-04, and 349-51. The expedition included nine men besides Indians, one of which was Ronald McDonald, the son of Archibald McDonald. Perhaps influenced by William Colquhoun Grant's estimate of the interior, Brown did not anticipate the expedition with particular pleasure: "The country we must traverse for months to come is not inviting. Only yesterday we climbed the highest hills, and looked out on it. There it stretched, 'wave after wave of forest-clad hill and valley--the sea of great pine' (I, 254). Cowichan Lake alone strongly impressed Brown in his route up Cowichan River, and then down the Nitinat River: "Summer was now come [June 15] in all its Italian beauty; the skies were sunny and clear, and all Nature was blooming as brightly as she only can do in a north-western summer" (I, 304).

While Brown was on the Nitinat River, Lieutenant P. Leech, a former Royal Engineer, explored the San Juan River. After reaching the coast, the expedition passed down to Sooke Inlet, from where the Sooke River was ascended to Sooke Lake. Then a route was taken by way of Shawnigan Lake and the Cowichan River to Nanaimo, where the party coasted up to the Puntledge River, below the town of Comox. Another trans-island trip was made up the Puntledge River and overland to the Somass River, Alberni Harbour, and Barclay Sound, before the explorers canoed out to Qualicum Beach and down to their final destination, Nanaimo.
Another account of the expedition was written by its illustrator, Frederick Whymper, "the son of Josiah Wood Whymper, a highly successful London wood engraver" (Tippet and Cole, From Desolation to Splendour, p. 40). Principally an account of his involvement in the Collins Over-land telegraph enterprise, Whymper's Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska includes two chapters (IV and V) on the exploration of Vancouver Island. His initial sentence may stand as his entire aesthetic response in writing of the vast area explored by the expedition: "Travelling in the interior of Vancouver Island exhibits little beyond an alternation of various shades of monotony, so that the narrative of one month's experiences is as good, or a good deal better, than the details of five." (Frederick Whymper, Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska, formerly Russian America—now ceded to the United States—and in various other parts of the North Pacific [London: John Murray, 1868]; facs. rpt. [Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilm, 1966], p. 41.)


314 Duncan George Forbes Macdonald, British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, comprising a Description of these Dependencies: their physical Character, Climate, Capabilities, Population, Trade, Natural History, Geology, Ethnology, Gold-Fields, and future Prospects. Also an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Native Indians (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1862), pp. 2, 3, 4, 5. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted passage in the text.

315 Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Their History, Resources, and Prospects (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), p. x. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses following the quoted passage in the text.

316 Another later writer, Edward Graham Alston, declared the following: "The author has lived for more than ten years in Vancouver Island, and he unhesitatingly declares the climate to be unsurpassed by any with which he is acquainted." (Edward Graham Alston, A Handbook to British Columbia and Vancouver Island [London: F. Alger, 1870]; rpt. in Annual Report of the Columbia Mission (1864-1869) [London: Rivington's 1865-1870], p. 5.) Alston clearly makes the climate of Victoria serve for the climate of the entire island.

317 See the Mackenzie/Combe-description of the Methye Portage prospect, above, chpt. II, section II.2, pp. 121-22.


319 Frederick Ulric Graham, Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada 1847, notes Jane Hermione Graham (London: pr. for priv. circ., 1898), p. 11. Subsequent references will appear in parentheses after the quoted material in the text.

321. See Duncan M'Gillivray's description, Appendix B.


324. Southesk's apostrophes are used for those passages of his narrative which he states (p. xxxix) derive from the journal which he kept in 1859. Other material had been composed in the fifteen-year interval between travel and publication.

325. Southesk includes a note in the introduction stating that all landscape pictures are executed by him (p. xxxiii).

326. For Hector's "Dream Hill" passage, see above, section III.7.I, pp. 649-50; for Warre's picture, see above, section III.5.I, p. 567.

327. Aş Irene M. Spry has written in The Palliser Expedition (1963), "Neither knew that the other was there; but Southesk noticed a date and altitude mark left by Hector on a tree ten days earlier" (p. 246).

328. I am unable to trace the source of the phrase, "sweetness without light," unless it is Southesk's own inversion of Ecclesiastes 11:07: "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun." This may be the source that Southesk treats ironically, for he beholds the sun and does not see a loving God.

329. See above, chpt. II, section II.7.


The authorship of The North-West Passage by Land is by no means clear: the least likely case seems to be that it is Cheadle's own amplification of his far-superior Journal. It may have been ghost-assembled, or, more likely, as I have implied, it was empyrped from Cheadle's Journal by Milton (and based on his interest in imperial settlement and other concerns). See Boughy and Lanctot's introduction to the journal, referred to in the subsequent note. See also Lewis G. Thomas' introduction in the 1971 reprint of Cheadle's journal, and James White, "Cheadle's 'Journal'--across the Mountains 25 June-28 August, 1863," Canadian Alpine Journal, 14 (1924), 90-112.

Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle, The North-West Passage by Land; Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific, undertaken with the view of exploring a route across the Continent to British Columbia through British Territory, by one of the Northern Passes in the Rocky Mountains (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1865); facs. rpt. (Toronto: Coles, 1970), pp. 5-6. Subsequent references will depend upon the 1970 reprint and will appear in parentheses with the designation, NWP, after the quoted material in the text.


See above, chpt. II, section II.4.ii, p. 144.


Esther Fraser, The Canadian Rockies, p. 98.

See Charles deVolpi, British Columbia, Pl. 84, and p. 2. deVolpi mistakenly attributes this picture to J. H. Wilson (p. 4).


See Appendix B.

See above, chpt. II, section II.2, pp. 121-22.
343 Butler would come to revise his opinion of the parkland in his narrative of his second traverse of the West. See William Francis Butler, The Wild North Land; being the Story of a Winter Journey, with dogs across Northern North America (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 1873); facs. rpt., intro. Edward McCourt (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968), pp. 68-9.

344 Butler, The Wild North Land, p. 4. Subsequent references will depend upon the 1968 reprint, and will appear in parentheses in the text following the quoted passage.


347 See above, chpt. II, section II:10.i, p. 249.

348 I allude in part here to the name which Harrison chose for his study of, for the most part, the next generations of literary activity in the West, a study which I see as developing forward some of the ideas in the foregoing pages of this chapter.
Appendix A

Captain John Henry Lefroy (1817-1890) accompanied John McLean on the spring brigade trip from Lachine to Lake Athabasca in 1843. Lefroy, the son of an Anglican clergyman and the eventual founder and first president of the Canadian Institute in 1849, had come out to North America in 1842 to help man the British Army's new observatory in Toronto. A series of magnetic observations were required from several distant points on the globe and, in accordance with that plan, Lefroy was stationed at Fort Chipewyan for a four-month period, from October 16, 1843 until February 29, 1844. Although his journals of that trip, in which he was so impressed by McLean's learnedness, were lost in 1846, his letters home have survived and were published as *In Search of the Magnetic North: a Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West 1843-1844*, ed. George F. G. Stanley (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955).

