

# “Here is the picture as well as I can paint it”

## Anna Jameson’s Illustrations for *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*

Theoretical and descriptive analyses of travel writing often warn against reading such narratives as “straightforward transcriptions of the lives of the [. . .] travellers” (Mills 36) or “straightforwardly as eyewitnesses’ reports” (MacLaren 41). Indeed, most contemporary readers and researchers accept the premise that travel narratives, like other prose narratives, are constructed and shaped for specific purposes and within specific cultural and social contexts. Paradoxically, however, analyses of travel writing often present the sketches, maps, and photographs that accompany those narratives as more or less straightforward illustrations of places, people, and landscapes. This unexamined approach to illustration is evident in the way that such images are often reprinted in studies of travel writing without much critical comment, as if they were merely methods of representing visually the travel writers and the places they visited. For example, all of the illustrations in Dorothy Middleton’s *Victorian Lady Travellers* (1965), Mary Russell’s *The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt* (1986), and Dea Birkett’s *Spinsters Abroad* (1989) are included only in order to show readers the women travellers and writers. Similarly, in her 1994 *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*, Alison Blunt includes some of Kingsley’s photographs for illustration, but never analyzes the photos themselves, or the sometimes contradictory relationships of gender and imperialism they exemplify.

Visual representations of travel are never value-free, since they are inflected by—and demonstrate—their creators’ often complex subject positions. Nineteenth-century drawings and paintings in particular illustrate negotiations of the “tensions and contradictions of colonialist doctrines and practices”

(Tobin 1). These tensions and contradictions are evident in the pencil sketches, etchings, and a few pen sketches and watercolours that Anna Brownell Jameson produced on an 1837 journey in Canada. Although the sketches illustrate the travels Jameson described in her 1838 book *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, they were not published with the book. Only eight of the sketches and etchings have ever been published, and they have been discussed by only a few commentators, mostly in terms of their illustrative or artistic value (Gerry, York). I argue, however, that they can be viewed not only as works of art, not only as ethnographic and topographic records, but also as representations of Jameson's literal and figurative progress beyond what she calls "the bounds of civilised humanity" (*Winter Studies* 3: 163).<sup>1</sup> "Read" alongside her travel book, these sketches correspond with and contradict her textual descriptions of the landscapes and peoples she encountered. Together, the two media demonstrate the way in which complex constructions of self and other are shaped by the politics of colonialism, "race," culture, class, and gender.

Jameson was already an established English writer of biography and travel narratives when she visited Canada from December 1836 to September 1837. She had illustrated some of her own books and would later publish several books of art criticism (including the well-known two-volume *Sacred and Legendary Art* [1848], which she also illustrated).<sup>2</sup> After spending six months in Toronto with her estranged husband, Attorney-General of Upper Canada Robert Jameson, she embarked in June 1837 on a two-month trip by carriage and cart to Niagara Falls and the western regions of Upper Canada, through Detroit via steamship to the American island of Mackinac in Lake Huron, from thence to Sault Ste. Marie and Manitoulin Island by *bateau* (a small boat with oars and sails), and finally to Penetanguishene via canoe. Like Jameson's published account of her travels, her illustrations document her journey by focusing on her responses to Canadian landscapes, First-Nations cultures, and the tensions inherent in the relationship between the European colonists and the First-Nations groups they were displacing. Her own position within the British imperial venture and her responses to the doctrines of Romantic landscape discourse sometimes lead her to construct First-Nations peoples as part of the scenery, or as "types" or ethnographic specimens. At other times, Jameson individualizes First-Nations acquaintances to the extent that their features are distinct and their portraits are named. She also puts herself in the picture, providing complex visual constructions of the pre- to early-

Victorian woman traveller that enrich and challenge parallel textual representations in her book.

Jameson's illustrations from her "rambles" in Canada and the United States are collected in two main locations: fifty-six pencil sketches, one pen sketch, and four watercolours are in an album in the Toronto Public Library's reference collection, while five etchings (all but one based on a specific album sketch) are held by the Royal Ontario Museum. The album was long the property of a Toronto family, but was first loaned to the Toronto reference library, then donated in 2000. Because of its long private ownership, only three of its sketches have previously been reproduced, along with the five etchings, in a 1958 pamphlet introduced by G. H. Needler and titled *Early Canadian Sketches*.<sup>3</sup> Jameson may have herself created the etchings; certainly she wrote during her early days in Canada of preparing etchings for publication in a new edition of *Characteristics of Women* (*Anna Jameson* 140-41). Henry Scadding, whom Jameson met in Sorel, Quebec, on her return journey from Toronto to New York in the autumn of 1837, notes that she "had with her numerous beautiful water-colour sketches taken during her late tour, together with many etchings by her own hand" (11).

