

SKETCHES FROM THE COLONIAL PERIOD:  
EARLY ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF  
BRITISH COLUMBIA AND VANCOUVER ISLAND

by

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## ABSTRACT

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During the Colonial Period of British Columbia and Vancouver Island extensive investigation and documentation of the area were carried out. The investigation, in the form of surveys, was stimulated by British pride in their expanding empire and contemporary scientific curiosity. The most common form of visual documentation was still the draughtsman's sketch, therefore draughtsmen accompanied the surveys.


The draughtsmen, in the Colonies at this time, were mainly military personnel and professional illustrators. Field sketching classes in military academies furnished the rudimentary training of the military draughtsmen. In addition, the aesthetic considerations of the school of landscape painting are evident in their work. In England, interest in topographical documentation, antiquarianism, and continental landscape painting influenced each other, and gave rise to the cult of the picturesque. In the early nineteenth century schools of landscape painting were established.


The vision of the draughtsmen in the Colonies, during the Colonial Period, was determined by this general milieu; it is exemplified in the work of four draughtsmen who left artistic representations of the Colonies. The documentary sketches of Lieut. Henry James Warre appear to be the first work of this nature following the late eighteenth century explorers. His sketches of the area were made during a military reconnaissance in response to the boundary dispute.


The presence of the naval officer Edward Parker Bedwell was also related to the settlement of the boundary. John C. White came to the Colonies with a contingent of Royal Engineers, sent by the British Colonial Office. Frederick Whympers, a professional illustrator and journalist, came with other British emigrants in 1862.

These four men visited the then accessible areas of the Colonies, documenting topographical features, habitations and aspects of contemporary activities. Their sketches were applauded by the local populace and published in British periodicals and personal journals. The published sketches reflect the changing sentiments observable in the larger art movement.

The sketches indicate individual aesthetic preferences, while maintaining documentary accuracy. The draughtsmen were assimilators, successfully combining aesthetic consideration with the need for documentation.

  
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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

The Colonial Period of British Columbia and Vancouver Island is a period of approximately twenty-two years. It began with the establishment of the Colony of Vancouver Island in 1849 and the mainland Colony of British Columbia in 1858. The two colonies were united under a single administration in 1866 and joined Confederation as the Province of British Columbia in 1871.

During this period the disputed boundary between the British and American possessions was settled; gold was discovered, and the search for new lands and peoples, which had been instrumental in initiating surveys of other unexplored areas of the world, was also extended to the Colony on the Pacific coast of North America. Colonization, so long a concern to the British, became a reality.

The need for colonization was realized by members of the British Colonial Office who granted Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company for this purpose in 1849. But colonization proceeded slowly until rumors of the gold discovery reached the outside world. At the time of the first great influx of miners in 1858 and 1859 the survey ship H.M.S. Plumper had just begun the marine boundary survey between the British and American possessions on the Pacific.<sup>1</sup> The survey

and marking of the land boundary, which was settled in 1846 by the Oregon Treaty, was begun the following year, 1859. The influx of people strained the meagre transportation facilities and increased the need for road construction. Surveys of possible routes to the Interior were made by both Crown authorities and adventurous citizens.

Extensive interest in the colony at this time is evident in the diverse nature of these surveys. Geologists and naturalists accompanied the hydrographers and geographers of the land and marine boundary surveys. The zeal with which the reports and collections were received is evident in the attention given to Dr. David Lyall's herbal collection. As a result of botanical collections made on earlier surveys in the Antarctic and New Zealand, Dr. Lyall was commissioned to accompany the Pacific boundary surveys as surgeon and naturalist. On this survey he made a collection of the vegetation of the various zones from sea level to the 8,000 foot level of the Rocky Mountains. The collection was considered to be of such magnitude that Dr. Lyall was given a staff-surgeon appointment on H.M.S. Fisguard at Woolwich. This was a sinecure which allowed him to live at Kew to arrange, report on and distribute his collection. An account of the areas from which the specimens were collected and a

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<sup>1</sup>Richard C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1862), p. 32.

list of the species collected were published in the Journal of the Linnean Society.<sup>2</sup> The major part of the collection was housed at the Herbarium at Kew Garden; where duplications occurred, specimens were sent to various herbaria and eminent botanists, including among eighteen others Dr. Asa Gray, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts and the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

Following the Boundary Commission's surveys an extensive exploring expedition of Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands was organized. Since this was a private enterprise a committee sold subscriptions to raise funds for the expedition, and a team of professionals was hired.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Robert Brown, a noted naturalist from Edinburgh, who came to Vancouver Island under the auspices of the Edinburgh Botanical Society, was the chief member of the team. Since a sketch was still the most common means of visual documentation, a professional illustrator accompanied the survey. Various other surveys were accompanied by naval and military draughtsmen who made the necessary documentary sketches.

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<sup>2</sup>"Account of the Botanical Collections made by David Lyall, M.D., R.N., F.L.S., Surgeon and Naturalist to the North American Boundary Commission." Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society, Botany, Vol. VII (London, 1864).

<sup>3</sup>"Brown Collection," Applications Received, A E B 81, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. (Hereafter referred to as PABC.)

The draughtsmen in the Colonies at this time were mainly military men and professional illustrators. Basic drawing skills, necessary for visual documentation, were taught at military academies where draughtsmen received extensive training in topographical sketching. The extension of topographical sketches to artistic representations was the basis from which the school of landscape painting developed in England. There, the eighteenth century was the formative period of the school of landscape painting. Interest in topographical documentation and antiquarianism, and continental landscape painting influenced each other giving rise to the cult of the picturesque. The vision of the draughtsmen in the Colonies during the Colonial Period was determined by this general milieu. Their sketches indicate an interest in the British landscape aesthetic and a concern for documentary accuracy.

The Landscape Sketch made during the Afghan War (fig. 1) from the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance<sup>4</sup> is an example of a military topographical sketch. Drawing skills taught at military academies were concerned with map-making for military needs.<sup>5</sup> The Landscape Sketch made during the Afghan War meets the description of the military sketch

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<sup>4</sup>London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationary Office, by Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane. (Printed c. 1903. To date I have found no reference to an earlier publication of this manual.)

