

# NOTES TOWARDS A RECONSIDERATION OF PAUL KANE'S ART AND PROSE\*

*I. S. MacLaren*

In Memoriam: Charles R. Steele, 1944-1987

**T**HE ILLUSTRATED TRAVEL NARRATIVE represents one of pre-Confederation Canada's most frequently practised literary genres. Subscription to its conventions yielded faithfully Euro-centric imperialist notions of the world beyond the meccas of civilization: The traveller took with him/her an eye prepared to testify to the differences that remote regions and their denizens offered to the European reading public's understanding of the human species on earth. Whether dramatized with the persona of the romantic enthusiast upon whose spirit strange new impressions registered, or documented with the steadfast resolve of the dispassionate naturalist, such narratives focussed especially upon the uncommon, the foreign, encountered either on a daily basis or as a general effect of wilderness travel and exploration. However, while their subject matter may have shared common foci, the scientist and the sentimental and impressionistic traveller adopted different styles of representing their encounters with the unknown and little known. While the scientist/traveller, who had looked *at* nature, believed that a plain style

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could actually present (not just represent) phenomena unaltered by human perception, the sentimental traveller, who had perhaps only looked *over* nature, investigated with a much greater measure of narrativity the impression on him/her of the experience of it.

Much more should be and has been said about the different narrative personalities of scientific and sentimental illustrated travel narratives,<sup>1</sup> but only the primary distinctions need be recalled for an examination of the *oeuvre* of Paul Kane, whose diverse purposes for travel left him wandering as both a scientist and a sentimental traveller, on the one hand a dispassionate documenter of Amerindians and their territories, and on the other hand a personally engaged individual telling a tale of adventure with an almost Wordsworthian fervour for retrieving an innocent past:

The subject was one in which I felt a deep interest in my boyhood. I had been accustomed to see hundreds of Indians about my native village, then Little York, muddy and dirty, just struggling into existence, now the City of Toronto, bursting forth in all its energy and commercial strength. But the face of the red man is now no longer seen. All traces of his footsteps are fast being obliterated from his once favourite haunts, and those who would see the aborigines of this country in their original state, or seek to study their native manners and customs, must travel far through the pathless forest to find them. To me the wild woods were not altogether unknown, and the Indians but recalled old friends with whom I had associated in my childhood. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Not hitherto remarked of this oft-quoted passage from Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist* (1859) are several oddities. Besides the fact that, as Kane well knew, the forest was anything but pathless — the development of inland communication had reached an advanced state by 1859, and Kane himself had started his 1849 trip to Fort Garry by steamer — one wonders how Kane meant scientifically to “study” his sentimentally remembered “old friends.” From the outset of the published narrative, two purposes for it work against one another, creating a disturbing sense of the persona as both prominent actor in and objective chronicler of the narrative. That Amerindians receive such contradictory epithets as “red man” and “aborigines” within the space of a few lines also throws into question Kane's understanding of his purpose and anticipates later difficulties for the narrative when the apparent author records with revulsion numerous habits of the brethren of his “old friends.” Clearly, the barbarian, the Noble Savage, and the anthropological/ethnographical curiosity all run into one another backstage of this preface.

This disturbing discontinuity in the narrative may be regarded, though for different reasons that will be examined later in this essay, as analagous to the well documented discrepancy in the artistic purposes of Kane's field watercolours and sketches, and his studio oil paintings. In fact, this essay will suggest the consideration of the inversion of the current state of Kane studies. At the moment, a marked

discrepancy is faithfully noted between the field work and studio productions in Kane's painting, but no discrepancy between the same two stages in his prose. Less of a discrepancy will be argued for in representative pairs of pictures, while the widest possible discrepancy will be examined in the prose.

SINCE 1971, WHEN RUSSELL HARPER, in his exhaustive study of Kane, remarked the variance between the field and studio works, criticism of the art has faithfully followed him. Thus, Ann Davis emphasizes, indeed polarizes, the two, finding the watercolours and sketches " 'accurate,' spontaneous, and bright" productions of a "scientist," and regarding the studio oils as " 'aesthetic,' composed, mannered" works of an "artist."<sup>3</sup> Harper had cited a number of factors, especially the great difference between the two colour keys used by Kane,<sup>4</sup> and to them has since been emphatically and helpfully added another important one: in her thesis about corporate conditioning of artistic representations of the West, Susan Jane Hopkins Stewart argues for the pervasive influence on Kane's studio work of Sir George Simpson, the Hudson's Bay Company's inland governor, by whose generosity Kane was able to make his trip to the Pacific Ocean and back, by whose company's routes and conveyances he travelled, and by whose commission he prepared his first canvases upon returning to Toronto.<sup>5</sup> Just as, half a century later, the Canadian Pacific Railway, by its policy of distributing free passes to artists, conditioned what of the West was seen and even which landscapes were frequently painted, and painted on canvases of which dimensions,<sup>6</sup> so the Hudson's Bay Company provided a set route, and strongly suggested to an indebted Kane what he ought to paint and how it ought to be represented. Davis has furthered Stewart's work in this regard by arguing that as a representative Victorian tycoon, Simpson wanted documentary art only if it conformed to propriety and convention,<sup>7</sup> if only because corporate demand for art has rarely condoned anything in its collections but the status quo. Hardly would Simpson have countenanced a room in his house full of "raw savages," "unadorned heathens," or what have you. As important perhaps (given the low regard in which the media of sketch and watercolour laboured until well into the twentieth century in Canada), only properly framed — even paired — oil portraits and landscapes could hope to find a corporate or legislative home.

Did Kane not know all this *before* he left on his trip? Much has been made of the ostensible influence made on him by Catlin's London exhibition; given his presumed witness of it and his implicit prefatorial avowal to generate something similar, how can the student of the entire pictorial *oeuvre* countenance the notion that Kane entirely changed his purpose and perspective from "scientist" to "artist"?

upon his return to Toronto in October 1848? Indeed, he knew of Simpson's possible interest in acquiring pictures before he departed in June of 1846. From this viewpoint, at least as far as the seldom considered landscapes are concerned, Kane's field practices seem not at all necessarily scientific or accurate, if brighter, than the studio oils worked up later. Indeed, the notion that a series of pictures wherever executed could be executed outside the conventions of their day seems as innocent as the eighteenth-century idea that the plain style, itself after all a style or convention, is free from conventionalized representation. Especially on the frontier, where travellers have brought their perceptual baggage as a means of recognizing and responding to difference from civilization and culture, the chances of a painter or writer stepping outside all prevailing conventions of the time seem, at best, remote.

"To represent the scenery of an almost unknown country" (lxiii) amounts to no more than Kane's tertiary artistic purpose in his travels, perhaps because, unlike the portrayal of western Amerindians in British territory, landscapes were not unique: Henry James Warre, whom Kane appears not to have met when the two passed through Fort Garry in the summer of 1846, had, even before Kane's return to Toronto, published pictures of a number of events and sites that receive treatment by Kane, including the Rockies, Forts Garry and Vancouver, the falls on the Pelouse River, the Willamette River valley, Kakabeka Falls, a prairie buffalo hunt, and a prairie fire.<sup>8</sup> As well, perhaps Kane relegates landscapes to a minor status because of the proof in Catlin's exhibition that public interest (and potential income for Kane) lay most in the Indian portrait. However, of paramount consideration is the simple reason that Kane, both in Mobile and after in Europe, made portraiture his chief study. Nevertheless, a check of the "Landscape and Portrait log" kept by him on the 1846-1848 journey (see below) shows that written entries about landscapes, as he designates them, outnumber entries regarding the portraits. His concern with their preparation and correct identification bespeaks more than a tertiary interest in their execution.