Throughout her book, Jameson repeatedly mentions the activity of sketching. In the section in which she describes a spring visit to Niagara Falls, she notes that when she sat down to draw the falls, "in a moment the paper was wet through" (2: 73). She later mentions sketching a rude inn near Chatham (2: 225) and scenery on Mackinac (3: 152), and carrying a sketchbook with her on the return canoe trip down Lake Huron (3: 315). She also describes scenes that she sketches, including Mackinac beach; the lodge near Sault Ste. Marie of Wayish,ky; and her journeys, including representations of herself and her travelling companions in sleigh, *bateau*, and canoe. Jameson begins to enjoy Toronto only in the spring, when she can sit and sketch the lake and at the same time describe it as a Romantic landscape in the journal that later became her book; as she writes, "Sat at the window drawing, or rather not drawing, but with a pencil in my hand. This beautiful Lake Ontario! [. . .]—it changed its hues every moment, the shades of purple and green fleeting over it, now dark, now lustrous, now pale—like a dolphin dying" (1: 291). She then points out the poetic roots of her description and mocks the excesses of Romantic poetry by adding, "or, to use a more exact though less poetical comparison, dappled, and varying like the back of a mackarel" (1: 291). Jameson's American host on Mackinac Island, Indian agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, took note of her artistic endeavours. In his *Personal Memoirs*, he wrote:

She is, herself, an eminent landscape painter, or rather sketcher in crayon, and had her portfolio ever in hand. She did not hesitate freely to walk out to prominent points, of which the island has many, to complete her sketches. [. . .] She took a very lively interest in the Indian race, and their manners and customs, doubtless with views of benevolence for them as a peculiar race of man, but also as a fine subject of artistic observation. (561-62)

Schoolcraft thus identified Jameson's sketches as evidence of an interest in landscape and indigenous peoples that was artistic on one hand, and documentary or ethnographic on the other.

As well as sketching landscapes and peoples she encountered, Jameson also occasionally included herself as a figure in her drawings, representing not what she observed but what she experienced. One illustration, of which two slightly different versions exist in the form of a sketch and an etching, is of the winter journey to St. Catharines that Jameson made with "Mr. Campbell, the clerk of the assize" (1: 36; Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The sketch, labelled "Journey to Niagara, along the shores of Lake Ontario, January 1837," shows a man driving a sleigh while a lone woman sits in the back, her face turned toward the viewer.<sup>5</sup> This sketch demonstrates the process of travel and provides a chronology—Jameson travelled through this area, at this point in time—and thus reinforces and complements her written version of her experience. Indeed, the background scenery matches her textual descriptions of "spaces of cleared or half-cleared land, spotted over with the black charred stumps and blasted trunks of once magnificent trees, projecting from the snow drift," and of "wide openings [. . .] bringing us in sight of Lake Ontario, and even in some places down upon the edge of it" (1: 66).

Jameson's realistic and often negative textual and visual portrayals of that landscape can be compared to Catharine Parr Traill's descriptions in *The Backwoods of Canada* of the "odious stumps that disfigure the clearings" of the Canadian land through which she travelled (111), and to the woodcuts that illustrate those descriptions. Traill's text is nearly contemporaneous with Jameson's (and indeed, Clara Thomas [239 n.11.4] and Judith Johnston [111] speculate that Jameson read Traill's 1836 book before she came to Canada). As with Jameson, Traill's publishers chose not to use illustrations by her, although she could theoretically have supplied them.<sup>6</sup> Instead, publisher Charles Knight commissioned illustrations from a London firm (Thompson 31), causing Traill to complain later about the "wretched prints many of them miserable reprints from the Penny Magazine and not one descriptive of Canadian scenery" (qtd. in Peterman xlix).



Fig. 1. "Journey to Niagara, along the Shores of Lake Ontario, January 1837," pencil sketch by Anna Jameson. *Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-4.*

Because the artists are not credited in the book and the engravings appear to illustrate Traill's words, they can easily be mistaken for her work, despite discrepancies between text and woodcuts. Traill's book was presented as a guide for British settlers, and thus the publisher's woodcuts portray the landscape as more tidy and idyllic than her descriptions in the text. They also diverge widely from similar scenes sketched and described by Jameson, whose goal was to provide both a record of her own travels and an artistic, documentary, and ethnographic record of the people and landscape she encountered. Thus, while Jameson's sketch shows her alone in the back of a sleigh being driven through a blasted landscape, facing the viewer with an almost beseeching expression on her face (Fig. 1), Traill's illustrators present one idyllic picture of a nicely dressed couple being driven through a picturesque winter landscape and another of orderly fields of cleared stumps, with a zigzag fence diagonally bisecting the scene and pointing to the sun breaking through in the background (65, 129). Similarly, the illustration in Traill's book of a log cabin set among tall pine trees, with cattle in the foreground and a woman hanging clothes at the side, can be contrasted to Jameson's bleak portrayal of a log inn in denuded land encountered on her journey (Traill 95; Jameson album sketch 15).<sup>7</sup>

Although Jameson's drawings were completed by someone on the scene rather than by illustrators who had little or no first-hand knowledge of the area, her sketches are clearly also designed to convey a specific point of view. While her visual representation of the sleigh journey shows her as the only passenger, in the textual description of the same trip Jameson makes it clear that she and Campbell were in fact accompanied by at least one other man (1: 74).<sup>8</sup> Jameson's sleigh sketch is in part an illustration of her repeated and to some extent inaccurate claim that she was the first of her kind to make such a journey, and that she made that journey alone. She writes to her mother on 17 August 1837 that she is "the first Englishwoman—the first European female who ever accomplished this journey" (*Anna Jameson* 157) and, in the preface to her book, claims to be the first both to experience such adventures and to write about them: "While in Canada, I was thrown into scenes and regions hitherto undescribed by any traveller, [. . .] and into relations with the Indian tribes, such as few European women of refined and civilised habits have ever risked, and none have recorded" (1: vi). This passage is remarkable for the way that emphasizes the value of both doing and recording, and presents Jameson as "refined" and "civilised." As someone "refined," she is different from most British women in Canada, who are settlers from the lower classes. As someone "civilised," she is distinguished from the Aboriginal women she encounters. Her refinement and civilization thus allow her to claim to be "first," although other women, certainly First-Nations women and possibly other European women, have gone before her.<sup>9</sup>