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

## LANDSCAPE SKETCH MADE DURING THE AFGHAN WAR 1880.

Plate XVII  
to face p 79

Figure 1

as "a rough topographical map on which only features of military importance are given."<sup>6</sup> The directions for the landscape sketch state that it should be in outline and shaded only in the foreground. The heading of the sketch should state the point from which it is sketched and the point of the compass which the draughtsman is facing.<sup>7</sup> A system of conventional colors was used to stress significant features. The color was added to a finished sketch, at which time the pencil lines were partially rubbed out and all detail was inked in after the coloring was finished.<sup>8</sup>

Color used in this manner simply adds an additional symbol for the sake of clarity. It does not move toward extending the sketch to a landscape colored from nature which evidently was taught at Woolwich in the eighteenth century. The applicability of the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance, printed in approximately 1903, to the mid-nineteenth century is substantiated by an outline of the course of studies taught at the Woolwich Military Academy in 1772. The drawing courses were divided into Lower and Upper Academy with four classes in each academy:

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance, p. 79

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

Lower Academy

1st Class

Drawing--simple and easy drawing in black lead.

2nd Class

Drawing--easy but instructive drawing in India-ink.

3rd Class

Landscape and Military establishments.

4th Class

Theory and the practice of perspective.

Upper Academy

1st Class

Landscape in India-ink.

2nd Class

Large and more difficult landscape.

3rd Class

Landscape coloured from nature.

4th Class

Perspective applied to buildings, fortifications & c.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>F. G. Guggisburg, The Shop: The Story of the Royal Military Academy (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1902), p. 28.

The course outline referred to above is an outline of the course of studies followed at Woolwich when Paul Sandby, 1725-1809, was on the landscape drawing staff. Sandby received this appointment in 1768 and held the position until 1797. The development of landscape painting in eighteenth century Britain owes much to Paul Sandby and military draughting. His development from a draughtsman to an acclaimed landscape painter is analogous to the development of landscape painting in England as a whole. Sandby received his early training at the Military Draughting Office at the Tower of London. After two years of study at the Tower he was sent to the north and western Highlands of Scotland as a military draughtsman on a survey team. While there he made sketches of the scenery in his leisure time. From these he made a number of etchings for publication. He painted recognizable landscapes developed from topographical sketches by the addition of color and is given credit for being the first to develop panoramic views from topographical sketches.

After the Highland surveys, 1746-1751, Sandby travelled in the company of wealthy patrons to various remote areas of the British Isles making sets of drawings. The sketch Bangor, North Wales (Plate 1) is a product of one of these tours. His first watercolor of a Welsh subject was exhibited in 1773 and sets of aquatints of Welsh views were published throughout the 1700's.<sup>10</sup> The Bangor, North Wales view is an example of Sandby's more mature style. His

earlier sketches are described as being drawn with a pen and merely washed with color.<sup>11</sup> In the Bangor view the color with the play of light is an essential part of the sketch. The transparent washes of color are characteristic of Sandby's work at this time; in his later work there is a more extensive use of opaque color. The narrow color range successfully indicates atmospheric perspective, dividing the picture plane into foreground, middle ground and distance. The use of soft outlines is retained to strengthen the contours. The continuation of line drawing is also evident in the loop effect outline in the foliage. Interest is added by the play of light which with the addition of figures is a Sandby trait.

The Bangor, North Wales sketch is an example of Sandby's work when he was drawing master at Woolwich and the course of instruction in landscape drawing included the class in landscape colored from nature. The color in Sandby's sketch, though limited, is at variance with the need for simplicity stressed in the field sketching manual. The use of color at Woolwich seems to suggest that an extension of the topographical sketch was encouraged under certain circumstances. It is evident that military draughtsmen who

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<sup>10</sup>Iolo Williams, Early English Watercolours (Trowbridge & London: Redwood Press Limited, Reprint 1970), p. 32.

<sup>11</sup>Iolo A. Williams, op. cit., p. 32.

were trained at Woolwich were taught to observe the natural colors of the landscape and introduced to the use of color in sketching classes.

Sandby used both transparent and opaque color which often appear side by side in his sketches. He preferred opaque color because it has more affinity with oil paint; it was his ambition to approximate oil paint with his water-colors. Opaque watercolors were introduced through continental influence and is characteristic of early continental painters in England. Though certain English painters used both opaque and transparent color, transparent color was considered to be better suited to England's atmospheric conditions.<sup>12</sup>

Sandby, though a landscape painter was a founding member of the Royal Academy of Art, 1768, and remained a member throughout his life. His membership is significant, since the well-known criteria of subject matter, formulated by the Academy's president, Sir Joshua Reynolds, classified landscape as the least important type of painting. Landscape was used mainly as a setting for historic events or portraits and was therefore a generalized image rather than a recognizable place.

Eighteenth century British landscape painters were greatly influenced by continental landscape painting,

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<sup>12</sup>Laurence Binyon, English Water-Colors, Second Edition (London: Adam and Charles Balck, 1946), p. 14.

especially by the work of Claude Lorraine, 1600-1682, and Gaspard Poussin, 1615-1675. Landscape with views of country houses enjoyed great popularity in England during the eighteenth century. Artists accompanied their patrons on tours, as Sandby did, to produce books of sketches of the antiquarian and picturesque scenes visited in the British Isles and abroad. Continental influences were brought to England by artists who made these continental tours. This influence also enters into Sandby's work though he never travelled in Europe. While he was exceptionally important in awaking interest in the remote areas of the British Isles he also did sketches which involve the imagination, and which were mostly derived from these French-Italian influences. The Castle and Stream (Plate 2) is an example of his imaginary landscapes. The subject of the painting is a foaming stream which flows down the centre of the picture. On the near bank sit a man with a fishing rod, a woman and a child. Beyond this stream stands a romantic castle and beyond that are mountains. "Over-arching trees complete the composition, which is a typical Anglicization of a romantic Italian theme."<sup>13</sup>

A major exponent of the imaginative and continental influence in eighteenth century England was Alexander Cozens, 1717-1786. Both Alexander and his son John Robert Cozens,

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<sup>13</sup>Iolo A. Williams, op. cit., p. 34.

1752-1797, travelled in Europe with wealthy patrons. Their sketches captured the poetic effects of Claude and the idealization of Poussin and effectively transferred their influence to the English landscape painters. An important fusing of the topographical landscape tradition and European influences is documented in a reference to the work of Thomas Girtin, 1775-1802. Girtin's rejection of Claudian sentiment, which he replaced with observed atmospheric change, was recorded by W. H. Pyne, an artist writing in 1824.