Writing to his cousin, Julia Lefroy, from the Ottawa River on May 6, 1843, Lefroy demonstrates an aesthetic awareness which rivals that of McLean:

"... I should like to place you in the door [of my tent], to look with me over our picturesque encampment. Imagine a table rock showing its grey face between patches of moss and grass with young fir and juniper growing about out of the crevices; three large birch bark canoes, the prettiest vessels that float, lie bottom upwards with keel to the wind, the open side to the fires; and under them and before are standing or lying some fifty voyageurs and Indians, talking French, Patois, with more oaths than you would like to hear, and the light plays on the white tents behind and their red shirts and caps in true Rembrandt effects. So you see there are some beauties in this mode of travelling had one..."
but time to enjoy them. We passed our first portage today, a short one, to avoid some of the most picturesque rapids and falls I have yet seen, called the Chat falls. Like most others on these rivers, their height is inconsiderable; the beauty is to see the water shooting and darting in an hundred directions round rocks and islets, and in the graceful groups of firs and birch trees overhanging the channels (p. 10).

Lefroy has no trouble applying landscape conventions to the particular qualities of an Ottawa valley setting. The rapids occupy his attention foremost, for elsewhere, "there has not been much to admire in the scenery of the Ottawa" (p. 11). The humanized landscape, replete with such novel staffage as overturned canoes, and such effects as the contrast of the bright tents, shirts, and caps against the dark forest background, reminds Lefroy of paintings by Rembrandt. The background is provided by a table-like hill, and Julia Lefroy is invited to visualize the middle ground "beauty" of "picturesque" falls and rapids whose heights are not sufficient to be sublime.

But Lefroy does lament the loss of springtime in the Ottawa valley. As Archibald Lampman's canon of poetry would bear out sixty years later, spring is more a moment, an epiphany, than a season in that part of the country. Lefroy writes, still to his cousin Julia: "Spring is less advanced here this season probably than even in England, there is nothing positively green excepting the firs. I query whether the rapidity with which it will burst out in a week is a gain or a loss in itself as regards the pleasure of watching its progress" (p. 11).

Crossing Lake Superior in May, Lefroy makes an aesthetic observation which demonstrates a point raised earlier (see above, p. 9), namely that a traveller's perception of a landscape may differ greatly from a resident's:
The scenery on Lake Superior is very fine, "rocks and Pines, rocks and Pines" some of the party used to complain, but rocks and Pines make a very picturesque combination. Then there are calm secluded, woody bays, with water as pure as glass, where we used to light our fire for breakfast or pitch the tent at night, and this gypsy mode of living, this continual change of scene opens the heart to its enjoyment (p. 18).

What for Lefroy is the continuous novelty of the country lying before the mobile viewer leads him to contradict the lament of the voyageur and trader whose home is the Northwest, and who rarely see any country not bordering on the principle fur-trade routes. (McLean himself may well have been one of the party bemoaning the monotony of the views, although after Ungava, perhaps not.) Although Lefroy continues to enjoy the "lovely weather and beautiful scenery" (p. 24) through to Rainy Lake, he does begin to admit that that scenery was "of the same simple character." And although he sensitively manages to delineate the constituents of northern beauty in a letter to a cousin, Sophia Lefroy, from Fort Frances on June 15, 1843, he does state that the delineation becomes possible only because the lacustrine character is unvarying:

To describe almost any one of these lakes would be to describe the whole of them. Their beauty arises from the small scale which allows the banks and islands to bear a due proportion to the breadth of the water, although in none of them very lofty or bearing what we should call fine timber. There is scarcely anything but spruce, larch and Birch upon them; but now that the bright transparent foliage of the last is just showing upon the dark masses of the others, the effect is extremely pretty (p. 36).

Like most British travelers to the North, Lefroy expresses contentment bordering on relief when, after passing through country which taxes his aesthetic resources, he arrives at an identifiable place. He truly rejoices when he comes to Cumberland House: "This is the place at which Dr. Richardson passed the winter when on Franklin's [sic] first expedition, so it has a name in the world; and to become such a place in
travelling over places that are "nowhere" is like suddenly finding bottom when out of one's depth" (p. 56). Another "somewhere" which rescues him from the "nowhere" is the Methye Portage. It is a place known to him through George Back's picture of it, and one to which happily he can refer his reader, in this case, Isabella, his sister (p. 58). For his mother, Lefroy produces his own landscape sketch in prose. It contains motifs from both Back's depiction and Mackenzie/Combe's description:

We reached the great Methye Portage on the 15th [September], and got the canoe and all the baggage across next day, a distance of 12 miles. It is celebrated for the view from the north end. It is a wide and regular valley, of great depth stretching for a distance of thirty miles to the west. The sun was just setting as I arrived there, the light glancing from the nearer foliage, and filling the distance with golden haze; there is not that variety in the autumnal tints of a forest here which makes those of Canada so wonderful, but quite enough to compose a very beautiful picture. A portion of wood in the distance was burning, and there was an uncommon felicity in the manner in which the columns of smoke rose up against a dark mass of Pines which crossed the valley behind them. The Clearwater river winds through the midst, sometimes expanding into a placid little lake, then diminishing to a thread of light barely caught among the trees. Upon the whole, I have seen very few views of the kind more beautiful; perhaps the contrast which it offers to the narrow streams and contracted scenes one has been travelling through for some time previously makes the impression the stronger. The descent from the point of view to the river is so precipitous and difficult, particularly when rendered slippery by rain, that you would wonder how it were possible to get a clumsy and heavy canoe down it, on mens-shoulders. Here we entered on the descending streams, a great luxury after so long mounting against the current. The scenery in the valley is as beautiful in detail as in its ensemble. It was swarming with wild geese and ducks and one morning about 5 oclock we saw three moose-deer cross it below us... (pp. 64-5).

Both from a prospect and in proximity, the scene delights a Lefroy who had expected to be delighted by it. Fittingly, he notes that the portage (which represents the most formidable étape on the canoe route after which all travel will be downstream and easier) provides the aesthetic apex of the tour. Such incidental effects as the "uncommon felicity" with which the animated columns of smoke contrast with the stolid dark
Forests, the variety of "autumnal tints," and the background bathed in the conventional sunset's "golden haze" compound the aesthetic qualities which render the scene so eminently describable in the parlance of the Picturesque.

Lefroy is unique in mentioning how the pleasure which the Clearwater River valley imparts to the traveller derives partially from its contrast with the terrain seen over the previous weeks. This is an important factor in the custom of comparing landscape views while either on tour or in a picture gallery. Although he mentions the matter of contrast in this letter to his mother, he expands on it when writing from Fort Chipewyan on January 1, 1844, to a Mrs. Anne McClintock in Ireland:

One point of view, from the end of the great Portage de la Loche is reported to be the finest in British North America, and I think with justice. . . . The rarity of fine scenery in this country arises from its level character. It wants the minor ranges of hills which intersect most other countries. The rivers either flow through swampy tracts bearing little but willow, aspen, and under-sized Pine, or through low granite hills of very broken form, nowhere rising to a picturesque height. Hence while it abounds with what an artist might note as "pretty bits" it affords very few extended scenes of hills and vale, water and forest, such as one expects (pp. 88-9).