Basic conventions of picturesque landscape depiction govern the field watercolours as much as they do the studio oils. The first pair here presented for consideration is "White Mud Portage, Winnipeg River" (fig. 1a) and *White Mud Portage* (fig. 1b); the former was not necessarily painted in 1846, as its classification gives it, but perhaps, as Harper suggests (280), when Kane camped at the portage on 4 August 1848; the latter is used as an illustration in *Wanderings* (315). One recognizes, for example, as much similarity as difference in structure: the central clump of trees halves the picture in each case, and Kane deploys in the watercolour and maintains in the oil the picturesque landscapist's habit of adopting, however artificially, a prospect point *above* the scene depicted. Even the watercolour's problems persist: the difficulty that Kane so often encountered in

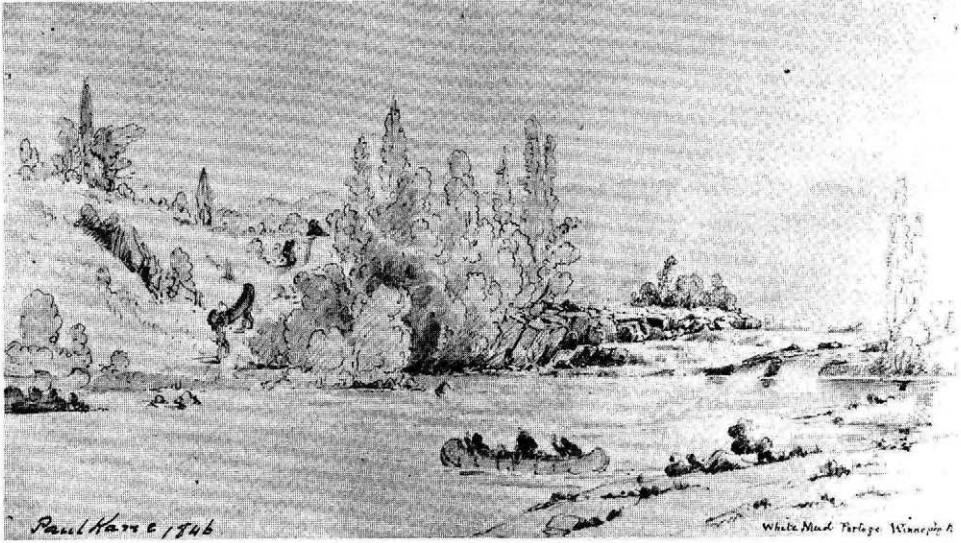


FIG. 1a PAUL KANE, *White Mud Portage, Winnipeg River*, watercolour on paper, 5¼" x 9⅜" (13.33 x 23.81 cm) Harper IV-19 and Pl. XIII.  
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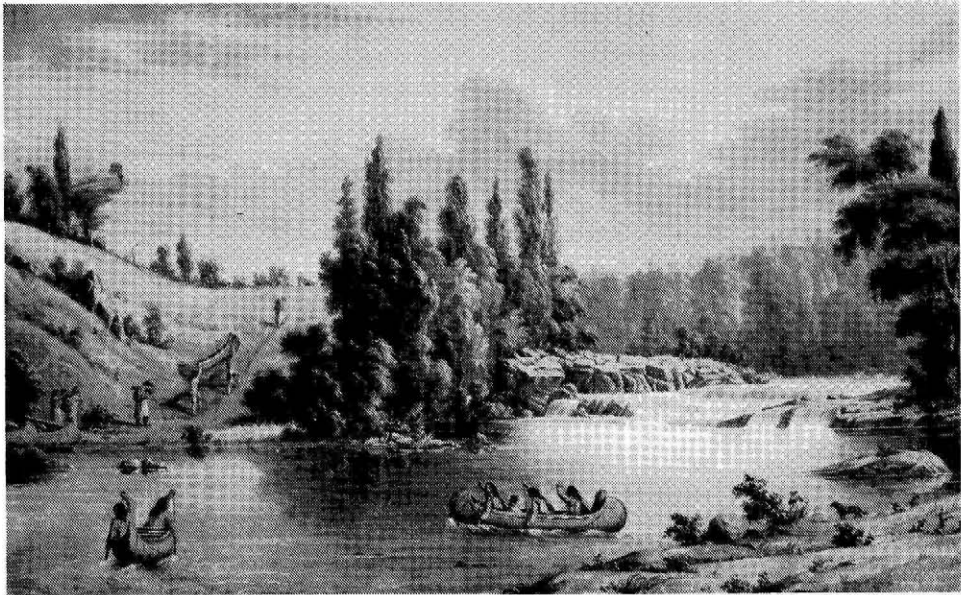


FIG. 1b PAUL KANE, *White Mud Portage*, oil on canvas, 1'6" x 2'5" (45.72 x 73.66 cm) Harper IV-20.  
ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, TORONTO

placing figures of proper proportion relative to the scenery appears as prominently in the “artistic” studio work as it does in the apparently “scientific” watercolour. Supplying the oil with one “dog” and five more Indians, especially those in the additional canoe that sits disconcertingly atop the water, only exacerbates the problem, with the result that the foreground scale simply does not accord with that of the left-hand middle ground.

Without doubt, Kane’s studio penchants for cloud banks and for shade generally supply the more mannered aspects of the oils that Harper noted; moreover, the right-hand poplar has metamorphosed into a frondy Claudian deciduous type (though not one environmentally uncharacteristic of the Winnipeg River valley: several British travellers before Kane had noted with joy the reappearance of oak and elm upon their arrival from either the prairies or the conifer-laden swamps near the height of land in modern northern Ontario<sup>9</sup>). In no sense, however, can the field work accurately be deemed free of stylization. If anything, its style may seem inapt for a rendition of landscape on this portion of the trip: the bright, transparent atmosphere and light green washes do not suggest as well as the oil painting does the valley’s occasionally subterranean character, or its rich and varied August foliage.

Just the opposite effects are achieved by the field and studio renditions of the Red River settlement. In the former (fig. 2a), one of the relatively few oil paintings executed in the field, the darkness of the piece works at odds with the brightness that is expected of a prairie scene and that, by contrast at least, is achieved in the latter (fig. 2b). More important for this discussion, however, must be the recognition in both works of the picturesque habits of elevated prospect, central dividing tree (even if, one suspects, Kane searched the river bank for the right tree to break his horizon line, searching as long perhaps as Samuel Hearne must have searched to find a tree to perform the same function for his picture of Great Slave Lake<sup>10</sup>), and a rough symmetry, the two banks of the river, the two cultures, echoing one another. The oil does introduce, if only just, another picturesque convention, the animated foreground, by providing a stabled horse’s rump and, awkwardly, by inserting a disproportionately-scaled rafter in the near middle ground, but the picture’s rough symmetry needs no such added artifice to qualify already as quite conventional.<sup>11</sup>

A symmetrical ordering of nature similarly distinguishes two other prairie watercolours, “Prairie Valley” (fig. 3a) and “A Prairie on Fire” (fig. 4a), the first a picturesque, the second a tamely sublime, landscape. Such symmetry is only accentuated by shading in the more mannered studio renditions of each picture, *A Valley in the Plains* (fig. 3b) and *A Prairie on Fire* (fig. 4b). In each of these, the prairie appears groomed and cultured — tame — but the watercolours may not claim to lie outside conventional response: in both of these, the echoing ortho-



FIG. 2a PAUL KANE, *Red River Settlement*, oil on board, 9" x 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ " (22.86 x 35.24 cm) Harper IV-36 and Fig. 56.

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FIG. 2b PAUL KANE, *Red River Settlement*, oil on canvas, 1'6" x 2'5" (45.72 x 73.66 cm) Harper IV-37.

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FIG. 3a PAUL KANE, *Prairie Valley*, watercolour on paper, 4½" x 9" (11.43 x 22.86 cm) Harper IV-120, where titled "The Golden Valley."  
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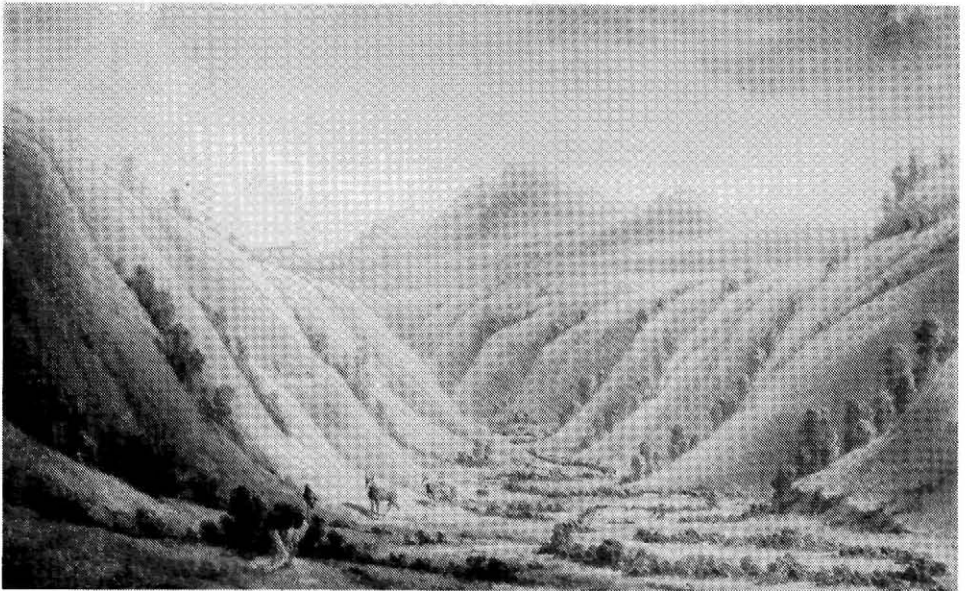


