/WATERCOLOUR AND LANDSCAPE IN EARLY CANADA/

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ABSTRACT

This thesis in the form of an exhibition catalogue is an examination of the style and technique of watercolour artists working in Canada in the period from 1750 to 1850, a time when the land was being extensively explored and recorded by the British. The Introduction to the catalogue presents the wider context of the history and development of both watercolour technique and landscape painting in Britain. It describes the phenomenon of the artistic "amateur" and the philosophical and aesthetic theories that shaped his perceptions of the landscape.

The catalogue features forty-four works in watercolour by seven different amateur artists. There is a brief biography of each artist with a focus on his stay in Canada. The catalogue entries give detailed analyses of the paintings, with particular emphasis on the artists' style, painting techniques, and the influences on them. These specific analyses show an evolution from the tinted drawing technique to a more painterly use of the medium, and from the rococo and neoclassical visions of the eighteenth century to the more direct, Romantic approach to painting the landscape that was characteristic of the nineteenth century. Attention is also paid to those occasions when the painters departed from the conventions of the period and responded visually in unique, personal ways to the Canadian landscape.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
List of Figures	v
Preface	1
Introduction	
I. The Artists	4
II. Materials and Methods of Watercolour	8
III. Origin and Development of Watercolour	15
IV. Landscape and Art	23
V. The Canadian Experience	33
Notes to the Introduction	36
Figures	40
List of Catalogue Entries	53
Explanatory Notes to the Catalogue	56
Abbreviations	57
References	58
Catalogue	
Thomas Davies	64
James Peachey	93
George Heriot	109
Charles R. Forrest	138
John E. Woolford	185
George Back	246
Henry James Warre	257

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Fig. 1. Watercolour "pencils".	40
2. Wenceslaus Hollar. <u>The Tower of London.</u>	40
3. Francis Place. <u>Peterborough House Lambeth and the Strand as they appeared from Mill Bank A, 1683.</u>	41
4. George Edwards. <u>The Cock Sparrow.</u>	41
5. Paul Sandby. <u>South Prospect of Leith, 1749</u>	42
6. Michael Angelo Rooker. <u>The Interior of the ruins of Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire, c.1785.</u>	43
7. Thomas Girtin. <u>Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire: Evening.</u>	44
8. John Sell Cotman. <u>Sarcophagus in a Park.</u>	45
9. J.M.W. Turner. <u>Kew Bridge, c.1806-07.</u>	46
10. Salvator Rosa. <u>Landscape with Tobias and the Angel.</u>	47
11. Claude Lorrain. <u>Landscape: Hagar and the Angel, 1646.</u>	47
12. Claude Lorrain. <u>Tree Trunks in the Campagna, c.1638-41.</u>	47
13. Richard Wilson. <u>Holt Bridge on the River Dee.</u>	48
14. William Gilpin. Illustrations from <u>Three Essays (1792).</u>	49
15. John Varley. <u>View of Snowdon across Llyn Padarn, 1813.</u>	50
16. George Bulteel Fisher. <u>Fall of Montmorency, 1795-96.</u>	51

PREFACE

From the time of the British Conquest to the modern day, artists working in Canada have been preoccupied with depicting the physical landscape. This was particularly true from 1750 to 1850 when the land was being extensively explored and recorded by the British. Much of the recording was pictorial and done in watercolour, the medium which became a national art form in Britain during this period. It was also in this early period that the art of landscape painting developed from a utilitarian or pragmatic pursuit into the primarily aesthetic concern that still dominates Canadian art.

This early chapter in the evolution of landscape painting in Canada is inextricably linked to developments in the use of watercolour in Britain. For the first time, a whole school of artists working solely in that medium came into existence and the result, by the end of the eighteenth century, was a uniquely British school of art, with landscape as its subject matter. It is important to examine the early Canadian landscapes in watercolour in the light of the British watercolour tradition as it evolved in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The links are of style and technique, and of philosophy or attitude towards the visible world. But no less interesting

are the departures from the mainstream of development in Britain - the occasions when painters responded directly to the Canadian scene and discarded some of the artistic conventions that affected the way they looked at the world and organized their visual impressions.

The purpose of this thesis is to bring together, to examine and to compare the landscape paintings in watercolour of some of the most talented artists who worked in Canada in the British colonial period up to 1850. They were primarily topographical artists, employed to make accurate records of specific places. The camera had not yet usurped their function nor caused, by its challenge, dramatic changes in the goals and techniques of landscape painters. This survey will concentrate on the works of the following artists:

Thomas Davies, c.1737-1812

James Peachey, act.1773-1797

George Heriot, 1759-1839

Charles R. Forrest, act.1780-c.1827

John E. Woolford, 1778-1866

George Back, 1796-1878

Henry Warre, 1819-1898

The biographical and artistic treatment of Woolford and Forrest will be somewhat more comprehensive than that of the others since my work is an introductory study of them. There will be an attempt to trace the sources of the artists' styles of painting.

Such a study must involve the various pragmatic, philosophical and aesthetic considerations that shaped the artists' perceptions of the landscape and influenced their selection of pictorial conventions as well as the actual methods by which they recorded the visual world. Changes in the technique of watercolour and the way in which landscape was interpreted will be documented throughout.

INTRODUCTION

I. The Artists

All but one (J.E. Woolford) of the artists to be considered in this exhibition were amateurs in the sense that they did not attempt to maintain themselves financially through their art. Of these, only George Heriot did not become an officer in the British Army or Navy. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the officer corps was composed of British gentlemen who were wealthy enough to buy commissions or who had entered the Royal Engineers after graduation from one of the military academies. This was a period in which the military rolls were kept high to satisfy Britain's need for manpower to protect its colonial interests, particularly in North America, India and the Caribbean. Wolfe's victory over Montcalm at Quebec in September, 1759 and the surrender of Montreal in the following year marked the end of a long struggle with France for possession of its North American territories. The War of the American Revolution ended in 1783 only after years of military action, and war with France persisted from 1793 to 1815 with a brief one-year respite as a result of the Peace of Amiens.

In Canada military garrisons were established at strategic points along the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

This military presence was maintained for about one hundred years, officially until Confederation in 1867. However, the numbers of military personnel had been substantially reduced by mid-century as civil and parliamentary authority grew in the colonies. By 1850, the influence of visiting British watercolourists was all but negligible.

The proliferation of military artists in this period can also be attributed to the training in draughtsmanship that was a part of the course of study at British military academies. Maps and detailed topographical drawings of terrain and shorelines had to be available to regiment commanders to facilitate effective mobility and manoeuvres. The engineers and gunners were the first to set up a regulated military training establishment at Woolwich, near London, and in 1743 the first professional artist was hired to teach drawing. In 1786 the Woolwich Academy engaged as Drawing Master Paul Sandby, the first native British professional artist to work consistently in watercolour. He was an important influence in the establishment of a British school of artists and those cadets under Sandby's tutelage, and that of his son Thomas after 1796, were fortunate to have been instructed by an artist of such stature. Other military colleges were established at Marlow and Sandhurst at the turn of the nineteenth century, and they also employed well-known artists such as William Alexander and David Cox to teach topographical draughtsmanship. Given such excellent training, it is not surprising that the officers of the Royal Engineers and the Royal Artillery were noted for their skill

in topographical landscape painting.

Although watercolours were often executed with utilitarian considerations by the military officers, it is evident that many of those produced by the best artists were purely aesthetic in intent. In the eighteenth century, the word "amateur" meant "one who loves, is fond of, or has a taste for, anything" or "one who cultivates anything as a pastime".¹ For these amateurs, their art was born of a creative compulsion linked to their love for seeking out landscape "views". Too much emphasis is often placed upon the functional aspect of topographical watercolours and not enough upon the aesthetic awareness of a surprising number of the amateur artists. It is hoped that this imbalance will here be rectified.

The period from 1750 to 1850 can be considered an "age of the amateur". Well-to-do British gentlemen and gentlewomen with much leisure time were not expected to paint or draw for pecuniary gain but such artistic activities were considered fashionable hobbies for the cultured members of their class. Collecting drawings and engravings became very popular, and art was a subject upon which educated persons were expected to offer opinion. Professional artists were no longer isolated figures, but were often the close friends of artistic amateurs. There developed an information network by which new ideas and techniques were quickly and widely disseminated among amateurs, artists and patrons.²

In the mid-eighteenth century the task of grinding pigments by hand and preparing them for use made painting prohibitively difficult for all but the professional artist. But in the later years of the century a new manufacturer-merchant, the colourman, emerged to take the preparation of paints out of the hands of the artists. There were many technical developments which made watercolour paints easier to use, portable and readily available, making the medium of watercolour conducive to use by the amateur painter.

Also of importance in encouraging the amateur artist was an ever-increasing number of illustrated instruction manuals which taught the basics of drawing and painting through progressive lessons.³ These manuals were often written and illustrated by leading artists of the day and one of the most influential was David Cox's A Treatise on Landscape Painting and Effect in Watercolours (first published in 1813). Cox and other artists also sold drawings to dealers who then sold them to drawing masters for pupils to copy. This gave the amateur a chance to see original watercolours of quality, thus encouraging a high standard in their own work.

After 1800 there was a rapid increase in the number of exhibiting societies, such as The Old Watercolour Society, which were formed to promote the work of its artist-members. Public exhibitions had earlier been a prerogative mainly of oil painters. They became important opportunities for amateurs to see original

watercolours and, to some degree, to keep up with technical developments in the art form.⁴

Perhaps most important of all in encouraging the amateur was a new subject matter with popular appeal - landscape. In the eighteenth century, landscape came to be appreciated for itself and not just as the background of a painting. This development will later be examined in detail, but it can be said in this context that there evolved a mania for seeking out "beautiful", "sublime" or "picturesque" views in nature and sketching these in watercolour. Apart from their visual appeal, real scenes were easier for the amateur to paint or draw than figures and complex mythological or allegorical "history" works.

II. Materials and Methods of Watercolour

Watercolour can be defined as those painting techniques in which pigment particles, mixed with gum arabic, are suspended in water and applied to paper or other support with a brush. Water is the medium for watercolour as oil is for oil paints. Gum arabic keeps the paint particles uniformly dispersed in the water and also acts as a binder, sticking the paint to the support.⁵

There are two kinds of watercolour technique, one using body-colour (also called gouache) and one using 'pure' watercolour. In body-colour white pigment, made of heavy mineral particles

(zinc oxide), is added to the paint making it less liquid and more opaque. This technique has a long history, reaching back to medieval manuscript illustration and to miniatures painted on vellum or ivory. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century pure watercolour was used extensively in Britain and North America. No white was added, thereby allowing light to pass through the paint and to be reflected back from the white surface of the paper. This gave a transparent effect and a luminous brilliance that was very congenial to reproduction of the light-filled skies and layers of intervening atmosphere in landscape paintings. All the artists represented in this catalogue used pure watercolour.

Application of pure watercolour, as it was used in the eighteenth century, consisted of superimposing thin washes of colour on paper, letting each dry before the next was applied, and working from light to dark. This is called 'glazing' in oil painting and the watercolour method was described by the eighteenth-century watercolourist, Edward Dayes:

"In working up a drawing, if a richness of colour is wanted, it will be necessary to repeat it two or three times, or indeed as often as necessary; this will give a depth and richness, that never can be obtained by a single color. This is what the artist calls glazing, and can only be got by practice;" ⁶

The opposite technique of putting opaque light colours over dark (the main method of oil painting) is called 'scumbling' and is used in body-colour. By the 1820's artists such as John Woolford were trying to emulate in watercolour the rich effects

of oil paintings and began putting opaque colours (particularly yellow) over dark. Another device used by Woolford and others was the addition of extra gum arabic to colours to increase their strength and give a gloss to the paint.⁷

The study of watercolour painting in the period from 1750 to 1850 is very much a study of the changing methods of applying pigment to paper as artists' attitudes toward landscape and the medium of watercolour changed. The earliest eighteenth-century works were tinted with one or a series of thin, flat washes and were called 'tinted' or 'stained' drawings. The washes were governed by a careful underdrawing, usually of pencil, and outlines of forms were accentuated by pen and Indian ink. The next development was the use of "dead colouring", an initial wash of Indian ink diluted to varying intensities of grey for all the shadows and darker areas.⁸ Tints of colour were then put over this monochrome underpainting, and the effect was more tonal, or three-dimensional, because of the greater light/dark contrast. This was the technique used by James Peachey. Artists soon realized that a livelier effect could be obtained by mixing a 'broken' grey or 'neutral tint' from various red and blue pigments, sometimes with black added. In the late eighteenth century, the neutral tint was separated into warm and cool hues. Skies were shaded with various blues, and land was done mainly in browns and yellows, shaded with blue (eg. Heriot).⁹ In the nineteenth century, watercolour became increasingly a matter

of applying colours directly and spontaneously to the paper, in the same way that oils were applied to canvas. This is evident in the watercolour sketches of John Woolford, George Back and Henry Warre. Outlines were not emphasized in order to create the effects of softness, breadth and atmosphere, qualities that were typical of landscape in the Romantic period.

The evolution of watercolour technique and the growing popularity of watercolour painting can be linked to developments in the materials of watercolour. From the 1750's to the 1770's artists ground their own colours by hand with a muller on a stone or glass slab. This difficult process was no longer necessary after 1780 when William Reeves invented dry-cake colours.¹⁰

Watercolour became much more accessible to amateur artists since they had only to dip the cakes in water and rub them on a china palette or saucer. Another development in the 1780's which increased considerably the use of watercolour was the manufacture of wove watercolour paper by James Whatman.¹¹ Wove paper was smoother than the earlier laid paper, allowing washes to be applied more evenly and permitting finer detailing.

In pure watercolour there is no method, as there is in oil painting, of making a dark colour lighter by covering it with light paint. Any light colour put over a dark colour will merely make that dark colour darker by decreasing transparency. At first, watercolour artists had to take care to reserve the areas of paper that would become highlights or light spots in

their work. But as watercolour methods changed from precision to spontaneity towards the end of the eighteenth century, artists experimented with less inhibiting ways of allowing the white paper to show. They learned to recover the paper by removing paint, or 'wiping out' light areas. A brush full of clean water would be gently washed over the section of paint that the artist wished to alter. He then pressed a clean rag to the moistened area and the paint would be blotted away. The earliest watercolour known to art historian Martin Hardie showing use of this technique is dated 1777.¹² However, close examination reveals that Thomas Davies used this method to get subtle effects of smoke or of mist rising from a waterfall in several of his paintings dated before 1777 (see Nos. 3 and 4).

To facilitate such wash reduction methods, technical advances were made in the manufacture of watercolour paper. It had been necessary from the beginning to coat watercolour paper with a non-absorptive substance, called sizing, to prevent the paint from sinking into the paper. From 1764 to the end of the eighteenth century paper was sized with gelatin, which formed only a weak skin and did not stand up well to surface abrasion.¹³ Thomas Davies and other earlier experimenters would have blotted their paint very carefully to achieve its partial removal. To withstand more violent methods of reducing washes, such as scrubbing to remove all of the paint or scraping with a sharp instrument, paper needed to be sized with a harder substance.¹⁴ Whatman accomplished this at the end of the eighteenth century.

By the first decade of the nineteenth century, British artist J.M.W. Turner had demonstrated the creative possibilities of such reductive techniques for watercolour and the scrubbing and scraping of applied paint soon became standard practice.¹⁵ It allowed watercolour artists more spontaneity of execution and also allowed them to work from dark to light as in oil painting.

More improvements came in the 1830's when moist colours in porcelain pans were introduced. By adding glycerin, English colourmen made paints easier to 'wash up' into a liquid state. In 1846 Winsor and Newton came out with watercolours in metal tubes. These were moister than the paint in pans and could be squeezed out and used at full saturation. New compounds of chromium, cadmium, strontium and barium, along with improved cobalt, zinc and synthetic iron mixtures were also developed in this period to give the artists brilliant new colours.¹⁶ All of these improvements allowed watercolour artists to compete with the greater intensity of oil paints. In 1834 a Chinese White (zinc oxide) was marketed which had much improved handling properties from earlier whites, and by mid-century British artists were increasingly using the body-colour technique.

Watercolour washes were applied to paper with special brushes, known as 'pencils' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This term denoted any artist's brush capable of delicate effects and a fine line.¹⁷ Whereas the traditional brush of oil painters had stiff hairs of equal length and a broad tip, the

watercolour brush was of soft, fine hair, was round, and came to a thin point. It was required to hold a large amount of liquid but have a small outlet for this fluid. Before the twentieth century, brown sable (from the Asiatic marten) was considered the best hair for watercolour brushes. A cheaper alternative was camel hair, actually the long hairs from the tail of the Russian squirrel.¹⁸ The hairs were set in a bird's quill and sized by the quill's source. One of the smallest was a Crow and the largest generally available was a Large Swan (Fig. 1). These quill brushes were lighter and more delicately responsive than the later metal-bound sables with fixed handles. Flat sables, known as brushes and not pencils, were introduced in the mid-nineteenth century. These allowed a more robust and varied stroke similar to that of the oil painter.¹⁹

It can be assumed that watercolour supplies were brought to British North America by the artists, but a research survey of early newspapers reveals that art materials were imported and sold in dry goods shops or at "the printing office".²⁰ The first advertisement noted in this research appears in the Gazette de Quebec issue of May 8, 1783 and mentions paint shells (usually oyster, in which liquid washes were originally stored), camel-hair pencils, paints and prints. In 1785 "Reeves' watercolours" are first specified, and on June 12, 1794, "boxes of Reeves' original Cake colours" with a list of colours are advertised. However, these advertisements appear quite

infrequently, and they do not mention the more expensive items such as sable brushes or Whatman paper that were used by many of the artists in this catalogue. There are no notices for domestically-made products. One must assume that the 'gentlemen' artists working in Canada in the late eighteenth century brought supplies with them or had them sent from England to assure their quality.

III. Origin and Development of Watercolour Technique

A history of the development of watercolour begins with illustration of manuscripts by medieval monks. Pure or transparent watercolour was used by them until the beginning of the fourteenth century when there was a shift to the use of body-colour.²¹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries watercolour was in common use in Holland, Flanders and Germany for the tinting of drawings. The first master of the transparent wash technique was Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), who developed a method of shading which anticipated nineteenth-century artists such as Thomas Girtin and John Sell Cotman:

Be careful that thou shade each colour with a similar colour. Thus I hold that a yellow, to retain its kind, must be shaded with a yellow, darker toned than the principal colour. If thou shade it with green or blue, it remaineth no longer in keeping but becometh thereby a shot colour, like the colour of silk stuffs woven of threads of two colours Happen what may, every colour must in shading keep to its own class.²²

In sixteenth-century England watercolour was used primarily by the painters of miniature portraits, the most notable being Nicholas Hilliard (c.1547-1619) and Isaac Oliver (before 1568-1617). This art of applying watercolour to vellum (often stiffened by being laid on playing cards) or ivory was called 'limning' and continued in use until the late eighteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth century watercolour was also being used sporadically for other purposes, particularly for miniature-like studies of plants and flowers such as those by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (d.1588).²³ John White (act.1577-1590) was the first Englishman to paint the exotic natives and scenery of North America when he accompanied the expeditions in 1585, 1587 and 1590 to found the first English colonies in the New World (now Virginia and Florida).

The German and Dutch method of washing pen drawings with thin tints of colour was introduced into England by Prague-born Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), who settled in London in 1636.²⁴ In his many prints, drawings and watercolours he used the Dutch convention of the bird's-eye view of a town or city and the horizontal, panoramic arrangement of his subjects became characteristic of the English school (Fig. 2). The long, narrow format was used in Canadian watercolours by George Heriot and Charles Forrest. Martin Hardie saw in Hollar's work "the beginnings of the unbroken tradition of English topographical drawing, the close record of architecture and landscape, which

was to be a central feature of eighteenth-century art".²⁵

Hollar had an important influence on the British amateur artist Francis Place (1647-1728), who followed Hollar and the artists of the Low Countries in his style and choice of subject. Place drew views of low-lying towns fronted by river or sea and often wrote the names of places on sky or water in neat script (Fig. 3). He used shadow tints of sepia or ink but did not superimpose large washes of colour over them in the manner of later topographers. Instead, the shadows were left uncoloured and paint was added elsewhere in separate touches.²⁶

Watercolour was used only sporadically in early eighteenth-century England but an increased interest in taking 'views', particularly of newly-enlarged country estates, resulted in technical advances in the use of the medium. William Tavener (1703-1772) is believed to have been the first systematic painter of landscapes in pure watercolour.²⁷ He painted grey or sepia monochromes that were tinted with warm pinks and buffs. Accents of black ink on foreground foliage and figures were probably added last. The wash technique, or 'stained drawing', reached full development before 1758 in the work of Jonathan Skelton (c.1735-1759). Transparent washes were applied over a shading of Indian ink to give the luminous beauty typical of eighteenth-century watercolours.

Another use of watercolour in Britain in this period should be mentioned for its relationship to the work of Thomas

Davies. Ornithologists such as George Edwards (1694-1773) began to use watercolour to depict their stuffed bird specimens. The paintings were meticulously detailed, the colouring was rich, and the medium was usually body-colour (Fig. 4). Davies' many paintings of birds in this style seem to have influenced his unique landscape watercolours, which were characterized by the same strong colouring and detail. Edwards executed six hundred bird paintings which were engraved and published in seven volumes between 1743 and 1764. Their general design often included a bird perched on a broken tree trunk that was much smaller in scale than the bird itself. Hardie points out the distinct influence on Edwards of the chinoiserie (or Chinese) decoration that was very popular in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century.²⁸ Edwards' bird and tree trunk designs were likely adopted from a similar motif that was recurrent in Chinese decorative patterns.

By 1750 the subject matter of topography had been established by artists working in pure watercolour, and the 'tinted' or 'stained' technique had been developed. The pivotal figure in the establishment of a British watercolour school was Paul Sandby (1730-1809). As Hardie explains, it was Sandby who

established and nationalized an art which, up till his time, had some foreign elements in it, and it was due largely to his influence that watercolour, hitherto regarded by artists themselves merely as a useful method of making studies of oil-paintings or as a pleasant recreation, was raised to an **independent** status as being in itself an end worthy of serious consideration.²⁹

In 1760 Sandby moved to London from Windsor Castle where

he had been engaged by the Royal family for ten years. He soon drew around him a circle of friends comprising the most distinguished artists and amateurs of the day. In the next few years associations of artists were formed with the purpose of organizing public exhibitions of their work. These efforts culminated in the founding of the Royal Academy in 1768, and Sandby was one of the original members.

The exhibitions of these associations in the 1760's, and those of the Royal Academy subsequently, brought about a new status and new prospects for watercolour art. Previously, most topographical artists had worked for publishers of engravings and the colours they used were of necessity few and simple. Public exhibitions provided the opportunity to display original work to new patrons. No longer restricted by the engraver's requirements, they enjoyed greater freedom in technique and use of colour. The next one hundred years in the history of British watercolour painting was marked by the attempts of artists to create works that could compete with oil paintings on exhibition walls. The resulting changes involved stronger colouring, increased size and presentation within heavy, gilt frames. Sandby's response in the later years of his career was to paint large, idealized landscapes in body-colour for exhibition, while still using transparent colours for his topographical and more personal drawings.

In 1768 Sandby was appointed Chief Drawing Master at the

Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, a post which he held until 1796 when he was succeeded by his son Thomas Paul. He also had many private pupils from the most prominent families of the day and was chosen by George III to be drawing master to the young princes.

Apart from encouraging a new professionalism in the art of watercolour, Sandby made the important contribution of introducing aquatint engraving in Britain.³⁰ After learning the secret of the process from one of his patrons, he modified it somewhat for his own use.³¹ Aquatint is an etching process that is tonal instead of linear. Areas of varying degrees of light and dark define forms rather than cross-hatched lines as in line engraving. The effect is much softer and more atmospheric, providing an ideal means of reproducing watercolour paintings. The aquatint process gave a further impetus to watercolour artists and the publishers of topographical prints, and Hardie speculates that it helped lead to the broader watercolour style that evolved in the late eighteenth century, with bolder light and shade and freer trees and skies.³²

Sandby's watercolour technique in his topographical paintings was not innovative. He used pen outlines and Indian ink for shadows, with colours added to the monochrome underpainting. His palette was limited (ivory, black, indigo, burnt sienna and yellow ochre) but, as A.P. Oppé points out in his definitive catalogue of the Sandby brothers' works at Windsor

Castle, Sandby used infinite gradations of colour, not just broad, flat washes over a drawing. Oppé also notes that in the best of Sandby's drawings the greys do not show as a uniform shadow tint, but are varied with blue and pink to harmonize with the general colour scheme.³³ This looks forward to artists who used colours for shadows rather than an unvaried grey 'dead colouring'. Sandby's skilled use of perspective surpassed the traditional bird's-eye view and gave his landscape a new degree of naturalism. Precise, mathematical recession gave his renderings of architecture the appearance of realistic construction, and the tonal values of his landscape views were managed in an exact sequence from foreground to distance, making him a master of atmospheric perspective (Fig. 5). Thus, although Sandby was not an innovator regarding technique, his watercolours are "a consummate welding of intimate observation with complete mastery of a perfected convention,"³⁴ and as such, they became important vehicles of dissemination. His influence can be detected in many eighteenth-century Canadian works, particularly those by James Peachey and George Heriot.

Sandby remained active to the end of his life, but by the 1790's his work was out-of-date and buyers were few. An important advance in watercolour technique was made by Sandby's pupil, Michael 'Angelo' Rooker (1743-1801), who made a fuller and less conventional use of colour (Fig. 6). His grey underpainting was of different tints and his local colours were broken to show the

irregularities and reflections of separate objects.³⁵ Before the end of the eighteenth century, the tinted method was being superseded as further innovations by John Robert Cozens (1752-1799), Thomas Girtin (1775-1802), J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) and John Sell Cotman (1782-1842) became known. It was no longer the general practice to use a neutral tint indiscriminately for all shadows. Artists such as Girtin (Fig. 7) and Cotman (Fig. 8) began to realize that shadows varied in colour depending upon the material of objects and the degree of intervening atmosphere between observer and objects.³⁶ Instead of always putting warm colours (eg. browns and yellows) over cold (eg. blues and greys), cold tones were painted over warm. Watercolour 'drawings' became watercolour 'paintings' in the early nineteenth century as the precise, linear approach (i.e. penlines and unbroken washes) changed to a looser use of colour dropped from a full brush in spots, strokes and patches (Fig. 9). These changes in the use of watercolour coincided with a change in the attitudes of artists toward landscape. Rather than just trying to record the external face of nature, artists in the early nineteenth century, or the 'Romantic' period, tried to express the mood of the landscape or the emotion with which their subject inspired them. Such shifts in approach to the natural landscape were characteristic of the period from 1750 to 1850 and will be examined next.

IV. Landscape and Art

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, landscape as an independent genre did not exist in British art. It had been used as the setting for narrative scenes and portraits, but never as a subject in its own right. By the end of the seventeenth century there was a vogue for topographical scenes - for portraits of specific places - which intensified in the eighteenth century and overtook all other subject matter in the early nineteenth century. The use of landscape by artists, and how it was depicted, related directly to attitudes toward natural scenery and to philosophical ideas of the day, particularly in the newly-formalized branch of thought, aesthetics.

Identification and analysis of desirable aesthetic qualities in art was rampant in the eighteenth century. In this 'Age of Enlightenment', all cultured persons were expected to have opinions on the subject. Tastes in landscape art were influenced by the writings of such men of letters as the Earl of Shaftesbury, Joseph Addison, Edmund Burke, Archibald Alison, William Gilpin, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. Artists such as Jonathan Richardson, William Hogarth and Sir Joshua Reynolds also published influential essays and lectures. Even gardeners and poets contributed their insights to the growing body of literature and opinion. However, in the nineteenth century the intellectualism and theory-making of the previous century was replaced by a new faith in intuition, imagination

and spiritualism. Instinct was relied upon to reveal artistic truth. The evolution in the taste for landscape in art in the period 1750 to 1850 is complex at the very least, but it is possible to identify certain ideological trends which influenced, or were reflected in, the landscape art of that time.