The Briton expects to find a European geography where the land is drained by its rivers. What Lefroy encounters on the Churchill River route is a shield of rock which is all but inundated by water. Organization of terrain into distinct valleys drained by distinct rivers that are contained by permanent banks is not possible in the Churchill River portion of the Canadian Shield. Thus, the view from the Cockscomb provides a much more British view--one valley, one meandering river draining it. Drowned land, "under-sized," waterlogged Pine, and "low granite hills of very broken form, nowhere rising to a picturesque height,"
suddenly are replaced at the end of the Methye Portage by "a wide and regular [emphasis added] valley, of great depth stretching for a distance of thirty miles to the west."

After spending almost six months at Fort Chipewyan (four in taking observations every hour), Lefroy travelled by dog sled down the Mackenzie River to Fort Simpson in March, 1844. Subsequent trips to Fort Good Hope and Fort Norman were made before he returned to Fort Chipewyan on June 30, and made his way southward, arriving in Toronto on November 8, 1844.

Though significant for the record of exploration that they present, the journals of the Hudson's Bay Company officers, Robert Campbell and Alexander Kennedy Isbister (1822-1883) contrast markedly from McLean's narrative or Lefroy's letters, in that they present only infrequent aesthetic responses to landscape. Campbell was charged by the Company to explore the region of today's Yukon Territory north of the Liard River in 1840 and 1843, while Isbister explored inland from Fort MacPherson, up the Peel and Rat Rivers, also in 1840. To be sure, both were led by commercial views to seek commercial treasures; even so, their deployment of the conventions of the Picturesque and the Sublime indicates just how pervasive these modes of perception were.

After spending the winter of 1842-1843 on Frances Lake (which he had discovered and where he had spent 1842 establishing a trading post) Robert Campbell, a Perthshire Scotsman, hiked over the height of land between the Mackenzie and Pacific drainage basins, and began to explore the Pelly River in June, 1843:
As we advanced, the river increased in size, and the scenery formed a succession of picturesque landscapes... Ranges of mountains flanked us on both sides; on the right hand the mountains were generally covered with wood; the left range was more open, with patches of poplar running up the valleys and burnsides, reminding one of the green brae-face of the Highland glens. We frequently saw moose-deer and bears as we passed along; and at points where the precipice rose abrupt from the water's edge, the wild sheep,—'big horn,'—were often seen on the shelving rocks."

(The Discovery and Exploration of the Youcon (Pelly) River by the Discoverer, Robert Campbell, F.R.C.S., lately a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press, 1885), pp. 8-9.)

Sadly, many of Campbell's carefully kept journals were destroyed by fire in Quebec in 1871. This detail, as well as an account of Campbell's extraordinary non-stop winter journey from Fort Simpson to Montreal via Chicago, appear in C. Parnell, "Campbell of the Yukon," The Beaver: Magazine of the North, 273 (June 1942), pp. 4-6; (September 1942), pp. 16-18; and, with J. P. Kirk, (December 1942), pp. 23-7.

Isbister was born at Cumberland House in 1822, the year when the first Franklin expedition passed through on its way from the Coppermine River. He is the author of several text books and an unintentionally amusing proposal for establishing a penal colony, not in Australia, but in the James Bay region. He was at Fort Simpson in the autumn of 1839, when Simpson and Dease arrived on October 14, after completing their coastal survey. In May of 1840, Isbister ran down the Mackenzie River to Fort Good Hope, from where he set out with Chief Trader John Bell on June 3. They began to ascend the Peel River on June 6. Thereafter, Isbister's narrative, interspersed by excerpts from Bell's journal of previous trips farther upriver, becomes muddled. He apparently completed, during the summer and winter, a survey of the Rat River, a tributary of the Peel, up to the portage which connects it to the
Porcupine River on the western side of the Richardson Mountains. Also, he established a post on the Peel River (perhaps Fort McPherson). On June 7, 1840, the sudden appearance of vegetation on the Peel River provided Isbister with a pleasing contrast to the landscape of the lower Mackenzie River both aesthetically and commercially:

An aft wind soon after arising, we proceeded at a rapid rate up the river, and encamped about 30 miles from its mouth in sight of the Rocky Mountains. The character of the country had even already entirely changed. The banks, though still low and alluvial, were strongly impregnated with dark vegetable matter, and clothed with a dense vegetation of pines, poplars, and a thick underwood of different kinds of willow; and so sudden had been the transition from sterility to luxuriance, that we could scarcely believe that a few hours before we had been travelling through unrelieved desolation.


During this same period, John Birkbeck Nevins made two voyages in Hudson's Bay Company vessels to Hudson Bay, the first in the Prince Rupert in 1842, and the second in the Prince Albert in 1843. More concerned with religious and anthropological than with aesthetic matters, Nevins does provide one interesting response to landscape—a comparison between the settlements of Moose Factory and York Factory:

Moose is much prettier than York. It stands upon an island in the middle of the [Moose] river, which is about three miles long, and from half a mile to a mile broad. It is not built like York, in squares, though all the houses are made of wood. They lie upon the banks of the river, and extend nearly three quarters of a mile in length. Trees grow all around them, and there are little plots of garden in front of many of the dwellings... The river is very shallow, and studded with many little islands, which are covered with wood, the openings between are very pretty; and the variety in the tints of the leaves, which were changing rapidly when we arrived, added much to their beauty.
(A Narrative of two Voyages to Hudson's Bay, with the Traditions of the North American Indians [London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847], pp. 137-38.) Besides the recognizably English garden plots, Nevins is attracted by the river-bank setting and variety presented by the islands. His view is a sympathetic one, for he is bent on making his trip into a type of landscape tour. In his preliminary paragraph, he invites the comparison with other tours by remarking: "A summer voyage to this place [Hudson Bay] is not quite so easy or pleasant as an excursion up the Rhine, or down the Danube" (p. 1).
Appendix B

Minor late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century journals describing the fur trade routes, excluding those "fort journals" kept by agents of the Hudson's Bay Company and which have been reprinted by the Hudson's Bay Record Society of the Champlain Society, include, in chronological order of travel, the following: Peter Pond (1740-1807), "The Narrative of Peter Pond," in Five Fur Traders of the Northwest; being the Narrative of Peter Pond, and the Diaries of John Macdonnell, Archibald N. McLeod, Hugh Raries, and Thomas Connor, ed. Charles M. Gates, intro. Grace Lee Nute (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, for the Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press; Toronto: Ryerson, 1933), pp. 11-59; Edward Umfreville (fl.1771-1790), Nipigon to Winnipeg: A Canoe Voyage through Western Ontario by Edward Umfreville in 1784; with Extracts from the Writings of other Early Travellers through the Region, intro., and ed. R. Douglas (Ottawa: Commercial Printers, 1929); and Edward Umfreville, The Present State of Hudson's Bay containing a full description of that Settlement, and the adjacent Country; and likewise of the Fur Trade with hints for Its Improvement, &c. &c. (London: Charles Stalker, 1790), rpt., ed. W. Stewart Wallace (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954); John Macdonnell (1768-1850), "The Diary of John Macdonnell," in Five Fur Traders of the Northwest, pp. 63-119; Duncan M'Gillivray (d.1825), The Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray of the North-West Company at Fort