He sketched a picturesque part of an ancient town-- he drew the outline at broad day, and had purposed to color the scene as it then appeared; but in passing near the spot, at the going down of the sun and perceiving the buildings under the influence of twilight had assumed so unexpected a mass of shadow, on the fading light of the sky, and that the reflections in the water, still increased the vastness of the mass; moreover that the arches of a bridge opposed their distinct forms, dark also, to a bright gleam on the horizon; he was so possessed with the solemn grandeur of the composition, which had gained so much in sentiment by the change of light, that he determined to make an attempt at imitation, and by ardent application, accomplished the object. This piece was wrought with bold and masterly execution, and subsequently practised with so much success in certain of his works.<sup>14</sup>

Girtin's aim and contribution to landscape painting was this impression of a single emotional mood observed in the atmospheric conditions of England. These two groups of landscape painters, one using landscape as a basis for artistic

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<sup>14</sup>John Piper, British Romantic Artists (London: William Collins, 1942,) p. 14-15.

and emotional expression and the other recording topographical views, influenced each other and gave rise to the nineteenth century school of landscape painting and the concept of the picturesque.

At the end of the eighteenth century William Gilpin in An Essay on Picturesque Beauty,<sup>15</sup> and Uvedale Price in On the Picturesque<sup>16</sup> attempt to define the nature of the picturesque. Gilpin, a clergymen, amateur artist and writer, regarded the picturesque as that which had the essential quality of roughness. He seems to have come to this distinction through exposure to Edmund Burke's statement "beauty should be smooth and polished."<sup>17</sup> These two qualities, smoothness and roughness, are the distinctive characteristics of the beautiful and the picturesque respectively. Roughness, the charactersitic of the picturesque, is found in the irregularity of nature and therefore in landscape.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>William Gilpin, Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting, Second Edition (London: Printed for R. Blamire, in the Strand, 1794.)

<sup>16</sup>Sir Uvedale Price, On the Picturesque, with an Essay on the Origin of Taste and much Original Matter, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder (Edinburgh: Caldwell, Lloyd & Co., London: Wm. S. Orr & Co.), 1842.

<sup>17</sup>Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, Edited with an introduction and notes by J. T. Boulton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 124.

<sup>18</sup>William Gilpin, op. cit., p. 42.

Gilpin suggests invention and rearranging for effect. Ancient ruins, towers, Gothic arches and the remains of castles and abbeys, are better models for the painter of the picturesque than landscaped gardens. "They are consecrated by time; and almost deserve the veneration of nature itself."<sup>19</sup> Gilpin's definition is stated in terms which distinguish between the picturesque and the beautiful. The two concepts are seen as diametrical oppositions.

A more extensive analysis of the concept was developed by Sir Uvedale Price. He, like Gilpin, gave Burke credit for the recognition of smoothness and flowing lines as the most essential qualities of beauty. The beautiful thus excludes variation, that is, sudden changes and broken lines. Price is

...therefore persuaded, that the two opposite qualities of roughness, and of sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity, are the most efficient causes of the picturesque.<sup>20</sup>

To demonstrate the distinctive qualities of the beautiful and the picturesque, Price refers to Grecian architecture which, "in its perfect entire state, and with its surface and colour smooth and even, is beautiful; in ruin it is picturesque."<sup>21</sup> The change from beautiful to picturesque has taken place through the natural process of time.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>20</sup>Sir Uvedale Price, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

To variation Price adds the quality intricacy which he explains is distinct from variation but yet a part of it.

Intricacy:

...in landscape might be defined, that disposition of objects, which, by a partial and uncertain concealment, excites and nourishes curiosity.<sup>22</sup>

The extension of variation to include intricacy adds that which gives pleasure and includes a sense of excitement aroused by suggestion to the definition of the picturesque.

Both Price and Gilpin define the picturesque in terms of what it is not; it is not the beautiful. They agree that though the picturesque and the beautiful are complementary, the picturesque has no need of the beautiful. The beautiful, that is smoothness, however, becomes monotonous without the variation provided by the picturesque. Both writers discuss the picturesque in terms of landscape painting and agree that its basic element is roughness. The argument is generally in favour of the self-sufficiency of natural landscape as a model for picturesque painting but it is evident that ruins which stimulate interest and curiosity by their ambiguity have an additional appeal.

Price deals more intricately with the characteristics of roughness and develops the concept of the sublime as an extension of the picturesque which is not the beautiful nor is it the ugly, the diametrical opposition of beauty as smoothness is to roughness. Ugly is that which

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<sup>22</sup>Sir Uvedale Price, op. cit., p. 69.

has neither the beauty of smoothness nor the picturesque quality of bold and sudden breaks.

....Ugliness alone is merely disagreeable--  
by the addition of deformity it becomes hideous--  
by that of terror it may become sublime.<sup>23</sup>

Iolo A. Williams defines the picturesque as

...that quality of attractiveness which resides in irregular broken surfaces and things seamed and roughened by the dilapidations of time, a quality different from the well-proportioned regularity of beauty.<sup>24</sup>

This is a succinct summary of the concept.

Gilpin's first essay On Picturesque Beauty was published in 1792 though it was circulated in manuscript form by 1776. A collection of his work published in 1794 includes an essay on The Art of Sketching Landscape.<sup>25</sup>

This essay provides a step by step development of a landscape sketch beginning with a pencil outline and includes discussions of the use of figures to mark a road or add interest, the rearrangement of elements to form a pleasing composition, the preservation of color harmony, and the use of point perspective.

A Practical Treatise on Drawing and on Water Colour Painting written by G. F. Phillips was published in 1839.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Sir Uvedale Price, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>24</sup>Iolo A. Williams, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>25</sup>William Gilpin, op. cit.

This treatise is a lesson book with illustrated studies and written instructions. Beginning with simple drawings, it guides the student through compositions and color effects of increasing complexity. The first lessons deal with the use of pencil and sepia in studies of the gradation of light and shade. A discussion "on the chiaroscuro, color, and the auxiliaries necessary to the unity of a subject"<sup>27</sup> follows the preliminary lessons. Unity is achieved through a judicious use of light and dark, simplicity and variety in the arrangement of objects, and a consistency in the combination of subject matter. That is, in a rural scene the auxiliaries should also be rural: cottagers, cottage children, dogs, poultry and the like. Unity is also achieved through the use of colors which characterize atmospheric effects, vastness or gay and cheerful scenes.

Phillips, like Price and Gilpin, refers to nature as the best model for the practitioner of this art. Though Phillips does not use the term picturesque, he does express a certain contempt for controlled nature, the artificial character of which is tolerable only when "the powerful efforts of nature occasionally destroy the formality."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>G. F. Phillips, A Practical Treatise on Drawing and Painting in Water Colours (London: A. H. Baily & Co., 83 Cornhill, 1839).

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

Nature, free from the restraints of the planted garden, is the school of the artist.