The underlying belief of the eighteenth century was that knowledge was the route to happiness. Western thought was dominated by Isaac Newton and John Locke who demonstrated the separation of the human mind from nature and attempted the analysis of data revealed through experience.³⁷ Newton discovered differential calculus and was able to achieve a new precision by applying mathematics to natural phenomena. Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) was a study of the powers and limits of human understanding (metaphysics) and was based on the view that all knowledge derived from the senses and reflection. His aim was "to make an exact analysis of the objects of the mind [so] that all things can be conceived with the greatest possible exactness and precision".³⁸ This emphasis on experience as the basis of all knowledge is called empiricism.

One important result of the eighteenth-century search for knowledge in Britain was the love of travel and exploration. It was essential that a gentleman's education be rounded out by a

trip to the continent, particularly to Italy because of the enormous interest in classical antiquity and scholarship at that time. From the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 until continental Europe was again closed off at the end of the eighteenth century, the Grand Tour was routine. Paintings, drawings and prints were brought back to England in great quantities, often to remind travellers of the Italian scenery they had admired while abroad. Italian Renaissance artists, particularly Raphael and Michelangelo, were eulogized by Jonathan Richardson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, but it was the seventeenth-century artists Claude Lorrain, Nicholas Poussin, Gaspard Dughet (Poussin) and Salvator Rosa who were the most revered landscape artists among the connoisseurs, the 'men of taste' who were so influential in the eighteenth century.

Two of these connoisseurs precipitated a revolution in taste in gardening that was linked to an admiration of Italian scenery.³⁹ In a series of essays about gardening, beginning in 1710, Joseph Addison established a vogue in popular taste for the free, open prospect instead of the walled-in, geometric and symmetrical schemes that had been influenced by Versailles. He suggested that the whole estate be turned into "a kind of garden" that could be regarded as a natural landscape. He suggested the paintings of Claude as models and wrote: "We find the Works of Nature still more pleasing the more they resemble those of art."⁴⁰

The philosophy of the Earl of Shaftesbury, first expressed

in 1709, was in praise of nature and referred to "the Passion growing in me for Things of a natural kind".⁴¹ He was willing to accept the physical environment, even in its more irregular and wild forms. Elizabeth Manwaring saw in this new view the influence of the paintings of Salvator Rosa (Fig. 10), whose works were considered to be the epitome of the 'Sublime', in contrast to the 'Beautiful' and pastoral works by Claude (Figs. 11 and 12).⁴²

The new aesthetic interest in natural scenery expressed by Addison and Shaftesbury first resulted in the creation, as the former had suggested, of whole country estates laid out to look like painted Italian landscapes. A new, prestigious vocation opened up, that of 'landscape gardener', and gardeners like "Capability" Brown and Humphrey Repton ranked in public esteem with the foremost artists of the century. The principles of garden design were derived from the painted compositions of Claude, Rosa and the Poussins, and a prolific garden literature abounded in references to the three distances (foreground, middle ground and background) and to contrasts of light and shade.

The vogue for landlords to 'improve' the grounds of their estates in accordance with artistic formulae had a subsidiary effect on British landscape art by creating a new demand for artists to draw or paint country houses in their new and carefully laid-out grounds. However, these were usually purely utilitarian products, with the art in the subject and not in the rendering.

The very controlled appreciation of landscape that was evident in gardening soon extended to the appreciation of scenery in its wild and natural state. By the mid-eighteenth century it was very fashionable to travel to uninhabited, out-of-the-way places and to keep a diary of visual scenes, recorded in prose or poetry. Two overlapping attitudes influencing the types of scenes most appreciated by these first 'tourists' can be distinguished. One was related, like gardening, to the love of Italian landscape art and is revealed in a line in a travel diary of 1738: "All these images together put me in mind of Poussin's drawings, and made me fancy myself in Savoy" ⁴³ The other attitude was a growing sentimentalism, a love of emotion for its own sake, and a seeking out of landscape that inspired strong emotions, such as awe or terror. This new emotionalism in the eighteenth century was given credence by one of the great British philosophers, Edmund Burke.

In 1757 and 1759 Burke published his work, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, in which he classified natural objects as either Sublime (i.e. inspired by Terror, Obscurity and the Infinite) or Beautiful (i.e. pleasure, tenderness, sex) and showed that these objects affected the emotions (or the instincts of self-preservation and self-propagation). Burke sponsored passion and emotion as products of aesthetic experience and was a very great influence in arousing the aesthetic appreciation of scenery. ⁴⁴

In the second half of the eighteenth century the interest in real landscape extended to a serious interest in landscape art. Previously, landscape views were taken by amateurs or by artists with pragmatic attitudes working in the realistic Dutch mode of topography, most often with the goal of engraving in mind. New aesthetic attitudes toward landscape art emerged and, once again, these attitudes were inspired by Italian landscapes.⁴⁵ The greatest of the early professional landscape painters was Richard Wilson (1713-1782), who during the 1750's travelled and worked in Italy and painted idealized landscapes in oil based on a Claudian formula (Fig. 13). This included a dark foreground, framing or 'repoussoir' devices (usually trees), small-scale foreground figures, a river moving diagonally into the luminous distance, and an emphasis on atmospheric perspective. Wilson was the first to apply this idealizing formula to scenes in the English landscape. The intensity and lyrical spiritualism conveyed by the play of light raised Wilson's landscapes to a new level of artistry in Britain.

Throughout his career, Wilson struggled against official attitudes that placed landscape painting at the bottom of the prestige list of subjects suitable for painting. The official stance was expressed by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his Discourses to the Royal Academy students in his capacity as President. However, the artistic achievements of Richard Wilson did much to raise the status of landscape art and the standards of landscape painters.

A powerful impetus was given to the art of landscape in the late eighteenth century by the 'Picturesque' movement and its influential exponent, the Reverend William Gilpin (1724-1804). Beginning in the 1730's, tourists combed the scenery of Europe and Britain seeking out and sketching, or writing about views that reminded them of Italian landscape paintings. These views were often termed 'picturesque', but it was not until the self-illustrated tours of Gilpin began to be published in 1782 that this term was given a specific meaning.⁴⁶ He did not make the picturesque into a new aesthetic category with properties that were distinct from Burke's 'Sublime' and 'Beautiful', as Uvedale Price was to do in 1794, but saw it as a type of beauty that "would look well in a picture".⁴⁷ This use of the term was conventional by that time, but Gilpin went on to specify, and to illustrate in his drawings, the qualities that made objects suitable to being illustrated pictorially (Fig. 14). The most important was roughness of surface, and that contributed to some of the other desirable qualities such as variety, contrast and rich effects of light and shade which "depends on the breaks, and little recesses which it finds on the surface of bodies".⁴⁸ A rough subject encouraged a sketchy execution which, Gilpin maintained defensively, "is not intirely [sic] owing, as some might imagine, to the difficulty of mastering an elegant line," but "a free, bold touch is in itself pleasing".⁴⁹

Out of the rough and rugged objects that the artist used,

he had to form a unified composition: "Picturesque composition consists in uniting in one whole a variety of parts; and these parts can only be obtained from rough objects".⁵⁰ He pointed out, however, that "nature is most defective in composition; and must be a little assisted".⁵¹ He then gave some rules by which the artist may create a picturesque composition. The foreground should be done first, and may be disposed in any way he pleased because: "tho' so little essential in giving a likeness, it is more so than any other part in forming a composition".⁵² The other parts of the composition were then put in with more accuracy but he still warned that "you must grace them a little, when they run false".⁵³

Gilpin, like the other writers of the century, tried to isolate certain objective qualities that contributed to the aesthetic appeal of paintings and drawings. His influence resides primarily in the specific guidelines he gave artists, particularly amateurs. In his many "picturesque tours" of Britain he illustrated the great landscape potential of that country in a period when wars with Napoleon had cut Europe off to British travellers. Earlier in the eighteenth century there was a distinction between topographical landscapes and the idealized, Italianate mode of Richard Wilson and others. This dual aspect of landscape art was evident in the oeuvre of Paul Sandby who worked in both modes. With Gilpin, the naturalistic and pictorial aims merged. He urged the imaginative manipulation

of natural features into a composition which was aesthetically pleasing. His rules for achieving an artistic product were influenced by the paintings of Claude, and thus were limiting, but his main concern was for the formal, pictorial problems of painting - with the aesthetics of landscape painting. In this way the distinction between "ideal" and "topographical" gradually disappeared. The aesthetic values created in ideal landscape were transferred to topography.

Gilpin and the picturesque movement gave a great impetus to travel in the period 1780 to 1800. Amateur artists, such as George Heriot, were encouraged by the set of concrete working principles given them by Gilpin, and a plethora of illustrated travel books, or tour guides, were soon being published. Although the official (i.e. Royal Academy) attitude towards the status of landscape art remained unchanged until the early nineteenth century, some of the greatest of British landscape artists emerged in the later years of the eighteenth century. Thomas Gainsborough worked in oils, but the others, John Robert Cozens, Thomas Girtin and J.M.W. Turner, used watercolours.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the growth and development of landscape art in Britain became linked to the increasing popularity of watercolour painting, and the technical and stylistic advances in the medium. But it was also linked to new philosophical attitudes regarding nature and man's relationship to it. Termed 'romantic', these new attitudes had their basis in

a turning-away from the rationalism of the eighteenth century, from the need for rules and authority in art, towards a belief in the intuitive capacity in man. With the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (beginning c.1775) and Immanuel Kant (writings published 1770-1800) there came a distrust of analysis and the belief that all knowledge did not come from the senses.⁵⁴ The poetry of Wordsworth expressed the nineteenth-century belief in God as a spiritual force in the natural world. Nature was supreme, and man must explore and abandon himself to it - and must never try to improve upon it.

In art there was a shift from interest in objective external reality toward a new preoccupation with inner feelings and emotions; from an interest in formal design to one of subjective expression. Topography was the starting point only as landscape artists attempted to express the moods or essences of nature. The sense of awe and wonder toward nature was expressed in scenes of sublime grandeur by British artists Thomas Girtin (Fig. 7), John Varley (Fig. 15) and in Canada in the work of George Bulteel Fisher (1764-1834) (Fig. 16) and Charles Forrest. There was a new interest in the process of creation as artists such as George Heriot, John Woolford and Henry Warre experimented with technique and used colour freely. They selected, distilled, combined and emphasized landscape elements to express their individual perceptions of the forces in nature. Changing weather conditions and effects of light were the keys to artistic probings

beyond the external face of nature. This romantic approach to landscape culminated in the work of J.M.W. Turner and John Constable, the two artists who brought British landscape painting (and indeed, it could be argued, British painting) to its finest realization. By the mid-nineteenth century, the invention of the camera threatened to make topographers superfluous. It brought about a change in landscape art, away from the subjective towards an emulation, or a challenging, of the detailed information conveyed by the camera. But the art of the later Victorian period goes beyond the scope of this catalogue.

V. The Canadian Experience

The main developments in British watercolour landscapes are reflected in the art of amateurs who worked in Canada. Thomas Davies tried, at times, to elevate his watercolours to a higher artistic level by grafting Italianate elements into the foregrounds of his topographical landscapes. His works are within the rococo tradition with their small-scale figures and decorative colour and surface patterning. James Peachey's compositions typify the realistic landscape mode of Paul Sandby, as derived from seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish landscape paintings. He was one of the few artists working in Canada to use Sandby's "tinted drawing" technique of local colours over a grey underpainting. George Heriot moved from Sandby-like

compositions and technique to the picturesque aesthetic of William Gilpin. He sought out rough or irregular subjects and painted them with 'broken' washes of dabs, or spots of colour. Charles Forrest's compositions are a reflection of the early romantic interest in grand, sweeping (i.e. sublime) views in the manner of Thomas Girtin. His style was in the eighteenth-century classical tradition of flat washes and clear outlines.

With John Woolford, Canadian watercolour painting moved into the early nineteenth-century romantic period. Colour was applied freely to capture ephemeral effects of light and to express the mood of a specific place and time. George Back's watercolours continued the trend toward the strong colour and dramatic light/dark contrasts which typified romantic landscape painting. Nature was reproduced faithfully, but composition and light were used to express the mood of the landscape. Henry Warre's work shows the mid-nineteenth century mastery of the watercolour medium in his ability to change his technique to suit his subjects. His use of thick, dark paint and opaque body-colours exemplifies the search by artists for ways to compete with oil painting.

A continuous development in the attitudes toward real landscape and the use of the watercolour medium can be traced in the work of these few talented artists who worked in Canada. However, each artist brought his own peculiar skills and interests into his work. It is the personal, or unique qualities of their

art - such as Davies' rich colour and linear patterning, Peachey's lively figures, Heriot's fresh greens and vigourous technique, Forrest's colourful stylizations, Back's sparkling surfaces and Warre's spontaneity - which often reveal the artists' response to their immediate environment and engage the viewer's interest.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Martin Hardie, Watercolour Painting in Britain, III (London, 1966-68), p. 248.
- ²Hardie, III, p. 255.
- ³See Joan Friedman, "Every Lady Her Own Drawing Master," Apollo, (April 1977), pp. 262-267.
- ⁴Hardie, III, p. 248.
- ⁵Gum arabic is a secretion of the acacia tree and originally came from Turkey.
- ⁶Edward Dayes, quoted in Hardie, I, p. 39.
- ⁷Hardie, I, p. 39.
- ⁸Marjorie B. Cohn, Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Development of the Materials of Watercolour (Boston, 1977), p. 41.
- ⁹Cohn, p. 42.
- ¹⁰Cohn, p. 36.
- ¹¹Cohn, p. 16.
- ¹²Hardie, I, p. 35.
- ¹³Dard Hunter, Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft (New York, 1957), p. 523.
- ¹⁴Cohn, p. 18.
- ¹⁵Credit for discovering the scraping technique has been given to the British artist George Robertson (c.1748-1788). Hardie, I, p. 37.
- ¹⁶Cohn mentions that "the commonest use of these colours, especially the opaque yellows, was as an alternative to white or glazed, subtractive lights in oil-manner watercolour painting", p. 53. It would seem to be this opaque yellow that Woolford used repeatedly over his dark foreground colours.

- ¹⁷Cohn, p. 30.
- ¹⁸Cohn, p. 32.
- ¹⁹Cohn, p. 32.
- ²⁰Gazette de Quebec, 1760-1800.
- ²¹Hardie, I, p. 50. Hardie suggests this may have been to "hold up" against the gold that began to be used.
- ²²Albrecht Dürer, quoted by Hardie, I, p. 51.
- ²³Hardie, I, p. 52.
- ²⁴Hardie, I, p. 59.
- ²⁵Hardie, I, p. 60.
- ²⁶Hardie, I, p. 62.
- ²⁷Hardie, I, p. 68.
- ²⁸Hardie, I, p. 68. See also Hugh Honour, Chinoiserie, the Vision of Cathay (London, 1961).
- ²⁹Hardie, I, p. 98.
- ³⁰Hardie, I, p. 102.
- ³¹Sandby discovered the use of a spirit ground instead of the dust ground previously employed. Hardie, I, p. 103.
- ³²Hardie, I, p. 104.
- ³³A.P. Oppé, The Drawings of Paul and Thomas Sandby in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle (Oxford, 1947), p. 14.
- ³⁴Oppé, p. 15.
- ³⁵Hardie, I, p. 173.
- ³⁶Edward Dayes warned of "introducing the colour of an object in its shade" in his Instructions for Drawing and Colouring Landscapes, published in 1805. However, Girtin had already exposed the fallacy of this advice. Dayes is quoted in Hardie, I, p. 180.

- 37 Emile Bréhier, The History of Philosophy, V, (Chicago, 1967), p. 2.
- 38 Father Buffier (1661-1737), quoted by Bréhier, V, p. 8.
- 39 Elizabeth Manwaring, Italian Landscape in 18th Century England (London, 1925), p. iii.
- 40 Joseph Addison in The Spectator, 1712, quoted by Manwaring, p. 124.
- 41 Shaftesbury's Miscellaneous Reflections (1711), quoted by Manwaring, p. 122.
- 42 Manwaring, p. 54. 'Sublime' was applied to wild or large landscape features, or to anything that inspired feelings of awe or danger in the spectator. Originally seen in Salvator Rosa's paintings of the Alps, the features included mountains, "craggy" precipices, torrents, blasted tree trunks, etc.
- 43 Dr. Thomas Herring in his Letters (1777), quoted by Manwaring, p. 170.
- 44 In Burke's aesthetics it is possible to detect the beginnings of the shift from the classical notion of art **stimulating** thought to the romantic position of art inspiring feeling.
- 45 Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View (London, 1927), p. 8. Hussey points out that by the mid-seventeenth century in Europe there was much interest in landscape and much speculation as to which natural shapes were the most pregnant with significance and why. The idealized landscapes of Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, Gaspar Dughet and Nicholas Poussin were the result of the classical (i.e. Aristotle) conception of nature as a force working toward a central, generalized form, but being deflected from this ideal form by "accident". The artist tried to do what nature could not - to show nature "as she might have been if at liberty to express her moods freely and fully".
- 46 Gilpin's Observations on the River Wye (1782) was the first of several tours to be published.
- 47 Uvedale Price (1747-1829) published his Essay on the Picturesque in 1794 and this became the principal exposition of the picturesque aesthetic. However, by that time Gilpin had established the mode in popular usage.
- 48 William Gilpin, Three Essays (London, 1794), p. 20.

⁴⁹Gilpin, p. 17.

⁵⁰Gilpin, p. 19.

⁵¹Gilpin, p. 67.

⁵²Gilpin, p. 69.

⁵³Gilpin, p. 70.

⁵⁴Rousseau (1712-1778) believed that the self that compares and judges is separate from the senses. Man should revert to a state of nature by obeying his natural instincts - by yielding to intuition and imagination. Bréhier, V, pp. 167-170. Kant's account of aesthetics was published in 1790.

Fig. 1. Sable quills for watercolour. Winsor and Newton Co., Illustrated List of Colours and Materials, p. 17, bound in Henry Warren, Artistic Anatomy of the Human Figure (London, 1854)

Fig. 2. Wenceslaus Hollar. The Tower of London. Watercolour, pen and ink. British Museum.

Fig. 3. Francis Place. Peterborough House Lambeth and the Strand as they appeared from Mill Bank A, 1683. 16.2 x 46.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 4. George Edwards. The Cock Sparrow. Body colour. 28.2 x 47.6 cm.

Fig. 5. Paul Sandby. South Prospect of Leith, 1749. Watercolour, pen and ink over graphite.
21.9 x 39.1 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Fig. 6. Michael Angelo Rooker. The Interior of the Ruins of Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire. Watercolour. 25.2 x 29.6 cm. Ashmolean Museum.

Fig. 7. Thomas Girtin. Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire: Evening. Watercolour.
31.7 x 52 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 8. John Sell Cotman. Sarcophagus in a Park.
Watercolour. 33 x 20.6 cm. British
Museum.

Fig. 9. J.M.W. Turner. Kew Bridge, c. 1806-07. Watercolour.
25.9 x 35.5 cm. British Museum.

Fig. 10. Salvator Rosa. Landscape with Tobias and the Angel. Oil on canvas, 147.3 x 223.5 cm. The National Gallery, London.

Fig. 11. Claude Lorrain. Landscape: Hagar and the Angel, 1646. Oil on canvas, 55.3 x 43.8 cm. The National Gallery, London.

Fig. 12. Claude Lorrain. Tree Trunks in the Campagna, c.1638-41. Wash over chalk, 22.2 x 33 cm. British Museum, London.

Fig. 13. Richard Wilson. Holt Bridge on the River Dee. Oil on canvas.
148.6 x 196 cm. The Tate Gallery, London.

Fig. 14. William Gilpin. Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape (1792). Illustrations opposite p. 18 and p. 19.

Fig. 15. John Varley. View of Snowdon across Llyn Padarn, 1813. Watercolour. 28.9 x 43.2cm.
Albany Gallery, London.

Fig. 16. J.W. Edy after George Bulteel
Fisher. Fall of Montmorency,
1795-96. 42.2 x 62.1 cm. ROM,
Toronto.

LIST OF CATALOGUE ENTRIESThomas Davies

	<u>Page</u>
No. 1. A View of Halifax in Nova Scotia, 1757	68
2. A View of Montreal, 1762	72
3. A View of Fort La Galet	76
4. A View of the Casionchiagon or Great Seneca Falls	80
5. A View of Chateau Richer, 1787	84
6. A View on the River La Puce near Quebec, 1789	87
7. Montreal, 1812	90

James Peachey

8. A N.E. View of the Bridge at Maskinongé	96
9. A View of the Falls of Montmorency, 1783	100
10. A View of the City of Montreal, 1784	103
11. A South East View of Cataraqui on Lake Ontario, 1785	106

George Heriot

12. View of Quebec from Grant's Wharf	114
13. Falls of Montmorency in Winter	117
14. City of Quebec from Point Levis	120
15. Ruins of the Intendant's Palace, Quebec, 1798	124
16. Indian Lorette	127
17. Lake St. Charles, near Quebec	132
18. Roslin Castle, Edinburgh	135

Charles R. Forrest

19. Grotto at Gedre near Gavarni, 1820	147
--	-----

	<u>Page</u>
20. Icebergs off the Banks of Newfoundland, 1821	150
21. Niagara River at Queenston	153
22. A Digitary's Canoe on the French River, 1822	156
23. On [the] French River	159
24. Grand Campment, French River, Lake Huron, 1822	162
25. Junction of the Little River with the Ottawa	165
26. River View, 1822	168
27. [Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River]	170
28. Quebec and the Falls of Montmorenci, 1823	173
29. Third or Lower Fall on the Ste. Anne or Grande River, 1823	177

John E. Woolford

30. American Fall from above the [ravine?]	199
31. Niagara Falls, 1824	203
32. Montmorency River, above the Great Fall, below the 3 falls	206
33. Montreal, from the mountain, on the race course	209
34. Point Thessalon, Lake Huron (At Sunset Pitching the Canoe)	212
35. Point Thessalon on Lake Huron	214
36. Head of River runs into Lake Nipissing	217
37. Chaudière Falls, Philemon Wright's on Ottawa	220
38. Above the Fall of the Grand Récollet, French River, 1824	222
39. Amherstburg from the N.N. West, 1824	224
40. Commencement of Little River, running into Grand, or Ottawa River, 1824	226

George Back

41. Lac du Diable, 1825	249
42. Encampment between Points King and Sabine, 1826	253

Henry James Warre

43. 'Les Dalles', Columbia River	260
44. Indian Chief's Tomb on the Cowelitz River, Oregon,
1845	264

Explanatory Notes

Catalogue entries for each artist are in chronological order as accurately as can be determined. Titles inscribed by the artist have been used; otherwise, a descriptive title has been enclosed in square brackets. Modern spellings of place names have also been placed within square brackets. Dates, when recorded by the artist, have been given after titles. Measurements are in inches and centimetres, height preceding width.

When a reference appears more than once within the catalogue entries, a shortened form of the citation has been employed and is indicated by the use of block letters. These references are fully described in the References section that follows. Other references have been cited fully with the text.

Abbreviations

wc.	watercolour
gr.	graphite (pencil)
l.l.	lower left
l.r.	lower right
l.c.	lower centre
u.l.	upper left
u.r.	upper right
u.c.	upper centre
Insc.	inscription
Prov.	provenance
Exh.	exhibitions
Lit.	literature
act.	active

Abbreviations for Institutions

AEAC	Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston
MORSE	William Inglis Morse Collection, Killam Library, Dalhousie University, Halifax
MTPL	Metropolitan Toronto Public Library, John Ross Robertson Collection
NGC	National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
PAC	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, The Sigmund Samuel Collection in the Canadiana Department, Toronto
UNB	University of New Brunswick, Fredericton

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THOMAS DAVIES
(c.1737-1812)

Davies' importance as an early Canadian artist has been appreciated only since 1954 when the National Gallery of Canada acquired twenty of his watercolours and the Royal Ontario Museum bought fourteen. These were part of a group of over fifty works by Davies that were bought by Christie's in the previous year from the Earl of Derby, of Knowsley, England. The hitherto unknown details of his life have since been pieced together and published by Colonel C.P. Stacey, most recently in the National Gallery of Canada exhibition catalogue, Thomas Davies, in 1972.¹

Davies was born at Shooter's Hill, near Woolwich. In March, 1755 he was appointed a gentleman cadet at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, where he would have received instruction in draughtsmanship and watercolour from the obscure drawing master, Gamaliel Massiot. On April 1, 1756 Davies became a lieutenant fireworker in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and by July of 1757 he was in Halifax as a second lieutenant. An attack on the French fortress of Louisbourg had been planned but was not carried out until the following year under Major-General Jeffrey Amherst. Further attacks were made on the Acadian settlements in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. John valley.

In 1759 Davies was made a first lieutenant and as

"bateaux master" was in command of the artillery's row galleys in the Lake Champlain campaign. Winter was spent in New York, as it was the following three years. Davies participated in the attack on Montreal in 1760 and in battles at La Galette (now Ogdensburg, New York) and Fort Lévis. With the defeat of the French and the end of hostilities, he spent the rest of the year surveying the waters of the St. Lawrence, the western shores of Lake Ontario to Niagara and Fort Ontario (now Oswego), Oneida Lake and some of the major rivers in the colony of New York. Beginning in the spring of 1761 he explored the southern shores of Lake Ontario and the rivers emptying into it. He also took the opportunity to visit Indian tribes in the area, and this interest in the 'exotic' North American Indians is obvious in his watercolours, beginning in 1759 (eg. Ticonderoga, 1759, New York Historical Society).

By March 1762, Davies was a captain-lieutenant and spent the rest of that year surveying Lake George and Lake Champlain, ending up in Montreal. He visited England in 1763 but was back in New York the following year. After three more years of duty in New York and Canada (for which we have no details) he returned to England in October, 1767, for an extended period that lasted until the summer of 1773. While in England, six of his drawings of North American waterfalls were engraved and published in Scenographia Americana in 1768. A paper on the preparation of birds for preservation was

published in 1770. On January 1, 1771, he rose to the rank of captain and, in the same year, exhibited for the first time at the Royal Academy as an "honourary exhibitor".

In the summer of 1773 Davies travelled to Halifax and was in Boston the next year. He participated in the action at Bunker's Hill in June, 1775, and in 1776 was in the battles of Long Island and White Plains and the attack on Fort Washington. He was in command of the artillery at Fort Washington (originally Fort Mifflin) in 1777-1778 and after this, returned to England.

Davies was a member of the Linnean Society and in 1781 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a group of gentlemen amateurs of science. His study of flora and fauna extended into art, and from 1771 to 1775 he exhibited watercolours of plants and insects at the Royal Academy. He had a notable cabinet of bird specimens, and some of his many bird paintings (now lost) were engraved and published by the naturalist, Dr. John Latham, and by Davies in his own articles in the Transactions of the Linnean Society.

In 1782, Davies became a brevet major and the following year he rose to lieutenant-colonel. The last visit he made to British North America was from 1786 to 1790, and it is from this period, while he was stationed in Quebec, that some of his most beautiful watercolours date. He returned to England in November, 1790, and by 1803 had risen to the rank of

lieutenant-general. The last time he exhibited at the Royal Academy was in 1806, but he must have continued to paint until his death at Blackheath on March 16, 1812, since a watercolour of Montreal (No. 7) is dated to that year.

¹ Col. Stacey's research was first published in Canadian Art, 13, 1956. Additional details were presented in an essay by Stacey in R.H. Hubbard's exhibition catalogue for the National Gallery of Canada, Thomas Davies, c.1737-1812 (Ottawa, 1972). Details of Davies' life that have been used for this study were drawn from this latter source.

A View of Halifax, Nova Scotia, from the Harbour, showing the Citadel, the Town, and the surrounding Country, as seen from the Water.
 The Harbour is the largest in the Province, and is the most important Port in the Atlantic.
 The Citadel is situated on a high Hill, and is the strongest Fort in the Province.
 The Town is situated on the Water, and is the most important Port in the Province.
 The surrounding Country is fertile, and is the most important Port in the Province.