The journal of Peter Pond, the first white trader to winter in the Athabasca district (1778), is a retrospective autobiography written at the age of sixty in an unique approach to the English language that is at once bemusing and endearing. A single example from the unparagraphed work, recording the year he spent as an independent trader in 1774-1775 (prior to venturing into Hudson's Bay Company territory with Henry the Elder) in modern Wisconsin and Minnesota will suffice to demonstrate Pond's slight appreciation of landscape: "Next Day we Proseaded up the River [Fox River, out of Green Bay, Lake Michigan] which was slack water But Verey Sarpentine--we Have to go two Miles Without Geating fiftey yards ahead so winding. ... An account of the fox River and its Neighbering Cuntrey. A Long its Shores from the Mouth to the Pewans Lake is A good Navagation. One or two Small Rapeds. From that Lake the water up to the Caring [Carrying] Plase [i.e. modern Por- tage, Wis., where the Fox River approaches the Wisconsin River] is Verey Gentel But Verey Sarpentine. In Maney Parts In Going tree Miles you
due not advans one. The Bank is almost leavel With the Water and the Medoes and Each Sid' are Clear of Wood to a Grate Distans and Clothd with a Good sort of Grass the Ope[ningen]ings of this River are Cald Lakes But thay are no more than Larg-Openings. In these Plases the Water is about four or five feet deep. With a Soft Bottom these Plases Produce the Gratest Quantaties of Wild Rise of Which the Natives Geather Grat Quantaties and Eat what they Have Ocation for & Dispose of the Remainder to People that Pass & Repass on thare trade .... Back from River the Lands are as Good as Can be Conseaved and Good timber But not Over-thick. It is Proverbel that the fires Which Ran threw these .... [ellipsis in text] and Meadows Stops the Groth of ye Woods and Destroise Small wood. I Have Menslund the Vast Numbers of Wild Ducks which faten on ye Wild Rise Eaverey-Fall. It would Sound two much Like a travelers Storey to say What I Realey Believe from What I have Sean . . . "(Five Fur Traders of the Northwest, pp. 37-8).

Edward Umfreville, who joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771, traded mostly out of Albany. (In that he speaks only formally of Samuel Hearne, he does not seem to have been familar with Churchill.) He was taken prisoner by La Pérouse at the capture of York Fort in August, 1782, and transported to France. Upon his release, he could not regain employment with the Hudson's Bay Company, and came to Quebec to sign with the North West Company: In 1784, he explored a route from Lake Nipigon to the Winnipeg River, via the Lac de Seul (English) River for his employers who were anxious to know of other routes to the west out of Lake Superior in case the newly formed United States threatened to claim their border at Grand Portage. His narrative records the trip
made in June and July, 1784 to the forks of the English and Winnipeg Rivers. The route was never regularly used. Umfreville spent the next four winters at Umfreville House on the North Saskatchewan River between the forks of the Battle and North Saskatchewan Rivers and the modern Saskatchewan/Alberta border.

These years are recorded in *The Present State of Hudson's Bay* (1790) where land is described but no landscapes formed. Yet, it would seem that Umfreville does have a taste for landscape. He speaks, for example, of the aesthetic illusion that he perceived in the boreal skirt while at York Factory: "The face of the country is low and marshy, and at a little distance off, seems to present to the eye a fine prospect of tall pine and junipers; but upon a nearer approach you find yourself most egregiously deceived. The pine trees, which are of different kinds, are but small; near the seacoasts they generally run knotty, and unfit to be used . . ." (*The Present State*, p. 14). On his trip from Umfreville House to New York (May-October, 1788) upon his retirement, his aesthetic interests are aroused as he comes to civilization. En route from Lake Champlain to Albany, he writes: "From Fort Edward towards Still Water the appearance of everything strikes the eye of a stranger with pleasure, as he beholds a beautiful country under the hand of improvement . . ." (p. 118). Nor does he stint at passing aesthetic judgement: "the famous Hudson's river, which we find so much extolled in descriptions of this country, appears to me not to merit the praise given it" (p. 120). It is likely that, the business of trade, the perpetual threat of Indian attack in those early years of trade on the North Saskatchewan, together with the unsettled state of
the country at Umfreville House, combined to preclude Umfreville's aesthetic mention of parkland topography.

John Macdonnell joined the North West Company on May 25, 1793, while its great partner was turning off the Fraser river on his way overland to the Pacific Ocean. His diary records a trip made from Lachine to his winter station at Fort Qu'Appelle, then situated on the river of that name not far from its mouth at the Assiniboine River. On Monday, June 3, Macdonnell was at the Chaudière Falls, on the Ottawa River. With Archibald Norman McLeod, he "went to fish, and take a view of the Rapids, but to our great surprise caught nothing. However our pains were amply repaid by the view; the fall I have since found to be the most curious and picturesque in all the grand River. On the North shore the fall is about ten feet high but on the south side it comes down a steep Rush or Race-way between an island and the shore and since the country is settled tis here they float down the timber. There are several small rockey Islands looking over the brink of the fall. The rock which occasions it has several curious crevises in it through which the water pours with a wild appearance" (Five Fur Traders of the Northwest, pp. 73-4). On Thursday, August 22, Macdonnell departed the Chaudière Falls at the exit from Lac La Pluie (Rainy Lake). Like Alexander Henry, he praises the beauty of Rainy River: "This deemed the most beautiful River in the N.W. and is generally about wide" (p. 104). (McLeod, his travelling companion in 1793, was a founding member of the North West company and a bourgeois partner. His journal displays absolutely no interest in the external world. Weather reports provide the only evidence that from November, 1800 to June, 1801
at Fort Alexandria (on the upper Assiniboine River, near modern Preeceville, Sask.) he ever looked around him.)

Duncan M'Gillivray purchased Peter Pond's "wintering partner" share in the North West Company in 1790 for £800. His journal begins at the western end of Grand Portage on July 21, 1794, and describes his trip up to and winter at Fort George, the company post on the North Saskatchewan River (at 53°52'7" N lat.). The Winnipeg and Rainy Rivers—flowing out of and into the Lake of the Woods, respectively—are fashioned by M'Gillivray into a pair of companion views, the former (or downstream river) being sublime, and the latter (as Alexander Henry had found it) beautiful: "The River Unnipique ... contains a vast body of water which runs along with great velocity, between two barren rocky shores, bounded by thick impenetrable woods & discharges itself after a short course in Lake Unnipique. The River of Lake La Pluie forms a fine contrast with the one abovementioned; it is reckoned the most beautiful River in the North, a preference which it richly deserves, from the variety of delightfull [sic] scenes which its banks disclose at every winding" (The Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray, pp. 8-9). These are hardly fully sketched views; rather, it is more the contrast between them that is recognized. Nevertheless the rock and forest of the Winnipeg River suggest a darkness that is not found on the open banks of the Rainy River, and, moreover, contains a series of cataracts—a geographical feature whose sight Dugald Stewart considered in 1800, in his essay, "On the Sublime," a principal natural example of sublimity.