The course of studies in landscape drawing at the Military Academy, the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance, Gilpin's observations, and Phillips' treatise all begin with the same steps in the development of basic drawing skills. The rudimentary training in the Military Academy was the same as that of the landscape enthusiasts. Though the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance warns against the addition of shading which might hinder clarity, interest in the addition of color to topographical drawings is evident in the Woolwich Military Academy drawing course outline. The reference to junior drawing masters at Sandhurst, a second military academy, indicates that several levels of drawing were taught at this academy as well.<sup>29</sup> A similar training in topographical drawing and related studies was followed at the Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham.<sup>30</sup>

The extension of documentary sketches to an artistic representation in the Colonies parallels the development of landscape painting in England, which began:

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<sup>29</sup>Hugh Thomas, The Story of Sandhurst (Hutchison of London, 1961), p. 44.

<sup>30</sup>Colonel H. D. Harness, Synopsis of the Course of Instruction for Officers and Men, at the Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham, Revision, 1863.

...with the object of recording as clearly and accurately as was possible the appearance of buildings and places. This was not done for purely antiquarian, archaeological, or geographic information.<sup>31</sup>

In England the eighteenth century was the formative period for landscape painting and the concept of the picturesque. In the early nineteenth century painters of this genre organized societies, the Royal Academy of Art revoked a clause excluding landscape painters, and treatises on landscape painting and the use of water color began to appear in increasing numbers.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Charles Holme, ed., "The Development of British Landscape Painting in Water-Colour," Text by A. J. Finberg and E. A. Taylor, The Studio, 1918, p. 6.

<sup>32</sup>In 1804 the Society of Painters in Water-Colours was formed; this society was reconstituted as the Oil and Water-Colour Society in 1812 and is now the Old Water-Colour Society. The New Society of Painters in Miniature and Water-Colours was formed in 1807 and 1831 saw the birth of what is now known as the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours. From C. E. Hughes, Early English Water-Colours, Revised and edited by Jonathan Mayne, Third Edition (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1950), p. 44-50.

The Royal Academy repealed the clause excluding water-color painters from membership in 1810. T. S. R. Boase, English Art 1800-1870 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 41.

Treatises on landscape and water-color painting designed to instruct in this art are:

William Gilpin, op. cit. First Edition 1792.

John Heaveside Clark, Practical Illustration of Gilpin's Day (London: Priestley and Weale, 1824).

Martin Hardie, Water-colour Painting in Britain: The Eighteenth Century, ed. by Dudley, Snelgrove, Jonathan Mayne and Basil Taylor (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1900).

The draughtsmen on surveys in the colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island were trained in and influenced by this general milieu. Military draughting furnished their rudimentary training, while the search for the picturesque which previously stimulated the "Grand Tours" of Europe now reached the Colonies. The draughtsmen were transients, most of them were military men, who were in the Colony to carry out military assignments. On completion of the assignment they left the Colony. Their work continued the landscape tradition of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England. It began with the topographical sketch made as an informative record of the appearance of the terrain, bridges, roads, buildings and the experiences of man in the new land. In addition aesthetic considerations exerted a significant influence

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T. B. Fielding, Painting in Oil and Water Colours (London: Ackermann and Co., 1839).

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\_\_\_\_\_, Theory of Painting and Index of Colours, 1836.

G. F. Phillips, A Practical Treatise on Drawing and on Painting in Water Colours (London: A. H. Baily & Co., 83 Cornhill, 1839).

David Cox, Treatise on Landscape Painting and the Effect in Water-Colour (London: S. & J. Fuller, 1841).

George Barnard, The Theory and Practice of Landscape Painting in Water Colours (London: Wm., S. Orr & Co., Amen Corner, Paternoster Row, 1855, Leighton Brothers Chromatic Process).

Author of: Handbook of Foliage and Foreground Drawing, Studies of Trees, etc., etc.

upon the work of these early draughtsmen. The medium used was the easily portable pen-and-wash or watercolor, also used by the earlier travelling landscape artists. The work of E. P. Bedwell, H. J. Warre, J. C. White and F. Whympers, who were stationed in or visiting the colony, has been selected as examples for this thesis. The sketches of three of these four draughtsmen were published in personal journals or as book illustrations. H. J. Warre published a personal journal consisting mainly of full-page lithographs drawn from his sketches and paintings.<sup>33</sup> Frederick Whympers published Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska<sup>34</sup> illustrated by his own work. R. C. Mayne, in the preface of his journal, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island,<sup>35</sup> attributed the sketches used as illustrations to Mr. E. P. Bedwell R.N., Dr. Lyall and Dr. Lindley. In addition some of the sketches were published in British periodicals, thereby carrying the image of the Colonies back to the British public.

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<sup>33</sup>Henry James Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory (London: Dickenson and Company, 1848).

<sup>34</sup>Frederick Whympers, Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1868).

<sup>35</sup>Richard C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1868).

## Chapter 2

## LIEUTENANT HENRY JAMES WARRE

The first of these four draughtsmen who left an artistic record of British Columbia was Henry James Warre, 1819-1898, the youngest son of Lieutenant-General Sir William Warre. Educated at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, between 1832-1837, the younger Warre joined the army in 1837 and at some time during that same year spent six months in France studying French and the pictures at the Louvre.<sup>1</sup> Two years later he was appointed aide-de-camp to his uncle, Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Downes Jackson, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British North America. Upon his arrival in North America Warre joined the 14th Buckinghamshire Regiment and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. During his years in North America, 1839-1846, he travelled extensively keeping detailed notebooks or journals which he illustrated with pencil sketches and water-colors.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Images of Canada: Documentary Watercolours and Drawings from the permanent collection of the Public Archives of Canada, with an introduction by Michael Bell, 1972, H. J. Warre.

<sup>2</sup>Because of restrictions on Public Archives of Canada holdings a more extensive discussion based on the material is prohibited at this time.

Warre's career was suddenly directly affected by political developments in the United States. In his election campaign in 1844 the Democratic candidate for President, James K. Polk, aroused considerable apprehension in British North America by his slogan "54<sup>0</sup>40' or fight" which was based upon American claims to the Pacific Northwest. Polk's threatening stance did not mellow after his assumption of office, and in 1845 Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, requested a thorough military reconnaissance of the area. Lieutenants' Henry James Warre and M. Vavasour were selected to undertake a secret survey of the territory.