The View is from the Water, showing the Citadel, the Town, and the surrounding Country, as seen from the Water.
 The Harbour is the largest in the Province, and is the most important Port in the Atlantic.
 The Citadel is situated on a high Hill, and is the strongest Fort in the Province.
 The Town is situated on the Water, and is the most important Port in the Province.
 The surrounding Country is fertile, and is the most important Port in the Province.

No. 1.

- 1 A View of Hallifax [sic] in Nova Scotia taken from Cornwallis [McNab's] Island with a Squadron going off [to] Louisbourg in the year 1757

wc., pen and black ink over gr. on laid paper
15 x 10 1/8 in.; 38.1 x 51.1 cm.

Insc: title date and signature, l.c.; key to letters: A Part of Hallifax [sic]/B Georges Island/C Dartmouth, l.l.; D Part of the Eastern Battery/E Part of Cornwallis Island, l.r.

Watermark: Villedary best

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery, London.

Exh: VANCOUVER 1966, no. 12; HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 1, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; FENWICK AND STACEY 1956, p. 272, 275, repr. p. 274; HUBBARD 1972, p. 7, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6268)

Davies visited North America for the first time in July, 1757, and disembarked at Halifax. In this early view a squadron is seen leaving for Louisbourg, but the British commanders decided that the French forces at the fortress were too strong and the planned assault was deferred until the following year. This rather stiff and schematized drawing, with the letter key, is related to the tradition of military topography that began in the sixteenth century. Elaborate military "platts" or "plotts" which were half plans, half bird's-eye views coloured in transparent watercolour, were suited to getting in all the necessary facts.¹ This artificial, aerial view approach, used originally by Dutch and Flemish artists, was in general use in Britain by topographers drawing country houses from Hollar's time until the end of the eighteenth century.

However, there is a whimsical counterpoint to the static reportage of the background in the flight of birds in the sky and the riot of plants in the foreground. Davies reveals his ornithological interests and his knowledge of the idealized, Claudian formula for landscape which featured a dark foreground and trees that frame a distant view often made bright by a body of water. By the 1740's, in the work of William Tavener, Jonathan Skelton and others, this imposition of an Italianate design upon the real elements of the landscape was becoming popular. In this watercolour and others dated to the 1750's, Davies has combined the skills of his military training with his interest in composition in an unusual manner. The naive interest in mathematical perspective, resulting in a tilting-up of the landscape and a precipitous plunge into depth was characteristic of amateur efforts (see Fig. 3), but in later works of the 1780's Davies' handling of perspective becomes more naturalistic.

Like his composition, Davies' painting technique has elements of the traditional and the original. The use of pen outlines, of muted colour and of grey to give tonal effects was common in topographical works at mid-century. But Davies' washes are not applied in the usual broad flat manner. As in all his later works, colour is applied in fine, often ribbon-like touches of colour which allow him to modulate the lights and shades of his surface to a much greater degree.

¹Iolo Williams, Early English Watercolours, and some Cognate Drawings by Artists born not later than 1785 (Bath, 1970), p. 2.

No. 2.

2 A View of Montreal in Canada taken from Isle St. Helena
[St. Helen's Island] in 1762

wc. over gr. on laid paper

13 15/16 x 21 1/8 in.; 35.3 x 53.5 cm.

Watermark: J. Whatman

Verso: title and date

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery, London.

Exh: HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 18, repr.; STRONG 1967, no. 177, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; HARPER 1962, p. 411, repr.; GREENING 1963, p. 124-125, repr.; J.C. Bourguignon, "Montreal au bord du Saint-Laurent," Vie des Arts (no. 33, 1963-64), p. 21, repr.; KERR AND ROBINSON 1966, p. 21, repr.; NGC 1967, repr. in colour with two details; HUBBARD 1972, p. 23, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6272)

The hostilities in North America ended in 1760, and Davies' drawing skills were put to use in a series of surveying trips from 1760 to 1762. In the last year he explored Lake George and Lake Champlain and went on to Montreal, where this view was taken from St. Helen's Island. The last watercolour that Davies is known to have painted, in the year of his death, was also of Montreal, but that view was taken from the mountain (see No. 7).

Aesthetic concerns in this work far outweigh the factual, as indicated by the foreground which has gained in importance. The luxurious profusion of plants was a characteristic feature of Davies' watercolours, and the stylized types that he used were conventional, as revealed by their similarity to those in a work by Paul Sandby (see

Fig. 6). The use of small-scale figures in the foreground was another convention that had as its source French rococo works by Watteau, Gravelot and others. The emphasis was on costume rather than facial features or character revelation. As in rococo art in general, the main interest was visual, a recording of external realities and sense impressions. It was an art of colour and scintillating patterns, and bright, mid-day light that illuminated every object. Davies' art is in this rococo style, although he, like Sandby, sometimes imposed a classical structure of horizontals and verticals on his designs, as in this work.

The composition bears a striking resemblance to a wash drawing (with British provenance) by Claude Lorrain (see Fig. 12).¹ Whether the drawing was a direct influence or not, Davies' design is consciously styled after the Italianate mode of landscape. The broken tree trunk was a motif associated with the works of Salvator Rosa (see Fig. 10) and the vine-covered trees were features of Italy, not Canada. The peaceful, idyllic mood is another reference to the Arcadian paintings of Claude (see Fig. 11). It also reflects the eighteenth-century optimism about man's relationships to man and to nature. It was believed that civilized humans had naturally benevolent feelings toward each other - a view that changed as a result of the French Revolution.

The painting technique in this watercolour has loosened

up somewhat from earlier works. There is a more spontaneous touch used here that is unlike the tighter treatment in later works. Davies no longer makes extensive use of grey for shading but varying intensities of colour are used to give tonal effects. Nor do penlines define forms, although leaves are outlined with sepia-coloured paint. The individualistic method of rendering water by thin, horizontal bands of varying shades of blue was to remain constant. The low horizon is more naturalistic than the higher viewpoint in the Halifax work and it shows a lesser concern with mathematical perspective. The horizontal composition provides a balance for the strong verticals of the foreground trees.

¹ The drawing was bequested to the British Museum by Richard Payne Knight in 1824. By the early nineteenth century, the largest collections of works by Claude Lorrain were in British museums and galleries.

No. 3.

- 3 A View of Fort La Galet, Indian Castle, and takeing [sic] a French Ship of Warr [sic] on the river St. Lawrence, by 4 Boats of 1 Gun each of the Royal Artillery Commanded by Captn Streachy 1760

wc. over gr. on laid paper

15 1/8 x 23 1/8 in.; 38.5 x 58.7 cm.

Insc: title and date, l.c.; taken by Ct Lt Davies on the spot, l.r.

Watermark: J. Whatman

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery, London

Exh: HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 12, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; FENWICK AND STACEY 1956, p. 275, repr. p. 274; Ontario History (Sept. 1966), detail repr. on cover; NGC 1967, repr. in colour with a detail; HUBBARD 1972, p. 19, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6271)

Davies served under Amherst in one of the three forces that converged upon Montreal in 1760. He was bateaux-master for the artillery and on August 17 commanded one of the row galleys that took the French vessel, Outaouise, at La Galet. This battle is shown in the background of the watercolour. Indians in colourful costumes are featured in the foreground as they were so often in Davies' works. The vigorous movements of the figures reflects the activity of the background and contributes to the mood of excitement in the painting.

This watercolour reveals a problem with the dating of Davies' works that must be considered when studying them chronologically. Although dated 1760, it seems likely that it was painted later than this. The usual working method of artists painting topographical scenes in watercolour was to

"take" ("fecit"), or draw ("delin.") the subject "on the spot" in pencil or chalk and to paint it in watercolours indoors later. This was the procedure, particularly before Reeves' invention of the more portable cake colours c.1780. Davies shows himself sketching a scene in a few of his watercolours. Fort La Galet must have been painted in the period in the period 1762-1770 since Davies describes himself as captain-lieutenant in the inscription.

There is a new and important aesthetic element in this watercolour that was to distinguish Davies' oeuvre as a whole - colour. Luminous blues of the water, sky and Indian's costume, the rich greens of foliage, the vibrant yellow of the giant sunflowers all show the expressive delight the artist took in colour. This was at a time when all but the most innovative watercolourists were using thin, pale washes to fill in their careful pen outlines. Davies has applied his colour directly in small touches and has used only coloured paint to define shadows or to outline his foliage. The soil and grass in the foreground are subtly modelled in varying intensities of green and brown.

Davies' technique and use of bright colour were so unique in this period that they cannot be related to the watercolour developments in landscape. Rather, they should be seen in the context of the miniature-like renderings of birds and plants in watercolour being done

by naturalist-artists such as George Edwards (see Fig. 2) and Charles Collins. These works were done in rich colour, often body-colour, and nine of the seventeen watercolours that Davies exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1771 to 1806 were of plants or birds painted in this naturalist mode.

No. 4.

4 A View of the Casionchiagon or Great Seneca Falls Lake Ontario
North America, 1766

wc. over gr. on wove paper

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 5/16 in.; 34.2 x 51.6 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.; taken on the spot 1766 T. Davies Pinxit, l.r.

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery,
London

Exh: HUBBARD AND OSTIGUY 1967, no. 27, repr.; STRONG 1967,
no. 176, repr.; HUBBARD/NGC1972, no. 25, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; FENWICK AND STACEY 1956, p. 300;
HUBBARD 1963, p. 48; HUBBARD, 1972, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6273)

The waterfall in this painting was one of three on the Genesee River at Rochester, New York and was in the territory of the Seneca Indians - hence the small group of Indians in the left foreground.¹ Waterfalls were painted repeatedly by Davies, revealing his interest in the sublime, or awe-inspiring facets of nature. A number of his waterfall paintings date from the 1760's, and in 1768 six were published as engravings (done by Peter Mazell). One of the engravings was a similar view of Seneca Falls, based on a monochrome painting done by Davies in 1761 (PAC).

A comparison of the 1761 and 1766 works indicates a new element in Davies' development. The 1761 watercolour has the static quality of many of his earlier paintings, with the water at the base of the falls rendered in straight, horizontal bands. The water in the 1766 work was put in motion by a multitude of curving lines. These swirling rhythms are

countered by the straight compositional lines elsewhere in the work, but are a step towards the all-encompassing rhythms of the works of the 1780's and 1790's.

R.H. Hubbard felt that this watercolour was painted twenty years later than the inscribed date.² It is true, as he points out, that rich colouring was typical of the works of the 1780's, but it is also evident in Fort La Galet (No. 3). Davies was impressed by the brilliant colours of the Canadian autumn as indicated by his inscription on an earlier watercolour, Niagara Falls, dated 1762: "The Variety of Colours in the Woods shew the true Nature of the Country".³ In the Seneca Falls work Davies was responding directly to the colours of the autumn trees, and he was one of very few British artists to paint this indigenous aspect of the Canadian landscape.

A puzzling consideration that could also suggest a later date for the watercolour is Davies' use of smooth wove paper instead of the usual laid paper with its obvious grid. Wove watercolour paper was not produced by Whatman until the 1780's,⁴ but it is not clear whether wove paper, which was invented in the 1750's, might have been large enough before the 1780's to be adapted for use by artists such as Davies. Until a detailed history of watercolour paper is published, this cannot be used as proof for dating watercolours.

Of further interest is Davies' use of a wash reduction

technique that involved the partial removal of dry paint by dampening and sponging in order to get the effect of spray rising from the waterfall. This painterly device was used in **other** of his watercolours dated to 1766 (eg. Passaic Falls, ROM) and later. Martin Hardie described the method and mentioned that the earliest watercolour known to him showing its use was dated 1777.⁵ It did not become a common technique until after Turner used it to great effect in the early 1800's. One could see this as further proof of a later date for the work, or see it as evidence of Davies' innovative talent. The latter choice is the most tempting, considering other evidence of his technical originality. A later date is also belied by the awkward perspective that characterized Davies' works to the 1780's.

¹HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 16.

²HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 25.

³HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 17.

⁴Marjorie Cohn, Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Materials of Watercolour (Boston, 1977), p. 16.

⁵HARDIE 1966-68, I, p. 35.

No. 5.

5 A View of Château Riché [Richer] Cape Torment and lower end of the Isle of Orleans near Quebec, 1787

wc. over gr. on laid paper

13 15/16 x 20 3/4 in.; 35.4 x 52.7 cm.

Watermark: J. Whatman

Verso: title and date

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery, London.

Exh: HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 49, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; FENWICK AND STACEY 1956, p. 273, repr.; MORISSET 1960, p. 73; HARPER 1966, p. 42; HUBBARD 1972, p. 43, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6275)

Davies' time spent in North America from 1773 to 1778 was preoccupied with hostilities in the American colonies. The period from 1779 to 1786 was spent in England but in the autumn of 1786 he arrived in Quebec for his last North American tour of duty. In the years to November 1790, he sketched and painted some of the finest of his watercolours, all of them of Quebec and environs. There is a richness of colour, and ease of handling and perspective, and a rhythmic unity in these works that marks a new stage in his development. The same qualities are present in paintings worked up from drawings after 1790, the year he departed Quebec for England.

One of the most accomplished watercolours from Davies' 'mature' period is this view of the village of Château-Richer, located on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, fifteen miles north-east of Quebec. There is a new degree of naturalism

here, a dispensing with formulistic repoussoirs and the grid-like compositions of earlier works. Instead of the closed vista and flat, decorative surfaces of many of his later works, this panoramic view has an unusual breadth and feeling for atmospheric perspective - qualities that came into British watercolour art in the 1780's and 1790's with the work of John Robert Cozens and Thomas Girtin. It is quite unlike the paintings of Paul Sandby, with their Dutch-influenced, low horizon lines and distances defined by alternating, horizontal bands of light and dark. There is a gradual transition here from foreground to mid-ground to background, unlike the sudden jump from foreground "ledge" to background in earlier of his panoramic views. Movement into space is created by the diagonal line of the buildings and the careful gradation of hues, giving a feeling of the cool, moist atmosphere of this river environment. Davies is no longer looking through the idealizing eyes of Claude but seems to be responding directly to his surroundings.

No. 6.

6 View on the River La Puce near Quebeck [sic] in Canada, 1792

wc. over gr. on laid paper

20 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 51.3 x 34.2 cm.

Insc: signed and dated, l.r.

Watermark: Whatman best

Verso: title

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery, London.

Exh: HUBBARD AND OSTIGUY 1967, no. 29, repr.; HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 59, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; FENWICK AND STACEY 1956, p. 273, repr.; R.H. Hubbard, "The Discovery of Early Canadian Painting," Art in America (Autumn 1959), p. 42, repr.; HARPER 1966, pl. 42, repr. in colour; HUBBARD 1972, p. 53, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6274)

This is one of four Canadian views dating to Davies' last British period, 1791 to 1812. The little Rivière Sault-à-la-Puce runs near Château-Richer and was the subject of another of his watercolours dated 1789 (NGC #6282). Davies' love of waterfalls continued into his later years. The figure in the painting standing on an overhanging rock and looking down into the swirling rapids below would have experienced a thrill of danger while appreciating the visual aspects of the scene. This 'sublime' mixture of danger and beauty in a scene seems to have motivated Davies to some of his finest efforts.

This watercolour is a fine example of the intensely linear and rhythmic mode that Davies brought to full development in the late 1780's. The colours are dark and rich with dramatic contrasts between dark, solid rocks and light, luminous water. There is an emphasis on 'surfaces' that is most typical of rococo art as the circular lines of

water, rocks and trees reverberate throughout. A swirl of motion is created that is carefully controlled by compositional lines. The plunging diagonal of the river and bank is stabilized by the soaring trees and cliff and the vertical format of the painting. The eye is kept in constant motion by the exuberant play of light on surfaces with no part providing a definitive focus. The elegantly attenuated and miniaturized human figures are typically found in rococo landscapes. The real scene is transformed by Davies' personal aesthetic into a sensuous and expressive experience of colour and rhythm and goes far beyond the pragmatic requirements of topography.

No. 7.

7 Montreal, 1812

wc. over gr. on wove paper

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 34.2 x 52.2 cm.

Insc: signature and date, l.r.

Verso: title

Prov: Earl of Derby, Knowsley, Lancs.; Frank T. Sabin Gallery, London.

Exh: Vancouver Art Gallery, The Arts of French Canada, 1959, no. 118; HUBBARD AND OSTIGUY 1967, no. 53, repr.; STRONG 1967, no. 179, repr.; HUBBARD/NGC 1972, no. 63, repr.

Lit: NGC/AR 1954-55, p. 33; FENWICK AND STACEY 1956, p. 276, repr. in colour p. 270; MORISSET 1960, repr. in colour opposite p. 49; HARPER 1962, p. 410, repr.; KERR AND ROBINSON 1966, detail repr. in pl. 13 (3); HUBBARD 1972, p. 61, repr. in colour.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6286)

Davies returned to this Canadian subject years after his last stay in British North America, indicating his deep appreciation for this country's scenery. However, in the intervening time a change occurred in his perceptions of the landscape. There is a careful working-out of the composition, constructed by alternating light and dark horizontal bands in the manner of Paul Sandby, Edward Dayes and others (see Fig. 6). The bands are carefully balanced, in a neo-classical manner, by the strong verticals of the framing trees in the foreground and by the steeples along the water line. Slanting rocks in the foreground also frame the scene and provide a solid base.

There is an absence of the earlier brown outlining of leaves, and they are now modelled only by dark greens. The

foreground rocks are painted differently also, with thick, grey paint spread dryly over lighter tones to give a 'grainy' effect. The technique is quite painterly and the greens have a glossy appearance, indicating the addition of extra gum arabic to give strength. New also is the restricted range of hues. Davies would seem to have been influenced by the emphasis on harmony rather than colour that was characteristic by the turn of the century. It was a result of the influence of William Gilpin and artists such as John Robert Cozens and Thomas Girtin who appreciated the tonal character of Claude's Italian landscapes. Davies' palette is limited to grey, green and blue, with the exception of the tiny point of red in the Union Jack in the left distance. The total effect is restrained and cerebral, unlike the expressive exuberance of colour and curving lines in the earlier Canadian works. The usual small-scale human figures are also gone, and with them a rococo light-heartedness. Although the subject is Montreal, it reminds one more of the English countryside with its cropped fields neatly divided by stone fences. The mood is vaguely melancholic, perhaps nostalgic - like a far-off memory - and lacks the immediacy of feeling, the excitement and the movement of his other Canadian works.

JAMES PEACHEY
(act. 1773-1791)

The main Canadian centre for studying the art of James Peachey is the Public Archives of Canada, where twenty-nine of his watercolours and thirteen of his prints are housed.

Biographical information and a comprehensive catalogue have been published by the Archives as part of its Archives Canada Microfiche series.¹ Smaller Canadian collections of Peachey's works are held by the Metropolitan Toronto Public Library, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto and Laval University, Quebec.²

Apart from the work done by Public Archives staff, little serious research has been carried out on Peachey and details of his life remain sketchy. He is first known to have worked as a draughtsman in the Boston office of the Surveyor-General, Samuel Holland. The office was dispersed with the beginning of revolutionary activities in that city. One group of surveyors was removed to New York and Peachey returned with the other to Britain. He worked for two years (until 1776) preparing Holland's surveys (including maps, plans and landscape views) for publication. That project was never finished but it is possible that some of Peachey's landscapes were published by J.F.W. Des Barres in his important illustrated atlas of the American east coast, The Atlantic Neptune (4 vols., London,

1777).³

By 1780 Peachey was in Quebec, again on the staff of Samuel Holland who was directing the settlement of the many Loyalists arriving in the early 1780's. From May 1, 1783 to October 10, 1784 Peachey served as Deputy Surveyor-General and made surveys for new settlements in what later became Upper Canada. He returned to England in October, 1784, probably in the entourage of Governor Haldimand. In the next two years, four of his watercolours were engraved and published by J. Wells. He exhibited two Canadian landscapes at the Royal Academy in 1786 and three the following year. He was described in the exhibition catalogues as a professional painter living in Mayfair, London.⁴ Peachey did the illustrations for The Book of Common Prayer Translated into the Mohawk by Joseph Brant, published in London in 1787.

In August 1788, Peachey arrived in Niagara and took his first commission as an ensign with the 60th Regiment. He worked in British North America as a draughtsman and surveyor until 1796, visiting Montreal, St. John's, Longueuil, Quebec and Halifax. He rose to the rank of lieutenant with the 7th Regiment in 1793 and to captain in 1795. After his return to England in 1796 he was transferred to the 43rd Regiment. In 1797 he travelled to the West Indies where, it is assumed, he died in a devastating epidemic the same year.

- ¹PAC, Archives Canada Microfiche. Microfiche 2. James Peachey. Compiled by Douglas E. Schoenherr. (Ottawa, 1975-76).

Details of Peachey's biography have been drawn from this publication. Original sources of the Archives research are given in Image of Canada (PAC), 1972, footnotes 1-9, Peachey.

- ²HARPER 1970, p. 246.

- ³This link between Peachey and Des Barres is suggested by Michael Bell (PAC 1972) who points out that it is a question which merits further study.

- ⁴GRAVES 1970.

No. 8.

8 A N.E. View of the Bridge at Maskonongé [Maskinongé]

grey and blue washes, pen and ink over gr.

12 1/8 x 20 1/4 in.; 31.8 x 51.5 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.

Exh: COVERDALE 1942, no. 2143.

Lit: PAC 1975-76, no. 8, repr.(microfiche)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-45565)

Peachey worked in the Quebec office of Samuel Holland from 1780 to April 1783 and it was in this period, before he went to Upper Canada, that the undated view of Maskinongé Bridge was taken. The bridge was built over the Maskinongé River which flows into the St. Lawrence west of Trois Rivières. Peachey painted a finished version of the work, in full colour, in 1785 after he returned to England.¹ The inscription on the finished watercolour states that the bridge was built "By Order of General Haldimand in 1782". Thus the undated work must have been painted in the period 1782 to April 1783 and the summer costumes and foliage in the view make 1783 unlikely.

The grey and blue washes appear to be the initial underpainting of a work to which colours would later have been added. Peachey was one of the few eighteenth-century artists working in Canada who used the topographical watercolour technique of Paul Sandby. This involved painting all shadows and tonal values in grey and then adding colours over top.² This unfinished view by Peachey clearly shows the initial

'dead colouring' stage of the 'tinted drawing' technique as it had evolved by the 1770's and 1780's.

Another interesting aspect of the Maskinongé watercolour is the pinholes which follow the main lines of the bridge and the buildings.³ Since the finished, 1785 version of the view (in MTPL) is the same size (31.8 x 51.5 cm.) and has an identical placement of the main elements of the composition (only the figures differ) it can be assumed that Peachey transferred his original design to a new piece of paper in order to make a second copy.⁴ This search for the means of reproducing his original compositions is an important aspect of Peachey's art and led him to the use of etched outlines (see No. 9) and aquatints.

Aesthetically, Peachey's work is in the best tradition of eighteenth-century topographical watercolour. The drawing is crisp, neat and accurate, with no signs of hesitation. The perspective is scientific and realistic - an important feature of the work of Paul Sandby. The ground-level viewpoint and low horizon line enhance the impression of realism. There are no formal, Italianate elements added to detract from this naturalism, as there were in the watercolours of Thomas Davies. The figures are graceful and well-drawn, unlike those in the work of early nineteenth-century landscape artists. These dainty, costumed figures are derived from the paintings done in the French rococo 'fête galante' manner by

such British artists as Thomas Gainsborough and Paul Sandby in the mid-eighteenth century. In Peachey's works they are not merely decorative but, as in the Maskinongé watercolour, show sociological aspects of the cultural milieu. Here he has attempted to show the costume and activities of the French 'canadiens'.

¹A View of the Bridge Built over the River Maskinongé, By Order of General Haldimand in 1782, 1785 (MTPL).

²Another artist to use the same technique, with grey underpainting, was James Hunter (act.1776-1792), who worked with Peachey in Samuel Holland's Quebec office from 1780-1781.

³My attention was drawn to this feature by Douglas E. Schoenherr, PAC.

⁴This process can be observed in another pair of watercolours by Peachey, the grey and blue View of the Bridge at Rivière du Loup taken from the South West (PAC), and the finished watercolour, A View of the Bridge Built over Rivière du Loup, By Order of General Haldimand, in 1780, 1785 (MTPL).

No. 9.

- 9 A View of the Falls of Montmorenci [Montmorency] taken from below, 1783

wc. over etched outline

12 x 18 in.; 30.5 x 45.5 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.; signed and dated, l.r.

Lit: PAC 1975-76, no. 37, repr.(microfiche)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-2023)

The use of watercolour on etched outline in this view of Montmorency Falls, near Montreal, is indicative of Peachey's interest in printing processes by which his original watercolours could be reproduced.¹ In the eighteenth century the precise drawing of forms was the most crucial aspect of the 'tinted drawing', and by etching the ink outlines, as Peachey did in this work, the most time-consuming part of the reproduction process could be eliminated. The etched outlines of the engravings could then be tinted with watercolour washes either by the original artist or by the purchaser, who might be an amateur wanting to practise his own use of watercolour.² Etchings by Peachey must be approached with this in mind, since the coloured washes are often uncharacteristic of the hues used in his original works.

This view of Montmorency Falls is a particularly fine example of Peachey's coloured etchings and the extensive use of greys and browns is typical of many of his watercolours. The paint has been partially sponged from a large area to

give the effect of mist rising from the waterfall. This could be used as proof of a later hand, but the technique was used by Peachey, although more timidly, in his watercolour, A View of the Falls of Montmorency with His Excellency General Haldimand's Country House near it, 1781 (PAC). It can be assumed then that this etching was indeed painted by Peachey himself. Printing his outlines and then painting them allowed him to produce more copies of his works than would otherwise have been possible and to sell them at lower prices to a wider public.³

¹Four of Peachey's watercolours were also reproduced in aquatint by J. Wells and published in London, 1785-86. Three of these prints are in the Public Archives of Canada and others are in the collection of paintings at Seminary Archives, Laval University, Quebec. (HARPER 1970, p. 246).

²This purpose of providing an etching that could be "finished in imitation of the original Drawing" was specified by an advertisement for Woolford's etchings of 1819 (see pages 193-194).

³Unfortunately, none of Peachey's etchings of 1781-1784 bear the name of the place of issue. (ALLODI 1980, p. xvi).

A View of the City of Montreal, taken from the Top of the Mountain; the 15th October 1784

No. 10.

10 A View of the City of Montreal, taken from the Top of the Mountain, 1784

wc., pen and ink over gr.
 $6\frac{3}{4}$ x $14\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 17 x 36.9 cm.

Insc: title and date, 15th October, 1784, l.c.; signed, l.l.

Lit: BELL 1973, p. 79, repr. in colour; PAC 1975-76, no. 14, repr. (microfiche)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-2002)

Peachey's appointment as Deputy Surveyor-General ended on October 10, 1784 and this watercolour indicates that he was in Montreal, on his way back to Quebec, on October 15.¹ It is one of a number of small watercolours, done from June to November, 1784, which deviate from Peachey's usual large format. A series of nine of these was done on November 16 and 17, probably on Peachey's trip back to England, and they depict islands and points of land in the St. Lawrence River.² Five others, including this Montreal view, are very similar in their limited colour (mainly blue with dark grey) and exquisite detailing and are of identical size. They appear to document Peachey's journey in returning to Quebec and the colour, detailing and horizontal format of all five works is distinctive and similar enough to be able to date them to October/November 1784.³

It seems feasible that Peachey executed such a number of unusually small watercolours because he knew his time in

Canada was limited. Once back in England he reverted to his usual large format for another version of this view of Montreal (P.S. Winkworth, Esq., Montreal). An aquatint of similar size (17 x 24 in.) was made after this second watercolour. The compositions of the works differ only in the type, number and poses of the figures in the right foreground. The long, narrow format of the small work also differentiates it from the large work. It has an unusually high viewpoint which creates a wide panorama in the tradition of Wenceslaus Hollar, while his other works have the low viewpoint and horizon line derived from Paul Sandby. Also unusual in this watercolour are the formalized elements of dark foreground and framing tree. Such Italianate, or 'ideal' trappings are seldom seen in Peachey's work and speak of his desire to make an artistic statement in this painting. However, Peachey's view of Montreal is not as idealized as that of Thomas Davies (No. 7) and realism is still the dominant characteristic in Peachey's art.