On September 15, M'Gillivray and his party emerged from the "impenetrable forests" encountered by the hunting party on the North
Saskatchewan River. While the canoe brigade caught up with the hunters, M'Gillivray surveyed the opening grassland near the site where Fort Carlton (or Carlton House) would be built in 1810 by the Hudson's Bay Company. "The face of the Country here assumes a different appearance, hitherto our way has been obstructed by thick woods, on each side of the River but now extensive plains interspersed with only a few tufts of wood, open themselves to the view, and extend to the utmost extremity of your sight round the Horizon which appears as plain as in the midst of the Ocean in a perfect calm;—what increases the beauty of this agreeably [sic] prospect, is; the innumerable [sic] herds of buffaloes and various other animals that inhabit those delightful regions of plenty, which always afford a seasonable supply of food to our men, who are now almost worn out after the fatigues of a long and toilsome voyage" (pp. 22-3). Notably, M'Gillivray finds the bare plains a beautiful sight after the incarcerating woodlands farther down the Saskatchewan River. Thus, the oceanic simile is, for a change, welcomed. It is a perfectly calm ocean of a prairie which he first encounters. (Henry the Elder and M'Gillivray were by no means the first to use the oceanic simile to describe the grassland topography. The first known white man on the Plains had used it as well. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado [1510-1554] saw the Plains in 1540-1541 in the vicinity of Llano Estacado [modern Lubbock, Texas], and described them as "plain as bare of landmarks as if we were surrounded by the sea." [George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, Coronado Historical Series, vol. 2 (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1960), pp. 186 ff.; quoted by Waldo R. Wede], "Some Early Euro-American Percepts of the Great Plains and their Influence on Anthropological..."
Thinking," in *Images of the Plains: The Role of Human Nature in Settlement*, ed. Brian W. Bilouet and Merlin P. Lawson, fwd. Andrew Hill Clark (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1975), pp. 13-14.] Although the analogy between the appearance of the Plains and an ocean certainly predates the rise of the aesthetic of the Sublime, it accords well with it, for ocean vastness was cited by Burke and others as a source of sublime emotion.) But eleven days later, between Pine Island Fort (Fort de l'Isle) and their destination of Fort George, the traders climbed one of the Eagle Hills and witnessed the ocean in a sublimely active state: ",... from the summit of a hill which afforded an extensive prospect, we observed the face of the country entirely covered by them [buffalo], in short they are so numerous as the locusts of Egypt, and to give us passage they were forced to range themselves on both sides and we were no sooner past than they closed their ranks as before" (p. 28). The sight of buffalo, so welcome earlier in the month, now becomes sublime. Their threat is palpable and, in the narrative, patent from the trader's likeness of their collective presence to the plague of locusts in Egypt. In their own way, they now present an impenetrable barrier to the traders who must part the sea of them to lead their people to the promised fort.

The diary of Hugh Faris, another North West Company clerk, records the interesting year of 1804-1805 when competition raged between the North West and XY Companies prior to their merger. One focus for this competition was Faris' post at Rainy Lake, where the Athabasca brigade terminated its annual trip south, "the trip to Fort William and return being too long for a summer season." (Five Fur
Traders of the Northwest; Gates's intro., p. 191). Although obviously concerned with the logistics of the fur trade in this particular season, Faries does comment on his environs: "The countryside along the entire course of Rainy River, eighty-five miles in length, has aroused exclamations of delight from travelers and traders since it was first opened to commerce by the white man [La Vérendrye, in 1731]" (pp. 191-92). This tradition of landscape response, seen also in Henry the Elder; Macdonnell, and M'Gillivray, would eventually pose a problem for Sir George Simpson, the Hudson's Bay Company's North American Governor, who testified before a Parliamentary committee in 1857 that no regions in the company's territory were fit for settlement. (See above, III.3.VI.iii.)

Faries' journal is not otherwise without colour; indeed, some parts of it may provide a clue to the desire of the Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America to see it published. On August 11, 1804, at the North West Company post, "the indians got drunk, and the Cancre had his testicles pulled out by one of his wives, through jealousy. There was but a few fibres that held them, so that his life was almost despaired of. The men could not gum the canoe as the weather was cloudy and rainy" (p. 200).

Thomas Connor worked in the North West Company's Fond du Lac district in 1804-1805 while Faries was posted at Rainy Lake. The news of the merger of the North West and XY Companies (signed on Nov. 4, 1804) reached him on the last day of 1804 at his post on the Snake River, in the St. Croix River valley, southwest from modern Duluth, Minn. Only five days before, competition with XY traders had been fierce, with
Connor evoking the sublimity of a Salvator Rosa/Anne Radcliffe landscape by the expression about "being apprehensive [that] the XY Banditti may pay them [his traders] a Visit" (Five Fur Traders of the Northwest, p. 263). In an exceedingly circumstantial fort journal, the use of such a term as "Banditti" is glaring.

Finally, Alexander Henry the Younger, saw service in many of the North West Company's districts before his sudden death by drowning at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1814. Henry's editor, Elliott Coues, the speaks of "literary elegance being clearly out of question" ("The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry," p. xiii) in his journals, and of "his entire lack of imagination" (p. xix); but he also cites what he considers Henry's forte as a journalist: "his doings are pictured to the life, with a realism that rivals a Zola's" (p. xxiv). While this comment refers specifically to the pictures of Indian life furnished by the trader, it may be seen that Henry the Younger does occasionally supply interesting aesthetic responses to the regions in which he resided.

In September, 1800, Henry chose a new site for a trading post in modern North Dakota, at the forks of the Park and Red Rivers. (He had been in the Red River district, trading with the same Assiniboine tribes since 1792 [p. 452].) On September 11, the top of an oak tree provides him with the necessary prospect from which to view the surrounding country: "The weather being perfectly serene, I could distinguish half hills on the W., though they were scarcely perceptible—nothing more than a blue stripe, running N. and S. The interval is a level meadow, with nothing to attract the eye but the winding course of
Park river, whose wood is lost to the sight long before it reaches the hills" (p. 94). One week later, this skeletal composition of a river meandering through a middle ground to distant blue hills acquires an added novelty: "I took my usual morning view from the top of my oak and saw more buffaloes than ever. They formed one body, commencing about half a mile from camp; whence the plain was covered on the W. side of the river as far as the eye could reach. They were moving southward slowly, and the meadow seemed as if in motion..." (p. 99). Not only does the plain take on a sort of hirsute oceanic aspect, but, more significantly, its wavy motion alerts Henry to the proximity of the enemy—Sioux war parties. Depending upon the direction of and agitation in the herds, Henry can determine the location and destination of the Sioux.