FIG. 3b PAUL KANE, *A Valley in the Plains*, oil on canvas, 1'6" x 2'5" (45.72 x 73.66 cm) Harper IV-121.  
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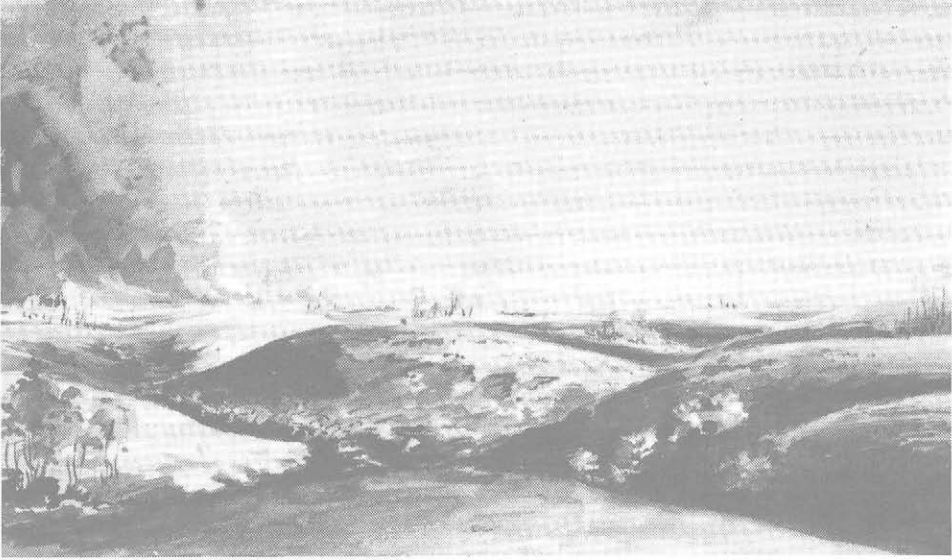


FIG. 4a PAUL KANE, *A Prairie on Fire*, watercolour on paper, 5½" x 9" (13.97 x 22.86 cm) Harper IV-186.

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FIG. 4b PAUL KANE, *A Prairie on Fire*, oil on canvas, 1'6" x 2'5" (45.72 x 73.66 cm) Harper IV-187 and Fig. 99.

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gonals almost severely define and order the landscapes at reciprocal angles; landmarks, the highest background hill in "Prairie Valley" and a deep middle ground clump of trees in "A Prairie on Fire," are symmetrically positioned to divide the pictures even more into paired halves; and the elevated prospect guarantees a sunken middle ground into which the eye is led in a most orderly and deterministic way. Both oil paintings complete the picturesque conventions by exhibiting humanized/animated foregrounds. In *A Prairie on Fire* the effect is, however, rather sublime than picturesque, since the chiaroscuro of the impending conflagration appears now more threatening, directed as it is at the human staffage. Still, the fire, occupying so little of the canvas back at the horizon, seems rather to kindle decorously than rage alarmingly. Neither the watercolour nor the oil endangers the foreground.

Like most nineteenth-century travellers on the fur-trade route across the Prairies, Kane found himself enthralled by the picturesque properties of the parkland in the North Saskatchewan River valley at Forts Carlton (fig. 5) and Pitt (fig. 6). In both these watercolours, the eye descends from a variably elevated prospect into the middle ground by way of the curving river and the echoing lines of the banks. Points on the river interrupt and deflect the eye while clumps of foliage break up the terrain in ways that provide variety without confusion, the sort of *concordia discors* sought so fervently by William Gilpin, the doyen of English picturesque travellers. Moreover, the background river banks under which the fort in each picture nestles securely enclose and contain the ordered scene; no vastness threatens to impinge upon it. The points of the river and, in "Fort Pitt, with Bluff," the right-hand trees act as the *coulisses* accentuating the desired picturesque effect of contained variety that keeps the eye entertainedly active but not confused.

Most travellers found the contained river valley scenes more perceptibly digestible than those of the open prairie. Some, like the Scottish aristocrat Frederick Ulric Graham, who in 1847 reached Fort Carlton by the overland route on horse rather than by the Saskatchewan River in a boat, seemed disposed to over-respond aesthetically to the valley after too many days in the disorienting openness of the grasslands:

Some of the views of the noble river, with its steep wooded bluffs, and long reaches through the forest vistas, very, very bonnie! While every now and then we look down from a high bluff upon a large 'holme' [a grass meadow river bank] by the water side, studded with clumps of fine timber and single trees, like an English park. In one of these . . . the remains of two old forts of the rival [fur trade] companies were situated in a lovely spot, which would have made a Belvoir or a Chatsworth had it been in England. . . .<sup>12</sup>

Clearly, the valley would not have sponsored such specifically English or Scottish associations in the mind of the Canadian Kane, but the watercolours of these two

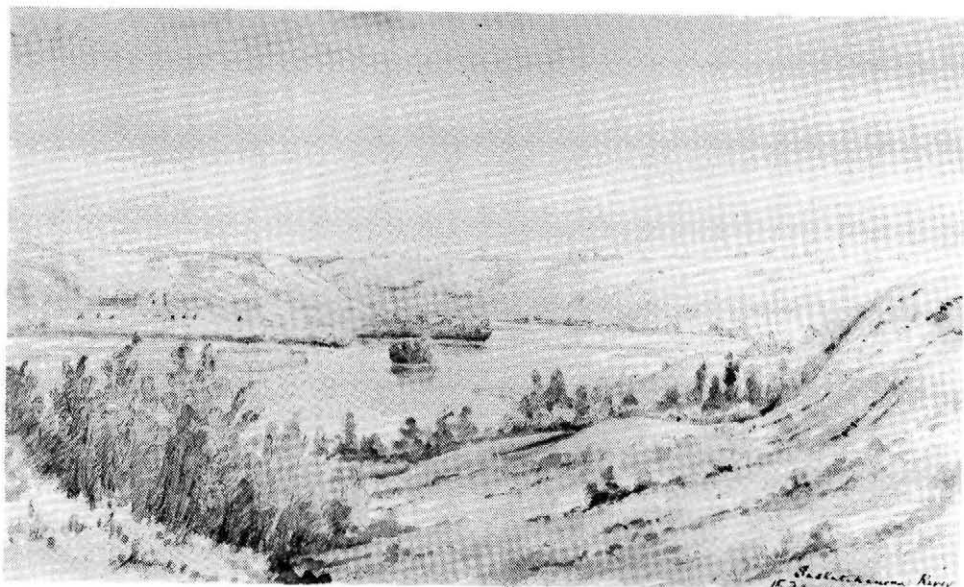


FIG. 5 PAUL KANE, *Fort Carlton from a Distance*, watercolour on paper,  $5\frac{3}{8}$ " x  $8\frac{7}{8}$ " (13.65 x 22.54 cm) Harper IV-96 and Fig. 75.

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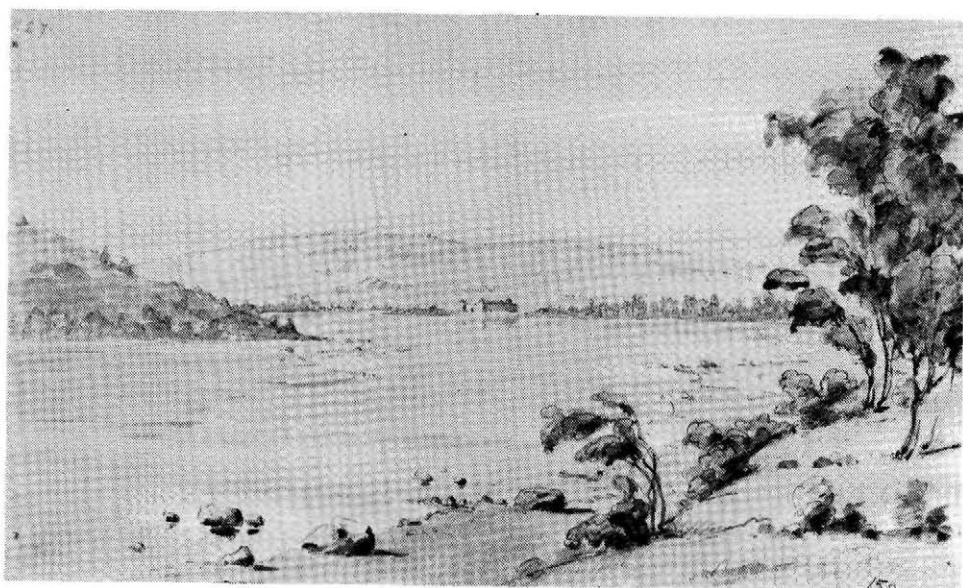


FIG. 6 PAUL KANE, *Fort Pitt, with Bluff*, watercolour on paper,  $5\frac{3}{8}$ " x 9" (13.65 x 22.86 cm) Harper IV-122 and Fig. 83.