¹ PAC 1975-76, Introduction.

² These small views are in the Public Archives of Canada and show Ile d'Orleans, Ile aux Coudres, Cap au Diable, Ile Brule, Goose Ile, Pilgrim Islands and the Brandypot Islands.

³ The four works are: Encampment of the Loyalists at Johnstown, June 6, 1784; A South-West View of St. Johns (Quebec), A View of Three Rivers, taken from the Road leading to Pointe du Lac, and A View of the City of Quebec (all in the Public Archives of Canada).

A South-East View of Cataragui on Lake Ontario, taken in August 1783

11 A South East View of Cataraqui on Lake Ontario, taken in August 1783, 1785

wc., pen and ink over gr.

16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 22 in.; 41.9 x 55.8 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.; signed and dated, l.l.

Lit: PAC 1972, no. 78, repr.; BELL 1973, p. iii, repr. in colour; PAC 1975-76, no. 11, repr. (microfiche).

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-1511)

This view of Cataraqui (present-day Kingston) is another of the watercolours that Peachey painted after he returned to England in late 1784 and is based on a work "taken" while he was still in the western regions of Quebec (later Upper Canada) in 1783. In the background are the ruins of Fort Frontenac, built by the French in the seventeenth century as protection against attacks by the Iroquois. That tribe had long been replaced by Algonkians in the area and Peachey has painted Algonkians in colourful costumes in the two foreground canoes. Tiny teepees can be distinguished on the shore in the left middle ground. A large Union Jack flies above the fort, proudly announcing British control.

This watercolour has the low horizon and viewpoint typical of Peachey's works, as well as the prominent figures in the foreground and middle ground. It is dominated by a luminous blue sky characteristic of eighteenth-century landscape paintings. The colours are bright and transparent in the even, mid-day light. The grey monochrome underpainting gives a solid tonal structure to the flat, local colours. Outlines are softer than in Peachey's

earlier works, and are defined by sepia rather than black ink. The use of ink outlines decreased generally near the end of the eighteenth century and Peachey's watercolours reflect the trend towards considering watercolours as paintings rather than drawings.

Another version of this watercolour (in MTPL) bears the inscriptions "Drawn by James Peachey" (l.l.) and "Taken by Louis Kotté" (l.r.). This reveals that Peachey copied his painting from another by Louis Kotté, an officer in Samuel Holland's survey crews.¹ The practice of copying the work of others was a normal part of the artistic process in the eighteenth century. Pupils learned technique and composition by copying engravings and the works by their masters, and the whole process of engraving itself was based on one artist copying the original of another artist for reproduction. Amateur artists in the isolated garrisons of British North America frequently copied each other's work as a means of exchanging ideas. Peachey freely acknowledged his sources and is known to have copied from James Hunter (see No. 8, footnote 2) and P. Couture, two other military artists employed by Holland.²

¹PAC 1972, Peachey.

²PAC 1972, Peachey. Watercolours that Peachey copied from James Hunter are: A South-West View of St. Johns (Quebec), showing the Fort and Blockhouse opposite (PAC), and A View of the Fall of Chaudière (PAC). His coloured etching, Montmorency River, 1784 (PAC) was also "Taken by Lieut. J. Hunter". His watercolour, A West View of Sorel (PAC) bears the inscription "P. Couture Royle. Arty."

GEORGE HERIOT
(1759-1839)

The first major study of the life and work of George Heriot was completed recently by Gerald Finley and presented publicly in his exhibition and catalogue, George Heriot: Painter of the Canadas, for the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, in 1978.¹ Although it is not a comprehensive catalogue of Heriot's works, Finley has brought together a great number of watercolours from a variety of sources, facilitating further study of Heriot's style and painting technique.

Heriot was born in Haddington, Scotland but, at age ten, moved to Edinburgh.² In his high school years he became aware of a talent for writing and art and he left for London in 1777, intending to enrol as a student in the Royal Academy. Instead, he went to the West Indies where he stayed for four years. His first known watercolour was done at that time and is in a linear style reminiscent of the watercolours of Thomas Davies. After returning to London in 1781, he enrolled at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, where Paul Sandby would have instructed him in drawing and watercolour. His activities immediately after Woolwich are unknown except for a visit to the Channel Islands, which is indicated by some watercolours dated 1789 and 1790.

Heriot does not seem to have taken a commission after his studies at Woolwich, and in 1792 he arrived in Canada to begin a career as a civil servant. He became Clerk of the Cheque with the

Ordnance Department in Quebec and held this post until he returned to London in 1796. The following year he exhibited three watercolours at the Royal Academy (two of Canada and one of Scotland) and was listed in the exhibition catalogue as a "Painter" living at 5 Catherine St., Strand.³ In the same year (1797) he returned to Quebec and in 1799 was appointed Deputy Postmaster General of British North America. During his years in this post he travelled widely, hoping to improve the postal service. He also collected information about the history and physical features of the country and the customs of the various Indian tribes particularly interested him. Heriot's intellectual curiosity was typical of the period and resulted in the publication, in 1804, of the first and only part of his History of Canada and, in 1807, of his Travels Through the Canadas (London).

Travels was illustrated with twenty-seven aquatints after Heriot's watercolours and most were etched by J.C. Stadler or F.C. Lewis. The quality of these prints is quite poor since coarse grains of resin were used in the printing process, giving less than delicate transitions from light to dark.⁴ This type of illustrated travel book was common in Britain but few were produced for North America, particularly in this early period, making Heriot's work important historically.⁵ His knowledge of the landscape theories of the day is revealed throughout the book. He stated his aims in the Preface:

The first part of the following work was written with the

design of conveying an idea of some of the picturesque scenery of the St. Lawrence, at once the largest and most wonderful body of fresh waters on this globe.⁶

In the manner typical of British 'picturesque' travel guides, Heriot sought out the usual 'sublime' scenes (eg. waterfalls) and directed the reader as to where he should stand to get the "most advantageous and pleasing display of a scene",⁷ meaning the viewpoint that had elements of composition, like a picture. An example of this method is his detailed instructions to viewers of Montmorency Falls:

An advantageous view of the fall may be obtained from the beach, when the tide of the great river is low The south-west point of the basin, becomes the nearest object, beyond which appears the cataract of resplendent beauty, foaming down the gloomy precipice, whose summits are crowned with woods.⁸

Many of the scenes viewed by Heriot were described in the analytically objective tones of the eighteenth century, but those most likely to induce paroxysms of enthusiastically romantic prose were waterfalls, particularly Niagara Falls:

The falls of Niagara surpass in sublimity every description which the powers of language can afford of that celebrated scene, the most wonderful and awful which the habitable world presents.⁹

After twelve pages of description and admiring phrases, Heriot sums up the nature of the fall's effect upon the viewer:

Here nature, agitated by the struggles of contending elements, assumes a majestic and tremendous wildness of form. Here terror seems to hold his habitation. Here brilliancy, profundity, motion, sound, and tumultuous fury, mingle throughout the scene.¹⁰

This romantic appreciation of nature had its roots in the mid-eighteenth century when Edmund Burke identified terror as the

main source of the Sublime. Aesthetic experience became linked to emotion, and horrific qualities such as vastness, obscurity and infinity were sought in nature by travellers and artists. By the end of the eighteenth century Burke's "aesthetics of terror" had permeated British attitudes toward nature and Heriot's appreciation of the Sublime was a reflection of this.

While it could be assumed from his book that Heriot's main aesthetic interest in landscape was the 'wild' or 'sublime' views about which he so often enthused, his watercolours give no such idea. He did of course paint waterfalls but they were seen from a distance across a quiet foreground and there were no feelings of awe or rushing power, as in Davies' works. Heriot's early paintings are enlivened with foreground figures but later, almost without exception, they are imbued with a mood of meditative quiet and pastoral stillness. He was interested in expressing the breadth, or grandeur, of a scene but it is the quiet grandeur typical of late eighteenth-century works, such as those illustrating William Gilpin's tours, or those of John Robert Cozens, John Varley and Thomas Girtin. The wild aspects of the Canadian environment, in keeping with the spirit of *Salvator Rosa*, are 'tamed' in mood at least, to give a characteristic atmosphere of pastoral calm, as in the paintings by Claude Lorrain.

Heriot retired from his post of Deputy Postmaster General in 1816 after conflicts with other administrators. He returned to London and spent the rest of his life painting, travelling and

writing. He copied some of his Canadian works and, in 1824, published two numbers of his Picturesque Tour . . . Through the Pyrenean Mountains. These had very fine aquatints after his watercolours, unlike those in his earlier Travels.¹¹ It would seem that Heriot remained artistically active until his death in 1839.

¹Professor Finley's catalogue will be followed by a monograph in the Canadian Artists Series (NGC), temporarily suspended by fiscal restrictions.

²Biographical details used here are from Professor Finley's catalogue.

³GRAVES 1970.

⁴S.T. Prideau, Aquatint Engravings: A Chapter in the History of Book Illustration (London, 1969), p. 229.

⁵Prideau, 1969, p. 255. The other notable example of this type of book is Joseph Bouchette's A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada (London, 1815).

⁶HERIOT 1807, p. iii.

⁷HERIOT 1807, p. 169.

⁸HERIOT 1807, p. 78.

⁹HERIOT 1807, p. 159.

¹⁰HERIOT 1807, p. 171.

¹¹Prideau, 1969, p. 229.

12 View of Quebec from Grant's Wharf

wc., pen and brown ink over gr. on two pages of sketchbook
 $4\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 11.3 x 46.2 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.

Verso: View of St. Roque and Pt. Levis from Grant's Wharf, l.r.;
View of Point Levi from Grant's Wharf continued, l.c.

Exh: FINLEY 1978, no. 47.

Lit: PAC 1972, no. 55, repr.; BELL 1973, p. 56-57, repr, in colour.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-12744)

This watercolour was probably sketched during Heriot's first Canadian period of 1792-96 and shows the Intendant's Palace on the Quebec waterfront. The building, by then in ruins, had once been the official residence of the French Intendant, before the conquest in 1759. It had been destroyed by fire in 1713 but was rebuilt on a grand scale by the Intendant of that time, M. Begon. After 1759 it was neglected and was finally destroyed by fire in 1775.¹ The ruins that remained interested Heriot greatly since they provided him with a favourite eighteenth-century subject, the picturesque ruin piece, and he was to return to this subject repeatedly in 1798-99 (No. 15) and much later, in 1819 (No. 18).

Heriot's watercolour is in the traditional mode of topography, with a panoramic view on a long, horizontal format, as introduced into Britain by Wenceslaus Hollar in the seventeenth century (see Fig. 1). Heriot would have learned this style of composition from Paul Sandby at Woolwich and his earlier sketches done in the 1780's (eg. View of the Town of Greenwich), are very similar to Sandby's

topographical views, particularly those of Windsor Castle. Heriot's attitude was pragmatic - to portray the facts of the scene accurately - and this resulted in a static, rather prosaic rendering. The realistic intent is uppermost in all of Heriot's watercolours done "on the spot" in his pocket-sized, leather-bound sketchbooks. However, in his later Canadian sketches, he changed to a more spontaneous technique and to a different type of composition, as he did in his larger works.

Colour is limited in this sketch as the tonal structure is worked out in brown ink which was then washed with blue. The emphasis is on detail, which is defined by pen and ink outlines. A predominately blue hue was characteristic of many of Heriot's watercolours until about 1800. It was a formulistic use of colour that was common in British watercolours in the 1780's and 1790's, perhaps influenced by Edward Dayes. In his Canadian works of the 1790's, Heriot puts washes of grey or blue over his other colours to give shadows, and this is a later development of the more traditional method of Dayes and others who worked from cool shadows to warm hues over top.

¹A. Hawkins, Hawkin's Picture of Quebec with Historical Recollections, 1834. Quoted in BELL 1973, p. 57.

No. 13. Sledging. (North 72° 15' E.)

Exposition Int. 1893

Included in 1893

General 1893

probable. It is probable

by Harriet dated 1893 (North 72° 15' E.)

LEI 1973, no. 49), and it is very

13 Falls of Montmorenci [Montmorency] in Winter

WC., pen and brown ink over gr. on laid paper
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 21.7 x 32.5 cm.

Insc: title and signature, l.c. of mount

Prov: Maggs Bros., London; Grand Central Galleries, New York;
 The W.H. Coverdale Collection, Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Exh: COVERDALE 1940; COVERDALE 1942-43; FINLEY 1978, no. 50,
 repr.

Lit: Maggs Bros. Catalogue 514, 1929, no 15; Grand Central
 Galleries, Canadiana, 1942, no. 61.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16675)

Montmorency Falls, near Quebec, was a favourite recreation spot in the winter, both for sleighing on the frozen St. Lawrence and for tobogganing down the icy 'cone' which formed from the spray at the base of the falls. It was also a popular sublime subject for artists and, being easily reached, was painted many times in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Heriot however was less interested in the awesome beauties of the waterfall than in the activities of the people visiting it. His charmingly decorative groups of figures are dotted about the fore- and mid-grounds and are reminiscent of the lively groups which were such an integral part of the works by Paul Sandby. They play a pictorial role here of defining the recession into the distance. A similar version of this view was included in Heriot's Travels (opposite p. 78).

Gerald Finley has dated this work to c.1795 and this seems probable. It is precisely the same size as another watercolour by Heriot dated 1795 (North View of Lake St. Charles, Quebec, FINLEY 1978, no. 49), and it is stylistically similar. Both are

rendered in pale, superimposed washes, with pencil lines of a miniature-like delicacy to give definition to the background. The Montmorency view has a greater range of colours than the view of Quebec (No. 12). It has a brownish-grey overall hue, enlivened by sienna horses and blue sleigh in the foreground. The washes are very thin and delicate, and shadows are formed by subtle washes of grey put on last over the dry colours. The warm tints on the figures contrast with the cooler greys of the landscape. Dry paint has been scraped off with a sharp instrument to give subtle definition to the left middle ground. This was a new technique at that time and gained currency with the watercolours of J.M.W. Turner. Foreground figures are defined by ink lines that give a rococo liveliness to the forms. The repetition of shapes and lines and the rhythmic spacing of the figures reveal a decorative sense that characterizes Heriot's eighteenth-century works.

14 City of Quebec from Point Levi [Pointe Lévis]

wc. over gr. on laid paper

8 3/8 x 12 3/4 in.; 21.3 32.3 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.; signature l.l. of mount

Prov: The W.H. Coverdale Collection, Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Exh: COVERDALE 1940; COVERDALE 1942-43; FINLEY 1978, no. 55

Lit: NGC/AR 1970-71, p. 96.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16677)

The 1790's was a most significant decade in the history of British watercolours for in those ten years a technical revolution took place, effected in part by the prodigious talents of John Robert Cozens, Thomas Girtin and J.M.W. Turner.¹ The 'tinted drawing', with its lively ink outlines and thin, careful washes, was replaced by a more painterly approach in which colour rather than line defined forms. Visible brushstrokes became expressive elements in their own right. Heriot returned to Britain in 1796-97 and must have been caught up in the art scene there since he exhibited three watercolours at the Royal Academy in 1797. In examining Heriot's work, it is necessary to determine what influence this exposure to the innovations taking place in British art must have had on his own art.

There is a change of technique in this undated view of Quebec, probably indicating that it was done after Heriot's return to British North America in 1797.² However, the changes do not yet suggest his 'mature' style as developed by 1799 or 1800. Instead of his earlier use of flat, careful washes, Heriot here applied his

paint in thin ribbons and dots, after the manner of Cozens and Girtin. The foreground and mid-ground are defined by horizontal bands of colour that are rhythmically intersected by vertical figures. Instead of leaves being defined by penned lobes, there is a new feathery, diagonal treatment of foliage similar to the distinctive manner of Thomas Gainsborough. Pen and ink have no longer been used to define forms. The blue colouring is of a new intensity and similar to his British works dating from 1796-97.

Another technique has been used here that indicates Heriot's knowledge of William Gilpin's instructions to amateurs. A reddish wash was spread thinly over the whole sheet of paper and let dry before proceeding. Of this method Gilpin wrote:

It adds, I think to the beauty of a sketch to stain the paper slightly with the reddish or yellowish tinge; the use of which is to give a more pleasing tint to the ground of the drawing by taking off the glare of the paper. It adds also, if it be not too strong, a degree of harmony to the rawness of black and white.³

The attempt to emulate the dark, tonal quality of varnished Italian landscape paintings in oil resulted in a restricted palette for watercolours in the late eighteenth century.

In several respects, however, Heriot's technique is still that of his early period. Thin pencil lines define distant forms and the colours are built up from superimposed washes. Varying intensities of blue were added last to form shadows. The horizontal composition, with low horizon line is similar to the type used by James Peachey, who was influenced by Paul Sandby (see No. 11).

The small-scale foreground figures are in the rococo tradition as well. In spite of the somewhat looser brushwork and the more intense colouring, this watercolour is in the realistic mode of Heriot's early works.

¹WILTON 1977, p. 184.

²Another watercolour in the National Gallery of Canada, West View of Chateau Richer (16674), was done at the same time since it has the same composition, painting technique, size and ink border.

³GILPIN 1794, p. 78.

No. 15.

15 Ruins of the Intendant's Palace, Quebec, 1798

wc. over gr.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 26.5 x 37.4 cm.

Verso: title and date cut from old mount

Prov: Old Print Shop, New York

Exh: FINLEY 1978, no. 56

Lit: Barry Lord, "The Eighteenth-Century Urban View in Canada,"
Canadian Art 22 (no. 97, 1965), p. 27, repr.; ALLODI 1974,
I, no. 820, repr. in colour.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (953.132.25)

Heriot painted a number of ruin pieces in 1798 and 1799 and most were views of the Intendant's Palace, which he had painted from a distance in c.1793 (No. 12). In this series the ruined buildings were no longer presented as dry historical facts but as aesthetically interesting objects. Ruins were very popular subjects for artists and reflected the eighteenth-century preoccupation with antiquity. In 1734 the Society of Dilettanti was formed in Britain to foster and upgrade the study of ancient remains. Books of sketches of antiquities were published by artists such as Robert Adams (of the Palace of Diocletian at Spoleto, in 1764) and Robert Wood (Ruins of Palmyra in 1753 and Ruins of Baalbek) and these drawings made antique structures accessible to those who could not see them first-hand. The discovery of Herculaneum (in 1738) and Pompeii (in 1748) did much to intensify antiquarian interest. The depiction of ruined buildings was very congenial to the early romanticism of eighteenth-century Britain. They inspired a nostalgic evocation of the distant past (as did the paintings of Claude), but

they were also conducive to a picturesque treatment, having rough surfaces and irregular outlines. In his Three Essays, Gilpin described the subject of ruins as "the most sought-after by the picturesque eye".¹ Artists looked for ruins everywhere and emphasized the inherently picturesque visual qualities.

This watercolour by Heriot is dissimilar to his other views of ruins in that he has painted it from the inside. His conception is very similar to a work of c.1785 by the British artist Michael 'Angelo' Rooker (see Fig. 6), who was probably influenced by the dramatic etchings of Paestum by Piranesi.² This same type of composition was also used effectively by Girtin and Turner. In both the Rooker and Heriot works, the walls are a mosaic of colour, animated by the play of light and shadow on the surface. The eye is led by the dramatic lines of perspective to a light-filled arch in the background, which acts as a focus. A group of figures blends easily into the scene, enhancing its rustic quality.

Although Heriot's palette is still dominated by blue and grey, there is a further loosening up of his paint strokes, probably in response to the subject. This work shows Heriot very much under the influence of the British art scene of that time, both in his choice of subject and in his treatment of it.

¹GILPIN 1794, p. 46.

²WILTON 1977, p. 195.

16 Indian Lorette

wc. over gr. on laid paper
 9 7/8 x 14 3/4 in.; 25.1 x 37.6 cm.
 Insc: title, l.l.

Prov: W.D. Lighthall, Esq. K.C.
 Exh: Willistead Art Gallery of Windsor, 1967, no. 1,
 repr.; FINLEY 1978, no. 84.
 Lit: NGC, Catalogue of Paintings, Ottawa, 1948, p. 176.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (4300)

Indian (or Jeune) Lorette was a Huron village on the St. Charles River, near Quebec. It was first settled by the Huron Indians in 1698 and the stone church (seen to the left) was built by a Jesuit priest about 1730.¹ Heriot and his age viewed the North American Indian as an exotic curiosity and he devoted the last section of his Travels to a description of some of their customs. His typically romantic conception of the Indians was expressed when he wrote that many of them were ". . . but little removed from the rude simplicity of a state of nature Like the elements they are either lulled to stillness, or roused into unrelenting fury".²

In his watercolour Heriot has illustrated the relationship of the Indian to nature by painting one nude, but he has adhered to the eighteenth-century, neo-classical convention of having the nude figure adopt a classical pose, like an ancient Greek statue. The figure is an elegant accessory to the painting, but hardly expressive of the "rude simplicity of a state of nature". The romantic link between the 'uncivilized' Indians and a natural

state was influenced by the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and continued well into the nineteenth century.³

This undated watercolour was probably painted about the time of another view of La Jeune Lorette, "taken" in March 1799 (FINLEY 1978, no. 83). By the time he painted these two works, Heriot's technique had reached full maturity. The "feathery" and linear treatments of trees seen earlier were replaced by the "dots", or spontaneous touches of a full brush, that characterize all of his subsequent watercolours. These works show Heriot's full response to the technical 'revolution' taking place in British watercolour art in the 1790's. His new use of separate brushstrokes and small areas of colour to define forms was in keeping with other British artists who were in the process of developing a technique forceful enough to support the grander aesthetic ideas and romantic subjects of the period. The new methods were also influenced by the picturesque school which tried to give the effects of broken light and colour on rough and irregular surfaces by this painterly use of the medium.⁴

A new assurance is felt in Indian Lorette resulting in part from the freer use of paint, but also by a broadened palette. Heriot has made extensive use of ~~green~~ and yellow, with spots of vermilion, and the skin of the Indians is painted a rich brown. Grey and blue are still applied last to form shadows, but the dominance of blue has disappeared. Instead, greens dominate, ranging from yellow-tinged to blue to a rich olive. This use of green was

to be a constant feature of Heriot's post-1798 work done in Canada and is his most personal response to the environment. He did not return to Britain until 1816 and so could not have received a first-hand knowledge of new developments in art. Just before 1800, bright, rococo colour departed from the watercolours of the main artists and green came in for particular distain.⁵ The emphasis was on tonal qualities, as in the paintings of Claude, and new materials such as bitumen were capable of giving warm, moist darks.⁶ William Gilpin stressed the importance of harmony and warned that "there is nothing surely so disagreeable to a correct eye, as a tinted drawing (such as we often see) in which greens, and blues, and reds, and yellows are daubed without any attention to harmony".⁷ So, regarding Heriot's colouring, there is a diminishing of the British influence and the development of a personal aesthetic.

There was also a change in approach to composition in Indian Lorette and this is further evidence of Heriot's new artistic assurance and aesthetic awareness. The earlier, Sandby-like, horizontal compositions, with low-lying horizon and foreground figures distributed in the stage-like foreground, were replaced by more complex designs in which recession was controlled by light and dark rather than diminution of forms. Heriot's design sense, evident in a playful way earlier, with the repetition of similar forms and lines, now controlled larger motifs and the massing of light and dark. The bridge in Indian Lorette is a powerful line uniting the work by countering the divisive form of the river. It

is balanced by a number of verticals throughout, but a potentially static balance is offset by a system of diagonals (eg. trees and river bank) which give a degree of movement to the work, in keeping with the rushing river.

¹Christina Cameron and Jean Trudel, The Drawings of James Cockburn: A Visit Through Quebec's Past (Toronto, 1976), p. 153.

²HERIOT 1807, p. v.

³In Canadian literature this attitude was expressed in the novel Wacousta, or The Prophecy (London, 1832) by Major John Richardson, a Gothic thriller set in the woods of the Canadas.

⁴Gilpin wrote: "When we examine any natural form, we find the multiplicity of its parts beyond the highest finishing: and indeed generally an attempt at the highest finishing would end in stiffness." GILPIN 1794, p. 72.

⁵Dayes wrote in 1805: "The vegetation should not be coloured too green; that is, with a raw, hungry colour of blue and yellow, but by uniting a red . . . with it, to give it a more solemn or autumnal hue; as nothing can have a more common or vulgar air, than too much green." Quoted in HARDIE, I, p. 191.

⁶Frederick Cummings and Allen Staley, Romantic Art in Britain: Paintings and Drawings, 1760-1860 (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 29.

⁷GILPIN 1794, p. 83.

No. 17.

17 Lake St. Charles, near Quebec

wc. over gr. on laid paper

10 3/4 x 17 1/2 in.; 27.2 x 44.5 cm.

Insc: title and signature, l.r. of mount

Prov: Walker's Galleries, London

Exh: J.R. Harper, A Century of Colonial Painting: The Seven Years War to Confederation. Exhibition at Confederation Art Gallery and Museum, Charlottetown. (Ottawa, 1964), no. 20; VANCOUVER 1966, no. 22; HUBBARD AND OSTIGUY 1967, no. 42, repr.; FINLEY 1978, no. 65Lit: HARPER 1962, no. 82, p. 411, repr.; Patricia Godsell, Enjoying Canadian Painting, (Don Mills, 1976), p. 38, repr.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (6320)

The composition and mood of this watercolour is typical of Heriot's Canadian work after 1800. The earlier, Sandby-like scheme has disappeared completely and a new type of romantic composition has taken its place. These later watercolours have broad, sweeping vistas, tiny shadowed figures and a quiet, contemplative mood. There is recession into deep space, controlled by light and dark tones which create a sense of intervening layers of atmosphere.

The direct technique of applying paint is the same as that developed about 1799, but the type of composition has come under the influence of the romantic landscapes being painted at the end of the eighteenth century (see Figs. 14-16). The artist's aim was consciously aesthetic, and realism was secondary as the scene was adjusted to give the "grand effects" called for by William Gilpin. This involved a forceful use of light: "Mere light and shade propose only the simple illumination of objects. Effect, by

balancing large masses of each, gives the whole a greater force."

He went on to give some general rules for the production of effect:

"There must be strong opposition of light and shade; in which the sky, as well as the landscape, must combine."¹

To give these dramatic contrasts, Heriot has used dark greens and browns in the foreground which is silhouetted against the bright surface of the water and the sky. This interest in tonal effects and structure of a painting was derived from a study of Claude and resulted in a temporary loss of bright colour in this work by Heriot.

¹GILPIN 1794, p. 75.

No. 18.

18 Roslin Castle, Edinburgh, 1819

wc., laid down

 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 18.2 x 26.7 cm.Insc: title, l.c. of mount; signed and dated 19 Augt. 1819,
l.l. of mount

Prov: Richard Ivor, London

Exh: FINLEY 1978, no. 124, repr.

MR. AND MRS. DONALD GOOD (1976)

In the years after leaving Canada (in 1816), Heriot continued to make watercolour sketches and paintings of the places he visited. There are existing views taken in England, Italy (1817-18), Germany (1819), France, and Scotland (1819-20), as well as copies of earlier works done in Canada. The subjects of the later watercolours show a strong interest in architecture, and most often show cities and large buildings from a distance or up close. "Pure" landscapes, without buildings, are all but non-existent. The earlier predilection towards painting ruins continued, as in this view of Roslin Castle. It is similar in composition and viewpoint to his depictions of Canadian ruins painted in 1798-99 (see No. 15). However, there is a change in painting technique here which is typical of Heriot's post-Canadian works. Rather than the build-up of forms through dots and touches with a wet brush as earlier, washes are applied with a drier brush. This often leaves tiny specks of white paper showing, as the thicker paint does not flow into all the recesses of the paper. This technique, called dragging, was particularly characteristic of John Sell Cotman and his followers from Norwich (see also Henry Warre).