The territory in question was held jointly, under agreement, by Britain and the Americans. The only portion of Oregon still in dispute was that north and west of the Columbia River, as far as the 49th parallel.<sup>3</sup> The British interests in the area were granted to the Hudson's Bay Company for the purpose of the fur trade. It was in response to the fur trade that the first Europeans settled in the area. Their initial entry was by way of the Peace River which afforded a passage through the formidable Rocky Mountains. More southerly passes were explored by these traders in an attempt to ease the expense of maintaining

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<sup>3</sup>E. O. S. Scholefield, B.C.: from the Earliest Time to the Present (Vancouver: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), p. 437.

the trading posts and increasing the returns from the trade. An annual brigade from main centres in eastern Canada was made to transport the necessary supplies and trade goods to the distant posts and return laden with the coveted take of furs. As fur returns decreased in established areas, adjacent areas were explored and additional outposts were established. By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century these explorers had reached the lower Columbia River. Thus the early exploration and surveying of the region under study was made by the fur traders.

In an attempt to lessen the burden of transportation and supplement the monotonous and often inadequate rations, company servants became involved in farming. In 1838 the company formed the Pudget's Sound Agricultural Company; the populace of this community were retired company servants from the Red River. Though the senior company servants expressed their distaste for, "this colonization mania of ours,"<sup>4</sup> the involvement increased. In 1849 Vancouver Island was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company for a period of ten years by royal proclamation for the purpose of colonization. But colonization was slow and, though several farms were established, the landholders were members of the Pudget's Sound Agricultural Company which had transferred part of its operation from the Cowlitz Valley to Vancouver Island.

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<sup>4</sup>Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964), p. 70.

The transfer of these operations, and much of the Fort Vancouver trade, to Vancouver Island and Fort Victoria began in 1844. This was the period of the Oregon boundary dispute which, when settled, continued the boundary along the 49th parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. The precarious state of their holdings in the Oregon Territory was evident to the Company governors and influenced a partial withdrawal from the area. The loss of the territory was to some extent due to the greater numbers of American settlers in the area. The urgency for colonization in 1849 was an attempt to strengthen the precarious hold on Vancouver Island, the southern end of which dips below the 49th parallel. The loss of the Victoria area would also mean the loss of access to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. This in turn would greatly hamper the establishment of mainland harbours at the mouth of the Fraser River.

The Oregon boundary dispute may therefore be viewed as a decisive factor in the designation of the area as a Crown Colony. It was in response to this dispute that Warre and Vavasour were sent to the territory. The two officers were to assess the feasibility of transporting troops and supplies to the Oregon Territory by way of the overland route and to write advisory reports on the establishment of military installations.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>"Papers relative to the expedition of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour", D A G79.2 C2, PABC.

Posing as gentlemen on a hunting trip, the two officers joined a party of trappers and voyageurs under the direction of Peter Skene Ogden at Fort Garry. From there the party proceeded overland to the Hudson's Bay Company's western headquarters at Fort Vancouver on the lower Columbia River. The route followed was the route used by the Company to service the prairie and West Coast posts from their eastern headquarters. This was the route to be used in the transportation of troops and supplies. The group left Fort Garry on the Red River on June 16 and arrived at Fort Colville on the Columbia River on August 16. They passed through the Rocky Mountains by way of the Vermillion Pass in the vicinity of 50°30' north latitude.

Once in the territory the officers had differences with Company officials. The first friction arose between Warre and Peter Skene Ogden and was related to the purchase of Cape Disappointment, a point of land overlooking the mouth of the Columbia River. The occupation of the point was recommended by Sir George Simpson. Warre, agreeing with Simpson on the strategic position of the Cape in case of hostilities, urged that it be purchased in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ogden maintained that he had not been authorized to make the purchase under the prevailing conditions. Finally agreeing on the advantage of its possession Ogden made a private purchase of the Cape.<sup>6</sup>

Further tension arose between Warre and Dr. McLoughlin, a Chief Factor and veteran of the Company's affairs on

the Pacific. Many of the American settlers at the settlement on the Willamette River, known as Oregon City, had arrived in the area in a half-starved condition and would have died had the Hudson's Bay Company, under the direction of Dr. McLoughlin, not extended supplies and a system of credit to them. Dr. McLoughlin argued his case on humanitarian grounds.<sup>7</sup> Warre maintained that the settlers had received supplies at reduced cost and that in fact, they had extensive privileges which were a factor in the increasing numbers of Americans in the area.<sup>8</sup> The number of Americans in the area was a decisive factor in the settlement of the boundary dispute since the right of claim to the territory was based on their occupation of it.

It seems that the reports written by the officers did not reach the British officials before the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty on June 15, 1846. However the boundary settlement may not have been entirely uninfluenced by their efforts. After visiting the Willamette Valley and the mouth of the Columbia River, the officers travelled to

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<sup>6</sup>Col. Holloway, "Secret Mission of Warre and Vavasour," Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. III (Oct. 1908-Oct. 1912), p. 131-153.

<sup>7</sup>Herman A. Leader, "McLoughlin's answer to Warre," Oregon Historical Quarterly (1932), p. 214-229.

<sup>8</sup>Joseph Schafer, ed. "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon 1845-6," Oregon Historical Quarterly (March 1909), p. 1-99.

Victoria with Lieut. William Peel, son of the British Prime Minister. Warre and Vavasour spent two days with Peel and Captain John Gordon of H.M.S. America. Lieut. Peel returned to London by way of Panama and arrived there on February 10, 1846 with several reports. These reports were almost all dated after the meeting with Warre and Vavasour.<sup>9</sup>

In April 1846 Warre and Vavasour left the Oregon Territory and reached Fort Garry on June 7. This trip was made by way of the Boat Encampment on the upper Columbia River. From there they followed what was known as the portage route across the Rocky Mountains. The route followed the Wood River to the source of the Athabasca River and was made on snowshoes. The sketch Ascending the Rocky Mountains (Plate 3) is a visual document of this ascent. In his military report Warre refers to going by this route where it was necessary to wear snow shoes and constantly wade through the Canoe River<sup>10</sup> which they were ascending for three days.<sup>11</sup> In his published journal the account of this trek is told in greater detail. The river was crossed

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<sup>9</sup>Frances M. Woodward, "The Influence of the Royal Engineers on the Development of B.C.," B.C. Studies, No. 24 (Winter 1974/5) p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>The river which Warre refers to as the Canoe is the Wood River, indicated on A. C. Anderson's 1869 map as the Punch Bowl River. The Canoe River leads to Tete Juan Cache and the Leather Pass.

<sup>11</sup>Joseph Schafer, op. cit., p. 79.

twenty times a day, the whole country was covered with half thawed snow, over which they struggled on their awkward but well-adapted snow shoes.