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forts, neither of which received treatment in oil, might without difficulty have served to illustrate Graham's celebration of the prairies' apotheosis of the picturesque landscape, or what John Warkentin has called the "well-watered and well-treed . . . avenue across the plains."<sup>13</sup> To this extent, then, the conventionality of Kane's field work looms quite obviously.

Remarkable for its point of view, which seems to straddle two subjects — the river valley and the fort atop the bluff where now reposes the Alberta Legislature — is "Fort Edmonton, 1846" (fig. 7a). A reduced sense of picturesque containment prevails in this picture since the fort's situation draws the eye up and out of the valley rather than, as with the previous two watercolours, into and directly across the valley from the eye's prospect.<sup>14</sup> In the studio painting, *Fort Edmonton* (fig. 7b), the foreground becomes animated by four figures and by a horse towing a travois. The road, the forerunner of 97th Avenue, winds more than in the watercolour, echoing the river's serpentine flow more closely, which is just as well since its vector in the watercolour tends to tyrannize the eye. Most different in the oil painting is the sky, which not only occupies more of the canvas than it did of the paper, but receives the "Dutch marine" treatment that Harper identifies as a disappointment in so many of the studio prairie landscapes. It may be argued that in mimicking the river's course the cloud pattern invokes a sort of spatial closure that the less conventionally picturesque watercolour lacks in this instance.

In summary of the landscapes, while Kane's technique in the field *may* attest to the spontaneous documentations of a "scientist," allowance must be made for the conventional and controlled structural representation of terrain. Far more easily aligned with picturesque painters before him — George Heriot, Sir George Back, and Warre, all of whom were also much more than topographical landscapists — than with C. W. Jefferys, the first painter to bring a post-picturesque, Ruskinian aesthetic to the painting of the West,<sup>15</sup> Kane displays a conventionality in his studio oils that develops out of rather than departs from his field watercolours. As preparations for the canvases that would grace the homes of Sir George Simpson, George Allan, and other barons of British North American business and politics, the watercolours provide conventional landscapes whose structures required little alteration in order to produce proper, marketable art.

**I**F THE DISCREPANCY WITHIN the pictorial *oeuvre* proves less polarized than has been thought, the dichotomy in Kane's written record does not. The "author's preface," not likely penned by Kane after all, certainly claims for *Wanderings* the authority of on-the-spot observation: "The following pages are the notes of my daily journey, with little alteration from the original wording, as I

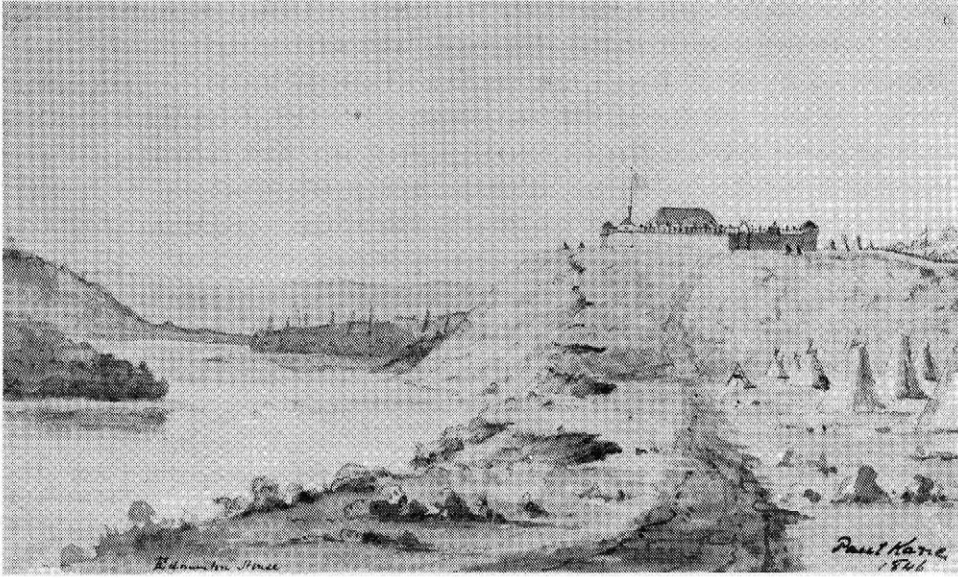


FIG. 7a PAUL KANE, *Fort Edmonton*, 1846, watercolour on paper, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 9" (13.65 x 22.86 cm) Harper IV-188 and Pl. XXV.

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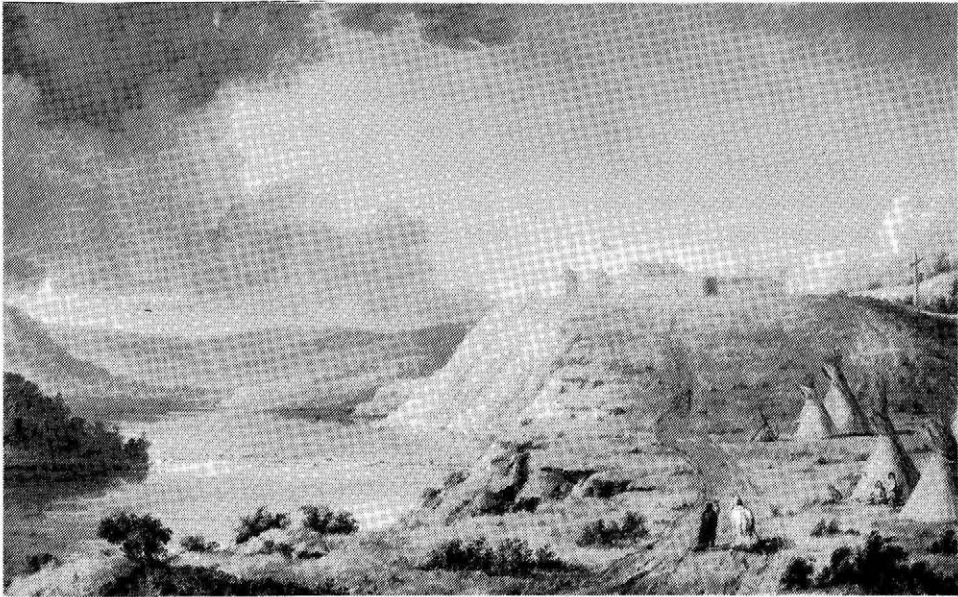


FIG. 7b PAUL KANE, *Fort Edmonton*, oil on canvas, 1'6" x 2'5" (45.72 x 73.66 cm) Harper IV-189.

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jotted them down in pencil at the time" (lxiii). Such a claim appeared regularly in the preface of travel narratives; frequently, as it did in Alexander Mackenzie's narrative, as it does in Kane's, it precedes a disclaimer about the lowly artistic merit of the subsequent prose, which, not even for a moment, intends to make "any claim to public approbation as a literary production." This formulaic statement served to deflect the reader's aesthetic expectation, while it aroused his/her curiosity for the unvarnished truth. A sort of precious-little-but-mine-own posturing, it continued well into the nineteenth century's travel literature to reinforce the illusion that the plain style, *sans* literary intention and attended by the august authority vested in it by Sprat's Royal Society edict of 1667, accurately reported peoples encountered, places visited, and events witnessed. To this extent the book's contemporary or its present-day reader would perhaps be more surprised by the absence than by the presence of the disclaimer, whether or not the narrative proceeded to exhibit any significant literary character. Of course, it did not often follow, even with such a disclaimer, that an unedited journal of travel saw the light of day: the British publishing houses retained in a highly competitive travel literature market very acute senses of the timbre and tone necessary to sell a book of travels; no less than the art world did the book world understand marketability.

The excessive passage of time between Kane's travels and the publication of *Wanderings* alerts one to the need to discriminate between what he jotted *en route* and what he took with him to London eleven years later in search of a publisher. As it turns out, these jottings bear only a distant literary relation to *Wanderings*: the journals record most of the events that appear in the book, but the book's narrative style, the character of its first-person persona as a sentimental traveller condescendingly reporting events and ethnographic details, and especially that persona's judgments of Amerindian tribes all develop as part of the narrative only after Kane's return to Toronto in October 1848. Because the production of Kane's narrative has long been thought as straightforward as the generation of the oil paintings (although careful readers have suspected something more complicated), a simple account of the publication and its manuscripts may be as needful as an analysis of them.