Another change that took place in Heriot's work after he returned to Britain was a reduction in the use of green. He changed to the warmer range of yellow and red hues that was characteristic of many early nineteenth-century watercolours in Britain. Artists such as J.M.W. Turner, Richard Parkes Bonington (1802-28) and Edward Lear (1812-88) used yellows and reds to express the effects of light which characterized the art of the romantic period. Artists were impressed by the light-infused environments of Italy, the Middle East and India and tried to emulate the light and warmth through a warm palette. Heriot's trip to Italy in 1818-19 may have had an influence on his adoption of yellow, in the same way that the clear, cool atmosphere of Canada must have encouraged his use of green earlier.

CHARLES RAMUS FORREST
(act. 1780-c.1827)

A large group of watercolours by Charles R. Forrest was originally acquired by Lord Dalhousie during his tenure as Governor-in-Chief of British North America (1819-1828) and some of these watercolours ultimately became part of the William H. Coverdale Collection, Murray's Bay, Quebec. In 1970 the National Gallery of Canada and the Royal Ontario Museum bought a number of the Coverdale watercolours and in 1975 and 1977 more watercolours by Forrest were acquired from Sotheby sales in London.¹ The National Gallery now owns twenty-four works by Forrest and the Royal Ontario Museum owns nine. However, there has been no serious research into Forrest's background and art although his paintings make it clear that he must be considered one of the most talented of the watercolourists working in Canada in the period from 1750 to 1850. Therefore an effort has been made, using materials available in Ottawa, to determine some of the facts of Forrest's background and to examine a number of his paintings. As he was aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie while in Canada (1821-1823), it is necessary to examine as well the relationship between Forrest's art and that of another artist, John Woolford, who was in Quebec at that time under the patronage of Dalhousie.

The earliest records of Forrest are in the Army List after he took the commission of lieutenant with the 90th Regiment of Foot on April 11, 1780. Hostilities in the American War of

Independence had been escalating and some of the West Indian colonies had been actively siding with the Americans, backed by the French and Spanish. In 1779 British troops were sent to restore authority in Bermuda and battles were fought against the French on St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada, and against the Spanish in Honduras. In an effort to make gains against the greater forces of the enemy, two new regiments and drafts of recruits were sent to the West Indies in January 1780 and this included part of the 90th Regiment.² Whether Forrest arrived at this time with his Regiment or came later is unknown. A watercolour of the Demerara River (in present-day Guyana) dated April 13, 1781 would indicate that he was in the Caribbean.³ In the summer of 1782 fighting in the West Indies ended and in the following year the 90th Regiment was disbanded.⁴ Forrest was no longer on the British Army rolls and in the period 1783-1786 some of his watercolours of the island of St. Lucia were published as aquatint engravings.⁵

On November 18, 1802 Forrest entered the army again as a lieutenant, this time with the 3rd Regiment of Foot (also called the Buffs). Enlistment grew substantially that year in response to the threat posed by Napoleon and in May, 1803 England declared war against France. By 1804 Forrest was serving as a Pioneer in India.⁶ He was involved in a siege against the fortress town of Deig on December 23rd of that year, under the command of Lord Gerard Lake. British losses were high and it was recorded that

"Lieutenant Forrest of the Pioneers received over twenty wounds and was left for dead, but recovered with the loss of one arm."⁷

Forrest's lost arm did not put an end to his career, either military or artistic. He became a captain on November 14, 1805 and made a great number of watercolours of India, some dated 1807 and 1809, and a number of these were published as engravings in 1824.⁸ Some views of Spain indicate that he served in the Peninsular War (1808-1814).⁹ He may have returned from India to serve with his regiment, one battalion of which went to Lisbon in February 1809. By April it was in Spain and saw action there until 1813.¹⁰ An incursion was made into France in November 1813, but in 1814 Napoleon abdicated, putting an end to the war.

On June 2, 1814 Forrest rose to major with the 34th Regiment. Its two battalions served in Ireland and India, but a watercolour of the island of Dominica, dated November 13, 1814, and another of Havana, Cuba, "Sketched from Nature" in April 1815, would indicate that he did not follow his regiment.¹¹ By June 29, 1815 he had risen in rank to lieutenant-colonel. The second battalion of the 34th Regiment was disbanded in 1817 and on June 25 Forrest was put on half-pay with the 34th.¹² Two watercolours of the French Pyrenees, dated 1820 and July 31, 1820, may have been sketched during the 1813-14 incursion into France by the 3rd Regiment and painted later when Forrest was out of active service (List of Forrest watercolours, 14 and 15).

Forrest arrived in Quebec to serve as aide-de-camp to Lord

Dalhousie on June 20, 1821.¹³ A few days later (on July 2) Dalhousie left Quebec with a party of forty people for a tour of the Great Lakes. It must be assumed that Forrest was included in the party since a number of his watercolours (some dated 1822) show many of the spots visited and noted by Dalhousie in his journal of the trip (see map and itinerary of trip, pp. 244 - 245).¹⁴ It is puzzling that Forrest's name was not included among the others mentioned by Dalhousie in his diary, particularly since there are a number of references to John Woolford, Dalhousie's draughtsman, who was taken along expressly to record the scenery. Dalhousie must have been aware of Forrest's artistic propensity and one wonders whether there may have been strained relations between them at this early stage. Forrest might have felt slighted by Dalhousie's enthusiastic support for Woolford's artistic efforts, and this could help explain his alienation from Dalhousie which became a major cause of his dismissal two years later.

The two years that Forrest spent in Canada were very productive artistically. However, the period ended in bitterness when he was relieved of his post as aide-de-camp by Dalhousie effective June 24, 1823 - an episode which is documented by letters from the governor and Forrest. Four months' notice of his discharge was given by Dalhousie in a letter dated February 24, in which he politely explained:

I have found my personal Staff since I came into Canada very inefficient, and rather a disadvantage to me in some duties, than otherwise. I had hoped that time and better acquaintance might have brought you more into Society and rendered you more actively useful to me, but in that I have been disappointed¹⁵

The next day Dalhousie forwarded a franker memo to Forrest, giving three reasons for his dismissal. The first of the reasons referred again to Forrest's antisocial behaviour:

1. His extraordinary seclusion from society both Civil and Military gives me no sort of assistance in my duties of public intercourse and is so remarkable, as to be a subject of everyone's observation.¹⁶

The second and third reasons were also related to Forrest's disregard for society and its mores:

2. A strange story of a lady under Col. Forrest's protection has long been the subject of general conversation - this, under any circumstance ought to have been satisfactorily explained to me, either through the office of Col. Darling or by Col. Forrest himself.
3. The general absence of Col. Forrest and his family from Church has made an impression on my mind that does admit of being explained; and is so directly opposed to the custom and practice of all other members of my family, that it cannot be reconciled to my ideas of right or wrong conduct - this last is to me my chief and principal reason.

After dismissing Forrest, Dalhousie generously appointed him Assistant Military Secretary in London, for which he drew a salary as well as his half-pay with the 34th Regiment. However, the Secretary of War ordered Forrest to repay £129 of his half-pay drawn since he became Assistant Military Secretary. Forrest appealed to Dalhousie to write the Secretary of War to ask that this decision be reversed. Dalhousie complied with the request but to no avail. On October 6, 1823 Forrest wrote a very bitter letter to the governor, in effect blaming him for the monetary situation in which Forrest found himself, and asking him to write to the Secretary a second time.¹⁷ This letter was answered in icy

but courteous language by Dalhousie, who referred to "that sour and sullen turn of mind which you assumed, and which forced me to make a change of my aide-de-camp".¹⁸

It would seem from these letters that Forrest was somewhat of a recluse. Considering his impressive artistic achievements while in Canada, it becomes clear that he was far more interested in painting than in performing his military duties. One wonders if the hardship of having only one arm may have contributed to his anti-social behaviour and "sullen" cast of mind. In any case, he was totally unsuitable for the position of aide-de-camp (particularly to the sociable Dalhousie) although it must have appealed to him originally for the opportunity it presented to visit and paint a new country.

A dream of many years must have been fulfilled in 1824 when Forrest's watercolours of India were engraved by T. Sutherland and G. Hunt and published in six monthly parts by Ackermann as A Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna, in India (London). This has been described as "one of the finest books of travel brought out by Ackermann".¹⁹ It contained twenty-six coloured aquatints that were "clear and bright, finely engraved, frequently printed in two colours, and well finished by hand"²⁰ Forrest's admiration for the scenery of India was expressed in the preface as he described "the enchanting features of India, eternally glowing in the brilliant glory of the resplendent Asiatic sun".²¹

Forrest had a similar project in mind for his Canadian watercolours. Ackermann's Repository announced in 1824 that he was "engaged on A Picturesque Tour through the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, to be illustrated by coloured lithographic drawings".²² Many of the Canadian views are numbered, indicating his intention of including them in his book. However, it would seem that the project never materialized, possibly because of a new commission on December 2, 1824 as Assistant Quarter-Master General. In 1824, six new regiments were raised to again keep order in the West Indies and all officers were taken from the half-pay list to save some expense for the Government.²³ A pen and ink drawing of St. Lucia, dated November 1, 1826 would indicate that Forrest served in the West Indies, but on June 29 of the same year he was put on "unattached pay".²⁴ The climate of the West Indies had always proved devastating for British personnel and Forrest may have fallen ill. He probably died the following year (1827) since his death notice appeared in the 1828 Army List.

¹Sotheby's Belgravia, November 4, 1975 and Sotheby's, June 1, 1977.

²J.W. Fortescue, A History of the British Army, vol. III, (London, 1902), p. 335.

³England acquired a large province, Demerara, on the north-east coast of South America. Fortescue, IX, p. 5.

⁴The House of Commons had adopted a system of disbanding regiments and then raising them again should the need arise. Fortescue, IX, p. 1.

⁵ALLODI 1974, I.

⁶A description of the Pioneers was found in a military dictionary of 1779:

In war-time, [the Pioneers] are such as are commanded in from the country, to march with an army for mending the ways, for working on intrenchments and fortifications, and for making mines and approaches Most of the foreign regiments of artillery have half a company of pioneers, well instructed in that important branch of duty. Our regiments of infantry and cavalry have three or four pioneers each, provided with aprons, hatchets, saws, spades, and pick-axes.

Capt. George Smith, Military Dictionary, Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 1779. However, it is likely that Forrest was often armed with pencil and paper in the execution of his duties, since it was the engineers who made drawings for the information of their commander.

⁷Fortescue, V, p. 108.

⁸Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (98) and Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (6).

⁹Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (8).

¹⁰Richard Cannon, Historical Records of the British Army, Comprising the History of Every Regiment (London, 1837), p. 231-237.

¹¹Cannon, 1837, p. 62-65; Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (3); Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (4).

¹²Redundant officers in the British Army could not be discharged without the government paying them the value of their commissions, and they were therefore placed on half-pay. This was regarded as a form of retaining fee in case their services should be required in another war. Col. H.C.B. Rogers, The British Army of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1977), p. 57.

¹³Public Archives "C" Series, No. 1, 182, General Orders - 16 June, 1821 to 28 Aug., 1822, p. 2.

¹⁴DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, Entries for July 2 to Aug. 22, 1821, microfilm A-536, Dalhousie Papers, PAC.

¹⁵9th Earl of Dalhousie to Lt.Col. Forrest, Quebec, Feb. 24, 1823, MG 24.A12, vol. 6, Dalhousie Papers, PAC.

¹⁶9th Earl of Dalhousie to Col. Darling, Quebec, Feb. 25, 1823, MG 24.A12, vol. 6, Dalhousie Papers, PAC.

- ¹⁷ Lt.Col. Forrest to the 9th Earl of Dalhousie, South Bank, Regent's Park, London, Oct. 6, 1828, MG 24.A12, vol. 7, Dalhousie Papers, PAC.
- ¹⁸ 9th Earl of Dalhousie to Lt.Col. Forrest, Quebec, Dec. 20, 1823, MG 24.A12, vol. 13, Dalhousie Papers, PAC.
- ¹⁹ S.T. Prideau, Aquatint Engraving: A Chapter in the History of Book Illustration (London, 1969), p. 248.
- ²⁰ Martin Hardie, English Coloured Books (London, 1906), p. 109.
- ²¹ Hardie, 1906, pp. 109-110.
- ²² Hardie, 1906, p. 110.
- ²³ Fortescue, XI, pp. 86-87.
- ²⁴ Unattached pay was established in August 1814 and was given to the highest ranking officers in lieu of full or half-pay. Fortescue, XI, p. 40.

No. 19.

19 Grotto at Gedre near Gavarni, 1820

wc. over gr. on wove paper

17 x 25 in.; 43 x 63.4 cm.

Insc: signed and dated, l.l.

Verso: title and date, from Nature 31st July 1820; French
Pyrenees No. 38.

Prov: W. Whittington, Esq.

Lit: Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (101); NGC/AR 1977-78, p. 100.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (18857)

This watercolour was one of two taken in the French Pyrenees and painted the year before Forrest came to Canada.¹ Unlike his later Canadian works, it is filled with curved, stylized forms, as though expressing the heat of a hot, sultry day. The romantically mysterious subject, a grotto or cave, is interpreted by a mood of meditative introspection, enhanced by the male figure in the bottom centre of the work. This figure is more detailed than the far-off, generalized staffage of the Canadian works and may represent the artist himself in a French beret.

Although the subject of cave and mountain stream is romantic, Forrest's distinctive style is marked by a neo-classical clarity of form and an interest in tonal gradation. His palette is more muted here than it was later, but it includes his characteristic green, yellow ochre and orange hues. Shadows are formed by a wash of blue that was laid in first (unlike Heriot who applied his blue shadow tint last). Forrest's technique of monochrome underpainting in an unvarying colour, followed by

carefully superimposed washes of colour, reveals his eighteenth-century grounding in the art of watercolour. His basic watercolour technique was to remain unchanged in the works executed in Canada.

¹Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (101).

No. 20.

20 Icebergs off the Banks of Newfoundland, 1821

wc. over gr. on wove paper

16 x 25 5/8 in.; 40.4 x 65.7 cm.

Insc: No. 1 and title, l.c.; date 28th May 1821, l.c.;
Sketched from Nature, 1821, l.l.; On board the Brig
Ann C. Cowry, l.r.

Prov: W. Whittington, Esq.

Lit: Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (102); NGC/AR 1977-78, p. 100.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (18859)

Forrest's trip to Canada aboard the sailing ship, the Ann C. Cowry, is chronicled in this watercolour. The cold, stark forms of the Atlantic icebergs must have made an impression on the artist who had spent years in the warmer climates of India, the West Indies, Spain and southern France. The threatening clouds in a dominating sky express apprehension as the tiny ships are buffeted by large and unyielding waves. There was a long tradition of marine painting in Britain, influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch art such as that of the Van de Veldes, but sea pieces like this, with the implied domination of man by wind and waves, appealed to the romantic mind.

The colour scheme of greys and blues was often used by Forrest in his preliminary tone studies. In two known cases these grey/blue studies were the bases for fully-coloured watercolours.¹ However, in this work and another in the National Gallery of Canada, Horseshoe Falls, Niagara by Moonlight (undated), the grey/blue colouring fully expresses the subject and mood.

Forrest's method of pictorial recession is obvious here in his treatment of the waves. They are like the coulisses of stage scenery, with flat, overlapping planes that are differentiated by a light/dark alternation. Once again, this was a traditional eighteenth-century technique for giving pictorial depth to a landscape painting.

¹See No. 23.

No. 21.

21 Niagara River at Queenstown [Queenston]

wc. over gr., laid down
 13 5/8 x 26 3/8 in.; 34.5 x 66.9 cm.
 Verso: title, signature, u.r.

Prov: 9th Earl of Dalhousie; W.H. Coverdale Collection,
 Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Exh: COVERDALE 1940, no. 1804.

Lit: COVERDALE 1939, no. 1804; NGC/AR 1970-71, p. 96.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16654)

This watercolour shows the two North-west canoes used by Lord Dalhousie on his trip to the Great Lakes in the summer of 1821. The expedition reached Niagara Falls on July 14 and stayed four days.¹ Although undated, the watercolour was probably painted in 1822, as were Forrest's other dated views from the trip. Unlike Woolford, who painted coloured sketches on the spot, there are no small watercolour sketches by Forrest. It would seem that he executed large drawings "on the spot" in pencil only and these were worked up later into his highly-finished paintings. This working method is understandable considering that Forrest had only one arm with which to manipulate his painting equipment.

The composition and subject of this work are similar to a watercolour, Queenston Height, near Niagara (NGC), by John Woolford who also went on the 'Lakes' tour. Both show one of the expedition's North-west canoes with its square sail raised and both are views of Queenston Heights. Forrest has given a more "scientific" rendering, with the river shown in strict, one-point perspective. It is an approach similar to that of Thomas Davies in works such as his

Halifax of 1757 (No. 1). There is a self-conscious preoccupation with mathematical perspective that was characteristic of much of the pragmatic topographical drawing of the eighteenth century. However, in spite of the impression of precision, Forrest took liberties with his scenery by giving it the look of a mountain range. Instead of creating an atmospheric view of great distance by manipulating his paint, as Woolford did, he has given the scene emotional impact by adjusting the landforms. Both artists aimed at impressing the viewer but each chose his own method for doing so. For Forrest the main interest in landscape lay in the subject, whereas the younger Woolford had more of the nineteenth-century concern with technique and with using his paint in different ways to express the character or mood of the scene.

¹DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entry for July 14, 1821.

No. 22.

22 A Dignitary's Canoe on the French River, 1822

wc. over gr.

13 5/8 x 26 1/4 in.; 34.5 x 66.8 cm.

Insc: signed and dated, l.r.

Verso: title

Prov: 9th Earl of Dalhousie; W.H. Coverdale Collection,
Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Lit: NGC/AR 1970-71, p. 96.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16652)

Lord Dalhousie's canoes are shown with their detachable shelters in this view of the French River which links Georgian Bay with Lake Nipissing. Compared to the curving, molten-looking rocks in the French Pyrenees watercolour (No. 19), forms are straight and orderly in this work. The rocks of the cliff on the far river bank are neatly stacked one upon the other, like building blocks. These verticals are countered by the horizontal ripples of the water, by the clinging bands of vegetation and by the foreground. There is an atmosphere of northern quietude and coolness, expressed by the extended blue washes.

The watercolour closely resembles a painting by Woolford, Above the Fall of the Grand Récollet, French River, 1824 (No. 38). The rocks in Woolford's work are less uniform in shape and orientation, with more of a tendency toward roundness and softness than the straight-edged rigour of Forrest's work. The two paintings differ in their emphasis, or in the perceived essence of the landscape by the artist. While Woolford has chosen to accentuate

the sublime grandeur of the far rock-face by giving it a dramatic height, Forrest has effectively expressed the breadth and space of the uninhabited wilderness. This is indicative of the different aesthetic sensibilities evident in the oeuvre of the two artists.

23 On [the] French River

wc. over gr.

12 9/16 x 20 11/16 in.; 31.9 x 52.5 cm.

Insc: No. 3 & 57 and title, l.l.

Prov: Emily Driscoll, New York

Lit: ALLODI 1974, I, no. 747, repr.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (955.189.2)

In this blue study Forrest has concentrated on the range of light to dark to the exclusion of colour. After this tonal structure was worked out he painted a fully-coloured version of the subject, Grand Campment, French River, Lake Huron (No. 24), both probably done in 1822. The preoccupation with tonal values was a result of the influence of neo-classical art in late eighteenth-century Britain and contributes to the clarity of Forrest's forms. Also of a classical nature is the careful construction of the composition of the painting, based on a static system of horizontal and vertical accents. The strong horizontal lines of mid-ground shoreline and background waterline, along with the decisive verticals of the foreground trees and mid-ground mast and rocks of the shore, give stability and equilibrium to the work. Forrest's concern for balancing his composition has led him to add a clump of bushes to the far right foreground of the coloured version of this work.

Another blue study, Grand Récollet (ROM), was done by Forrest in preparation for the coloured version, Sault au Récollet, French River, Lake Huron, 1822 (NGC). The composition

in this pair of paintings is identical except for the poses of the tiny human figures. In both instances of translating a blue study into a coloured work, Forrest has added heavy, grey clouds to the final version.

No. 24.

24 Grand Campment, French River, Lake Huron, 1822

wc. over gr.

12 7/8 x 26 3/8 in.; 32.8 x 67 cm.

Insc: signed and dated, l.l.

Verso: title

Prov: 9th Earl of Dalhousie; W.H. Coverdale Collection,
Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Exh: COVERDALE 1940, no. 1799; COVERDALE 1943-44, no. 3;
HUBBARD 1973, no. 8, repr.

Lit: COVERDALE 1939, no. 1799; NGC/AR 1970-71, p. 96.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16649)

Dalhousie's 1821 tour of the Great Lakes reached the French River (or "Rivière des Français") and "Le Grand Campment" by nightfall on July 10th.¹ However, this watercolour has the bright, mid-day lighting characteristic of most of Forrest's works, illuminating all objects to give the maximum amount of detail. The colour is more highly pitched than usual, with yellow and orange hues defining the trees, ground cover and shoreline. Although it was July and the trees would still have been green, Forrest has rendered them in autumn colours. Since his "Lakes" works were painted the following year (in 1822) he would by then have had the experience of a Canadian autumn. Like Thomas Davies, he must have been anxious to transmit that visual experience to paper.

Forrest's planar method of recession is easily seen here. The forested banks on the far right shore of the river are like the flat, overlapping pieces of stage scenery, alternating light and dark. Another artist who worked in Canada and used this

method was George Bulteel Fisher (1754-1834). The similarity of Forrest's composition to that of Fisher's Fall of Montmorenci (Fig. 16) is striking. Fisher's original watercolour was one of six published as aquatints by J.W. Edy in 1795-96 and the large, sweeping view became widely known. The design of the Fisher-Edy print, the crisp detailing, the tiny figures on the shore and the planar method of showing recession are all similar to Forrest's work, and it is quite unlikely that he would not have seen such an important print of the Canadian landscape.

In order for Forrest to achieve his characteristic effects of breadth and grandeur, there has been a sacrifice of specific detail. Forms such as trees, rocks and foliage become generalized types which contribute to the overall design. This neo-classical style of landscape must have owed much to the British watercolours of John Varley (Fig. 15) and Francis Towne (1739/40-1816).

¹DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entry for July 10, 1821.

No. 25.

25 Junction of the Little River with the Ottawa

wc. over gr.

13 3/8 x 26 in.; 33.9 x 65.5 cm.

Verso: title

Prov: 9th Earl of Dalhousie; W.H. Coverdale Collection,
Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Exh: COVERDALE 1940, no. 1801.

Lit: COVERDALE 1939, no. 1801; NGC/AR 1970-71, p. 96.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16651)

This is another of Forrest's Lakes trip watercolours, undated, but probably painted in 1822. The composition is identical to that of a sketch by John Woolford of the same subject, Petite Rivière joins Ottawa near Lake Nipissing (NGC). Although Forrest's work is executed in his own distinctive style, the similarity of composition is striking enough to raise questions regarding the artistic relationship between the two artists. As seen in the case of Peachey, it was usual for artists in the small Canadian garrisons to copy the work of others, often with the most talented acting as instructor. Forrest was the senior of the two men but he had not yet had any of his works published (usually the main goal of ambitious topographical artists). Woolford had by then enjoyed Dalhousie's generous patronage for a number of years. Thus it is difficult to speculate as to which of the artists was the greater influence upon the other. However, it seems plausible to envision a disgruntled Forrest 'competing' with the favoured Woolford by sketching some of the

same scenes on the spot and carefully painting them later, to the detriment of his official duties. This working method would have lent itself to the use of models, whereas Woolford's spontaneous, on-the-spot sketches belie the suggestion of his copying from external sources. Forrest's interest in the work of other artists is revealed by his painting, Pictured Rocks on the South Coast of Lake Superior, Canada (NGC) which was copied from an illustration by Henry Inman for Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's Journal of his Great Lakes tour published in 1821.¹ No such sources are known to have been used by Woolford.

¹Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Narrative journal of travels from Detroit through the great chain of American lakes, to the sources of the Mississippi river. In the year 1820. (Albany, 1821).

On the back of his watercolour Forrest quoted at length from this tour book.

No. 26.

26 River View, 1822

wc. over gr. on two pieces of paper, laid down

13 3/8 x 44 3/8 in.; 33.9 x 112.7 cm.

Insc: signed and dated, l.l. and l.r.

Verso: title

Prov: 9th Earl of Dalhousie; W.H. Coverdale Collection,
Murray's Bay, P.Q.

Exh: COVERDALE 1940, no. 1805

Lit: COVERDALE 1939, no. 1805; NGC/AR 1970-71, p. 96

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (16655)

Based on the similarity of this watercolour to one by Woolford (Ottawa Bay, near the Junction of Little River, 1824, MTPL), it can be assumed that the subject is the same. The Lakes expedition reached the Ottawa River on July 13, 1821 and Dalhousie wrote in superlatives about the scenery along its course. He described the river as "awful" and "grand" and in the July 13th entry of his journal he noted that Woolford made a "Panoramic Sketch" of the Ottawa River.¹ It is interesting that Forrest's view of this camping spot is also in a panoramic format - unusual for his 'Lakes' watercolours. He has enhanced the effect of grandeur by taking the view from further away than Woolford. Unfortunately, his desire to express an impressive breadth has resulted in a less satisfying composition that tends to "break" in the middle. The bold circle of the bay is not strong enough to unify the work and counter the effect of a central void. This device of a central circle, usually a body of water, was one that Woolford also used in several works.

¹ DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entry for July 13, 1821.

No. 27.

No. 27. Detail.

27 [Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River]

wc. over gr. on two pieces of wove paper

14 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 25 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.; 37 x 65.7 cm. (left side); 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.;
49.7 x 65.4 cm. (right side)

Verso: signed, right side; Willie in a different hand, u.c.;
Thought to be Canada by Col. Forrest No. 4, u.r.;
Wm. Forrest, 1864, No. 30, l.c.

Watermark: Jan Cool and Comp. (North) Holland

Prov: Cliff Sinclair, Australia (great-great grandson of the
artist); Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (15, detail
repr.)

Lit: NGC/AR 1975-76, p. 142.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (18504-05)

The North-west canoes pulled ashore in this untitled watercolour show that it is another of the 'Lakes' works and thus was probably painted in 1822. Once again it is similar to a coloured sketch by John Woolford, Chaudière Falls, Philemon Wright's on Ottawa (No. 37). The Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River, between present-day Ottawa and Hull, was a favourite painting spot for visiting artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Dalhousie's touring party reached Philemon Wright's landing on August 16, 1821 and visited the famous founding father of the City of Hull (originally called Wrightstown).¹

This watercolour was bought by the National Gallery of Canada as two separate works and it was later discovered that they formed one painting. A 12.7 cm. strip had been cut away from the bottom left half of the watercolour. It is difficult to imagine why the work was cut in half, particularly since it remained in

the family of the artist.

Chaudière Falls is larger than most of Forrest's other Canadian watercolours. It is an impressive work that is unified in spite of the large size and panoramic format. Unlike River View (No. 26), Forrest succeeded in carrying pictorial interest across the whole surface of the painting. The colours are more limited than usual, without the brighter keys of yellow and orange. The predominantly blue hues, used under the other colours for shadows, tend to give a further degree of harmony and unity to the work. All the whites are areas of the paper which have been carefully kept free of paint, in the manner of the eighteenth century. These sparkling highlights give the water a rhythmic linearity that is continued in the rocks and trees. The bold patterning and stylized forms of Forrest's watercolours are reminiscent of Thomas Davies' painting mode, with its exuberant rococo surface design and echoing forms which emphasized the picture plane. However, Forrest's aesthetic is decidedly neo-classical, with mathematically precise composition, straight horizon line, measured lighting, balanced forms and tones and clarity of colour and outline. This is far from the picturesque aesthetic of irregularity and roughness, as seen in the art of George Heriot.

¹DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entry for August 16, 1821.

No. 28.

No. 28. Detail.