A number of other landscape descriptions by Henry show a marked aesthetic organization of the terrain around him. An entry under November 11, 1800, speaks of the "delightful prospect" of a 360° panorama witnessed at Red River, between Buffalo and Folle Avoine (Wild Rice) Rivers, where "serpentine stripes" of Goose River wander almost infinitely over "barren ground" to a distance that far exceeds any conventional picturesque view (p. 150). In another scene, the landscape view is combined with Henry's more interesting description of Indian life. In the summer of 1806, Henry visited the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri River (near modern Bismarck, N.D.). (This was almost a decade after David Thompson had established contact with the tribes in early 1798, and eighteen months after Lewis and Clark had wintered at the village in 1804-1805.) Henry's route had taken him up the Missouri Coteau near modern Lake Sakakawea, from where "to the N.W. and N. the
country-stretched into a smooth level plain, with a number of small lakes, whose white [probably alkaline] shores beautifully contrasted with the adjoining verdure" (p. 359). From above the Mandan villages on July 22, Henry painted the following single-paragraph, highly organized view, which appears under Coues's page title, "Serene Georgics": "We ascended to the top of this hill, from which we had a most delightful view of the villages and plantations below [along the Missouri and Knife Rivers], all of which could be distinctly seen at once, excepting the Mandan village on the N. The brushwood and willows on that side of the [Knife]river obstructed the view of the huts, but the smoke was seen rising from almost every one. The Missourie on the one hand, and Knife river on the other, wound their courses through a level plain, thinly bordered with wood, and bound in by high banks on both sides, always at an equal distance apart, following the various bends of the river. The morning was calm and serene; the native [Big Bellies, Mandans, and Saulteurs, all of whom Henry had just disgustingly depicted] were passing continually to and fro between the villages; others again were at work in their fields, and great numbers of horses, dispersed in every direction, served to enliven the scene" (p. 359). Here is a prime example of distance lending enchantment to the view. The unique sight of a domesticated Indian scene constructed around cultivated farmland (the Mandans were almost unique among western Indians in these latitudes for their agrarian lifestyle) in a country where "villages" populate a winding river bank appears idyllic. As a paragraph on its own, the picture does effect the picturesque sensation of contentment with nature. But in the context of the larger narrative, it bears an almost enigmatic quality. The natives whom Henry here paints into a
picturesque landscape earlier elicited his greatest disgust. He had been appalled by some of their practices, including the manner in which the Mandans offered their guest hospitality: "They are very complaisant in giving him [the guest] the choice of their women, and proud when they can accommodate him with one who is provided with a good swinging pair of contrevents, or well labiated" (p. 348). Entitled by Coues "hypertrophied Labia minora," this description propels Henry into a diatribe on immorality. It is possible that the picture of the Indians' homeland struck Henry ironically in that it conformed to the landscape conventions of a civilized society. If this possibility is allowed then it casts doubt on Coues's charges of an "entire lack of imagination" and an absence of "literary elegance" in Henry, for surely the picture could not have been achieved, let alone placed in an ironic context, without a lively imagination and some measure of elegance.
Appendix C

Neither Ogden, who led the expeditions from 1824-1830, nor Work, who directed them from 1830-1832 (by which time the Hudson's Bay Company had satisfied itself that its strategy of ruining the district south of the Columbia River for the beaver trade had been achieved), wrote journals for publication. However, as Samuel Black's journal clearly demonstrates, intention regarding publication does not necessarily determine aesthetic perception. (For Black, see above, section III.3.III.)

Peter Skene Ogden (1794-1854) was the youngest child of the Hon. Isaac Ogden, a United Empire Loyalist from Elizabethtown, N.J., whose loyalty was acknowledged by a Judgeship at the Admiralty Court at Quebec in 1788. When he visited his father at Taunton, England, in 1823, the eighty-two-year-old told him that he had named his son after Peter Pond. (Archie Binns, Peter Skene Ogden: Fur Trader [Portland, Ore., Binfords and Mart, 1967], p. 70. See Gloria Griffen Cline, Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson's Bay Company [Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1974].) Binns differentiates between Ogden and his employer, George Simpson, in a manner which declares why Ogden would not (while Simpson would) have been interested in indulging in any cultural vogues or customs of his day, such as landscape appreciation: "Simpson's and Ogden's approach to the fur trade had been different in accordance with their back-grounds. Ogden, from one of the best and most socially secure families in Canada, irked by restraint, had thrown over society,
education, and the law, and started at the foot of the ladder, with a salary of fifteen pounds a year and a gun and dagger which he valued more than his pay. George Simpson, the illegitimate child of a Scotch minister's son, had been driven by hunger for the kind of security and social acceptance to which young Ogden had been born, and which he tossed away. As a child, George Simpson was taken to his grandfather's manse in the parish of Avoch. There he grew up with a flock of uncles and aunts much older than himself; he received a good deal of love and understanding along with enforced examples of frugality" (p. 102).

Ogden led six expeditions in the districts south and east of the Columbia River, now represented by the American states of Idaho, Oregon, western Montana, northern Utah, northern Nevada, and northern California. The first departed Flat Head Post on the Clark Fork River near modern Plains, Montana, on December 20, 1824, one month after Alexander Ross had arrived there from his 1823-1824 Snake River expedition. Ogden followed a route similar to Ross's, descending to the Snake River near Portneuf River. His party consisted of a force sufficiently considerable, it was hoped, to daunt the menacing Blackfeet and the horse-thieving Snake Indians. (Detailed information is provided in Peter Skene Ogden, Snake Country Journals 1824-25 and 1825-26, ed. E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, intro. Dr. Burt Brown Barker, The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. xiii [London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950], pp. 2-3.) On March 26, 1825, Ogden's entry, a typical one in terms of how he views landscape, describes the party's route southward to Snake River Plain (reached one week later): "... we are now & have been since we left the flat Heads surround[ed]
on all sides by high & lofty mountains well covered with snow, nor as far as sight can reach is there any thing to be seen but mountains. I begin to despair of our reaching a Beaver country..." (p. 29).

After a summer of menace from the Indians and the desertion of some of his men, Ogden returned his party to Fort Nez Percés on November 3, 1825.

He stayed only two and a half weeks at the post where his old friend Samuel Black—one year after his wild trip to the headwaters of the Finlay, Stikine, and Liard Rivers in modern northern British Columbia—was in charge. On November 21, 1825, Ogden again departed. The winter was very severe, and the prospects for beaver slight. Burnt River (Ore.) proved to be a good area for beaver above its forks with the Snake River, but all was frozen over on February 3, 1826: "... our route hilly and covered with wormwood with sandy soil this surely is Snake Country—as far as the eye could reach nothing is to be seen but lofty mountains on all sides well covered with snow indeed a more Gloomy Barren looking country I never yet seen this in our present starving state contributes not to brighten our prospects and when I see our horses killed for food and knowing full well we shall feel the want of them ere long distresses me but at present without a remedy indeed not one is killed excepting the men are without food for three days and many four our success this day 6 Beaver and 1 Otter two horses killed" (p. 123). The situation had deteriorated two weeks later when the trapping expedition was on the Snake River: "... our prospects gloomy we must continue to starve altho we can at present little afford it being now all reduced to skin and bones and more beggarly wretched looking beings I defy the world to produce, still alas all I have no
cause to complain of the men day after day they labour in quest of food and Beaver and the greater part without a shoe to their feet and in this cold weather on frozen ground is far from being comfortable or pleasant to be without, but at present it is an evil without a remedy" (p. 129). By May 6, now on the Raft River (in modern Idaho, northeast of Great Salt Lake), the starving men had not managed to improve their lot. Ogden praises them by equating their endurance with that claimed by Franklin for his men in 1821 in his *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823): "... began to Snow and continued the greater part of the night many of the Trappers came in almost froze and without setting the Traps naked as the greater part are and destitute of Shoes it is surprising to me how they can resist and to their Credit be it said not a murmur or complaint do I hear such men as these are well worthy of following Franklin, for they certainly are now are [sic] well inured to suffering two thirds of them without a Blanket or any shelter and have been so for the last 6 months to Day 34 Beaver" (p. 162).