On 17 March 1859 a copy of Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* . . . was registered by the publisher, Longman, at Stationer's Hall. Fifteen days before, six copies had been sent to the "author," and on the same day a notable number, eighteen, had been sent to the "editors," perhaps as many as three of them. The production of 1,020 copies had cost Longman £343, including fees paid to the mapmaker and engraver (Weller, £12), to the woodcutter (Branston, £34.11.00), to the compositor (Spottiswoode, £37.16.03), and to the drawer of the plates on stone (V. Brooks, £53). As well, £52 had been spent on advertising by June 1859. By the end of that month 747 copies had sold,

fifty of them to the Toronto bookseller, J. Bain, and 36 had been variously "presented." Also, at that time Longman, who had agreed to divide equally with Kane all proceeds from the sales, paid him the princely sum of £84. Thus was *Wanderings* launched more than a decade after the travels it records.<sup>16</sup>

As Harper points out, "The final version of [Kane's] manuscript was retained by the publishers, only to be burned during the London blitz of 1940. An early version was kept in Toronto and it is this version which is now held by the Stark Foundation" (40). How widely that final manuscript differed from the book will never be known but it is safe to say that because the readying of it into marketable form required the labours of more than a single editor (not only does the word appear in the plural in the Longman ledger, but the number of books assigned, 18, might suggest as many as three editors, if each editor, like the author, received a standard six-copies allotment), the manuscript cannot have been identical to the narrative of *Wanderings*. Due attention must be paid, however, to the fact that long before the manuscript reached the point at which Kane is said to have taken it to London several writers and, necessarily, their interpretations and shapings of events had participated in its gestation.

At the Stark Museum in Orange, Texas, there are a variety of manuscripts to which Harper referred in his "Note on the Text" ([48]). Three of these, perhaps what Harper calls "(2) a version of the *Wanderings*, in his wife's hand," cover the narrative of the book without its chapter or paragraph divisions. Three hardback notebooks (pen on paper, 8¼" x 6¾" [20.95 x 17.14 cm]) comprise this manuscript as follows. (Numbers refer to the Stark Museum's accessions.)

11.85/2 (A) — 119 unnumbered pages (numbered 1-88, and then 78-107) plus twenty loose pages. The contents correspond roughly to *Wanderings*, chapters I-VII; the preface is represented only by the following, which leads in to the first sentence of chapter I in *Wanderings* (1):

Having long felt a restless anxiety to learn something from personal observation and experience of the manners & customs of the wild tribes of the far west & northern regions of this Continent and to perpetuate on canvas some remembrances of a remarkable race now fast dwindling away and likely perhaps ere the lapse of many years to become extinct or so far amalgamated with the white man as to lose the chief traits of their nationality I left Toronto on the 17th of June 1845. . . .

Where the page numbering changes sequence (88 is followed by 78) so does the handwriting. At this point of change, the narratives overlap: the first page that is numbered 88 ends in the middle of the word "surprise" (i.e., *Wanderings* 58, bottom line), while the second page numbered 78 begins with a description of the Red River settlement (i.e., *Wanderings* 49, last paragraph) and continues on in the same new hand until the end of the manuscript



(i.e., *Wanderings* 66). As well, pages 77-88 in the initial sequence are crossed out.

- 11.85/2 (B) — 93 unnumbered pages. The contents correspond to *Wanderings*, chapters III-X, and the first pages of chapter XI. Because this narrative partly overlaps with the passage written in both the hands that appear in 11.85/2 (A), a further comparison of hands may be readily made; it points up that clearly the hand that took over in the earlier manuscript wrote this one. Comparison is most easily made, for example, at 11.85/2 (A) at the first page numbered 86 vs. page 91 vs. 11.85/2 (B) 36th right-hand page.
- 11.85/2 (C) — 171 unnumbered pages. The contents continue the narrative of (B) in mid-sentence and correspond to *Wanderings*, chapters XI-XXV. However, the narrative ends with an entry for 12 September 1848 (i.e., *Wanderings* 321-22), and does not contain any material beyond this date. As well, the appendix in the 1859 edition does not appear in manuscript form. (C) is written throughout in the hand that wrote (B) and the second portion of (A).

Apart from this manuscript version, there is another which supplements it, as it were; that is to say, while 11.85/2 (A), (B), and (C) cover the events of *Wanderings*, many portions of the book are missed out; most of these appear in another hardback notebook (pen on paper, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " [20.63 x 17.14 cm]).

- 11.85/3 — Two parts. The first has 18 unnumbered pages whose contents correspond to *Wanderings*, chapters I-II. Its somewhat different preface reads into the first chapter's first sentence as follows:

Having long felt a restless anxiety to learn something from personal experience of the manners & customs of the wild tribes of the west and to preserve a remembrance on canvas of the peculiarities of a remarkable people now fast disappearing and likely ere long to be extinct or to become so far amalgamated with the white man as to lose all traits of their nationality I left Toronto on the 17th of June 1845. . . .

The second part has 130 pages, numbered 1-137 (no pages numbered 114-20), whose contents amount to verbal portraits, anecdotes, and notices of chiefs and (beginning at page 121) of landscapes painted. In both parts of the manuscript the handwriting matches the first hand used to write 11.85/2 (A). It is a run-of-the-mill nineteenth-century hand, the product of the "Copperplate" school of handwriting (rounded letters, some control of flourishes, not in any sense ornate but artistically satisfying) that was more widely taught than any other and which was required in most business houses.

The existence of this manuscript suggests that at one point Kane, or an advisor, had in mind a two-part narrative — perhaps even a second publication — one part containing an account of his travels, another part containing ethnological/anec-

dotal and landscape information as annotations to a volume of his paintings, a sort of Catlinian *Letters and Notes*. Harper suggests a similar possibility (42); however, he would appear to err in concluding that the manuscript 11.85/3 is “simply a duplication of what had already been published in *Wanderings*.” But its second part does *not* duplicate the material that appears in 11.85/2 (A), (B), and (C): for example, nearly the whole of the published chapter XII appears only in 11.85/3, not in 11.85/2 (C). Comparisons of this portion of the manuscript with the versions that appeared as articles about the “Chinook Indians” in the *Daily Colonist* (August 1855) and twice in *The Canadian Journal* (July 1855 and January 1857) — themselves different from one another and from the text of the book — suggest that as late as 1855 and 1857 a two-part publication or separate publications were still being countenanced.

What is clear is that all of the above identified manuscripts constitute no more or less than a draft of *Wanderings*. “Journal” is a misnomer for these manuscripts if what is meant by the term is writing done while one journeys. None of this writing was done during Kane’s journeys: all of 11.85/2 (A), (B), and (C) and 11.85/3 contain retrospective remarks that preclude the possibility of their daily or weekly composition. While the illusion of daily journal entries may occur more strongly — “a large party of them came to the establishment this morning” (11.85/2 [B]) — than it does in *Wanderings* — “came to the establishment in the morning” (42) — it is just that, an illusion. For example, the retrospective comment about “Wabassemung” that appears in *Wanderings* — “We passed to-day a Catholic missionary station called ‘Wabassemung’ (or White Dog), which, on my return, two years and a half afterwards I found deserted” (44) — appears identically but for punctuation in 11.85/2 (A, 69), and as “which I found deserted on my return” in 11.85/2 (B).<sup>17</sup> Such a remark obviously could not appear in a “perambulating” narrative; moreover, this entry in the manuscripts necessarily sponsors the conclusion that all the rest of the manuscript dates from a period after the completion of the travels, or, at the very least, after Kane’s return visit to White Dog in August 1848.

Without doubt, considerably more study remains necessary of the distinctions among the manuscripts, published essays, and the book. Of more immediate concern, however, is the reconsideration of what Harper also correctly identified as “(1) a journal, in Kane’s hand, which he kept from 1846 to 1848 and on which a part of the published text was based” ([48]). Harper describes this journal at length in a note that bears repeating:

[The journal] commences with an entry dated May 9, 1846, and ends on September 12, 1848. He evidently intended that it should be a daily diary, but there are gaps, some of them for weeks at a time, for instance when he was staying at Fort

Vancouver in the winter of 1846-47. This journal contains much of what is now in *Wanderings*, with variations in minor details; . . . (39)

Harper here refers to the following manuscript at the Stark Museum, a transcribed typescript of which was begun in 1978 by Laura Bowler, and completed in 1982 by Sarah E. Boehme, of the museum staff. It is a brown hardback, breast-pocket notebook (pencil on paper, 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " [14.92 x 8.89 cm]).