28 Quebec and the Falls of Montmorenci [Montmorency], 1823

wc. over gr. on three pieces of wove paper

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 46 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 31.8 x 117.3 cm.

Verso: title, date June 1823.

Prov: Cliff Sinclair, Australia (great-great grandson of the artist); Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (13)

Lit: NGC/AR 1975-76, p. 143.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (18495)

Forrest's duties as aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie ended on June 24, 1823 and he probably left for London soon after that date. Dalhousie went on a tour of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island on June 8 and did not return to Quebec until August 12, leaving Forrest free to paint before he left Canada.¹ A large, unfinished panorama of Quebec, Panoramic View of the Basin of Quebec taken from the Grand Battery (NGC) was done just previous to this work, (May-June 1823) on twelve pieces of joined paper. A third, Cape Diamond and Quebec from Point Levis (NGC), on five sheets of paper, was "sketched from Nature" in May 1825, putting the accuracy of the inscribed date into question. The foreground of the work dated May-June 1823 is unfinished but it has colour notations and compass directions which would have enabled the artist to finish it at a later date if time had allowed. A note was written on the back by Forrest stating: "The lower grounds of the distance from (a) down to (6) presented every variety of the perimeter colours beautifully varied."

It is an interest in colour that distinguishes Quebec and

the Falls of Montmorency. Bright yellows and oranges predominate in the foreground. A monochrome underpainting of blue forms the shadows, and washes of yellow are laid in over top to give the greens rather than mixing the colours together on his palette and applying them directly, as Woolford, Back, Warre and other nineteenth-century artists did. The steep, mid-ground river bank is painted in a wide range of subtle tones and hues, including greys, violets, pale yellows, greens, blues, oranges and sepia. The washes are painted broadly, but small dots of dark green give definition to the foliage. This detailing is lacking in the far right foreground of the watercolour which does not appear to have been finished. The paint has been wet-blotted to give the softened effect of mist rising from the falls.

Forrest had a strong predisposition towards the long, narrow format and panoramic view. This scene is taken from a high viewpoint in order to record the greatest amount of information as accurately as possible. It is more successful than his earlier River View of 1822 (No. 26) which was somewhat tedious because of the unchanged nature of the scenery from one side to the other. In this work there is a scattering of focal points to force the eye of the viewer to explore the complex terrain. However, it is given unity by the continuous horizon line, which also induces the eye to traverse the entire width of the work.² The curvature of the horizon could indicate Forrest's use of a drawing machine such as a camera lucida.

The artist's intention in his panoramic watercolours of Quebec was to give an accurate transcript of reality. Thus he emphasized the features that tended to make the view look like a real place, such as recession into the distance and the three-dimensional character of objects in this space. This pragmatic approach has produced a visually interesting picture because of Forrest's original style and his skilful composition.

¹ DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entries for June 8 to August 12, 1823.

² See Lisa Fellows Andrus, Measure and Design in American Painting, 1760-1860. (New York and London, 1977), p. 286-318 for a study of the aesthetic aspects of perspective in panoramic views.

No. 29.

29 Third or Lower Fall on the Ste. Anne or Grande River, 1823

wc. over gr.

26 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.; 66.8 x 49.8 cm.

Verso: Canadian Views No. 50/Third or Lower Fall on the Ste. Anne or Grande River. Parish St. Joachim/32 miles below Quebec/July 1823, l.c.

Prov: Cliff Sinclair, Australia (great-great grandson of the artist); Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (18)

Lit: NGC/AR 1975-76, p. 143.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (18509)

Forrest's departure from Canada must have been delayed long enough for him to paint this last watercolour, dated July 1823. The vertical format is unusual as most of his works are horizontal in shape and composition. The work can be related in general conception to his pre-Canadian painting of 1820, Grotto at Gedre (No. 19). Both are close-up views of landscape features rather than the usual sweeping vistas seen from a distance. However, the Canadian view does not have the pervasive curved lines of the Pyrenees landscape and the forms are more angular. There is a naive repetition of diagonal lines (eg. trees, rocks and streams of water) in this work that lends itself to being read mainly as surface decoration. The colours are clear and bright and there is little effect of recession. The goal of realistic portrayal is secondary to the sheer pleasure of picture-making, giving the work a charm and a touch of whimsy that is lacking in some of his other more severe and classically "grand" conceptions.

LIST OF WATERCOLOURS AND DRAWINGS BY CHARLES FORREST

Entries are arranged in chronological order as closely as as could be determined. Present location or reference follows dimensions. Medium is watercolour over gr. unless given otherwise.

A. Non-Canadian Works

1. Diamond Rock and Part of Martinique
22.8 x 93.5 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (1)
2. View of St. Helena
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (3)
3. The East Side of the Demerara River taken from the Channel
in the River opposite No. 1, 1781
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (5)
4. Portrait of a Native (attr. to Forrest)
gr. on buff paper
19.7 x 15.9 cm.
Sotheby's, Nov. 3, 1976 (87)
5. View from Nature at Sunset near the Equator, 1807
33.5 x 47.5 cm.
Sotheby's, Nov. 3, 1976 (88)
6. The Bridge of Oudanulla, Bengal, 1807
32 x 48.5 cm.
Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (98)
7. View of the Taj Mahal from the Fort of Agra, 1809
18.9 x 38.8 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (6)
8. Delhi: The Jaina Masjid, or Great Mosque
37.4 x 59.6 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (7)
9. The Palace of Delhi, taken from the top of the Jaina Masjid
23.7 x 38.5 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (7)
10. The Approach of a Typhoon at Cawnpore on the Ganges, 1809
26.5 x 38.1 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (6)

11. Group of twenty-two drawings of Spain
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (8)
12. Island of Dominica, Centre Bearing N.N.E., Nov. 13, 1814
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (3)
13. Havanna in the Island of Cuba, 1815
28 x 99 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (4)
14. Cascade de Boncey - in the Valley of Marcadau above
Cauterets, 1820
43 x 63.5 cm.
Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (101)
15. Grotto at Gedre near Gavarni, 31 July 1820
43 x 63.4 cm.
NGC
16. Sketch of Part of the Island of St. Lucie, 1826
pen and Indian ink
39 x 64 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (2)
17. Seven Views in Skye
blue washes over gr.
Sotheby's, Nov. 3, 1976 (85)
18. Wolfsfield
34 x 51 cm.
Sotheby's, Nov. 3, 1976 (89)
19. View of a House and Garden (attr. to Forrest)
pen and brown ink over gr. on buff paper
Sotheby's, Nov. 3, 1976 (87)
20. Mill...Village...Sorettot? (attr. to Forrest)
grey and blue washes over gr.
Sotheby's, Nov. 3, 1976 (87)

B. Canadian Views

21. Icebergs off the Banks of Newfoundland, May 28, 1821
blue and grey washes over gr.
40.4 x 65.7 cm.
NGC
22. On the Jacques Cartier River, Aug. 1821
"Canadian View No. 6"
44.5 x 66 cm.
Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (99)

23. View of Jacques Cartier's Bridge
41.3 x 63.8 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (17)
Sotheby's, May 17-18, 1976 (85)
24. Falls of the River St. Charles at Indian Lorette, Aug. 31, 1821
19 x 66 cm.
Sotheby's, May 17-18, 1976 (84)
25. Falls on the St. Charles River
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (17)
26. Sorel from Government House, Sept. 1821 "No. 17"
wc., pen and ink over gr.
29.3 x 47.8 cm.
NGC
27. View on the Lower Lake St. Charles, May 30, 1822
"Canadian Views No. 26"
39.5 x 66 cm.
Sotheby's, June 1, 1977 (100)
28. Cape Diamond and the St. Lawrence River from the Seigniory
of Lauzon
blue and grey washes over gr.
30.9 x 46.8 cm.
NGC
29. Quebec taken from the House of James Caldwell, Esq., July 15,
1822
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (16)
30. Bridge on the Path from Wolfe's Cove to Spencer Wood
blue and grey washes over gr.
33.3 x 53.3 cm.
ROM
31. A River Scene "No. 7"
blue and grey washes over gr.
33.3 x 49.7 cm. NGC
32. [A View of the St. Lawrence River?]
blue, grey and yellow washes over gr.
36.8 x 54.2 cm. NGC
33. [A View of the St. Lawrence River?]
blue and grey washes over gr.
34.7 x 54.7 cm.
NGC

34. View of Fort Henry, Kingston, looking down the St. Lawrence towards Lake Ontario, Sept. 14, 1822
"Canadian View No. 27, No. 66 & 116"
pen and ink over gr.
30.8 x 48.6 cm.
NGC
35. Looking up the Niagara River at Queenston
blue and grey washes over gr.
31.7 x 53.3 cm.
ROM
36. Niagara River at Queenston
34.5 x 66.9 cm.
NGC
37. Horseshoe Falls, Niagara, by Moonlight
blue and grey washes over gr.
43.5 x 48.5 cm.
NGC
38. Panoramic View of Niagara Falls, from the Chaudière Side
55 x 98.1 cm.
Sotheby's, May 17-18, 1976 (87)
39. View of the Horseshoe Falls and the Canadian Side
60 x 97.5 cm.
Sotheby's, May 17-18, 1976 (86)
40. Horseshoe Falls and Terrapin Point from the eastern shore
58.4 x 95.8 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (11)
41. Niagara Falls
64.1 x 97.9 cm.
Sotheby's Belgravia, Nov. 4, 1975 (11)
42. Pictured Rocks, Lake Superior
blue and grey washes over gr.
15.1 x 35.1 cm.
NGC
43. Grand Campment, French River, Lake Huron
32.8 x 67 cm.
NGC
44. On the French River "No. 3 & 57"
blue washes over gr.
31.9 x 52.5 cm.
ROM

45. A Dignitary's Canoe on the French River
34.5 x 66.8 cm.
NGC
46. Above the Grand Récollet "No. 6 & 62"
blue and grey washes over gr.
32 x 52.7 cm.
ROM
47. Cascade of the Grand Récollet, French River
blue washes over gr.
34.2 x 53.5 cm.
ROM
48. Sault au Récollet, French River, Lake Huron
34.5 x 66.8 cm.
NGC
49. Portage de la Petite Faucille on the French River "No. 12"
blue washes over gr.
32.2 x 53.2 cm.
ROM
50. Junction of the Little River with the Ottawa
33.9 x 65.5 cm.
NGC
51. River View
33.9 x 112.7 cm.
NGC
52. Chat Falls, Lake Chaudière on the Ottawa
33.5 x 66.3 cm.
NGC
53. [Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River]
37 x 65.7 cm.; 49.7 x 65.4 cm.
NGC
54. Falls of the Grand Calumet on the Ottawa River "No. 9"
blue washes over gr.
32.2 x 53 cm.
ROM
55. Rapide de la Montagne below the Grand Calumet, Ottawa
River "No. 10"
blue washes over gr.
32.8 x 53.2 cm.
ROM

56. Cape Diamond and Quebec from Point Levi, May 1825 [sic?]
wc., pen and ink over gr.
27.4 x 180.7 cm.
NGC

57. Panoramic View of the Basin of Quebec taken from the
Grand Battery, May-June 1823
wc., pen and ink over gr.
43.8 x 263.8 cm.
NGC

58. Quebec and the Falls of Montmorency, June 1823
31.8 x 117.3 cm.
NGC

59. View of Montmorency Falls from Point Levis
27.4 x 73.1 cm.
NGC

60. Quebec from the General Hospital, on the St. Charles River
"Canadian Views No. 59"
blue and grey washes over gr.
31.4 x 46.8 cm.
NGC

61. Cape Diamond, Quebec and the St. Lawrence River, taken
from the Seat of the Hon. S Caldwell, 1823
54 x 100 cm.
ROM

62. The St. Anne Falls "Canadian Views No. 50"
66.8 x 49.8 cm.
NGC

JOHN ELLIOT WOOLFORD
(1778-1866)

John Woolford was one of the few military artists to turn professional and devote himself entirely to painting for a substantial length of time. His 'professional' period was from 1803 to 1816 and was made possible by the patronage of George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, who brought Woolford to Canada in 1816 when he became Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. The artist spent the rest of his life in Canada, dividing his time between military duties and his art. A great number of his watercolours were acquired by Lord Dalhousie and remained, until quite recently, in the Ramsay family collection at Dalhousie Castle in Scotland. These works have been gradually returning to Canada and many are now housed in public collections. In 1931 an album of Nova Scotia sketches was sold by Dalhousie's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Braun Lindsay, and entered the William Inglis Morse collection, now in the Killam Library, Dalhousie University. Other watercolours by Woolford now in the Maritimes are owned by the North British Society of Halifax, the York-Sunbury Historical Museum, Fredericton and Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia. A number of other works were sold by the Braun Lindsay family in 1979 and these have also returned to Canada. Thirty of this group were bought by the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, a sketchbook of forty-four monochrome watercolours was purchased by the Public Archives of Canada and a

smaller number of Maritime views went to the Nova Scotia Museum. Sixteen works had been acquired earlier by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and a private collection of thirty paintings (dated 1824) had been sold to the Metropolitan Toronto Public Library in 1902 (now in the John Ross Robertson Collection).

The newly-acquired watercolours and drawings by Woolford make it possible to study his work from 1817 to 1824, and reveal a talent of exceptional versatility and wide-ranging expressive means. Indeed, he must rank in importance with Thomas Davies in early Canadian landscape painting. However, the only published material about Woolford to date is by Mary Allodi of the Royal Ontario Museum.¹ The main sources of new information about Woolford's background for this study are an autobiographical letter, now in the University of New Brunswick Archives, and Lord Dalhousie's journals, which he kept from 1800.² The journals for the years 1816-1820, when Dalhousie was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, have been edited by Marjory Whitelaw and were published by Oberon Press in 1978.³ The remaining journals are in manuscript form on microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada.⁴

John Elliot Woolford was born in London, England in 1778. He may have been an apprentice in the Drawing Room of the Board of Ordnance in the Tower of London where he would have learned the skills of a topographical draughtsman.⁵ He was about nineteen years old in 1797 when he entered the Second Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot. This was the beginning of his long association

with Lord Dalhousie, then a lieutenant-colonel in command of the regiment's first battalion. They moved to Ireland with the regiment and on June 12, 1798, participated in the battle and final victory at Ballynahind.⁶ The regiment then moved to Holland where it fought under the general command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. After returning to England, it embarked again, this time for Egypt, landing on March 13, 1800. A series of attacks against the Napoleonic forces at Alexandria and Cairo resulted in their defeat on September 2, 1801.⁷ The 2nd Regiment left Egypt for Minorca and Malta and finally for the large British garrison at Gibraltar.

Woolford wrote that "during these periods His Lordship had found out that I was somewhat skilful in sketching and painting and had employed me during any leisure in those pursuits."⁸ He stated that Dalhousie left the regiment at Gibraltar and returned to Dalhousie Castle, taking Woolford with him. In late 1801 or in 1802 Dalhousie kept Woolford busy at the castle "finishing the different sketches and models" that he had collected up to that time.⁹ Dalhousie soon assumed the command of the Edinburgh district and gave his artist the job of Clerk. However, Woolford decided to devote himself entirely to his painting and by using Dalhousie's influence was allowed to leave the army in 1803. He moved to Edinburgh, married and "followed the profession of a Landscape Painter with some success." He was "frequently employed and much patronized" by the 9th Earl

and his brothers, particularly the Honourable William March of Panmuir.¹⁰ In 1815 two of his watercolours were exhibited at the Royal Academy, one a landscape and the other a view of Edinburgh Castle.¹¹ At that time he was listed in the exhibition catalogue as a painter living on Tichbourne St., Edinburgh.

When Dalhousie was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia he invited Woolford to accompany him to Halifax. They arrived on October 24, 1816, and Woolford wrote that he was soon "employed in my professional pursuit in collecting sketches in that and the adjacent province."¹² His professional career as an artist ended upon being appointed Clerk in the Barrack Department, but he pointed out that he was still giving his leisure time "to the pencil."¹³

Some of this leisure time was occupied each summer by accompanying Dalhousie on tours of the Maritime region and making landscape sketches for him. Dalhousie, in true British fashion, enjoyed touring new areas and describing what he saw in a journal. He used many of the stock words and descriptive phrases that had become part of the language of the British tourist by the end of the eighteenth century. Falling under his description of "romantic" were such landscape features as "cataracts" tumbling over "broken crags", "stupendous rocks," riverbanks of "noble" or "hanging woods," uninhabited wilderness, and the "boiling" currents of rapids. In picturesque fashion, the landscape was appreciated for its picture-making potential,

such as a view of Truro township in Nova Scotia which he praised for "forming a gay lively picture."¹⁴

In 1817, Dalhousie and his entourage (including Woolford) made two tours of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He left Halifax in a sailing ship on August 26 "to visit the harbours Eastward, the Gut of Canso and Pictou," returning on horseback by way of Truro (see map p.241).¹⁵ At Pictou he sent Woolford on a different route, having him travel the road to Antigonish, Country Harbour, St. Mary's, Musquodoboit and Halifax and "to take sketches of the country as he went along."¹⁶ The large watercolour, View in the Woods near Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 1817 (ROM) was a result of this sketching trip.

The tour of eastern Nova Scotia was completed on September 18, but on October 6 Dalhousie set off again to explore the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shoreline along the Bay of Fundy and the St. John River as far as Fredericton (see map p. 241). He went overland from Windsor to the Annapolis Basin, but sent Woolford in the sloop Bathurst which was to meet the others at Annapolis. Woolford was directed to take sketches of Cape Blomidon and Partridge Island on the Cumberland shore.

After Dalhousie's party met the ship it sailed across the Bay of Fundy to St. John. From there it made an excursion to Bliss Harbour and on up the narrow passage to St. Andrews. By October 18 the party had returned to St. John and boarded a steamship for Fredericton. A ten hour trip returned them to the

Bathurst the same day and they then sailed for Windsor by the water route that Woolford had taken earlier, arriving on October 24. Some of Woolford's undated drawings and watercolours can confidently be dated to this trip, possibly including those of three buildings in Fredericton (List, #4, 12-14). In summing up the results of these two trips, Dalhousie wrote:

The eastern districts from Gay's river appear to me by far the finest and most beautiful part of Nova Scotia; having carried Woolford with me everywhere I have got a very large collection of sketches to keep me in better remembrance of this excursion.¹⁷

Dalhousie made two more trips in 1818, again accompanied by Woolford. From June 25 to July 16 he travelled to Cape Blomidon across the Minas Chanel to Parrsboro and north as far as Baie Verte (see map p. 242). Lady Dalhousie had been left at Zwicker's Inn on Mahone Bay and was joined there later by Dalhousie and his travelling party. They made side trips from the inn to Lunenburg, to the falls of the La Have River (July 25) and to Chester (July 30).¹⁸ Views of these places make up part of the Nova Scotia sketchbook now in the Morse Collection (List, #24-46). Of the Mahone Bay area Dalhousie wrote: "The scenery is beautiful, but better described in the sketches I have had taken by Woolford than it can be by words."¹⁹ From August 24 to September 22, a trip by water was made to see the Fort of Louisburg, where they stopped from September 2-6. "Several views" of the fort were taken by Woolford (List, #47-50) and a watercolour, Cape Porcupine, Gut of Canso, Nova Scotia (ROM)

must also date from this trip.²⁰

On June 22, 1819, Dalhousie set out from Halifax in two ships for a trip to Niagara Falls (see map p. 243). He stopped at Quebec long enough to visit the falls of Chaudière and Montmorency. The Chaudière Falls particularly impressed him and his romantic viewpoint is reflected in an emotional passage inspired by the falls:

But when we contemplated all this magnificence as reality and the work of an Almighty Ruler of Nature, it drew from all of us the feeling and acknowledgement, how little and utterly insignificant are all the works of man to this!²¹

It is this religious appreciation of nature that motivated Dalhousie and many others of this period to explore the landscape, continually seeking out scenes and looking for experiences to feed a craving for the sublime, or the thrill of being dominated by the forces of nature. The romantic period saw a revival of religious fervour, after the intellectual atheism of the eighteenth century, and the awe-inspiring wonders of nature were experienced as tangible proof of a powerful God.

Dalhousie's association with Woolford was long, and it can be assumed that he had considerable influence on Woolford's art. The scenes of waterfalls, rivers and rapids that were most enthusiastically described by Dalhousie were painted from many points of view by the artist. This visual record was very important to Dalhousie:

It is impossible to describe [Chaudière Falls] otherwise than by pencil, and I am glad I have brought my draughtsman

Woolford with me. He shall be kept hard at work during my rambles in Canada, so that hereafter I may refer to his sketches for the beauties of the Country.²²

Dalhousie's influence was quite direct at times, such as at Coteau du lac where he wrote of one view: "At Sunset I made Woolford try to sketch it...."²³ Dalhousie's romantic concern for dramatic lighting effects, particularly the yellow and orange skies of sunset, was another factor brought to bear on Woolford and is evident in many of his watercolours. An album of forty-four undated "American Sketches" in sepia or grey monochrome (List, #71-114) seems certainly to be a record of the 1819 trip to Niagara since all of the scenes painted correspond to places described by Dalhousie in his journals.²⁴ Some of these sketches were later worked up into finished paintings in colour (List, # 92, 103).²⁵

Dalhousie's party reached Niagara Falls on July 14 and stayed for two days. He and the others were not disappointed upon reaching their goal and the emotional effect of the falls was expressed by his ecstatic words:

...I felt astonished, and so were all, quite lost in amazement at this most magnificent display of nature. The feeling on the first moment is indescribable. Every part of the whole is so far beyond what I had attempted to fancy it, the mind sunk into immediate acknowledgment that it was indeed far beyond the power of human comprehension.²⁶

Here then is expressed the romantic distrust of reason and a willingness to abandon the conscious self to its intuitive faculties in order to approach the extremes of experience.

After the emotional impact had been savoured, Dalhousie moved on to describe the visual aspects in detail, imagining "the whole of it a picture which we stood admiring."²⁷ He noted that Woolford had "taken a collection of sketches and those small pieces of the whole are very good."²⁸

On the return trip the party took time to ride the rapids at the Long Sault (disappointing because it had "nothing to alarm or even surprize us"), at the Cèdres and then the Cascades ("both more rapid and broken and consequently finer than we had hitherto passed").²⁹ However, Woolford left Dalhousie at Kingston "to proceed down the river slowly by himself for the purpose of taking sketches at his leisure."³⁰

The year 1819 was important in Woolford's artistic career not only for the many fine watercolours he produced as a result of the trip to Niagara, but also because he became a printmaker. He drew, etched and published four views of Halifax architecture, and these were issued with a title page wrapper dedicating the views to Lord Dalhousie (List, #182-185). This set has historical importance as the first of its kind to be printed and published in Canada.³¹ It was ambitious artistically because of the large size of the prints and because they were printed in up to three colours of ink. Most were finished by hand with watercolour. In May, an advertisement in the Acadian Recorder announced that the views were:

Etched in the manner of a finished outline...adopted either for the Portfolio of the Connoisseur or the

study of the Amateur, as the nature of the engraving will allow them to be finished in imitation of the original drawings.³²

On July 3, 1819 the set of prints was advertised as just published and two views of Dalhousie Castle were offered for sale at the same time.³³

In 1820 Dalhousie was appointed Governor-General of the Canadas after the sudden death of the Duke of Richmond. He left Halifax for Quebec on June 7, 1820 and Woolford followed "after a short time."³⁴ In the summer of 1821 (June 29-July 19) Dalhousie went on a trip through the Great Lakes (see Itinerary, p. 245) and once again Woolford went along "to sketch our progress."³⁵ The watercolours from this trip were painted in colour instead of monochrome and a number of these 'Lakes' works are now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Woolford's use of a full range of colours in his on-the-spot sketches indicates an increased confidence and technical ability. A number of these 1821 sketches were later made into large, finished works - some undated and some dated to 1824.

It is ~~not~~ known when Woolford returned to duty at Halifax with the Barrack Department, but in 1823 he was appointed Barrack Master at Saint John, New Brunswick. In that year he was transferred to Fredericton where he held the same post for thirty-six years, until his retirement in 1859.³⁶ His interest in architecture, so often evident in his paintings and drawings, was exercised in a practical way in this period. The old Government

House in Fredericton burned in 1825 and Woolford designed the new building which is still in use today (as R.C.M.P. Headquarters). About the same time he also designed what is now the Old Arts Building at the University of New Brunswick.³⁷ In a letter to Lord Dalhousie, written before the Governor's departure from Canada in 1828, Woolford mentioned that his "architectural plans for a public college and a Government House were both approved and the Building now nearly completed."³⁸

Woolford continued to paint and draw in his years in Fredericton although little is known of his work from that period. In 1842, he and several other artists organized the first exhibition of art in New Brunswick when they exhibited their works at the Mechanics Institute of Saint John.³⁹ In 1847 some of his drawings were published as illustrations to Abraham Gesner's New Brunswick with Notes for Emigrants (London).⁴⁰ In 1852 he exhibited building models at the Provincial Exhibition in St. John. In an autobiographical letter to James, the 10th Earl of Dalhousie (third and only remaining son of Lord Dalhousie) he wrote: "I am now approaching my 79th year and cannot longer perform active duties and therefore solicit your Lordship's powerful interest in my behalf in a way your Lordship may judge best."⁴¹ Whether this plea resulted in further support from the Dalhousie family is not known. The artist died at Fredericton in 1866 after a long and varied artistic career.

- 1 ALLODI 1974, II and ALLODI 1980, p. 34-43.
- 2 WOOLFORD 1857
- 3 WHITELAW 1978
- 4 DALHOUSIE JOURNALS
- 5 WHITELAW 1978, p. 13. Whitelaw also states that Woolford probably studied under Paul Sandby at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, but since Woolford did not enter the army as an officer, one cannot assume that he attended Woolwich.
- 6 Richard Cannon, Historical Records of the British Army, Comprising the History of Every Regiment. (London, 1837), p. 49.
- 7 Cannon, 1837, p. 52-3.
- 8 WOOLFORD 1857
- 9 WOOLFORD 1857
- 10 WOOLFORD 1857
- 11 The two watercolours exhibited were View of Edinburgh Castle from the Canon Mills, Water of Leith - morning (no. 153) and Composition, Landscape (no. 225). GRAVES 1905.
- 12 WOOLFORD 1857
- 13 WOOLFORD 1857
- 14 WHITELAW 1978, p. 60.
- 15 WHITELAW 1978, p. 46.
- 16 WHITELAW 1978, p. 59.
- 17 WHITELAW 1978, p. 73-74.
- 18 One other watercolour that probably dates from this trip is Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia (ROM).
- 19 WHITELAW 1978, p. 93.
- 20 WHITELAW 1978, p. 96.
- 21 WHITELAW 1978, p. 120.

- 22 WHITELAW 1978, p. 120.
- 23 WHITELAW 1978, p. 125.
- 24 This album has been dated to 1821 by the Public Archives of Canada.
- 25 Coteau Fort (p. 8) was used to paint Fort of Coteau, on the St. Lawrence River, 1824 (MTPL) and American Falls from above the [ravine?] (p. 32) was used for Niagara Falls, 1824 (MTPL). Another sketch, Long Sault from the bottom (p. 10) was copied by William Roebuck (c.1796-1847), a military officer also attached to Lord Dalhousie's service at Quebec, for his watercolour Tracking Boats up the Long Sault Rapids on the St. Lawrence River, near Cornwall, U.C., 1820.
- 26 WHITELAW 1978, p. 134.
- 27 WHITELAW 1978, p. 134.
- 28 WHITELAW 1978, p. 137.
- 29 WHITELAW 1978, p. 147.
- 30 WHITELAW 1978, p. 147.
- 31 ALLODI 1980, p. 34.
- 32 Acadian Recorder (Halifax), May 29, 1819, quoted in ALLODI 1980, p. 34.
- 33 Acadian Recorder (Halifax), July 3, 1819, quoted in ALLODI 1980, p. 34.
- 34 WOOLFORD 1857. Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada IX, (Toronto, 1977) states that Woolford remained in Halifax until 1821 and left for Quebec when called by Dalhousie to go on the trip to the Great Lakes. (p. 937).
- 35 DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entry for July 2, 1821.
- 36 Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada, IX, de 1861 à 1870. (Toronto, 1977), p. 937.
- 37 WHITELAW 1978, p. 13.
- 38 J.E. Woolford to the 9th Earl of Dalhousie, New Brunswick, July 24, 1828. Dalhousie Papers, vol. 32 PAC. MG 24.A12.