The brigade struggled back to Fort Vancouver (built 1824-1825), arriving on July 17, 1826. From thence, with thirty-five men, Ogden departed on September 19, 1826, intending to trap down the east side of the Cascade range while Alexander Roderick McLeod's party trapped along the coastal side, accompanied by the naturalist David Douglas (see above, section III.4). From November 4-12, Ogden traversed the Great Sandy Desert in the Harney Basin, from Harney Lake westward to the Deschutes River (at a point near the modern town of La Pine Ore.). The prospects of landscape and furs are given simply: "This is certainly a barren gloomy Country as far as the eye can reach nothing to be seen..."
but worm wood. . . . This is really a wretched country and certainly no other inducement but filthy Lucre can induce an honest man to visit it, and after all his prospects of obtaining it are most gloomy. " (Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journal 1826-27, ed. K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson, intro. Dorothy O. Johansen, The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. xxiii [London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961], pp. 22, 26.) Ironically, the desert traverse marked the only time during the expedition when the party was not harassed by Indians.

After trapping the rain forest rivers of Deschutes, Rogue, Umqua, and Applegate, Ogden recrossed the desert via the seasonal Bluejoint Lake and Malheur Lake in June, 1827, and returned to Fort Vancouver. From there he embarked up the Columbia on August 24. He struck inland from Fort Nez Percés on September 1, and was back in the Snake Country at the forks of the Snake and Portneuf Rivers on January 2, 1828, when he states baldly that, "In such a country as this a man in my situation is never an hour without suffering anxiety." (Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827-28 and 1828-29, ed. Glyndwr Williams, intro. and notes David E. Miller and David H. Miller, The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. xxviii [London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971], p. 44.) Paralyzing snowfalls kept Ogden's winter camp in this vicinity until the end of May. After complaining of poor health, he pushed homeward, arriving at Fort Nez Percés on July 22, 1828.

The 1828-1829 expedition departed from Black's post on September 22. It pushed farther south than any previous trip; trapping far up the upper Humboldt River (which Ogden discovered, and after whom it ought
to be renamed) in astonishing numbers, given its location in the desert of northern Nevada. Upon hearing of the death of one of his veteran men, Joseph Paul, Ogden laments the whole campaign by the Hudson's Bay Company to exhaust the country of beavers in order to discourage American interests or settlement: "This was a young man only 29 years of age, a steady man and a first-rate trapper. There remains now only one man living of all the Snake men of 1819 .... Indeed for a country so lately discovered it is almost incredible the numbers that have fallen in it ...." (p. 120). Human resources were being exhausted as quickly as the beaver was.

But Ogden was not done. After returning to Fort Nez Percés, he set out again on his last Snake Country expedition in the fall of 1829. No journal exists for this trip for it was lost when the brigade carrying Ogden's furs from Fort Nez Percés (where he had arrived back on June 30, 1830) upset in Les Dalles of the Columbia River on the way down to Fort Vancouver. On this expedition, Ogden again only passed through the Snake River district, its supply of beavers being no longer commercially profitable to trap. He penetrated south, down his Humboldt River, to the San Joachin Valley, again returning with a formidable number of pelts. Finally, Ogden was transferred, after prosecuting one of the most tenacious campaigns in the annals of the fur trade.

John Work's two Snake River expeditions of 1830-1831, and 1831-1832 proved only what Ogden had suspected--that returns could no longer match expenses incurred in outfitting Snake Country expeditions. The veteran Irish trader displays a similar disregard for the aesthetics of landscape as Ogden, occupied with trapping, Indian ambushes,
and averting starvation. The major significance of Work's journals is that of Ogden's, as described by David E. Miller and David H. Miller (1971): "... they provide a daily, detailed account of the actual field activities of large fur brigades" (p. xviii). But Work (1792-1861), who had joined the Hudson's Bay Company in the Severn district (Northern Ontario) in 1814, wrote even more circumstantially than Ogden, who at least considers the effect of travelling on his men.

The first Work expedition departed Fort Nez Percés on August 22, 1830, reached the Snake River Plain, and camped in the vicinity of Blackfoot Hill (modern Blackfoot, Idaho) from January to April 10, 1831. The record of the outward journey and return to Fort Nez Percés on July 18, 1831, was published as The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal, ed. Francis D. Haines Jr. (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1971). The second expedition left Fort Vancouver on August 18, 1831. Its route covered much of the region travelled by Alexander Ross in 1823-1824. One entry, under May 27, 1832, when Work was in the valley of the Salmon River, may stand as an example of how his perception of the country operated: "From the baldness of the road and the slipperiness of the snow, and horses sinking in it frequently, this was a fatiguing day both on horses and men. The valley appears of considerable extent, the hills on both sides of it partially clothed with pines, the plain below is clear of wood, along the banks of the river small stunted willows which are of too small a size to promise many beaver." (The Journal of John Work, a chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. during his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest, ed. William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips [Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1923], pp. 158-59.)
He sees what happened to his brigade, and he sees that the country "clear of wood" does not promise many beavers. Yet what he does describe—an open land with partially clothed hills—might well have been viewed as the makings for a parkland by an aesthetically more interested viewer, such as Ross. The rows of willows, for example, are precisely what Ross perceived in 1824 as the element in a Snake River landscape which appeared "as if planted by man" (see above, p. 443).

The record of Work's 1832-1833 expedition to California, the last large-scale enterprise mounted by the Hudson's Bay Company against American competitors, was published as The Fur Brigade to Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company, ed. Alice Maloney (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945).
Appendix D

Six works were published by non-travellers in 1858 to fill the demand for news on the gold rush territory. They represent varying degrees of accuracy. William Coutts Keppel, 7th Earl of Albemarle, was induced to pen "British Columbia and Vancouver's Island; by Beta Mikron," Fraser's Magazine, 58 (1858), 493-504, after hearing of the gold rush. Uninformed about his topic, he wrote only generally of the region. The following description of the upper Columbia River typifies both his ignorance of where gold had been discovered, and his dependence upon general aesthetic commentary in the face of such ignorance: "This magnificent stream winds among the mountain gorges towards the south, watering a picturesque country" (494).

R. M. Ballantyne, who had never been farther west than Lake Winnipeg, edited Handbook to the New Gold Fields: a full Account of the Richness and Extent of the Fraser and Thompson River Gold Mines, with a Geographical and Physical Account of the Country and Its Inhabitants, Routes, Etc., Etc. (Edinburgh: Alex Strahan, 1858), claiming for the work "no merit but that of careful collation. Little information is given but what is derived from sources of general access" (p. 4). It is Ballantyne who cites the Times correspondent (June 17, 1858) respecting the Fraser River valley being "'one continuous gold bed'" (p. 15). Ballantyne also cites Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Ross Cox, John Dunn, Pierre Jean de Smet, and other sources, none of which provide first-
hand accounts of the gold district. Ballantyne's tendency toward the glowing account, if not outright bombast, is as apparent in his editing as it is in his own writing (Hudson's Bay).

*British Columbia and Vancouver's Island. A complete handbook, replete with the latest information concerning the newly-discovered gold fields* (London: William Penny, 1858) is an anonymously gathered compendium of reports by Britons who had at least visited Vancouver Island, but who had had no personal experience in the gold fields. A similar compendium was assembled by John Dower, and entitled *New British Gold Fields. A Guide to British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London: William Henry Angel, [1858]).