The fatigue of mounting nearly 5000 feet on the soft snow, which sank, even with the snow shoes, nearly to the knees at every step, can hardly be conceived. We were obliged to follow one another in file, and relieve the leading file every ten minutes, by which means the road was made for the carriers, whose indurance under their heavy burden was wonderful.<sup>12</sup>

An informative document regarding this trek is the glamour and romance expressed by James Douglas when reminiscing on his experience along the same route.<sup>13</sup> James

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<sup>12</sup>Henry James Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, with an Introduction by Archibald Hanna Jr. (Barre, Mass: The Inprint Society, 1970), p. 24.

<sup>13</sup>Douglas wrote: "A day highly suggestive of the past, of fresh scenes, of perilous travel of fatigues, excitement and of adventures by mountain and flood; the retrospect is full of charms; images of morning breezes, the bright sky, the glowing sunrise, the rushing waters, the roaring cataract - the dark forest, the flowery plains, the impressive mountains in their pure white covering of snow, rise before me, at this moment, as vividly as ever and old as I am, my heart bounds at the bare recollection of scenes I loved so well ... I can recall nothing more delightful than our bivouac on a clear moonlight May night, near the Punch Bowls--the highest point of the Jasper Pass. The atmosphere was bright, sharp and bracing, the sun set in gorgeous splendour, bringing out the towering peaks and fantastic pinnacles dressed in purest white, into bold relief. Our camp was laid and our fire built, on the firm hard snow which was about 20 feet deep. As the daylight faded away, and the shades of night gathered over the Pass, a milder light shot up from behind the nearest Peak, with gradually increasing brilliancy until at last the full orb'd moon rose in silent majesty from the mass of mountains shedding a mild radiance over the whole valley beneath."

MS. Governor James Douglas, Memorandum dated March 19, 1869, PABC. Cited in Margaret Ormsby, op. cit., p. 83.

Douglas began his long career as a servant of the fur trade in his youth and during his early years of service made the trek many times. Warre was returning to the East with the Hudson's Bay Company's annual express, which had in the past travelled the same route at the same time of the year. The date of Warre's watercolor sketch, May 5, coincides with the date referred to in Douglas' reverie. The reverie in which Douglas recalls his experience was written in 1869 when he was an old man, on the anniversary of the date fixed for the annual express from Fort Vancouver to York Factory.

In Warre's sketch Ascending the Rocky Mountains there are twelve figures moving in single file along the side of a mountain; more peaks tower in the distant right and to the left is a deep ravine. In the lower foreground is a seated figure who appears to be adjusting his snowshoes, his pack and gun rest on the ground beside him. Another member of the party seems to be waiting for the seated one. The figures, bent under the burdens of their back-packs provide a module for establishing scale and express the strenuous nature of the trek.

The cold blue-green color scheme of the painting is in keeping with Warre's written account of the coldness of the mountain region. The luminous transparency and fluid quality of watercolor is well exploited. This is especially evident in the shadows on the snow where the edges of the shadows are strongly defined by the collection of color at the edges of the wet areas; these create a strong

delineation between the shadows and the areas of white snow. The confidence with which the brush was handled is evident in the foreground, where the loaded brush defines a dark shadow which weakens as the brush is drawn across the paper and finally tapers to a mere line. This one stroke application of color results in maintaining clean bright colors when working with the water color medium. While the formal training Warre received was probably mainly military draughting, the sketches indicate aesthetic concern. This concern is borne out by the studied technique evident in Ascending the Rocky Mountains. The choice of subject matter which, though it may be classed as documentary, tends to portray personal interests and is usually treated more extensively than advised in the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance.<sup>14</sup>

Deeper tones and a wider range of color is used in the sketch Hauling up a Rapid, Les Dalles (Plate 8). In this painting, as in Ascending the Rocky Mountains, the light is directional and colored, implying a setting sun. The color is reflected by the foreground figures, rocks and canoe, and shimmers on the distant water which it appears to strike through a gap in the cliffs beyond the picture plane. The cold blue-green of the water is emphasized by touches of white impasto indicating foam.

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<sup>14</sup>Op. cit., p. 5.

In these two paintings Warre has used techniques to convey the "wild and desolate appearance" and "objects of a vast and sublime character" referred to by G. F. Phillips in A Practical Treatise on Drawing and on Painting in Water Colours.<sup>15</sup> To convey these characteristics effectively, Phillips suggests that:

Objects of a vast and sublime character require deep toned colour, and broad masses of shade, with, occasionally gleams of light and abrupt transitions, to give force to their rugged and imposing character; ... The whole treatment of such subjects should be broad, simple, massy and effective; even the detail of smaller parts being generally characterised by a doubtful obscurity. In this class of subject, the middle tint and dark should considerably preponderate, imparting by its influence a gloomy solemnity.<sup>16</sup>

These directions seem to have been followed by Warre in the cool color range and abrupt transitions from dark trees and shadows to areas of white snow in Ascending the Rocky Mountains. The same consideration is apparent in the juxtaposition of cool blue-green and warm orange or bright opaque white, the extensive areas of shade with occasional gleams of light and the loss of detail in the foreground, creating a general ambiguity in Hauling up a Rapid, Less Dalles.

The intent in these two sketches appears to be an interest in portraying, in Phillips' terms, the wild,

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<sup>15</sup>G. F. Phillips, A Practical Treatise on Drawing and Painting in Water Colours (London: A. H. Baily and Co., 83 Cornhill, 1839).

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

desolate, vast and sublime nature of the landscape. Terms used by Warre to describe North American scenery, though not the same as Phillips' terms, have similar connotations. Warre refers to the numerous water falls as "grand and picturesque"; one "is particularly beautiful, tumbling in awful grandeur over a ledge of rock 170 feet in depth, into a narrow gorge, the silent forest alone re-echoing the roar of the cataract."<sup>17</sup> Passing through the Rocky Mountains by way of the Vermillion Pass, he describes the scenery as:

.... grand in the extreme; similar to the Alps in Switzerland, you felt that you were in the midst of desolation: no habitations, save those of the wild Indians, were within hundreds of miles; but few civilized beings had even viewed this.<sup>18</sup>

Warre rarely uses the term beautiful; nor does "picturesque" seem to satisfy him as an adequate description. The phrases "grand and picturesque" and "awful grandeur" seem to imply a concept more closely related to the sublime than the qualities of the picturesque. Price indicates that the sublime involves a certain pleasure experienced in the presence of terror.<sup>19</sup> Edmond Burke refers to terror as the

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<sup>17</sup>Henry James Warre, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>19</sup>Op. cit., p. 16.

ruling principle of the sublime,<sup>20</sup> which "comes upon us in the gloomy forest, and in the howling wilderness."<sup>21</sup> A sense of pleasure aroused in the presence of the sublime is indicated in Burke's discussion of vastness and infinity. "Vastness: Greatness of dimension is a powerful source of the sublime"<sup>22</sup> and infinity, an aspect of great dimension, "fills the mind with delightfull horrer."<sup>23</sup> Warre's descriptions, like his sketches, seem to indicate this attraction mingled with aversion. He refers to the landscape as desolate and awful, inhabited by the uncivilized and, at the same time, expresses an appreciation of its grandeur which is like the Alps.