Visual representations that emphasize her gender, her class, and her cultural origins support Jameson's textual claims that she will make her "summer rambles" alone. She writes, "I shall have neither companion nor man-servant, nor *femme de chambre*, nor even a 'little foot-page' to give notice of my fate, should I be swamped in a bog, or eaten up by a bear, or scalped, or disposed of in some strange way" (2: 8), and "Meantime I was alone—alone—and on my way to that ultimate somewhere of which I knew nothing" (2: 36-37). The language used to describe her journey thus emphasizes solitude even where that solitude is entirely figurative. Jameson was never truly alone on her journey—other people, and sometimes large groups of people, conveyed her from one place to another and provided accommodation—but she was often without the companionship of friends or acquaintances of her own economic, cultural, and social position, and she was sometimes without female companionship.

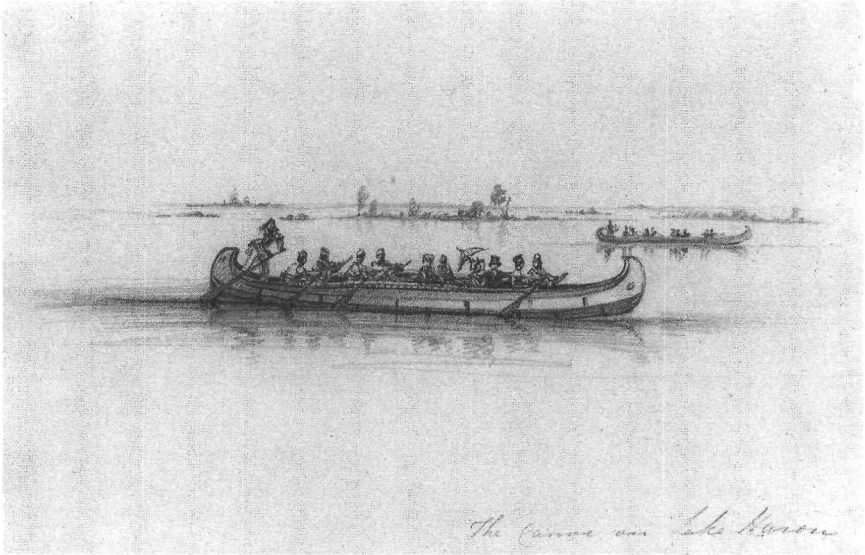


Fig. 2. "The canoe on Lake Huron," pencil sketch by Anna Jameson. *Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-35.*

Jameson's sketch of her return trip from Manitoulin to Penetanguishene by canoe represents that figurative solitude (Fig. 2). In her narrative, Jameson describes travelling in two canoes with "twenty-one men, and myself, the only woman" (3: 316). Her sketch shows two birchbark canoes carrying eleven people each, with the four passengers Jameson identifies in her book sitting in the middle to front sections of the foreground canoe: the son of Lieutenant-Governor Francis Bond Head; the interpreter, Solomon; Jameson herself; and the superintendent of Indian affairs, Samuel Peters Jarvis (3: 314-15). Two Métis paddlers sit in the bow with four in the back half of the canoe, recognizable not only because each wields a paddle but also because each wears "a handkerchief twisted round the head" (3: 316). The "Indian steersman, Martin," stands in the stern.

In the illustration, Jameson is on the side closest to the viewer, her face in profile and shielded by a bonnet that, along with the parasol she mentions in the text, identify her as the lone woman (3: 315). Beside her is a man also looking at the viewer and wearing a top hat, which identifies him as a gentleman: Mr. Jarvis. The illustration provides documentary visual evidence of Jameson's experience on her journey, and at the same time represents in concrete terms her solitude in terms of gender, and her femininity, gentility,

and cultural origins.<sup>10</sup> Bonnets and parasols are appurtenances of the European woman who must protect herself from the coarsening rays of the sun in order to preserve that distinctive marker of race, white skin. As Scadding noted when he met her in Sorel,

The hands of Mrs. Jameson were remarkably beautiful. How their extreme whiteness and delicacy were preserved during the unavoidable inconveniences and exposures of the recent extensive canoe trip was a mystery, but I think in relation to some allusion to this escape I overheard a strong hint given to one of her young lady friends, that never under any circumstances must the hands be ungloved for one moment in the out-of-door air, or sun light, a precept enforced by a reiterated emphatic *never*. (12)

Jameson does not emphasize her use of gloves in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, but she does write about her parasol and she does illustrate herself with both parasol and bonnet. In a subsequent letter to one of her companions on the journey, an Anishinabe-Irish woman named Charlotte McMurray with whom Jameson became friends, Jameson writes that despite the care she took of her complexion, “it was however many days before my poor swelled & sunburnt face recovered its usual paleness” (Letter).<sup>11</sup>