William Carew Hazlitt assembled an impressive array of information in *British Columbia and Vancouver Island; comprising a Historical Sketch of the British Settlements in the North-West Coast of America; and a Survey of the Physical Character, Capabilities, Climate, Topography, Natural History, Geology, and Ethnology of that Region; compiled from Official and other Authentic Sources* (London and New York: G. Routledge & Co., 1858); facs. rpt. (New York: Johnson Rpt. Corp.; East Ardsley, Eng.: S. R. Publishers, 1966). Hazlitt employs George Vancouver's alluring description of Protection Island to depict Juan de Fuca Strait (p. 44), but he is more careful in his description of Vancouver Island. After quoting Grant's "hopeless elongation of visage" passage, he proceeds as follows: "From these regions [the interior of Vancouver Island], which are wild without being romantic, and which, from the absence of any bold outline, never approach to the sublime or
the beautiful, the traveller loves. to descend to the smiling tracts, which are occasionally to be met with on the sea-coast. In one of these Victoria is situated, and it is from a visit to it and its neighbour-
hood, that tourists deduce their favourable ideas of the general nature of the island" (pp. 156-57). Such a description demonstrates shrewd collation on Hazlitt's part, although his aesthetic distinctions necessarily betray an insouciance based on lack of first-hand experience.

Hazlitt quotes the Times correspondent for August 27, 1858, for an account of Juan de Fuca Strait, Esquimalt, and Victoria and its environs. Of this last, Hazlitt cites the following passage: "The scenery of the inland country round Victoria is a mixture of English and Scotch. Where the pine (they are all "Douglas" pines) prevails you have the good soil broken into patches by thecroppings of rock, producing ferns, rye grass, and some thistles, but very few. This is the Scottish side of the picture. Then you come to the oak region; and here you have clumps, open glades, rows, single trees of umbrageous form, presenting an exact copy of English park scenery. There is no running water, unfortunately, but the meadows and little prairies that lie ensconced within the woods show no signs of suffering from lack of water. The nights bring heavy dews, and there are occasional rains, which keep them fresh and green. I am told that in September rains fall which renew the face of nature so suddenly, that it assumes the garb of spring, the flowers even coming out. The winter is a little cold, but never severe. I have heard it complained of as being wet and muggy. Frost and snow fall, but do not endure long" (p. 206). The picture created is largely positive. Again, for want of information, emphasis is placed less on the Fraser River valley than on Victoria and the
Pacific coast. Thus, of all the 1858 publications and notwithstanding some of their titles, little information could be gleaned by the Briton interested in the gold district.

In 1859, Alexander Morris, a confederationist, delivered a lecture to the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal and, later, to the Mechanics' Institute of Hemmingford, Canada East, which he published as *The Hudson's Bay and Pacific Territories. A Lecture* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1859). Morris based his lecture on Sir George Simpson's *Narrative*, on the back of which he works his rhetorical way to the Pacific Ocean, where he quotes Edward Ellice's opinion that, "'From all accounts we have of it [Vancouver Island], it is a kind of England attached to America'" (p. 26). He confidently predicts the association of all British North American colonies: "The language of England goes from Halifax to Vancouver's Island: the institutions of England will reach thence as far as habitable land goes, even to the poles, and we shall have such a dominion as the world ever saw!" (pp. 56-7).

Three years later (1862), Alfred John Langley (1820-1896) wrote *A Glance at British Columbia and Vancouver's Island in 1861* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1862). He bases much of the Vancouver Island assessment on remarks made by Dr. James Evans, the Wesleyan Methodist minister stationed at Victoria in 1861 after years at Rossville, near Norway House, where Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle met him in 1840. Evans declares that some of Victoria's shops "would not disgrace Regent Street" (p. 16). He asserts that: "There are delightful walks and rides in every direction from town: a day can be spent very pleasantly in
rambling over Mount Douglas, which is about eight miles off; to obtain
a view from its summit is well worth a little fatigue. The lakes, at
four and seven miles distance, are pretty and interesting; an arm of
the harbour extending to Esquimalt, divided only by an isthmus of
trifling width, is a favourite resort for boating pic-nic parties,
which are popular during the summer months, and when the berries are
ripe. This arm, narrowing at one point to a few yards, causing rapids,
widening at others into lake-like sheets, with its numerous islands and
banks covered with woods, and its shoals with oysters, is very attrac-
tive" (p. 17). Beyond this pastoral glimpse of Victoria society en-
joying the landscape, Langley's work is not informative: far less in-
formation, even in 1862, is available concerning British Columbia,
though Langley includes that colony in his title. He contents himself
with descriptions of the two routes to Lillooet, calling Harrison Lake
"equal to Como" (p. 26).

An anonymous Guide Book for British Columbia. The Wonders of the
Gold Diggings of British Columbia, by a successful Digger, who has made
his Fortune there, and advises others to go and make theirs (London:
Dean & Son, [1862]) was published in the same year, and stands as the
most romantic account written by non-visitors (despite the title). For
example, British Columbia is described initially as follows: "This coun-
try, or as The Times said the other day, this new garden of Eden, Land
of Promise, or El Dorado, is said to have been discovered by the Span-
iards in the 15th century." (p. 4). The west coast of the mainland
is, astonishingly, described as, "peculiarly well adapted for agricul-
tural operations" (p. 6). As far as gold mining is concerned, "The
truth is the gold is so plentiful and so easy to get at that even children could do just as well as adults" (p. 16), and "any person who knows how to turn up an onion bed will be able to turn up a gold bed in British Columbia... As to finding it, why a week's practice will tell you what soil is rich in gold or not, and you will find the nuggets as easy as picking up stones in your schooldays" (p. 24).

Another anonymous account was published in 1862, entitled The Handbook of British Columbia, and Emigrant's Guide to the Gold Fields, with Map and two Illustrations, from Photographs by M. Claudet (London: W. Oliver, [1862?]). And a third account offers another series of glowing reports on gold mining, though none on landscape. It includes the unique prescription for mosquito-induced fever which questions whether the author quite appreciated his audience: "Champagne is the greatest enemy of yellow fever, and if you can afford to take half a dozen, do so, but it must be of good quality." (The New Gold Fields of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island [London: pr. by P. Grant and Co., 1862], p. 23.)

William Carew Hazlitt updated his first compendium in 1862, retitling it The Great Gold Fields of Cariboo; with an authentic Description, brought down to the latest period, of British Columbia and Vancouver Island (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1862); rpt., frwd. Barry M. Gough (Victoria: Klanak, 1974). Although Hazlitt claims that his 1862 effort is "virtually a new book" (1862, p. iv), it merely extends its field of inquiry to include remarks by others of the Bute Inlet region, and the Fort St. James region, the account of which comes.
from John McLean's Notes.

In 1864, Reverend George Rowe included chapters on British Columbia (whose contents were based largely on Bishop George Hills's letters and reports) in The Colonial Empire of Great Britain, considered chiefly with reference to its physical Geography and Industrial Productions (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1864?]).

Also in 1864, J. H. Fyfe attempted to satisfy the curiosity of Ontarians about British Columbia in his article based largely upon William Colquhoun Grant's 185 [report, and entitled "Vancouver Island [and British Columbia]," in The Fifth Book of Reading Lessons, Canadian Series of School Books, authorized by the Council of Public Instruction for Ontario (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1868).
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