11.85/5 — approximately 129 unnumbered pages. This journal must have been written by Kane: it provides a near daily record of the trip that Kane alone is known to have made in the years in which he made it, and its writing and unique orthography differ decidedly from those of either of the hands involved in the manuscript drafts discussed above. The handwriting is distinctive, not the product of any school of handwriting. It may match the only other known handwriting of Kane's,<sup>18</sup> the signatures reproduced in *Wanderings* ([iv, v]), but signatures, because they so often differ so widely from a person's other handwriting, do not offer very reliable bases for comparison, thus rendering any identification tenuous at best. It may be noted however that the hand demonstrates a predilection for the serif—a lighter line projecting from the main line or stroke of a letter—and in this it is different from either hand in the manuscript draft.

When Harper writes of "variations in minor details," he refers, as the evidence of his notes pertaining to "KJ" (Kane's Journal) makes plain, to discrepancies in numbers, facts, and dates, or to omissions. His unintentionally misleading phrase does not address the vast discrepancy between the narrative style of the journal and the styles of the manuscript drafts.

The handwriting of 11.85/5 matches that in the second, "sketchbook," log, which contains notes on pictures and their subjects. A transcribed typescript of this sketchbook (pencil on paper leaf, 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ " [11.74 x 7.3 cm]) was made in 1982, also by Sarah E. Boehme.

11.85/4 — Sketches (not reproduced in Harper) on the first twenty-eight pages, including those from Kane's 1845 trip (i.e., Harper's *Catalogue Raisonné*, section III). Thereafter appears what has been titled in the 1982 typescript transcription "Landscape and Portrait Log, kept on his 1846-48 journey," 83 unnumbered pages. Within these, the first fifty-four pages contain identifications and ethnographical/anecdotal information about ninety-seven Indians sketched, thus representing Kane's on-the-spot journal of what becomes, in another hand, the manuscript draft 11.85/3; pages (unnumbered) 55 through 58 contain the earliest version of *Wanderings*, chapters I-II, which records the 1845 trip, the manuscript draft of which appears in 11.85/3 as well; finally, pages 59 through 83 include the landscape log, entries for one hundred and eighteen landscapes, some of whose numbers correspond to those that appear in the upper corners of the watercolours (as in figures 3a, 4a, 5, 6, and 7a

above). This log then provides the first text for pages 121-37 of the manuscript draft 11.85/3.

If Paul Kane wrote 11.85/4 and 11.85/5, and it appears almost incontestable that he did, then he most certainly did not write any of the surviving manuscript drafts: the handwriting, sense of narrative shape and flow, and orthography differ too widely. It remains then to determine, if briefly here, the character and extent of the discrepancy between Kane's own writings and the text of *Wanderings* which made his name known on two continents.

**T**HE FIRST QUALITY OF KANE'S OWN JOURNALS that one notices is not their similarity to but their difference in narrative competency from *Wanderings*. One quickens at the radically different personae encountered in, for example, these two passages that record Kane's visit to the falls of the Pelouse River, 14-17 July 1847:

Found some Indians, who ferried ourselves and baggage in a canoe over the Nezperees River, which is here about 250 yards wide. We swam our horses at the mouth of the Pelouse River, where it empties itself into the Nezperees. The Chief of this place is named Slo-ce-ac-cum. He wore his hair divided in long masses, stuck together with grease. The tribe do not number more than seventy or eighty warriors, and are called Upputuppets. He told me that there was a fall up the Pelouse that no white man had ever seen, and that he would conduct me up the bed of the river, as it was sufficiently shallow for our horses. I accepted his proposal, and rode eight or ten miles through a wild and savage gorge, composed of dark basaltic rocks, heaped in confusion one upon another to the height of 1,000 and 1,500 feet, sometimes taking the appearance of immense ruins in the distance. At one place the strata assumed the circular form, and somewhat the appearance, of the Colosseum at Rome. Our path, at the bottom of this gorge, was very difficult, as it lay through masses of tangled brush and fallen rocks. (*Wanderings* 191)

14th left at 5 this morning for the river Nepersey and arived at 12 a distance of 30 m. no water all day. a good plase for a persion with the Hidrfoba this. found sum Indians who carried our bagage across the river in a canew and swam our horses, the chief of this plase tould me that thare was a fall up the paluse River and he would gide me to it after haveing got about 8 or 10 miles up the hed of the river over rocks and bruch allmoast inacesable he st-oped at a foard and would go no further unless I would gave him a blanket he though he had me in his and could not find the way I plunged into the river and tould my man to fo-llow I had not got mor-e the a mile when he came after and gided us to the plase through 1 of the moast strang-e looking plases I have ever seen we campt here for the night . . . such a picteresk cuntrey. . . . (11.85/5 typescript, second numbering, 5-6)

Only in factual comparison could these two passages point up no more than varia-

tions in minor details:<sup>19</sup> the full force of the artifice of literary convention strikes the reader; his sense of the persona cannot help but alter, especially in view of the contrived wording of the published preface: "The following pages are the notes of my daily journal, with little alteration from the original wording, as I jotted them down in pencil at the time." Typical of the authoritative stature which *Wanderings* has always been accorded by its reviewers and readers, is Kenneth Kidd's remark, itself dependent on the preface: "The diary which the artist kept, and which, with but slight emendations, formed the substance of his 'Wanderings,' records with unusual care the route of his travels."<sup>20</sup> Maude Allan Cassels presumably could not decide quite how to interpret the original journals, which she evidently read: "With less than 'a little alteration' they might have gone with more of a swing, though something, I suppose had to be done about the original spelling, as Kane in a hurry spelt like a child, or an 18th century gentleman."<sup>21</sup>

These responses to the narrative are instructive for they attest to the benefit of the doubt that Kane's prose has always enjoyed. One would not wish to imply that poor spelling made him any less accurate an observer: Samuel Black, a notorious and eloquent fur trade factor, produced a narrative that exemplifies how even a fine classical education in Scotland did not guarantee perfect spelling.<sup>22</sup> Still, however much Kane deserves Harper's opinion of him as a "giant among North American artists of his period" (ix), one must in evaluating him as a writer hearken at least momentarily to the germ of truth in Mary Lile Benham's depiction of Kane as a youngster: "Paul, who was about ten when his family moved to York, attended York District Grammar School as infrequently as he could. He learned little more than how to spell phonetically, and escaped whenever he could to roam the streets and countryside."<sup>23</sup>

There is little sense of narrative flow in the passage quoted from Kane's journal, or indeed in much of the journal or log book; while the writing demonstrates some prepossession in occasional descriptions — "it is a delitfull situation the prareys surrounding it is beautiful," Kane writes of the upriver trip from Lower to Upper Fort Garry<sup>24</sup> — it produces a decidedly different narrative, possessed of a far lower measure of narrativity. Now, as Hayden White has argued, even a chronicle listing no more than dates inherently contains in its ordering of them a narrative shape;<sup>25</sup> Kane's notes possess some shape, but continuity they lack. Even the notion of as basic a unit as the sentence appears only occasionally to be clear in his mind. And yet, an aesthetic response to nature appears in this account of the Pelouse River; indeed, it is augmented in the landscape log by Kane's own denominations of "the amphithater nere the lowr fall" and "the Colisecam nere the lowr fall" (11.85/4, typescript, second numbering, 32), associations which Kane's studies in Italy would seem naturally to have sponsored. Moreover, further refinements that one expects to find only in a more mature prose exhibit themselves at regular intervals.

One is a sense of humour that rarely appears in the published persona. Harper, after correcting the spelling, cites the comment about “Hidrfoaba” (115, note 2) from the journal, as well as the droll remark about the Committee Punch Bowl, the small lake in the Athabasca pass that spans the great divide, and that Kane passed and then repassed during a cold, snow-filled, snap: “2nd [November 1847] . . . passed the Punch Bowl (rather cold Punch at present) though sun is shining very bright” (11.85/5, typescript, second numbering, 15; Harper 130, note 11).<sup>26</sup> Another drollery occurs at the conclusion of an anecdote about “Chee-a-clack,” or the Chea-clack of *Wanderings* (156), which appears to have survived in the book and is not mentioned in Harper’s notes:

The inogun ation [inauguration] of this chief. he went out in to the mountains for 30 days where he is supposed not to eat for that time and on his return is so hungry that he picks up a dod [dog] and commenced eating it a live hoaldding it in his arms and takeing a bite now and then the Indans gether around and comence a song while he gows up to those he has the gratest regard for and bits a pece out of thare arm an leg which is considered a grate co-impliment and if he eats it it is considered a still grater after this seramoney the agurn to a feast the dog which is eat is a small one and howls most dredfully not considering it an onher. (11.85/4, typescript, second numbering, 12-13)

Dare one presume to venture a comment on this wonder?