In Jameson’s references to drawings that do not portray herself on her journey, but instead show landforms, settlements, or other people, she draws explicit parallels between what she sketches and what she writes by using similar language to describe the two activities. Of her arrival at Mackinac, she writes, “a scene burst at once on my enchanted gaze, such as I never had imagined, such as I wish I could place before you in words,—but I despair, unless words were of light, and lustrous hues, and breathing music. However, here is the picture as well as I can paint it” (3: 24). Jameson did sketch this scene in pencil, and although her sketch is significantly less poetic than her textual introduction, it shows Mackinac to be much as she subsequently finds words to describe (Fig. 3). In that description, Jameson uses the word “picturesque”—which William Gilpin defined in 1781 as “that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture” (xii)—to refer to both land and dwellings. She also invokes a Eurocentric sense of nobility and grandeur in the landscape:

Immediately in front rose the abrupt and picturesque heights of the island, robed in richest foliage, and crowned by the lines of the little fortress, snow-white and gleaming in the morning light. At the base of these cliffs, all along the shore, immediately on the edge of the lake, which, transparent and unruffled, reflected every form as in a mirror, an encampment of Indian wigwams extended far as my eye could reach on either side. Even while I looked, the inmates were beginning to bestir themselves, and dusky figures were seen emerging into sight from their



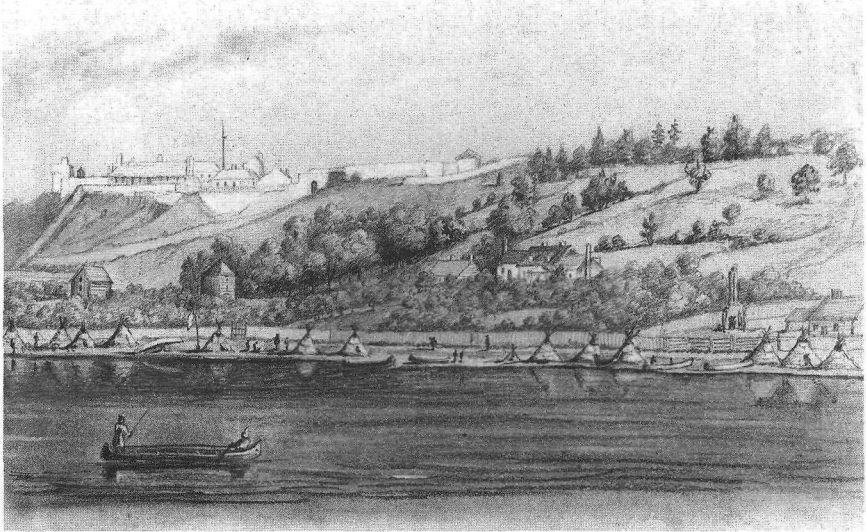


Fig. 3. "Island of Mackinaw — Lake Huron," pencil sketch by Anna Jameson. *Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-22.*

picturesque dormitories, and stood gazing on us with folded arms, or were busied about their canoes, of which some hundreds lay along the beach. (3: 24-25)

As evidence of its status as base for the colonizing forces, the island is "robed" in trees and "crowned" by the fort, like an imperial monarch, while its inmates—the Anishinabe—are stereotypically "dusky" figures in "picturesque" dwellings.

As her use of the word "picturesque" demonstrates, Jameson's response to scenery and people in Upper Canada is part of the Romantic tradition.<sup>12</sup> She often employs a kind of painterly language to describe landscape, as in the above description of Mackinac. Introductory phrases such as "On the East," "On the opposite side," "Immediately in front," and "At the base" (3: 24-25), as well as a descriptive progression "from foreground to middle ground to distance," help "to place and orient the viewer" (Glickman 9). In a 1986 discussion of Jameson's landscape descriptions, Lorraine York suggests that "in *Winter Studies* one witnesses the frustrating attempt to apply artistic criteria of form and symmetry to a wild, recalcitrant landscape" (51). The result, York contends, is that Jameson's description of the expansiveness of Canadian landscape "is not one of awesome grandeur, but one of barren desolation" (47). I would argue, however, that for Jameson the Canadian

landscape in fact epitomizes the elements of awe and fear inherent in the Romantic sublime. An example is the passage in which Jameson depicts a campsite menaced by fire during her trip from Sault Ste. Marie to Manitoulin. She writes, “Wildly magnificent it was! beyond all expression beautiful, and awful too!” (3: 259), and notes that the scene at first “delighted” members of her party, but then inspired them with “fear” (3: 258). Indeed, Jameson’s approach to landscape evokes the attitude toward danger that Susan Glickman identifies when she points to “the *prestige* of terror as an aesthetic category during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries” (45).

This valorization of terror is a characteristic of scenic tourism, which Elizabeth Bohls suggests “inscribed disinterestedness on the landscape, constructing scenes through its process of detachment from the material specificity of land and people’s practical connection to it” (103). The aestheticization of scenery by early nineteenth-century artists and travellers was criticized by at least some of their contemporaries. Henry Schoolcraft suggested in 1837 that visitors to Mackinac, including Jameson, often attempted to distance themselves from what they saw by aestheticizing it. He wrote that the Englishmen and Englishwomen who visited him had difficulty realizing that what they were looking at existed, because they “look on America very much as one does when he peeps through a magnifying glass on pictures of foreign scenes, and the picturesque ruins of old cities.” He concluded that “even Mrs. Jameson, who had the most accurate and artistic eye of all, [. . .] appeared to regard our vast woods, and wilds, and lakes, as a magnificent panorama, a painting in oil” (566). In this passage, Schoolcraft astutely points to the depersonalizing and simultaneous containment inherent in “picturesque” approaches to landscape.