A similar attitude is expressed by some of Warre's British contemporaries in Upper Canada. Edward H. Dahl in "Mid Forests Wild": A Study of the Concept of Wilderness in the Writings of Susanna Moodie, J. W. D. Moodie, Catherine Parr Traill and Samuel Strickland,<sup>24</sup> suggests that the

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<sup>20</sup>Edmond Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, ed., with an introduction and notes by J. T. Boulton (New York: Columbia University Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 58.

<sup>21</sup>Edmond Burke, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 72.      <sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>24</sup>Edward H. Dahl, "Mid Forests Wild": ... (Mercury Series, History Division, Paper No. 3, Ottawa: National Museum of Man, National Museum of Canada, April 1973).

attitude of these four British emigrants toward wilderness indicates both antipathy and appreciation. These people, writing in Upper Canada between 1830-1855, express in greater detail what Warre's written observations and visual documentations suggest. Throughout their works an aversion to certain aspects of the Canadian wilderness is expressed. They are the qualities or characteristics which give rise to danger, hardship and isolation. However the possibilities of freedom, independence and liberty are equally appreciated, as is the beauty of the wilderness. Wilderness scenery is described as, among other things, sublime, awful, grand, enchanting, beautifully lonely and savage,<sup>25</sup> terms also used by Warre, indicating the experience of pleasure in the presence of circumstances which also give rise to aversion.

A more common surveyor's technique is used in the sketch Entrance to Les Dalles (Plate 6). The pencil outlines, re-enforced with pen and ink and ink-wash, is the technique for landscape sketching referred to in the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance. The course of drawing instruction at Woolwich in 1772, referred to earlier, indicates this method of topographical sketching. The technique was no doubt also taught at Sandhurst where Warre was educated. The Entrance to Les Dalles is a section of the Columbia River which at the time of Warre's mission

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<sup>25</sup> Edward H. Dahl, op. cit., p. 44.

was approximately eighty miles above the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver. In his military report Warre refers to Les Dalles as a point at which the river bed forms a narrow trough about thirty yards wide and a mile long around which boats were transported overland. In a more descriptive account, in his journal, he writes:

At this point the river has been obstructed by a broad strata of basaltic rock rising nearly one-hundred feet above the surrounding ground level, through which the water has forced a passage of nearly a mile in length and not more than one-hundred feet wide.<sup>26</sup>

In both technique and content Entrance to Les Dalles is a surveyor's sketch. It accurately documents the basaltic rock formation described in the narrative; the scale of which is indicated by the teepee on the right bank.

While in the Oregon Territory Warre experienced a wild cattle hunt. The hunt is documented by a sketch in the American Antiquarian Society's collection<sup>27</sup> and a short account in his journal. Both sketch and narrative enter entirely into the spirit of the hunt.

Hunting with the "lasso" the wild cattle, which are very numerous on the adjoining plain was a constant amusement, and not unattended by personal danger. These animals are extremely fierce, and often became the attacking party, in which case we were obliged to trust to the speed and activity of our horses.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Henry James Warre, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>27</sup>Published in Henry James Warre, op. cit., #41.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

The same enthusiasm is expressed in a description of the buffalo hunt which

... must be enjoyed to be appreciated. Over hill and dale you follow on horseback, at full speed, these enormous unwieldy looking animals and fire only when sufficiently near to be certain of your mark.<sup>29</sup>

The sketch Buffalo Hunt (Plate 9) is the visual counterpart to Warre's description of the experience. The statement of the sketch is the swift movement of the chase described above; all extraneous details have been eliminated.

The excitement of the buffalo hunt is an aspect of Warre's romantic attitude toward the Indians which is expressed in a reference to the Blackfoot Indians.

I can imagine nothing more picturesque and more perfectly graceful than a Blackfoot Indian in his war costume, decorated with paint and feathers, floating wildly in the wind, as he caracolles on his wonderfully active barb, in the full confidence of his glorious liberty. War, his occupation; and the scarcely less hazardous and exciting chase of the buffaloes, his amusement.<sup>30</sup>

In his journal Warre refers to the degraded state of the once-noble Indians who were reduced to "dram-drinking" savages. This he remarks is the state of the Indians influenced by European civilization; that is, east of the Red River and in the Oregon Territory. These once-powerful tribes were reduced by disease and wars incurred by the rivalry of traders, to a miserable remnant "dependent for

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Henry James Warre, op. cit., p.16.

their supplies of food and clothing on the several trading establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company."<sup>31</sup> The Blackfoot Indians were plains Indians not yet degraded by contact with the white settlements.

Europeans were fascinated with Indian burial practices and grave sites. Daniel Williams Harmon refers to the grave houses erected by the Indians living west of the Rocky Mountains and Simon Fraser documented seeing and visiting several grave sites along the Fraser River.<sup>32</sup>

Warre's Indian Tomb (Plate 4) was, as he described it, "most picturesquely situated on the banks of the Cowlitz River."<sup>33</sup> The canoe in which the body was placed was perforated in several places. The blankets of the deceased were torn into tatters and hung over and around the canoe. Other possessions such as pots and pans were nailed to its sides. The destruction of the personal belongings made them useless to would-be grave robbers and assured the tomb's remaining intact.

Warre returned to England in August 1846. His Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory was

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 14, 15, 21.

<sup>32</sup>W. Kaye Lamb., ed., Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800-1816, (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited 1957), p.256,

, The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806-1808, (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, reprint 1966), p. 94, 97, 100, 104.

<sup>33</sup>Henry James Warre, op. cit., p.

published, in lithograph form, two years later. The major part of the pictures for this volume were drawn from the sketches made on the military mission to the Pacific Northwest. Lithography, which experienced a revival in England at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century was reaching its peak of popularity at the time of Warre's publication. Prior to the increased interest in lithography, a flourishing trade in topographical prints and hand colored aquatint views, pioneered by Paul Sandby, already existed. While aquatint was ideally suited to the accurate recording of topography the interest in atmospheric and light effects of nature was better served by lithography. The greater concern for these impermanent effects, which increase the emotive power of nature, coincides with a period of romantic idealism in the larger movement in art and literature. The change to lithography from aquatint and engraving reflects this movement in the world of print-making.<sup>34</sup>

A number of the lithographs in Warre's publication have extensive additions of novel subject matter. An example is the Fort Vancouver sketch (Plate 10) in which the expansive open foreground has been filled with groups of people by the lithographer (Plate 11). The sketch is a pencil drawing, possibly made in response to orders from

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<sup>34</sup>Michael Twyman, Lithography 1800-1850 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 176.