- 39 Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada IX, (Toronto, 1977),
p. 937.
- 40 ALLODI 1974, II, Woolford.
- 41 WOOLFORD 1857.

No. 30.

30 American Fall from above the [ravine?]

brown washes over gr., laid down on blue-grey folio paper of album, American Sketches

9 7/8 x 14 in.; 25 x 35.5 cm.

Insc: title in ink on folio paper tab, opposite

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (1979-9-32)

Woolford's album, American Sketches, must certainly include some of the watercolours he made during the trip to Niagara Falls in 1819. Dalhousie wrote of their first glimpse of the falls: "We walked along the worm fence of a hayfield, at bottom of which we turned into a small, descending glen, which in a very few minutes led us straight in front of the American part of the falls."¹ It is this approach to the falls that Woolford has sketched here and in the following watercolour in the album (List, #104).

Some of the sketches have ink borders while others have ruled pencil lines at varying distances from the edges of the works. The lines indicate that the artist had planned to crop the watercolours in order to improve their general design. The edges would then have been ruled with ink. A few of the drawings were numbered from 7 to 15. This probably means that he had plans for producing more prints to follow the six which had just been published in the summer of 1819 in Halifax. Three sketches showing the waterfalls of Montmorency, Chaudière and Niagara were removed from the album and possibly formed a souvenir set of the trip's highlights for a friend or patron.

All of the forty-four sketches in the album are in monochrome, most in sepia with a few in dark grey. This working method was in the classical tradition of preparing a preliminary tone study of a subject. A few of the sketches were later used to paint larger, finished works in colour. This is true of American Fall from above the [ravine?] which was used in 1824 to paint Niagara (No. 31).

Woolford's early Maritime watercolour sketches (1816-19) were executed in monochrome but by 1821 he was responding more directly to the Canadian landscape by sketching in full colour (see Nos. 4, 5 and 8).

The painting style of the 1819 sketches is characterized by a spontaneous application of superimposed washes and soft, atmospheric effects of light. Pale tones were painted first, followed by darker, more opaque pigment to define forms, shadows and distance. There is a wide range of delicately graduated tones that represent a variety of lighting effects. The mid-day light in this sketch illuminates and dramatizes the main subject, the waterfall, seen in the distance. The paint of the waterfall was blotted to allow more of the white paper to show through, enhancing the appearance of light shining on the mist. Wash reduction techniques were used frequently in the American Sketches to achieve different types of highlights. Wet paint was wiped out for the mist of waterfalls and dry paint was scraped off to give sparkling highlights (usually in water). Often a dark, opaque paint is applied drily over lighter washes to emphasize

the contrasts of light in the foreground and to give the painting depth. Pale washes are blended while wet to give soft, atmospheric skies that are quite unlike the hard-edged clouds in Forrest's watercolours.

The composition of this watercolour is formal and has the traditional, Italianate elements of framing trees and luminous distance with water. However, while earlier, more classically-oriented artists would have invented the formulistic details, Woolford, in nineteenth-century romantic fashion, probably sought out a view which actually had these features and painted them as he found them. But there is much variety of composition in the sketches and many are realistic with none of the traditional elements that are evident here. Designs range from high viewpoints and panoramas to more naturalistic, low sight lines and oblique angles.

¹WHITELAW 1978, p. 134.

≡ NIAGARA FALLS. ≡

No. 31.

31 Niagara Falls, 1824

wc., pen and ink over gr., framed by ruled double ink lines
5 x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 12.7 x 21.7 cm.

Insc: title, l.c. of mount; signed and dated, l.r.

Prov: Private collection

Lit: TPL 1964, no. 833A

METROPOLITAN TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY (902-1-12)

This watercolour is a carefully finished 'studio' version of the 1819 monochrome sketch, American Fall from above the [ravine?] (No. 30). It is coloured in predominately green and blue hues. The composition is identical to that of the sketch except that the right foreground has been expanded in width and two tiny figures have been added to the lower middle ground.

A series of watercolours were painted in 1824, all mounted, dated and signed "Major J.E. Woolford". They were done after the artist re-entered military service, probably while he was based at ~~Saint John~~ or Fredericton. All but one are in colour and the origins of many of them have been traced to earlier sketches taken by Woolford in 1819 and 1821 (see List, pp.237-39). Two are very similar to watercolours by Charles Forrest, indicating that earlier sketches must have existed for these also, which Forrest would have seen while both artists were still in Quebec (see Nos. 22 and 26). Only one of the series is not a landscape, the genre scene, Canadian Sleighing.

Niagara Falls is smaller than the other 1824 works now in

the J.R. Robertson Collection (MTPL). It is a most delicate rendering, both in its colouring and its detailing. The broad washes and soft, atmospheric effect of the original sketch have been replaced by a technique of fine touches of the brush which build up minutely detailed forms. Light seems to sparkle on broken surfaces, particularly the tree trunks where dry paint has been scraped away to leave glistening highlights. This transition in style from a free, broad treatment in the sketch to a more detailed, or 'finished' rendering in the studio version is typical of Woolford's art.

No. 32.

32 Montmorency River, above the Great Fall, below the 3 falls

wc. and gum arabic over gr. on wove paper mounted on cardboard
 $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5 \frac{3}{4}$ in.; 8.75 x 14.7 cm.

Verso: title, on cardboard mount

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (23,414)

This is one of six small, undated watercolours in the National Gallery of Canada that are similar in style and in size. They are approximately 3 x 6 in. and have a miniature-like delicacy and detail along with strong colouration that is heightened at times by gum arabic. Three of these are views of the Cedars, both the rapids and the village, and three are scenes in and around Quebec (List #141-146). In this view of Montmorency River and in another, Cedar Rapids from the lower end of the Priest's Island, near the Village, there is a canoe that could be one of the two North-west canoes used by Dalhousie and his party from Montreal through the Great Lakes in 1821. They rode through the "Cèdre" rapids in "batteaux" on their return from Niagara Falls in 1819, but Woolford separated from the others for the trip from Kingston to Montreal and it would have been uncharacteristic of him to put in large details such as the canoe if it was not actually part of the scene.¹ Woolford's art was closely linked to the visible world and subjects or details conceived in the imagination did not play a part in his aesthetic approach to landscape. These facts considered, it is possible that the six small watercolours were

done on the 1821 'Lakes' trip.

A date of 1821 is further indicated by Woolford's use of colour. There is a dramatic contrast between the dark colours of the land and the lights of the sky and water. This contrast is enhanced by the use of extra gum arabic painted over some of the dark colours to give an added strength and gloss.² Strong colour and extra gum was also used in the 1821 sketches taken on the Dalhousie trip to the Great Lakes but was much less evident in the 1824 series of works.³ The small sketches are also glued to heavy cardboard in the same manner as the larger 1821 sketches.⁴

¹ WHITELAW 1978, p. 147.

² The practice of varnishing watercolours, or of applying gum arabic to some passages, had come into vogue by the 1820's as a way of achieving the strength and gloss of oil paintings. The practice was condemned by the Old Watercolour Society in 1809, but by 1824 the influential British watercolour artist John Varley was either varnishing the whole of a drawing or applying gum arabic to areas of dark to give then a luminous quality. This patchy use of gum as a surface varnish was used occasionally in the work of many watercolour artists until 1850 or later. HARDIE 1966-68, I, pp. 39-40.

³ Extra gum arabic seems to have been used in only one of these watercolours, First Portage on the Little River, running into Lake Nipissing, Upper Canada.

⁴ Gluing the paper to heavy cardboard was done to prevent cockling, or uneven distension of the paper when it became wet.

No. 33.

33 Montreal, from the mountain, on the race course

wc. and gum arabic over gr. on wove paper mounted on cardboard
5 3/4 x 9 1/2 in.; 14.6 x 24 cm.

Verso: title, on mount

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (23,416)

This is one of a group of undated watercolour sketches in the National Gallery of Canada, all of similar size (approximately 6 x 9 1/2 in.) and glued to cardboard. Stylistically the works form a unit, being freely painted in transparent colours with touches of opaque yellow and gum arabic in many of the foregrounds. The subjects leave no doubt that they were painted on the Dalhousie trip to the Great Lakes in July-August, 1821 (see List, # 115-134). The views taken by Woolford correspond to places mentioned by Lord Dalhousie in his journals of the trip (see Itinerary, p. 245).

The painting Montreal is one of the finest of the group of works and reveals the romantic nature of Woolford's art. The brushstrokes, which are often dashes and dabs of paint, are very much in evidence (unlike Forrest's style), and lend an expressive aspect to the work which goes beyond the choice of subject and viewpoint. There is a combination of breadth and detail which is reminiscent of the British watercolours of J.R. Cozens and Thomas Girtin (see Fig. 15). The composition is open and realistic, without such formal elements as framing repoussoirs. Recession is handled in a naturalistic rather than mathematical manner, conveyed

by horizontal bands of light and shade in a subtle interpretation of the method perfected by Dutch and Flemish landscape artists of the seventeenth century and later used by Paul Sandby. The slight, vertical accents of steeples along the shoreline give interest to the eye and enhance the stability of the composition. There is a sense of mist and morning air that is conveyed by the cool colours and transparent aerial effects while a calm quietude is expressed by the horizontal composition. The dark foreground is a traditional element and is emphasized by extra gum and by opaque yellow accents 'scumbled' over the darker colours.

It is tempting to compare this work to one of the same subject by Thomas Davies (No. 7). The close-eyed detail of Davies' watercolour has been replaced by a generalized representation that emphasizes light and atmosphere rather than the specifics of a locale. The 'set pieces' of Davies' foreground (eg. trees, rocks, large weeds) have been reduced in prominence by Woolford giving less a sense of art and more the feeling of nature glimpsed at one moment in time.

No. 34.

34 Point Thessalon, Lake Huron (At Sunset Pitching the Canoe)

wc. over gr. on wove paper mounted on cardboard

5 3/4 x 9 1/2 in.; 14.8 x 24 cm.

Verso: title, on mount

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (23,432)

Taken on the 1821 trip to the Great Lakes, this sketch was later used to paint a large studio version of the subject (No. 35). The sketch shows Dalhousie's party at a camping site on Lake Huron with the two North-west canoes pitched for the night (see map, p. 244). The detachable shelter for one of the canoes lies on the ground nearby. White smoke from the campfire cuts an oblique path across the scene and the red sky of sunset throws the land into a dusky twilight.

The naturalistic composition is free from conventional elements and gives a sense of immediacy - of a fleeting moment in nature captured on paper. It is presented as a series of horizontal forms, only subtly punctuated by the vertical figures. As in the sketch of Montreal (No. 33), this helps to create a mood of meditative tranquility in keeping with the moment of sunset - nature's transition to darkness and rest. More than half the painting is given to the red and darkening sky, giving a sense of dominating natural forces (in this case the coming of night) to which the romantic temperament was so attuned.

No. 35.

35 Point Thessalon on Lake Huron

wc. over gr. on laid paper

13 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 35 x 47 cm.

Verso: title on mount

Watermark: Phipps and Sons 1816

Condition: some yellow discolouration in sky area

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (23,431)

It was Woolford's practice to paint watercolour sketches on the spot, translating the view and lighting as accurately as possible. He rarely left the impression that parts of the whole had been invented or adjusted to make the sketch more artful. The late eighteenth-century, neo-classical mentality of "improving" nature in art is not in evidence in his work. Nature was supreme to the nineteenth-century romantic and was accepted on its own terms. Its beauties, sublimities and moods had to be sought out by the artist and captured on paper.

The sketches that Woolford made in direct view of his landscape subjects were valued by his patron, Lord Dalhousie. He often referred in his journals to the artist's "sketches" as being valuable reminders of natural beauties he had experienced. However, this appreciation of rough, on-the-spot paintings as art objects in themselves was a relatively new attitude in the early nineteenth century and was influenced by romantic British landscape artists such as John Constable who attempted to capture the transitory aspects of light and weather on paper and canvas. But the usual

process of landscape painting was to take rough sketches from nature and to use them to paint larger, more finished works in the artist's studio where conditions were more conducive to careful work. This traditional working method was used by Woolford and his sketches were often the basis for his larger paintings. Such is the case for this watercolour of Point Thessalon which was painted from a sketch of the same subject (No. 34).

The composition and general landforms are identical to those in the sketch. More care has been taken with the accuracy of details such as the shape of the canoes and the human figures. In general, there is a clarity or 'finish' resulting from the washes having been laid in with a concern for preserving outlines and revealing volumes. The lighting has been changed significantly to aid in this purpose. The red sunset which dramatically underscored the encroaching twilight in the sketch has been changed to a gentler blue which is less specific in denoting the time of evening. The smoke has been "tamed" somewhat from the dramatic diagonal of the sketch to a soft "puff" leading out of the picture. This makes it less prominent and allows the eye to take in the other details of the scene at will. The changes made in the large work show a greater concern for objective facts and technical virtuosity and a lesser subjective interest in capturing the mood and drama of sunset. Indeed, the subject has changed from the sunset in the sketch (and the artist's excitement as he captured it) to the human elements and this shift is indicated by the titles of the two works.

No. 36.

36 Head of River runs into Lake Nipissing

wc. over gr. on laid paper
13 x 18 in.; 33.9 x 45.8 cm.
Verso: title, on mount
Watermark: Phipps and Sons 1816

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (23,438)

The large size of this finished watercolour (approximately 13 x 18 in.) and its predominately blue colouring relates it to Point Thessalon on Lake Huron (No. 35) and to one other work in the National Gallery of Canada, Port Portlock, Lake Huron. Three paintings in the Sigmund Samuel Collection (ROM) also belong to this series of large, undated studio works, all showing scenes from the 1821 'Lakes' tour and done on laid paper with the watermark "Phipps and Sons 1816" (List, #137, 138, 140). Head of River . . . is similar in subject and composition to two other of Woolford's watercolours dated 1824, Commencement of Little River, running into Grand, or Ottawa River (No. 40) and Termination of Little River, running into Lake Nipissing. It is likely that the source of the Little River is shown here but the titles of the related works reveal some confusion in the artist's mind as to whether the Little River flowed into the Ottawa River or into Lake Nipissing.

This work has the crisp detail and carefully superimposed washes that are typical of Woolford's studio works. However, the

extensive use of blue and brown is characteristic only of the series of large 'Lakes' paintings and had been discontinued by 1824. The blue colouration is an eighteenth-century element and was used in some of George Heriot's works. It was also typical of Forrest's watercolours, and this may indicate a temporary influence on Woolford.¹ If so, it could point to a date of execution of 1821-22 when the two artists were in Quebec.

The composition is more complex than in those works with a horizontal design, since the high viewpoint reveals more land surface. A round, central body of water was a favourite focal point in Woolford's works and was also used by Forrest in his River View (No. 26). There is a greater interest in realism here than in Forrest's paintings. For Woolford, composition was less an end in itself than a vehicle for showing the multifarious facets of the landscape. This is particularly evident in his treatment of the trees. The separate species of coniferous and deciduous trees are differentiated, as are individual specimens. They are rendered at times in delicate detail, as in the case of the graceful poplars in the left middle ground. Forrest's trees were more generalized and served to form precise sections of the grand, overall scheme of his paintings.

¹ Forrest applied his blue washes first while Woolford puts blue over his brown, as did Heriot.

No. 37.

37 Chaudière Falls, Philemon Wright's on Ottawa

wc. over gr. on wove paper mounted on cardboard

5 7/8 x 9 3/8 in.; 14.9 x 23.8 cm.

Verso: title, on mount

Condition: some foxing in sky area

Prov: Capt. Braun Lindsay, Scotland

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (23,440)

This sketch was probably taken during the 1821 'Lakes' tour since Dalhousie mentioned visiting Philemon Wright's home and the nearby falls in his journals of the trip.¹ The composition bears a close resemblance to the left side of a large watercolour by Charles Forrest, providing a clue to the subject of Forrest's work (No. 27). In many of his on-the-spot sketches, Woolford was concerned with capturing specific effects of light and here he shows rays of sunlight passing through the misty air above the waterfall.

¹DALHOUSIE JOURNALS, entry for August 16, 1821.

≡ ABOVE THE FALL OF THE GRAND REGOLLET, FRENCH RIVER. ≡

No. 38.

38 Above the Fall of the Grand Récollet, French River, 1824

wc. over gr., frames by ruled double ink lines
10 3/4 x 15 3/8 in.; 27.3 x 39.1 cm.

Insc: title, l.c. of mount; signed and dated, l.r.

Prov: Private collection

Lit: TPL 1964, no. 782B

METROPOLITAN TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY (902-1-4)

Both North-west canoes of Dalhousie's 1821 trip are shown in this view of the French River. Men and canoes are dwarfed by the towering cliff and rocks of the shoreline and one senses the underlying theme of nature's supremacy. Extensive use of grey contributes to a feeling of the vast and awesome stillness of this lonely, northern waterway. Lines scraped in the paint of the water emphasize horizontals that counter the soaring verticals of the rocky cliff. The balance is precarious, however, with verticals achieving more weight in the viewer's perceptions. This gives an impression of instability and the large, tipped boulder in the right foreground further contributes to a sense of unease and potential danger. There is none of this in Forrest's version of the same subject, A Dignitary's Canoe on the French River (No. 22). In that work, verticals and horizontals are in closer equilibrium, with the more stable horizontals dominating. This impression is aided by the horizontal format of the painting. The scene is grand and tranquil, without the subtly ominous, or sublime overtones of Woolford's work.

⇒ AMHERSTBURG, FROM THE N.N. WEST ⇒

No. 39.

39 Amherstburg from the N.N. West, 1824

wc. over gr., framed by ruled double ink lines
 7 7/8 x 14 in.; 20.1 x 35.7 cm.

Insc: title, l.c. of mount; signed and dated, l.r.

Prov: Private collection

Lit: TPL 1964, no. 775A.

METROPOLITAN TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY (902-1-1)

In 1824 Woolford painted two views, from upstream and downstream, of the village of Amherstburg on the Detroit River. Both works were based on sketches taken on the Great Lakes trip of 1821.¹ The colour of the 1824 watercolours is more subdued than in the sketches and there is the usual increase in clarity, but the compositions and details are almost identical. These works are in Woolford's most realistic vein and they convey the lazy warmth and bright sunshine of a summer afternoon in the quiet little village. Both views, from north and south, are taken from the shore and both have a viewpoint that is at the eye level of the spectator. This tends to make 'entry' into the work an easy matter, aided by the inviting road shown in perspective. The colours are fresh and clear in the bright light and details are rendered with a delicate but sure touch.

1

Amherstburg from the N.N. West, 1824, was painted from the sketch Amherstburg, looking up the River (NGC), and Amherstburg from the S.S. East, 1824 (MTPL) was based on the sketch Amherstburg, looking down the River (NGC).

≡ COMMENCEMENT OF LITTLE RIVER, RUNNING INTO GRAND, OR OTTAWA RIVER. ≡

No. 40.

40 Commencement of Little River, running into Grand, or Ottawa River, 1824

wc. over gr., framed by ruled double lines

9 3/4 x 16 1/8 in.; 24.9 x 41 cm.

Insc: title, l.c. of mount; signed and dated, l.r.

Prov: Private collection

Lit: TPL 1964, no. 802A

METROPOLITAN TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY (902-1-6)

The Little River (now the Mattawa River) provided a water link between Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River for Dalhousie's expedition in 1821. An overland portage was necessary to get from Lake Nipissing to the marshy source of the river shown in this watercolour. The composition, with its round, central body of water, detailed foreground and forested banks in the middle ground is the same as his other works which show either the source or the "termination" of the Little River. However, the foreground has become more prominent in this watercolour, giving it a greater degree of self-conscious artistry than of forthright realism.

In spite of the use of conventional elements of composition, this is an impressive work. Manipulative painting techniques have been used to express the particular lighting of the tree-bound, secluded spot. Dry paint was scraped off to form diagonal streaks of light in the middle ground, effecting the slanting rays of a rising or setting sun. They weakly permeate the dense trees and moist atmosphere of this hidden marsh. Thus, the scene is in semi-darkness with light concentrated on the reflective surface of the water. The dark, encircling woods contrast dramatically

with the bright, central pond which forms the focus of the work. The paint of the foreground plants has been scraped in places while wet and elsewhere when dry to give a strong, almost surreal type of illumination. All these effects combine to create a feeling of solemn mystery. The viewer senses that he is surreptitiously glimpsing one of nature's secret places and inadvertently sharing in its present mood of tranquil profundity.

LIST OF WATERCOLOURS AND DRAWINGS BY JOHN WOOLFORD

Entries are arranged in chronological and geographical order to re-create the artist's sketching trips. Medium is watercolour over graphite unless given otherwise. Present location or reference follows dimensions.

A. Maritime Views

1. View in the Woods near Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 1817
30.3 x 45.7 cm
ROM
2. St. Mary's River, Nova Scotia, c.1817
MORSE
3. St. Mary's River, Nova Scotia, c.1817
MORSE
4. St. John River from the deck of a Steamboat, c.1817
WHITELAW 1978, pl. VIII
5. St. John, New Brunswick, c.1817
MORSE
6. Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia, c.1818
brown washes over gr.
13 x 22.1 cm.
ROM
7. Cape Porcupine, Gut of Canso, Nova Scotia, c.1818
brown washes over gr.
13 x 21.9 cm.
8. Scene on the River Roseway with a sawmill in foreground
WHITELAW 1978, pl. VII
9. River Roseway, Liverpool, Nova Scotia
grey and brown washes over gr.
20 x 30.2 cm.
ROM
10. Mill Lake, Halifax
grey washes over gr.
20 x 30.2 cm.
ROM
11. Mount Uniacke
WHITELAW 1978, pl. III

12. First Government House, Fredericton
brown washes over gr.
20.8 x 30.8 cm.
ROM
13. The Buttery on Government House Grounds, Fredericton
graphite
19.2 x 26 cm.
ROM
14. The Weigh House, Fredericton
grey washes, pen and ink over gr.
15.4 x 22.7 cm.
ROM
15. Shelburne from the barracks
MORSE
16. Shelburne, Sawmill of Roseway
MORSE
17. Entrance on to Shelburne with the Bathurst and Jane tenders
MORSE
18. Group of Indians
grey washes over gr.
22.1 x 14.6 cm.
ROM

Sketches in Nova Scotia, 1818

A bound volume of fifty-two sketches, 26.5 x 36.5 cm. from the library of George, 9th Earl of Dalhousie; sold by his great-grand-daughter, Mrs. Braun Lindsay. Bought of Sotheby's, London, in 1931 for William Inglis Morse collection, Halifax.

19. View on the Parade from the North (1)
20. Front View of Government House (2)
21. Back View of Government House (3)
22. Dartmouth from the N.W. (4)
23. Dartmouth Mills (5)
24. View from the bridge on the East River on the Chester Road (6)
25. Chester Church (7)

26. Chester Bay from the North (8)
27. View on Goulds River (9)
28. Half-way between Chester and Mahon[e] Bay (10)
29. View of Mahon[e] Bay from the S.S.E. (11)
30. Head of Mahon[e] Bay (12)
31. In Mahon[e] Bay (13)
32. Zwickers Inn, Mahon[e] Bay, from the N.W. (14)
33. Head of Mahon[e] Bay from the high land above Zwickers (15)
34. Oak-lands from Mahon[e] Bay (16)
35. View of the West Road from Mahon[e] Bay to Lunenburgh (17)
36. General view of Mahon[e] Bay (18)
37. General view of Mahon[e] Bay—continuation of p. 18 (19)
38. First view of La Have River near Rudolphis (20)
39. River La Have from the S.E., one mile from Rudolphis (21)
40. Four miles from Rudolphis on La Have River (22)
41. Upper La Have River, six miles from Rudolphis (23)
42. Fall below Cooks on La Have River (24)
43. Cooks Mills on La Have River (25)
44. Pine tree in the woods on the banks of La Have River (26)
45. Pine tree (27)
46. Upper Falls on La Have River (28)
47. The ruins of Louisburgh from the Glacis (29)
48. Ruins of Louisburgh—continuation of p. 29 (30)
49. Ruins of Louisburgh from the Green Hill (31)
50. Louisburgh Harbour (32)

51. Entrance of Country Harbour from the N.N.W. (33)
52. Country Harbour from the S.S.E. (34)
53. Ship Harbour in the Gut of Canso (35)
54. Ship Harbour in the Gut of Canso (36)
55. Entrance to Plaister Cove (37)
56. Looking out of Plaister Cove from the N.E. (38)
57. E.S.E. Brook at the head of Plaister Cove (39)
58. Quarry in Plaister Cove (40)
59. Pictou Harbour (41)
60. W. Mortimers at Pictou (42)
61. Saw Mill, four miles from Pictou (43)
62. Blanchards Inn on the W. River of Pictou (44)
63. Salmon River near Archibalds between Pictou and Truro (45)
64. From the summit of Mount Thom (46)
65. Bridge between Pictou and Truro (47)
66. Gypsum quarries on Shubenacadty River (48)
67. On Shubenacadty River (49)
68. W. Carthys? on Shubenacadty River (50)
69. Junction of Souiac River with the Shubenacadty, from the Shubenacadty (51)
70. Junction of the Souiac River with the Shubenacadty, from the Souiac (52)

B. Views in the Canadas

American Sketches [1819]

A bound volume of forty-four monochrome watercolours, most in brown, a few in dark grey. Titles are in pen on folio paper of album. Album pages are 25 x 36 cm. From the library of George, 9th Earl of Dalhousie; sold by Capt. Braun Lindsay; bought by Public Archives of Canada in 1979.