The shaping of the published work not only elided Kane’s sense of humour, corrected his spelling, and amalgamated the journal with the portrait and landscape notes; it also added a foreign point of view. Rarely in either the journal or the portrait and landscape log does Kane pass judgment on those he paints or whose customs he records. That is to say, and clearly this will require some re-evaluation of Kane’s narrative as a source of ethnographical study, Kane is much more the scientist in this respect than in any other. To retrieve a point from the earlier discussion of the landscape paintings, by no means can the fallacy be entertained that a traveller leaves at home all his perceptual conditioning, and sees the world and its people with entirely impartial, objective eyes; however, even the reader who assents to this will find that the journal kept by Kane while he travelled constitutes a notable absence of moral, cultural, or racial judgment. As in the narrative sketch of “Chee-a-clack,” who ferried Kane from Fort Victoria to various tribes in the insular and mainland vicinity and to whom Kane was indebted, the prose stops short of both condemnation and sentimental impressionism. Where the published book’s persona deplores many customs, even if it prefatorily fosters the notion of a noble savage — thereby creating a most perplexing, contradictory, and confused persona in the narrator named Kane — the only writing known certainly to be Kane’s remains consistently *relatively* objective. The gestation of the publication by others, not the original account, is responsible for creating such a persona. The

lity of epithets — “filthy,” “horrible,” “degrading” — the crucial report of the murder of the Whitmans, the disappointment registered when “only” an Indian is encountered on the route, that mark and define the persona of *Wanderings*, are looked for in vain.<sup>27</sup>

**I**N THE LIGHT, however briefly it is shed here, of the wide discrepancy between field narrative and publication, one sees that *Wanderings* seems now to require at least three examinations: of Kane’s own writing; of the manuscript draft, and, differing from it in important ways, the five articles published in Toronto during 1855, 1856, and 1857; and of the English book publication in March 1859. Too little scrutiny of the narrative has occurred thus far: as Heather Dawkins has commented recently, “The paintings and sketches have been the privileged objects of art historical attention, but this valorising of the visual fails to recognize the written text of which these were an integral part, and in which his work had its widest circulation.”<sup>28</sup> Dawkins’ article, whose Foucauldian reading of *Wanderings* identifies an “imperialist discourse” in the book, provides some salutary ways to examine the publication. However, the author, who appears to know “the original travelogue,” errs in levelling the charge of racism at Kane himself, precisely because of the absences noted above. She bases this charge on a passage of the book (128-29) descriptive of the “Chinook” Indians’ permanent residences. That this passage, although it did appear in a different form in three of the five Toronto articles, has no corresponding version in Kane’s own journal precludes a direct textual rebuttal of the charge, but not of Dawkins’ claims that the passage’s narrative style, by minimalizing a “human presence” through the employment of passive verbs, strips the information “of its context of production, the wandering artist is scarcely visible; the language of information is self-effacing.”<sup>29</sup> While this characterization of the narrative certainly proves instructive — any examination of the literature seems welcome at this point — the quality of the prose isolated here must be regarded as characteristic only of the published narrative.

Further study of all the versions of this narrative must be undertaken before any final conclusion can be reached, but it may be said tentatively here that the veneer of imperialism that *Wanderings* takes on by virtue of its persona’s condescension, repulsion (at times), pejorative distancing (at times), and increased stylistic sophistication appears almost as strongly in the manuscript draft (11.85/2 [A], [B], and [C]) as in the book. This collective draft matches the content of the Toronto articles sufficiently, while they distinguish themselves from the book sufficiently, to permit the conclusion here that they are the product of eastern North Americans, rather than of either Kane or the English editors. Thus, the “imperialist discourse”



that *Wanderings* in some ways becomes has its impetus more in Toronto than in England. This surmise may be significant for if followed it points the connection with the eastern British North American influences on Kane's art.

Harper is doubtless correct in identifying Kane's wife's hand in the writing of the manuscript draft, but which of the two is it? In fact, the two hands, divested as they are of any sustained delicacy or regular use of serifs (both features commonly considered in the mid nineteenth century as desirable in a female hand) appear to be male. Although Harriet Kane (née Clench) had probably known the painter since 1834, when Kane, as Harper notes, moved to Coburg where her father made furniture, and where Harriet may have been taught the standard "Copperplate" handwriting style in order to perform secretarial and accounting work for her father's business, did she assist with the composition of the narrative before becoming Mrs. Kane in 1853? If not, and if Harper, who must have seen other examples of her handwriting, is right, at least part of the manuscript draft may be dated from that time forward. Other candidates for the authorship of the "imperialist discourse" are George Allan, Kane's patron, who read at least one of the articles to the Canadian Institute, on 14 March 1855, after it was "communicated" to him by Kane.<sup>30</sup> As well, there is Daniel Wilson, whose interest in seeing Kane's work as scientific observation has been well documented by Harper, and Henry Youle Hind. The name of the latter recalls the expansionist mood of Toronto in the 1850's, when the British colonies in the east were wondering whether they could themselves undertake a programme of imperial destiny.<sup>31</sup> Hind was a leading spokesman of the campaign, but even more important, his editorship of *The Canadian Journal* necessarily brought him in touch with "Kane's" narrative when excerpts of it appeared as four of the five articles. As well, Hind would himself author an "imperialistic discourse" about the near West in the 1850's.<sup>32</sup> He followed Kane to Longman with its publication in 1860 as *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*.

The identity of the manuscript draft may well remain a mystery if the steady clerical hands in it prove too generically typical of the penmanship required of any office clerk of the day. At any rate, a final speculation on their possible authors must include Sir George Simpson. With the Hudson's Bay Company bracing itself in 1857 and 1858 for the hearings of the British Parliamentary committee into the company's application for the renewal of its exclusive license to trade on western lands, Simpson might well have taken a keen interest, as he did in the paintings, in Kane's "proper" representation of his narrative; after all, many more people would see it than would see the paintings, and it was an important document by virtue of the fact that it was the first publication about the entire North-West not "authored" by an employee of a fur-trade company. Indeed, if Kane had listened to

and incorporated Simpson's recommendations concerning his art, would he not have been as willing to do the same respecting his book? And would it not have aligned with the interests of Simpson, who remained devoted to keeping the North-West in his company's sole monopolistic preserve, to have the published narrative maintain an "imperialistic discourse" regarding the land and its people?

Yet, even countenancing this possibility, one must note the unlikelihood that Simpson himself composed the manuscript draft: he may have assisted with recommendations, even with the accurate naming of portages and lakes, which the manuscript draft rather suddenly evinces. However, having himself decided with his own book, the carefully worded company prospectus *Narrative of a Journey round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842* (1847; and quoted in *Wanderings* 265-66), to retain the services of two ghost-writers — A. Barclay, the Hudson's Bay company's secretary, and Adam Thom, the editor of the *Montreal Herald* who had assisted Lord Durham with the preparation of his *Report*<sup>33</sup> — he might well have recommended the same practice, if not the same writers, to a grateful and apparently amenable painter.

The authorship of the manuscript draft and the articles may well prove significant, but finally attention must be paid as well to the spirit of the times in eastern British North America. Mention has already been made of Ann Davis' point that Kane's studio works took shape under various Victorian/imperial notions of science and beauty;<sup>34</sup> so too did the Toronto manuscript draft. Onward from 1850, when two important Indian Acts were passed in Upper and Lower Canada, and just when Kane's journal, portrait and landscape log, sketches, and watercolours were being generated, to various degrees, into something different, "officials and legislators," writes Boyce Richardson,

had no further doubts that they knew what was best for Indians. . . . The bureaucrats of the time were anxious that the Indians embrace European values, and worried at the slow progress, so in 1856 a commission of inquiry investigated the failure of assimilation efforts. "There is no inherent defect in the organization of the Indians which disqualifies them from being reclaimed from their savage state," reported the commissioners generously. . . . "With sorrow, however, we must confess that any hopes of raising the Indians as a body to the social or political level of their white neighbours is yet but a glimmer and a distant spark."<sup>35</sup>

At these institutional views, not at Kane, should Dawkins' charge be levelled, but how in the face of these views did Kane's romantic boyhood notions, which the preface of *Wanderings* ascribes to him, fare? Did his travels produce an anxiety out of a dualistic response to the "aborigine" and the "red man"? Does his willingness to drop all his commissions at a moment's notice when the opportunity arose in 1849 to go west again point a propensity in Kane to "go native," a propensity that the unpejorative quality of his own writing suggests? Is *Wanderings* a sort of F. P.