Such detachment is evident in Jameson’s narrative in her use of the visual term “picturesque” to describe the First-Nations people she encountered. When applied to individuals on Mackinac, “picturesque” comes to mean primarily the odd or curious. Jameson tells her reader that she wishes she could make a “sketch” of the people she sees in more than words: “There was not a figure among them that was not a study for a painter; and how I wished that my hand had been readier with the pencil to snatch some of those picturesque heads and attitudes! But it was all so new—I was so lost in gazing, listening, observing, and trying to comprehend, that I could not make a single sketch for you, except the above, in most poor and inadequate words” (3: 48). The effect of this initial description of Ojibwa and Odawa

peoples—which again metaphorically aligns writing with drawing—is to distance herself from them; they are not people, but objects to be delineated by her pencil and sketchpad. Her use of the languages of landscape and literature to refer to people romanticizes them, reinforces their difference, and at the same time defines and contains them. Although they are “other,” if they can be written about using the idiom with which Jameson is familiar, they are both knowable and controllable.

In her early sketches in Canada, Jameson also contains First-Nations individuals by using compositional strategies, common to Romantic landscape painting, that position them as small figures in the foreground or middle distance to give the scene life and provide a sense of scale (Bohls 96). In one of her three sketches of Niagara Falls, for example, she places a figure of a man with feathers in his hair, leaning on a lance, in the upper foreground (Fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> According to Tzvetan Todorov, indigenous peoples “constitute a part of the landscape, [. . .] somewhere between birds and trees” for explorers and other travellers. This conclusion is too sweeping by far, but Jameson’s representation of the man next to the waterfall undoubtedly associates him with the forces of nature, and also contains him by portraying him as just one part of an artistic representation of landscape. At the same time, it puts Romantic landscape conventions into effect by using him to provide perspective and measurement.

The Niagara Falls sketch was made early in Jameson’s travels, before she had become well acquainted with any Aboriginal people and before she could provide the more integrated portrayal of them apparent in the third volume of her book. This more integrated approach is evident, I would argue, in the head-and-shoulders sketch that Jameson made of two Odawa elders she met on Mackinac and Manitoulin, labelled with their names: “Mokomaun ish” and “Kee me wun” (Fig. 5). Jameson writes about “Kee me wun” or “Kim,e,wun,” a name she translates as “the Rain, or rather ‘it rains’” (3: 53-54), at least three times in her book (see also 3: 138, 272). In her account of her early days on Mackinac, she describes him as

one of the noblest figures I ever beheld, above six feet high, erect as a forest pine. A red and green handkerchief was twined round his head with much elegance, and knotted in front, with the two ends projecting; his black hair fell from beneath it, and his small black piercing eyes glittered from among its masses, like stars glancing through the thunder clouds. His ample blanket was thrown over his left shoulder, and brought under his right arm, so as to leave it free and exposed; and a sculptor might have envied the disposition of the whole drapery—it was so felicitous, so richly graceful. (3: 54)



Fig. 4. "Table Rock, June 26, being wet through," pencil sketch by Anna Jameson.  
Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-10.



Fig. 5. “Mokomaun ish” and “Kee me wun,” pencil sketches by Anna Jameson. *Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-58.*

In this passage, Jameson interprets Kim,e,wun through the trope of the noble savage, a habit of mind evident in other descriptions of her First-Nations acquaintances.<sup>14</sup> While her allusions to pine trees and stars also equate Kim,e,wun with nature, the description of his blanket characterizes him as a work of art—a sculpture—and thus to some extent objectifies and contains him. Indeed, in sculptural terms, Jameson’s head-and-shoulders drawing presents a kind of “bust.” The rather rough sketch was likely made during a meeting between Indian agents and First-Nations groups on Mackinac at which Jameson recognized individual characteristics of which she approved in the men she encountered, while at the same time representing them as objects of artistic study; she writes of “five or six who had good heads—well developed, intellectual, and benevolent [. . .] my friend the Rain [. . .] conspicuous among them” (3: 138). Another possible occasion for the sketch is a gathering later at Manitoulin when she saw her “old acquaintance the Rain, looking magnificent” (3: 272).

At that second gathering, Jameson twice identifies the other figure on the portrait page. She notices one of the “remarkable chiefs of the Ottawas [. . .] Mocomaun,ish, (the Bad-knife)” (3: 272-73), then writes that when superintendent Jarvis stopped speaking to the council, “a fine Ottawa chief (I think