71. Quebec from the Harbour (1)
72. Quebec from the Harbour—continuation of p. 1 (2)
73. Wolfes Cove from the Heights of Abraham (3)
74. View on Point Levis (4)
75. View on Point Levis, Montmorency in the distance (5)
76. The Fall of Montmorency from the Point Levis shore with the Point of Orleans Island "7" (6)
77. The Fall of Montmorency from the Wharf (7)
78. Fall of Montmorency from the road leading to Cooks (8)
79. Up the River Montmorency (9)
80. From the Bridge above the face of Montmorency (10)
81. Quebec from the Heights of Montmorency (11)
82. La Chaudière Fall from the West (12)
83. La Chaudière Fall from the W.N.W. (13)
84. La Chaudière Fall (14)
85. Fall of La Chaudière (15)
86. On the Parade at Montreal (16)
87. Part of Montreal from the Parade (17)
88. Monument erected to the Memory of Lord Nelson, Montreal (18)
89. St. Ann's Ferry (19)
90. The Coteau Rapids from the Fort (20)
91. Up the River De Lisle from the Coteau Fort (21)
92. The Coteau Fort "8" (22)
—finished version, #155 (MTPL)
93. Long Sault from the road leading to Cornwall (23)
94. Long Sault from the bottom "10" (24)

95. Thousand Islands from the N.N.W. (25)
96. Thousand Islands from the S.S.W. (26)
97. From Fort Henry, Kingston "12" (27)
98. Parallel Perspective View of Barracks erecting in Fort Henry, Kingston (28)
99. Fort at York (29)
100. Mill Three Miles from York (30)
101. Fort Niagara from Fort George (31)
102. Fort Niagara "13" (32)
103. American Fall from above the [ravine?] (33)
-finished version, #157 (MTPL)
104. American Fall as first seen from the Ravine near Forsyth's Inn (34)
105. Canadian Fall from above the Ravine (35)
106. Canadian Fall from Goat Island (36)
107. From the Bridge crossing to Goat Island (37)
108. The Whirlpool (38)
109. Steamboat Frontinack (39)
110. Steamboat Frontinack (40)
111. Village of Brockville (41)
112. Cedres Rapids "14" (42)
113. Passing down the Long Sault "15" (43)
114. View at the Cascades "X" (44)

Lakes Sketches (NGC) - 1821

115. Montreal, from the mountain, on the race course
14.6 x 26 cm. NGC
116. Cascade Rapid, near Montreal
14.5 x 23.8 cm. NGC

117. Village of the Cedars on St. Lawrence
15 x 23.8 cm. NGC
-finished version, #156 (MTPL)
118. The last channel of Long Sault, looking upwards
11 x 18.2 cm. NGC
119. Kingston Dockyard, Point Henry
15.2 x 24 cm. NGC
120. Queenston Heights, near Niagara
14.7 x 23.8 cm. NGC
121. Queenston Heights, looking to Lake Ontario
14.6 x 23.7 cm. NGC
122. Falls of Niagara, at foot of the American side
14.7 x 24 cm. NGC
123. Falls of Niagara, from top, on American side
14.5 x 23.8 cm. NGC
124. Amherstburg, looking down the River
14.7 x 23.9 cm.
-finished version, #163 (MTPL)
125. Amherstburg, looking up the River
14.6 x 24 cm. NGC
-finished version, #164 (MTPL)
126. Fort Gratiot, St. Clair River
13.8 x 22.5 cm. NGC
127. Drummond Island, Lake Huron
14 x 28 cm. NGC
-finished version, #166 (NGC)
128. Falls of St. Mary's, Lake Superior, American Side
15.2 x 24.1 cm. NGC
129. Gros Cap, Lake Superior
14.6 x 24 cm. NGC
130. Port Portlock, Lake Huron
14.6 x 24 cm. NGC
-finished version, #136 (NGC)
131. Point Thessalon, Lake Huron
14.8 x 24 cm. NGC
-finished version, #135 (NGC)

132. Petite Rivière joins Ottawa near Lake Nipissing
14.3 x 23.7 cm. NGC
133. Falls au Chat on Ottawa
14.5 x 23.9 cm. NGC
134. Chaudière Falls, Philemon Wrights on Ottawa
14.9 x 23.8 cm. NGC

Finished Views from the Great Lakes trip

135. Point Thessalon on Lake Huron
35 x 47 cm. NGC
-preliminary sketch, #131 (NGC)
136. Port Portlock, Lake Huron
34.5 x 49 cm. NGC
-preliminary sketch, #130 (NGC)
137. Entrance into French River from Lake Huron
33.9 x 46.5 cm. ROM
138. Petite Fourche, near La Dalle on French River, Lake Huron
32.8 x 47 cm ROM
139. Head of River, runs into Lake Nipissing
33.9 x 45.8 cm. NGC
-another version, #171 (MTPL)
140. Head of Little River, runs to Ottawa
34.9 x 50.2 cm. ROM

Small Sketches - NGC

141. Cedar Rapids from the lower end of the Priest's Island,
near the Village
8.3 x 15 cm. NGC
142. View from the Cedars, upwards, Coteau du Lac in the distance
8.9 x 15.1 cm. NGC
143. Village of the Cedars, with the entrance on the Rapids
8.2 x 14.9 cm. NGC
144. Beaufort Brewery from St. Paul's St., Quebec
8.3 x 14.7 cm. NGC
145. Quebec from the Echinsin near William Caldwell's looking
to Montmorency
8.5 x 15 cm. NGC

146. Montmorency River, above the Great Fall, below the three falls
8.8 x 14.7 cm. NGC

Views of Quebec

147. Lake Diamond, with Wolfe's Cove in the Distance from the
Opposite Side
32.8 x 47.1 cm. NGC
148. Old French Ferry Place, Point Levis
brown washes over gr.
12.8 x 21.6 cm. ROM
-finished version, #153 (MTPL)
149. Montmorency Falls
brown washes over gr.
19.3 x 23.8 cm. ROM
-finished version, #152 (MTPL)
150. From the Courtyard of the Chateau St. Louis, Quebec,
looking toward the Citadel
grey and brown washes over gr.
19.5 x 33.1 cm. ROM

Unidentified View

151. Landscape with rapids and a mill
28.2 x 45.5 cm. ROM

Watercolours in John Ross Robertson Collection (MTPL)

152. Montmorency Falls, near Quebec, Lower Canada, 1824
24.2 x 30.5 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #149 (ROM)
153. French Ferry House, Point Levis, near Quebec, 1824
21.6 x 33.7 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #148 (ROM)
154. Montreal, Lower Canada, from above the race course, 1824
24.8 x 45.7 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #115 (NGC)
155. Fort of Coteau, on the St. Lawrence River, 1824
25.4 x 40.6 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #92 (PAC)
156. Village and rapids of the Cedars, Lower Canada, 1824
21.6 x 36.8 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #117 (NGC)

157. Niagara Falls, 1824
12.7 x 21.7 cm.
-preliminary sketch, #103 (PAC)
158. [Niagara Falls], attr. to Woolford
wc. and ink over gr.
26.7 x 41 cm. MTPL
159. Falls on the Grand River, 1824
27.5 x 41 cm. MTPL
160. View on the Grand River, setting a Canoe down the Rapid, 1824
27.4 x 41 cm. MTPL
161. Scene at Col. Talbot's, Lake Erie, Upper Canada, 1824
25.6 x 36.8 cm. MTPL
162. At Mount Talbot, Lake Erie, Upper Canada, 1824
25.9 x 36.3 cm. MTPL
163. Amherstburg from the S.S. East, 1824
21.7 x 35.7 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #124 (NGC)
164. Amherstburg from the N.N. West, 1824
20.1 x 35.7 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #125 (NGC)
165. View on the River Detroit, 1824
20.3 x 35.6 cm. MTPL
166. Port Collier, from the N.N. West and Drummond Island, 1824
21.6 x 33.7 cm. MTPL
-preliminary sketch, #127 (NGC)
167. Fall of the Grand Récollet, French River, 1824
23 x 35.5 cm. MTPL
168. Above the Fall of the Grand Récollet, French River, 1824
27.3 x 39.1 cm. MTPL
169. Rapid of La Duc, French River, 1824
wc., pen and ink over gr.
36.3 x 51.4 cm. MTPL
170. Commencement of Little River, running into Grand, or
Ottawa River, 1824
24.9 x 41 cm. MTPL

171. Termination of Little River, running into Lake Nipissing, 1824
wc., touches of body-colour over gr.
22.7 x 33.2 cm. MTPL
172. First Portage on Little River, running into Lake Nipissing,
Upper Canada, 1824
23.7 x 36.3 cm. MTPL
173. Ottawa Bay, near the Junction of Little River, 1824
26.5 x 40.2 cm. MTPL
174. Parisian Rapid, Little River, Upper Canada, 1824
20.3 x 34.7 cm. MTPL
175. Canoe Descending the Rapid de Talon, Ottawa River, 1824
wc., pen and ink over gr.
21.5 x 29.3 cm. MTPL
176. Falls de Talon, Ottawa River, 1824
sepia washes, pen and ink over gr.
21.5 x 29 cm. MTPL
177. Canoes Passing the Rapids of Two Rivers, 1824
25.2 x 34.7 cm. MTPL
178. Part of the Chaudière Falls, near Wright's Town on the
Ottawa River, 1824
24.8 x 35.6 cm. MTPL
179. Rapid of the Mountain, Ottawa River, Lower Canada, 1824
27.1 x 41.5 cm. MTPL
180. Chaudière Falls, near Quebec, 1824
25.4 x 34.9 cm. MTPL
181. Canadian Sleighing, 1824
24.9 x 35 cm. MTPL

Prints by Woolford, published 1819

182. Perspective View of the Province Building from the N.E., 1819
aquatint and etching printed in brown and red inks,
finished with wc.
21.5 x 33 cm. PAC
-original watercolour in Legislative Library of Nova Scotia,
Halifax

183. Architectural Elevation of the Province Building, 1819
aquatint and etching printed in yellow ochre ink;
finished with wc.
21.5 x 33.3 cm. PAC
184. Government House from the N.E., 1819
aquatint and etching printed in yellow ochre ink;
finished with wc.
21 x 33 cm. PAC
185. Government House from the S.W.
aquatint and etching printed in yellow ochre and red ink;
finished with wc. and gr.
21 x 33.2 cm. PAC

Trips by Woolford - 1817

Aug. 26 - Sept. 18 : —

Oct. 2 - 26 : —

Trips by Woolford - 1818

June 25 - Aug. 5 : —

Aug. 24 - Sept. 22 : —

Trip to Niagara Falls by Woolford, 1819

St. Lawrence River (detail)

Return leg of trip ———

Gros Cap, Lake Superior
St. Mary (Sault Ste. Marie)
Port Parthoc

Pt. Thessalon

Dumfries

FRENCH

Little R.

Peux Rivieres rapids

Ottawa R.

Chaudiere Falls
Ottawa

Long Sault rapids

Kingston

Lake Ontario

York

Niagara Falls

Port Talbot

Sao

Lake Erie

Lake Clair

Amherstburg

Wodford-Dalhousie trip through
the Great Lakes, 1821

Departure June 29 from Quebec
Trip ended Aug. 19 at Montreal

Dalhousie Expedition Through the Great Lakes
June 29-July 19, 1821

Itinerary of Dalhousie expedition based on entries in Dalhousie's Journals (ms. on microfilm, PAC).

- June 29: left Quebec with a party that included John Woolford
"to sketch our progress"
- July 3: left Montreal where two North-west canoes had been
prepared
- July 12: inspected Fort Henry
- July 14: reached Niagara Falls
- July 18: Grand River
- July 20: Otter Creek, Port Talbot on Lake Erie
- July 23: Amherstburg
- Aug. 5: reached Drummond Island after bad weather on Lake Huron
- Aug. 6: 45 miles to Falls of St. Mary's
- Aug. 7: to Gros Cap in order to see Lake Superior; reference to
Woolford; returned to St. Mary's
- Aug. 8: left on a brig to cross Lake Huron
- Aug. 10: reached "Rivière des Francais" and "Le Grand
Campment" by dark
- Aug. 11: Falls and Rapide du Récollet
- Aug. 12: Lake Nipissing
- Aug. 13: Rapide de Champlain, Petite Rivière, Ottawa River
- Aug. 14: Les deux rivières, rapids
- Aug. 16: Lac du Chat, Falls au Chat, Lac Chaudière, Philemon
Wright's, Chaudière Falls
- Aug. 18: Long Sault on St. Lawrence River
- Aug. 19: La Chine rapids, Montreal (until Aug. 22) after a trip
of "nearly 2000 miles", accompanied by forty people.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BACK
(1796-1878)

Sir George Back is the most important of a number of navy topographers who made a visual record of the Canadian north. They parallel the activities of the army officers in eastern Canada. After the end of the wars with Napoleon, naval officers were free to give their attention to the search for a Northwest passage through the Arctic to the Orient. The most important of these naval explorers was Sir John Franklin (1786-1847) who took up the search at the point where it had been left by Henry Hudson and William Baffin two hundred years earlier.

Franklin was accompanied on his first two Arctic expeditions by George Back (see map, p. 256). In 1819-1822 they travelled by sea through Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay to Fort York.¹ From there they went almost 1,000 miles by foot and canoe to Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake. Fort Enterprise was built near the source of the Coppermine River for their use as a supply base. About 550 miles of Arctic coast east of the mouth of the Coppermine River were explored and charted. At Point Turnagain (Kent Peninsula) they cut overland to return to Fort Enterprise for badly-needed food. Several men died before reaching the fort (including the watercolour artist, Robert Hood) and it was only as a result of the heroic efforts of Back that the entire party did not perish.²

The second expedition, in 1825-27, went overland from

New York to the mouth of the Mackenzie River and then explored the Arctic coast (see map, p. 256). All phases of the two expeditions were recorded by George Back in watercolour and pencil in his small sketchbooks. His sketches were used by Franklin as aquatint illustrations in his official report of the journey.³

The many nineteenth-century Arctic expeditions were fitted out in England and returned there afterwards. Most of the watercolours and drawings of the trips went back to England as well. Many of Back's sketches and finished paintings are now in the British Museum, but a number of his sketches are in the Public Archives of Canada, the National Gallery of Canada and the McCord Museum, Montreal. His small, detailed watercolours are among the finest produced in Canada in the pre-1850 period.

Back had a long and active military and artistic life which has been researched in some detail.⁴ He was born in Stockport, England, in 1796 and entered the Royal Navy as midshipman in 1808. He was taken prisoner by the French sometime after that and it is thought that he learned to paint while in captivity.⁵ After accompanying Franklin on his first Arctic expedition he was promoted to lieutenant in 1822. By 1827, after the second expedition, he had become commander and in 1833-35, led his own expedition in search of another lost explorer, Sir John Ross. On this trip he discovered the Great Fish River which was renamed Back River (see map, p. 256). In 1836-37 he commanded his own ship, the Terror, on a mapping trip along the Arctic

coast. He wrote two books about his Arctic explorations and these were illustrated with engravings after his watercolours.⁶

Prestigious appointments were to follow. In 1839 he was knighted, in 1857 he became rear admiral and in 1867 he was made a full admiral. He died in London in 1878 after a distinguished career.

¹ John Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21 and 22. (London, 1823)

² Upon reaching the fort, Franklin sent the strongest man of the group, George Back, ahead to look for the Indians who were supposed to have supplied the expedition with food. The others waited in the fort, too weak to move. Back returned with food just in time to save them from starvation.

³ John Franklin, Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shore of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1825, 1826 and 1827. (London, 1828)

⁴ See Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds. (London, 1885-1901) and Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, J.G. Wilson and John Fiske, eds. (New York, 1898-1900).

⁵ HARPER 1970, p. 13.

⁶ Sir George Back, Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the North of the Great Fish River ... in the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835. (London, 1836).

Sir George Back, Narrative of an Expedition in H.M.S. Terror ... in the Years 1836-7. (London, 1838).

No. 41.

41 Lac du Diable, 1825

wc. on wove paper

5 5/16 x 7 7/16 in.; 13.5 x 18.9 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.; signed, l.r.; dated June 1825, l.l.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (8950)

Most of the watercolours by George Back in Canadian collections are from his 1825-27 Arctic expedition with John Franklin. They travelled overland, on foot and in canoe, from New York to the mouth of the Mackenzie River (see map, p. 256). The Arctic coast was explored for 1,200 miles to the west and the east of the mouth of the river, making it possible to draw a map of the greater part of Canada's northern coastline.¹

Lac du Diable was probably one of the many small lakes which dot Manitoba and northern Saskatchewan.² The exploring party is shown paddling its canoe through the lake to the next portage. The spectator enters the view with the explorers, the eye directed by the converging waves of the wake from the canoe. This gives a sense of immediacy to the painting as the viewer experiences the scene opening before him as the travellers in the work did. The fresh, transparent colours also contribute to the vital reality of the view - a sense of the cold, clear air of this northern lake. The composition, at first glance, is simple and uncomplicated and further aids in giving an impression of complete realism. However, there is a subtle rhythm in the placing of the dark elements against the light sky and water. All is quietly

measured and verticals are balanced by horizontals to give a feeling of tranquility. The framing tree to the left does not speak of artifice because of the casual, almost photographic manner that it has been cut off at the side and the top.

Back has allowed the white of the paper to shine through very thin washes in his light, luminous passages of sky and water. He has scraped dry paint in horizontal bands to enhance the reflective clarity of the lake. His painting technique was a skilled use of superimposed washes, building from light to dark in the same manner as John Woolford. However, his water-colours convey a greater sense of realism than even those by Woolford. Part of the reason for this can be attributed to his use of a drawing machine, a camera lucida.³ With this device, the general lines of a landscape could be caught in a prism which the adept artist looked into to see both the image and his drawing paper. He could then trace the image onto his paper. Use of this and other drawing aids was common in the nineteenth century as artists were motivated by the desire to portray nature as it was, and not to try to improve upon it or to see it in terms of pictures in which there were a priori ideas of the ideal (i.e. the painting of Claude Lorrain). The romantic artist's main problem was to see as much as possible and to choose from the vast multiplicity the elements that best expressed a scene's general character.⁴

- 1 A gap of unknown land remained, extending from Lancaster Sound to Kent Peninsula. Franklin's third expedition in 1845-47 was an attempt to close this gap and find out if there really was a passage to the East. They found out that there was a route through the Franklin Strait but Franklin and his crew perished before they could physically demonstrate this.
- 2 Lac du Diable is probably Devil's Lake, Saskatchewan, in the Churchill River system at 56° 43' 107° 53' (Gazeteer of Canada. Northwest Territories and Yukon. Provisional. Canadian Board of Geographical Names, Ottawa, 1958). Another watercolour of Slave Falls (on Slave River) is dated June 1825 also, so Lac du Diable must not have been far from this.
- 3 J.R. Harper, Painting in Canada: A History. Second ed. (Toronto, 1977), p. 132.
The camera lucida was invented by William Hyde Wollaston in 1806.
- 4 The romantic critic, John Ruskin (1819-1900) was to point out later that the development of visual perception was more important than acquiring an artistic vocabulary ("sight is a more important thing ... than drawing"). He wrote that "truth of nature is part of the truth of God" and that the spiritual could be realized behind the factual (Elements of Drawing, 1857, p. 13 of 1971 ed.). The pre-eminence of nature gradually replaced the pre-eminence of art in the early nineteenth century.

July 13th 1826

Capt. Back

Encampment between Pinal King and
Sulphur

No. 42.

42 Encampment between Points King and Sabine, 1826

wc. on wove paper

5 3/8 x 7 1/2 in.; 13.7 x 19 cm.

Insc: title, l.c.; date July 13th, 1826, l.l.; signed, l.r.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA (8954)

The ice floes and date indicate that this camping spot for the Franklin expedition was on the Arctic coastline between the mouth of the Mackenzie River and Coronation Gulf. After leaving the Mackenzie River, they travelled west and then east along the coast mapping that hitherto unknown region. The rugged rocks and barren ice in this watercolour powerfully express the bleakness and danger of the landscape. The rock formations are reminiscent of similar configurations in European Gothic painting by their dramatic expressiveness. The small, frail-looking tents stand out bravely against the darkly ominous rocks around them, but they also echo the pyramidal shapes of the rocks, conveying a stronger sense of their near-assimilation by a hostile environment. The large, engulfing ice floes add to the threat towards the vulnerable humans.

The dramatic light/dark contrast in this watercolour are typical of Back's art. The rocks are built up of rich browns and blues and are given texture by touches, or dots, of paint in much the same manner as George Heriot. Back's rich colouration is a manifestation of the early nineteenth-century vying with oil painting. The composition is given strength by having a focal

point - the white tents. There is a realistic feeling of depth as the eye moves up the stream of water into the rocks and along the shoreline to the left. The many diagonal shapes and lines throughout the work give it a sense of dynamism and movement, unlike the stable horizontals in Lac du Diable (No. 41).

Although quite realistic, Back's best compositions are carefully arranged to contribute abstractly to an expression of the landscape's general character or its effect upon the artist.

Franklin's First Expedition, 1819-22

Franklin's Second Expedition, 1825-27

Back's Expedition, 1833-35

SIR HENRY JAMES WARRE
(1819-1898)

Sir Henry James Warre had a long and active career comparable in distinction to that of Sir George Back. He reached the rank of general, was knighted and wrote two self-illustrated books about his travels. Back was one of the first to paint in the Northwest Territories and Alaska, while Warre was a pioneer illustrator of the prairies and Rocky Mountains. Warre's military and artistic activities contributed to an increased awareness of and interest in this distant part of British North America. His many sketches are a valuable record of the West before it was affected by transcontinental railroads and settlement a few years later.¹

Warre was born in the Cape of Good Hope in 1819, the son of an army officer. From 1832 to 1837 he attended the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst where he would have received instruction in topographical draughtsmanship. In February, 1837 he became an ensign with the 54th Regiment of Foot, but took six months leave in that same year to study art in the Louvre and the French language in Paris.² He was appointed aide-de-camp to his uncle, Sir Richard Downes Jackson, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in British North America (1839-42), and arrived with him at Quebec on October 17, 1839.³

While in Canada, Warre made several long trips which he documented in detail with sketches in different media and by

written journals, as Back had done earlier.⁴ He travelled to the mid-western United States in 1840 and up the St. Maurice River, near Quebec, to hunt moose in 1842.⁵ In the winter of 1844 he visited cities from Montreal to Charleston, South Carolina.⁶ His longest journey was made in 1845-46 when he and Lieutenant Vavasour undertook a secret reconnaissance mission to investigate American claims for Oregon Territory and to determine the defense potential in the disputed region should war result (see map, p. 267).⁷

On August 12, 1846 Warre returned to England. Two years later he published his first book, Sketches in North America and Oregon Territory (London, 1848).⁸ He went to the Crimea as a lieutenant-colonel in 1855, and in the same year his second book, Sketches in the Crimea, was published. He served in various other countries, including India, New Zealand and Malta, and by 1881 had risen to the rank of general. He left active service in 1881 and made a trip around the world. In 1886 he was knighted for his military service and he died in London in 1898.

¹Warre's watercolours are in the Canadian collections of ROM, PAC and the British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria.

²PAC 1972, Warre. The original source of all biographical details is a preface to Warre's journals (PAC) written by a relative of Warre.

³MAJOR-FREGEAU 1976.

⁴A copy of Warre's manuscript journals is in PAC (Warre's Papers, MG 24, F71, vols I-III, pp. 1-3364).

⁵ See Douglas E. Schoenherr, ed., Moose Hunt on the St. Maurice, PAC, Ottawa, 1977.

⁶ ALLODI 1974, II, Warre.

⁷ MAJOR-FREGEAU 1976, Introduction, and SCHOENHERR 1976.
By the Treaty of London, 1818, it had been agreed that Oregon Territory be open to citizens of the United States and Britain. However, an American movement to claim Oregon culminated in President Polk's 1845 election campaign and his slogan "54°40' or fight". Polk wanted the border between the two countries pushed north to the 54th parallel, the northern limit of the Oregon Territory. A compromise was worked out before Warre's report was submitted and the disputed territory was divided along the 49th parallel to create the Canadian-United States boundary line that exists today.

⁸ The lithographs were based on monochrome studies that were often highlighted with white body-colour (J.R. Harper, Painting in Canada: A History. 2nd ed. Toronto, 1977, p. 119). This book is of considerable documentary value since Warre describes the life and scenery of the prairies and of the Canadian Rockies before railroads brought rapid settlement. GREENING 1963, pp. 124-129.

No. 43.

43 'Les Dalles', Columbia River

wc.

4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in.; 11.3 x 18.6 cm.

Insc: title on mount

Verso: wc. over gr. sketch

Exh: MAJOR-FREGEAU 1976, no. 33, repr.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-26344)

This scene in the Rocky Mountains, in Oregon Territory, was painted by Warre on his reconnaissance trip of 1845-46. It was near Mount Hood which looms faintly in the background of the watercolour (see map, p. 267). The date, August 1845, has been given to the work, based on Warre's journals.¹ The rocky configurations of the landscape must have inspired the name "Les Dalles", meaning "slabs of stone" in French.

There is an appealing freshness and immediacy to this sketch, attributable to the spontaneous painting technique used by Warre. Rather than using fluid and carefully placed washes, like George Back, paint was applied with a brush that was only slightly damp. Held at an acute angle to the paper, it was "dragged" across the rough surface leaving colour on the tiny prominences. The recessions are left unpainted, producing a 'grainy' effect which gives crispness and sparkle to the washes. It is a method that is well suited to the rocky textures depicted throughout Warre's sketch.

This painting technique, called "dragging", was used freely by John Sell Cotman in the early nineteenth century (see Fig. 8)

and by other artists who, like Cotman, worked in Norwich, in the East Anglia region of England.² The technique was described in a magazine of 1832 as "very useful and characteristic of pebbles on the sea shore, or for a gravelled road and particularly effective in producing the roughness of the surface of rocks, or the texture of the bark of trees". The writer went on to say of the process:

that, applied by the amateur who is an adept at execution, and imbued with a taste for design, very delightful drawings may be wrought thereby. The style of Payne, indeed, is so eminently calculated for producing effect with facility, that it is peculiarly suited to the amateur who practises landscape drawing merely for amusement.

This statement was borne out by the extensive use of the dragging technique in the work of many amateur watercolour artists working in British North America, particularly in the period 1820-1850. Its popularity was explained further in an influential painting manual by George Bernard, who wrote: ". . . there is an appearance of ease and dash about it that is very captivating".⁴ He also pointed out that dragging allowed artists to compete with oil painting - presumably because pigment was used at almost full saturation.

It is this use of strong colour and spontaneous painting methods that characterized much of the watercolour art of the early nineteenth century. Warre's work is a good example of these tendencies. Dark paint has been dragged over lighter hues and paint has been scraped off to give highlights. The white paper has been left unpainted in many places to give a sparkling

brilliance, particularly to the area of water. The lack of a foreground or other formalized elements further contributes to the impression of immediacy and reality.

¹ MAJOR-FREGEAU 1976, no. 33.

² Dragging was used by Dutch artists in the seventeenth century, but it was "discovered" by William Payne (act.1776-1830) who would have taught it to his many pupils.

³ Magazine of Fine Arts, I, 1832, quoted by HARDIE 1966-68, III, p. 238.

⁴ George Bernard, The Theory and Practice of Landscape Painting in Watercolour (3rd ed., 1861), p. 123. Bernard was professor of drawing at Rigby School and author of other popular drawing manuals.

44 Indian Chief's Tomb on the Cowelitz River, Oregon, 1845

WC.

6½ x 10 in.; 16.5 x 25.4 cm.

Insc: title on mount, l.c.

Verso: Indian Tomb, Cowelitz, Oct. 1845, c.; Indian Tomb, on the Cowelitz River, The Indians bury their Chiefs in their Canoes, raised about 3 feet from the Ground, on account of the Wolves Etc.; Their Blankets and household utensils are destroyed and placed about the Canoe, in the manner represented, c.

Exh: MAJOR-FREGEAU 1967, no. 55, repr.

Lit: BELL 1973, p. 178, repr. in colour; SCHOENHERR 1976, p. 24, repr. in slides

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA (C-26342)

Warre reported in his journal of 1846 that an Indian graveyard had been established on the rocky side of Mount Coffin on the Cowelitz River, near Mount Hood, but that the hundreds of burial canoes were burned by the campfire of a United States Exploring Squadron boat crew.¹ In this watercolour Warre has shown one of the Chinook Indians' burial canoes, supported on a trestle, with the dead man's blankets torn and hung as streamers on poles.²

The painting technique in this watercolour is different from that of "Les Dalles", Columbia River (No. 43). Instead of paint being drily applied, fluid washes have been applied transparently over the smooth paper. The effect of dash and sparkle has been replaced by meticulous detail and graceful, ribbon-like brushstrokes. Warre's special ability to make creative use of the white paper is used here to give the work a

translucent, ethereal quality.

The artist's change of technique is an example of the early nineteenth-century search by artists for different means of visual expression. It was a period marked by experimentation and a self-conscious use of painting styles in order to produce a variety of effects. Warre used the dragging technique in his painting of "Les Dalles" to reproduce the textural quality of the many rocky surfaces. He used the same technique for another reason in his watercolour Hunting Buffalo on the Western Prairies, 1846 (PAC). Paint was dashed onto the tinted paper to give a feeling of the rushing movement of the hunted animals. Forms are not clearly defined and become distended shapes rushing across the page. Opaque white is slashed in horizontal streaks across the sky and the animal and human forms to further emphasize the direction of the movement.³ In Indian Chief's Tomb there is, instead, a smooth, transparent use of the watercolour medium that effectively conveys a mood of meditative tranquility and other-worldliness reminiscent of John Sell Cotman's painting, Sarcophagus in a Park (see Fig. 8). Warre, like the most creative artists of the Romantic period, tried to distil from a scene its most essential quality and used the visual means best suited to its expression.

¹Warre Journals, 1846, quoted by BELL 1976, p. 178.

²SCHOENHERR 1976, p. 24.

³The use of opaque body-colours for highlights was a method that nineteenth-century artists used to parallel the freer working methods of oil painters.

Warre's trip to Oregon Territory,

1845-46