Grove creation masking a true nature, or does it distantly resemble the problem of D. C. Scott, out of whose bureaucratic and artistic writings an essentially disjunctive and irresolvable duality arises? If Kane's art no longer raises so many questions, it would seem that his prose and the book published under his name are just beginning to do so.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1984); and Charles L. Batten Jr., *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: Univ. of California Press, 1978).
- <sup>2</sup> Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon Through The Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again* (1859), rev. ed. by John W. Garvin, introd. by Lawrence W. Burpee (Toronto: Radisson Society of Canada, 1925); facs. rpt., introd. by J. G. MacGregor (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968), lxii. All references to *Wanderings* will depend upon the facsimile reprint of the revised edition and will appear in parentheses in the text.
- <sup>3</sup> Ann Davis, *A Distant Harmony: Comparisons in the Painting of Canada and the United States of America* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1982), pp. 53, 54. This attitude is popularly perpetuated in a note by Ramsay Cook, "Raising Kane," *Canadian Art*, vol. 2 no. 3 (Fall 1985), pp. 60-63.
- <sup>4</sup> *Paul Kane's Frontier Including "Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America,"* ed. and with a biog. introd. and a *cat. raisonné* by J. Russell Harper (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, for the Amon Carter Museum and the National Gallery of Canada, 1971), p. 36. All further references to Harper's book will appear in parentheses in the text.
- <sup>5</sup> Susan Jane Hopkins Stewart, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Contribution to the Work of Three Important Artists in Their Territory, 1821-1860," M.A. Thesis, (University of British Columbia, 1979), chpt. iv.
- <sup>6</sup> See Diana Chown, "Painting in the Canadian Rockies between 1845 and 1923: An Overview," M.A. Thesis (University of Alberta, 1986), chpt. iii.
- <sup>7</sup> Davis, *A Distant Harmony*, p. 59.
- <sup>8</sup> See the 18 lithographed plates in *Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, by Captain H. Warre, A.D.C. to the late Commander of the Forces* (London: Dickinson and Co., 1848).
- <sup>9</sup> See, for example, "Diary of Nicholas Garry, Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-1835. A Detailed Narrative of his Travels in the Northwest Territories of British North America in 1821," ed. by Francis N. A. Garry and Sir John Bourinot, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2d. ser., vol. vi, sec. ii (1900), pp. 130-31.
- <sup>10</sup> See, "Samuel Hearne and the Landscapes of Discovery," *Canadian Literature*, no. 103 (Winter 1984), pp. 36-37.
- <sup>11</sup> The pronounced development of field landscape into a studio oil occurs by means of

- animated foreground also in the pair of works, "Fort Victoria with Indian Village" (Harper iv-535) and *The Return of a War Party* (Harper iv-537).
- <sup>12</sup> Frederick Ulric Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada 1847*, notes by Jane Hermione Graham (London: pr. for priv. circ., 1898), pp. 77-78. Both Graham's and the nineteenth-century's use of the picturesque in the West and North are treated in "The Limits of the Picturesque in British North America," *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 5 no. 1 (January-March 1985), pp. 97-111.
- <sup>13</sup> John Warkentin, "The Desert Goes North," in *Images of the Plains: the Role of Human Nature in Settlement*, ed. by Brian Blouet and Merlin P. Lawson (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1975), p. 151.
- <sup>14</sup> Kane had adopted the elevated prospect in a pencil sketch of the fort from the high ground of the prairie on the south bank (Harper iv-190) but it did not show the river, and, with the horizon, unbroken by the walls of the fort, extending across the page at less than half its height, it produced an even less picturesque, if more original, landscape.
- <sup>15</sup> See Gerald Finley, *George Heriot: Postmaster Painter of the Canadas* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1983); *Overland to Oregon in 1845: Impressions of a Journey across North America by H. J. Warre*, ed. and introd. by Madeleine Major-Frégeau (Ottawa: P.A.C., 1976); Robert Stacey, *Western Sunlight: C. W. Jeffereys* (Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery, 1986) and *C. W. Jeffereys*, Canadian Artists Series no. 10, gen. ed. Dennis Reid (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1985); and "The Grandest Tour: The Aesthetics of Landscape in Sir George Back's Explorations of the Eastern Arctic 1833-1837," *English Studies in Canada*, 10 (1984), 436-56.
- <sup>16</sup> Divide Ledgers D7 (p. 193) and D5 (p. 689); Miscellaneous Publication Expenses Ledger A3 (p. 172); and Impression Book 13 (p. 129), Longman Archive, University of Reading.
- <sup>17</sup> Another instance of retrospection occurs in 11.85/2 (A 75), 11.85/2 (B) and *Wanderings* (948): "I wrote this part of my journal by the light of a blazing fire."
- <sup>18</sup> Letters no. 8 and 13, which Harper reproduces, but not in facsimile form, at the end of his edition (328, 330) as yet have not been located. Their fluid and orthographically conventional style suggest the possibility that Kane had them written; alternatively, given Harper's fastidious practice of correcting the spelling when he quotes Kane's journal (see below), these letters may appear in edited form.
- <sup>19</sup> The "plot" of the journal (11.85/5), even if integrated with the anecdotes that appear in 11.85/4, does not include all events narrated in *Wanderings*. The most obvious significant omissions include the stay at Fort Vancouver, the trip up the Willamette River valley, mention of the Whitman massacre, although notes on the portrait of "Ta-mach-hus" provide the ominous remark, "he has give Dr W a grate dele trouble" (11.85/4, typescript, second numbering, 18), and a continuation of the narrative past 12 September 1848. As well, while the return trip from Fort Vancouver to Vancouver Island receives brief notice in the journal (11.85/5), most of that dealing with the "Cowichan" medicine man's toothsome remedy for disease (*Wanderings* 156-57), it is treated at length in the portrait log by notices of thirty-eight (nos. 35-72 inclusive) Indians met on that trip, and in the landscape log by entries concerning twenty-nine (nos. 63-91 inclusive) landscapes and their denizens that Kane encountered during the period 25 March to 20 June 1847.

- <sup>20</sup> Kenneth Kidd, "The Wanderings of Kane," *The Beaver* (December 1946), p. 4.
- <sup>21</sup> Maude Allan Cassels, "Paul Kane," unpub. typescript, dated March 1932; Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum.
- <sup>22</sup> See Samuel Black, *A Journal of a Voyage From Rocky Mountain Portage in Peace River to the Sources of Finlays Branch and North West Ward in Summer 1824*, ed. by E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, introd. by R. M. Patterson, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. xviii (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1955). This factor is the same Mr. Black referred to in *Wanderings* (122).
- <sup>23</sup> Mary Lile Benham, *Paul Kane* (Don Mills, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977), p. 4.
- <sup>24</sup> Neither Kane's journal nor either of the parts of the manuscript draft that cover this portion of the narrative show the negative that appears in this sentence in *Wanderings*: "The country here is not very beautiful . . ." (49).
- <sup>25</sup> See Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Representation," in his *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1978), pp. 121-34.
- <sup>26</sup> See Bruce Haig, *Paul Kane: Artist*, Following Historic Trails ser. (Calgary: Detseilig Enterprises, for the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, 1984), p. 35, for a photo and commentary on the Committee Punch Bowl.
- <sup>27</sup> The disappointment is registered, for example, in *Wanderings* (235) but not in the journal: "16th [October 1847] on my arival here I found my ould fraind Cappow Blang-h the Shewshoupp Chief" (11.85/5, typescript, second numbering, 14).
- <sup>28</sup> Heather Dawkins, "Paul Kane and the Eye of Power: Racism in Canadian Art History," *Vanguard*, vol. 15 no. 4 (September 1986), p. 27.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- <sup>30</sup> "Proceedings of the Canadian Institute — Session 1854-55," *The Canadian Journal: A Repertory of Industry, Science, and Art; and a Record of the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, vol. iii no. 10 (May 1855), 243. References to all the Toronto articles known to date are provided in Harper's bibliography (341).
- <sup>31</sup> See Doug Owsram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1981).
- <sup>32</sup> See "Aesthetic Mappings of the West by the Palliser and Hind Survey Expeditions 1857-1859," *Studies in Canadian Literature*, 10 (1985), 39-40.
- <sup>33</sup> See Arthur S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson, Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company: A Pen Picture of a Man of Action* (Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1944), pp. 233-34. See also "Touring at High Speed: Fur-Trade Landscapes in the Writings of Frances and George Simpson," *Musk-Ox*, 34 (1986), pp. 78-87.
- <sup>34</sup> Davis, *A Distant Harmony*, p. 59.
- <sup>35</sup> Boyce Richardson, "Kind Hearts or Forked Tongues? The Indian Ordeal: A Century of Decline," *The Beaver*, vol. 67 no. 1 (February/March 1987), pp. 30-31.