Mokomaun,ish) arose, and spoke at some length" (3: 285). The portrait of Mokomaun,ish (labelled Mokomaun ish) shows a man with a serious expression; his face is turned away from the observer in three-quarter profile, and his eyes appear to gaze at the side of the page. The drawing of Kim,e,wun (labelled Kee me wun) portrays him facing in the same direction, in complete profile. Ann Maxwell points out in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions* that artistic representations in which the subjects are turned from the viewer and thus are not allowed to return the viewer's gaze are the most objectifying (13-14). Since Mokomaun,ish and Kim,e,wun turn away from the observer, it could be argued that these men are presented primarily as objects of the artist's and viewer's gaze. On the other hand, Beth Fowkes Tobin contends in *Picturing Imperial Power* that portraits by definition "imply an empowered subject. However delicate and complex the negotiations among sitter, artist, and patron, portraits are of somebody: an individual with a name, a family, and a home" (17). While the men in Jameson's portraits do not gaze at the observer, they have at least "achieved the status of subjects" in that both are represented as individuals (Tobin 17). As an exemplification of that status, their names are attached to their images, they are described in the text, and an attempt has been made in each portrait to capture distinctive features.<sup>15</sup>

In his 1990 analysis of Jameson's sketches and watercolours, Thomas Gerry refers to five "close-up portraits of individuals" which he suggests show evidence of "warm contact with the native people" (45). Gerry does not, however, point to the head-and-shoulders portraits of Kim,e,wun and Mokomaun,ish, possibly because the page of the album on which they are pasted is incorrectly labelled to indicate that the portraits were drawn on Jameson's return trip to England through the United States.<sup>16</sup> The five illustrations that Gerry mentions are not what I would define as portraits—none of the people in them is named or identifiable—and do not represent any of the people with whom Jameson had "warm contact."<sup>17</sup> Instead, these five full-figure illustrations signal the intense interest of the ethnographer in what she sees on her journey. They provide examples of what Tobin calls, in another context, "a visual description of what were presented as specimens of exotic species" (145). Indeed, the sketches graphically represent Jameson's repeated textual use of the word "specimen" to refer to First-Nations individuals (see for example 1: 26, 2: 33, and 3: 275, 276). Included among them are a pen sketch of a woman carrying a baby in a cradle on her back (Fig. 6), a watercolour of a grouping of three adults and a child (Fig. 7), and three watercolours of

Fig. 6. Untitled pen and ink drawing of woman and child, by Anna Jameson.  
*Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-23.*



Fig. 7. "Indians," watercolour by Anna Jameson. *Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-37.*

men dancing (album sketches 27, 28a, and 28b; Fig. 8). All exemplify descriptions in Jameson's book intended to give readers a "picture" of the peoples she encounters, and of their cultural artifacts and social practices, including their dress, their modes of transporting children, and their dances.

According to Tobin, "Ethnographic art, despite its focus on the human figure, does not share portraiture's goals of reproducing an individual's countenance and conveying a sense of the subject's character. Instead, ethnographic art seeks to represent the typical and to suppress the individual" (147). While these five pictures are unusual for Jameson in that they are in pen and watercolour, for the most part they represent types rather than (as her two pencil portraits have done) individuals. Thus her untitled pen sketch illustrates her description of women on Mackinac who carry babies in "curious bark cradles" (3: 30). Similarly, although the watercolour tableau of the three adults and a child has a sense of deliberate artistry rather than solely of scientific illustration, it is labelled at the bottom simply "Indians." These people are carefully posed, but the sketch is designed most of all to show dress, cultural practices, and, through the guns the men either carry or lean against, the encroachment of European technology.

In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson describes in detail two separate dances put on for her benefit, one at Mackinac and the other at Manitoulin. In her watercolour sketches of three of the dancers in motion, none is recognizable as any one of the individuals she describes (3: 145-49, 292-94), and indeed none is named, unlike her portraits of Mokomaunish and Kim, e, wun. The men appear instead to be "types" of dancers, composites dressed in various combinations of loin-cloths, moccasins and leggings, beads, paint, and feathers. Because these sketches are in colour, all of the figures are portrayed with very dark skins; the paintings therefore have a documentary focus designed to emphasize cultural difference. At the same time, two of the men look directly at the observer, and each has distinctive features (see, for example, Fig. 8). Thus although these three dancers are clearly objects of ethnographic investigation, they are allowed some individuality and some engagement with the investigator and the viewer.

The three watercolours, like the descriptions of the dancers in Jameson's text, also exemplify her fascination with the men's state of undress: "Of their style of clothing, I say nothing," she writes, "—for, as it is wisely said, nothing can come of *nothing*" (3: 145). In his study of travel writing, Dennis Porter argues that "the shock of such encounters with naked or seminaked



Fig. 8. Untitled watercolour  
of man dancing,  
by Anna Jameson.  
*Courtesy of the Toronto Public  
Library (TRL) 966-6L-28a.*

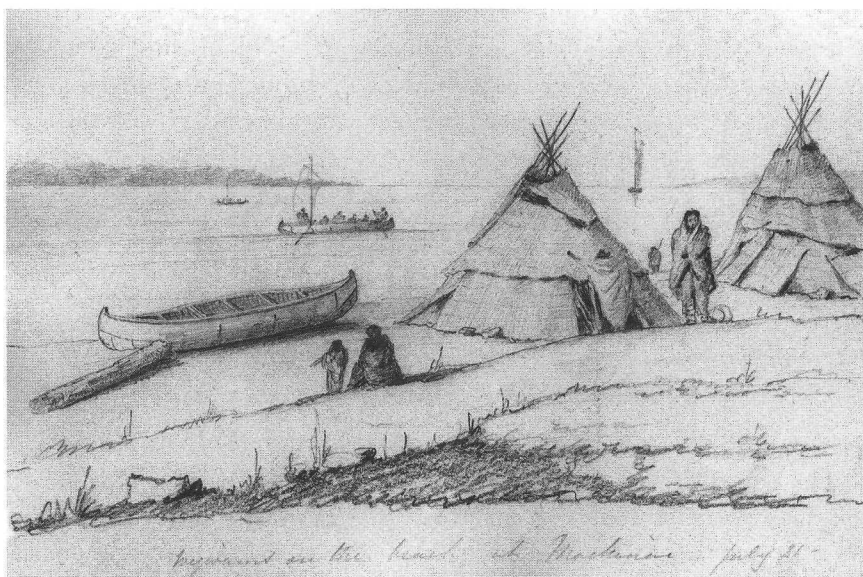


Fig. 9. "Wigwams on the beach at Mackinaw—July 21," pencil sketch by Anna Jameson.  
*Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-24.*

peoples of color seems to reside in the perception of similarity within radical difference” (12). Jameson’s paintings register that shock, as do her textual accounts of the scene, which focus both on nakedness and on purported warlike tendencies. Earlier she has described in detail one individual, whom she provides with the European descriptor “dandy.” She writes that “he had neither a coat nor any thing else that gentlemen are accustomed to wear; but then his face was most artistically painted [. . .]; and conspicuous above all, the eagle feather in his hair, showing he was a warrior, and had taken a scalp—*i.e.* killed his man” (3: 44). The juxtaposition of the words “dandy” and “gentlemen” with references to paint, feathers, and scalping emphasizes both the jarring juxtaposition of the familiar with the unfamiliar, and the fascination of the traveller with potential violence.

In other sketches, Jameson shows Anishinabe people who are also not individualized in terms of features, but at least are placed in relation to their natural surroundings, to everyday activities such as fishing or canoeing, and to their dwellings and their modes of transportation. An example is “Wigwams on the beach at Mackinaw—July 21,” which shows tents, canoes, and people in a specific location on a specific date (Fig. 9). Jameson’s documentary record is also sometimes explicitly tied to individuals whom she knew and described in detail. Her sketch of a lodge near Sault Ste. Marie illustrates both the dwelling of an Anishinabe man of high status and the dwelling of a warmly regarded acquaintance, the brother of her friend Susan Johnston (Fig. 10). It is labelled in a way that identifies it with an individual at a specific time and place: “Wayish-ky’s Lodge—July 31, 1837.” In her book, she writes:

The lodge is of the genuine Chippewa form, like an egg cut in half lengthways. It is formed of poles stuck in the ground, and bent over at top, strengthened with a few wattles and boards; the whole is covered over with mats, birch-bark, and skins; a large blanket formed the door or curtain, which was not ungracefully looped aside. Wayish,ky, being a great man, has also a smaller lodge hard by, which serves as a storehouse and kitchen. (3: 186)

Jameson’s description and the accompanying illustration can be compared to a painting by Paul Kane titled “Sault Ste. Marie, 1845” (Fig. 11). Kane’s painting, of the same location eight years later, has very similar composition—lodges in the foreground, river in the middle distance, and the opposite shore in the background. While the painting is, like Jameson’s sketch, clearly documentary, it exemplifies a much more deliberate sense of artistry, evident not only in the use of colour but also in the formal grouping of the



Fig. 10. "Wayish-ky's Lodge—July 31, 1837," pencil sketch by Anna Jameson. *Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (TRL) 966-6L-31.*



Fig. 11. "Sault Ste. Marie, 1845," painting by Paul Kane. *Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada 912.1.9.*

central figures (who appear to represent the concept of the “noble savage”), the draping of blankets in doorways and over bushes, and the use of compositional features such as the large tree in the left foreground.

When Henry Schoolcraft described Jameson's 1837 visit to Mackinac Island, he linked her sketches to landscape paintings by the seventeenth-century French painter Claude, whose works epitomized Gilpin's notions of the picturesque (Brennan 16). Jameson's host wrote that when she “stepped out on the piazza and saw the wild Indians dancing; she evidently looked on with the eye of a Claude Lorraine or Michael Angelo [both *sic*]” (562). While Schoolcraft may have compared Jameson to well-known artists only because he wanted to stress her artistic activities, his comment also points to the Romantic containment of difference, the turning of people into parts of the landscape, evident in Claude's paintings and in some of Jameson's sketches and parts of her narrative. Bohls argues that women writers of the Romantic era made use of, but at the same time radically revised, the distancing aesthetic of the Romantic discourse of landscape. She suggests that their writings “point to the often inhumane consequences of denying the connection between aesthetic practices and the material, social, and political conditions of human existence” (10). Jameson's detailed and personalized descriptions and illustrations of Wayish,ky's lodge and of Mokomaun,ish and Kim,e,wun indeed render concrete the connection between aesthetic practice and practical human existence, unlike her other representations of First-Nations abodes and people as “picturesque” or as “types,” and unlike Kane's painting or the illustrations for Traill's book. Although Jameson's ethnographic visual project at times slots First Nations into the classifications of natural history studies or of the picturesque, at other times it recognizes their status as human subjects. Studied alongside her visual representations of herself on her journey, Jameson's sketches of First-Nations individuals and settlements thus demonstrate the way in which imperialist and anti-imperialist discourses and discourses of femininity can both confirm and contradict each other.

#### NOTES

I would like to thank the Toronto Public Library for giving me access to Jameson's sketches, and Nathalie Cooke, Sherrill Grace, and the anonymous reviewers for *Canadian Literature* for their thoughtful comments on an earlier version of this article.

- 1 I quote from the 1838 three-volume edition of Jameson's work and retain, without comment, her idiosyncrasies of spelling, punctuation, and italicization.

- 2 Jameson set out from England at the beginning of October 1836 and did not return until February 1838, after having spent several months in the United States. Her previous publications included a fictionalized account of her travels in Italy (*The Diary of an Ennuyée* [1826]), three volumes of biography, a volume of literary criticism (*Characteristics of Women* [1832]), and a book based on her travels in Europe (*Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad* [1834]). Her subsequent pamphlets and books on art include *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in or Near London* (1840), *Companion to the Private Galleries of Art in London* (1844), and *Memoirs of Early Italian Painters* (1845).
- 3 The album opens with a notice indicating that it was sold at auction in London, England, 20 Dec. 1886. As well as containing the 61 sketches and watercolours of the Canadian and American journey, it also includes 30 sketches showing Jameson's trip from England and travels in Europe. Thomas Gerry erroneously reports that none of the sketches has been published, but that Needler's booklet contains eight etchings based on the sketches (36). In fact, three of the eight illustrations in Needler's book appear to be reproductions of actual sketches from Jameson's album; four are etchings based on the sketches; and one is an etching that has no counterpart in the album, although it is a summer version of a winter scene represented in an album sketch.
- 4 In several other sketches of modes of travel, including an illustration of the second part of Jameson's sleigh journey from St. Catharines to Niagara with family friend John Lees Alma (album sketch 3; *Letters* 78 n.), and a sketch of a *bateau* near St. Joseph's island (album sketch 29), Jameson was probably also one of the figures pictured.
- 5 The differences between sketch and etching consist mostly in the stronger, darker lines of the etching, and in variations in the trees, stumps, and one of the horses. In both sketch and etching, the female figure is almost covered by furs, but turns her face toward the viewer; her features are more subtly drawn in the sketch, giving her a pensive expression.
- 6 Traill notes in one letter published in *The Backwoods of Canada* that she has attached a pen sketch of some of the flowers she describes (233).
- 7 Elizabeth Thompson argues that this picture "deviates from Traill's verbal representations of a similar site" because the stumps Traill describes "would preclude the picturesque by cluttering up the cleared space surrounding the cabin" (37).
- 8 In a letter to her friend Ottilie von Goethe, she does not name her companion in the sleigh, but writes that by her side was "a *thing*, of which you can form no conception, a *Canadian Dandy*" (*Letters* 77). Mr. Campbell, she notes in her book, was driving the sleigh (1: 65).
- 9 As Jameson later acknowledged, she was not the first traveller to describe Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie: Alexander Henry had included such descriptions in his 1809 *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*. She was not even the first woman: Harriet Martineau had included a brief description of the island in her 1837 *Society in America*.
- 10 In the etching of that scene in the Royal Ontario Museum's collection, space has been cropped from the perimeter to give the canoes more emphasis. In addition, the parasol and bonnet of the female figure are more prominent in the etching than in the sketch; the faces of Jarvis and Head are turned toward the viewer; and some of the handkerchiefs around the heads of the paddlers are replaced by hats.
- 11 Katharine Bassett Patterson kindly provided me with the transcription of this letter; see <http://edocs.lib.sfu.ca/projects/VWWLP/> for her useful database on the letters of Anna Jameson, Harriet Martineau, and their friends.

- 12 In *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape*, Susan Glickman demonstrates that the picturesque, as Gilpin initially envisioned it, at first incorporated aspects of both Edmund Burke's sublime, "that which awes or terrifies," and beautiful, "that which calms and pleases" (10-11). She suggests that the picturesque was redefined by later Romantic commentators until it came for the most part to represent the sublime. See Fowler (169), Freiwald (66), and Buss (54) for discussions of Jameson's sexualization and feminization of the Canadian landscape.
- 13 In contrast, the illustrators for Traill's book represent Montmorency Falls near Quebec City with a ship in the background, thus imbuing the landscape with the means for trade and settlement (23). Thompson argues that "While 'Falls of Montmorenci' does not recreate *what* Traill sees in her voyage [since Traill passed the falls at night], it is entirely faithful to *how* she sees and reports on the world around her" (35).
- 14 Jameson writes, for example, that the Anishinabe of Mackinac "realised all my ideas of the wild and lordly savage" (3: 30) and that she had never met with "a set of more perfect gentlemen, in *manner*" (3: 137).
- 15 The imaginative portrait of "Peter, the Chief" in Traill's book also shows the upper body of a man, his head and eyes directed slightly to the side (frontispiece).
- 16 The page is erroneously labelled "The Widow Forest's—Stockbridge. Where Harriet Martineau lodged." Several of the surrounding pages in the album are also mislabelled.
- 17 Although Jameson may have produced sketches of the Anishinabe friends she made on the trip, including Susan Johnston of Sault Ste. Marie and her daughters Charlotte McMurray and Jane Schoolcraft (wife of Henry Schoolcraft), they have not survived in her album or etchings.

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