Warre's superiors, to accompany his reports with sketches. It indicates the types of buildings, the height and construction of the stockade and the surrounding fields. In addition to the documentary details there are people in the gateways and near the fort. The addition of people was a device often used to indicate scale, a road or path, or draw attention to certain aspects of the sketch which seems to be the function here.<sup>35</sup> The large open area in the foreground is occupied only by a few nondescript animals.

The lithograph adheres to the sketch in the type and arrangement of buildings, stockade, fields and background figures. The people added to the foreground by the lithographers are portrayed in several groups of three and one group of five. Interaction between the members within each group is indicated by their position and gesticulations. Three of the figures are wearing British uniforms; the others are all Indians in various Indian dress, decorated with feathers and carrying an assortment of weapons. The inclusion of the Indians, depicted as they are, is in keeping with Warre's statement concerning the degraded state of the once noble Indians. The noble state is portrayed by the intelligent and expressive interaction between members of the various groups and the use of exotic dress.

The dress may have been to some extent drawn from Warre's portrait of Naksa, Cree Indian in the American

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<sup>35</sup>Op. cit., p. 16.

Antiquarian Society's collection.<sup>36</sup> Several variations of the feathered headdress appear in the Fort Vancouver lithograph. The lance or spear held by Naksa is also repeated. It is held by the standing figure in the foreground group and one of the figures in the group at the right. A similar weapon with spear tip and feather decoration is identified as a northwest California dance wand, observed only in ceremonial and display use, but potentially a stabbing weapon.<sup>37</sup> A long lance was also used in the buffalo hunt by the Plains Indians. In this pursuit it had, of course, to be wielded from horseback and was clumsy in comparison to bows and arrows or guns. It was better for parades and ceremonies.<sup>38</sup> The lance may therefore have been held when sitting for a portrait like Naksa, Cree Indian.

The garments worn by the Indians resemble, to some extent, the garment in the portrait of Naksa. But it is evident that the lithographer has drawn on other sources as well; old world influences are strongly indicated. However the toga-like garment of the West Coast Indians is referred to by John Webber, artist on the John Cook voyage, 1776-1779, to the Pacific. At that time this was their common dress:

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<sup>36</sup>Published in Henry James Warre, op. cit., #68.

<sup>37</sup>Charles Miles, Indian and Eskimo Artifacts in North America (Chicago, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1963), p. 234.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

... a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and, at the lower edge, by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder, by a string before, and one behind near its middle; by which means both arms are left free; and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, except from the loose part of the edges falling upon it, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle (of coarse matting or woollen) round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part.<sup>39</sup>

With this discussion is a sketch showing the dress. A similar style of dress appears in an engraving of Callicum and Maquilla, chiefs of Nootka Sound, published in John Mears' journal.<sup>40</sup> What at first glance appears to be borrowing from India, or the Roman toga, was evidently a familiar dress on the North American west coast.

Another strong influence which shaped British concepts of the New World and its aborigines was Benjamin West. West's paintings, The Death of General Wolf in the National Gallery of Canada and Penn's Treaty with the Indians, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, depict the Indians with much of the regalia used in the Warre lithographs. Due to West's prominent position in the Academy and his American origin these paintings were accepted as standard in England. The various visual records seem to have developed into a

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<sup>39</sup>Cited in, Michael Bell, Painters in a New Land (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 160.

<sup>40</sup>John Mears, Voyages Made in the Years 1788-1789 from China to the Northwest Coast of America (London Press, 1790).

schema for Indians which the lithographers could follow. The schema seems to have been so well established that certain additional information which Warre provided was overlooked. The most obvious one is the Indian's custom of applying paint which is clearly indicated in the portrait of Naksa and Half-Cast Indians Gambling, another sketch in the American Antiquarian Society collection.<sup>41</sup> This peculiarity has been overlooked or ignored by the lithographers who have incorrectly painted the Indians with dark skin tones.

Both the Indian Tomb (Plate 4) and Entrance to Les Dalles were published in the lithographed edition (Plates 5 and 7). These sketches, like the Fort Vancouver lithograph, have been extended by the addition of novel subject matter. In Entrance to Les Dalles the single teepee in Warre's sketch has been increased to the proportions of an entire camp. On the left bank are a group of Indians which, in arrangement and manner of dress, resemble the groups in the Fort Vancouver lithograph. The novel aspect of the Indian Tomb has been heightened by the addition of a figure; the "mourner" is seated by the side of the canoe as though it were someone keeping a vigil. The addition of people is of interest since "in the eyes of the Royal Academy and the juries of the Salons ... landscape was legitimate if it could conjure up the glories of past civilizations, as

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<sup>41</sup>Published in Henry James Warre, op. cit., #43.

Claude's did, or, like Salvator express the heroic passions of man."<sup>42</sup> It seems that the lithographers felt a need to comply with this sentiment. In producing a lithograph from a drawing the lithographer would have to compensate for the reversal of the image in the printing process. Artists sometimes drew an intermediate sketch for the printmakers; however, there is no evidence that Warre did; the final result therefore is largely the product of the lithographers.

The lithographed edition of Warre's sketches is significant, for it provides a further clue to his relationship with the milieu of a certain level of British society. The revival of lithography in Britain, at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, coincides with a period when travel on the continent was again possible after the capitulation of Napoleon's armies in 1815. Sketches made while on tour abroad by the touring gentleman or his attending artist were lithographed for reproduction. The lithographed sketches were then published in sets, with or without texts. This custom continued for 40 years, beginning about 1819 and tapering off in the 1860's. At the time of Warre's publication, 1848, this fashion was reaching its peak. Warre was the son of a high-ranking military official and achieved considerable recognition himself. He was a member of the social class which popularized the travel journal. His first journal Sketches in North America and

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<sup>42</sup>Michael Twyman, op. cit., p. 169.

the Oregon Territory was published two years after his return to England. The publication of the sketches was a natural outcome of Warre's seven years in the New World. The purpose of these sketches may in fact have been, to a great extent, to serve as preliminary drawings for the lithographers.

The sketches were lithographed and published by Dickenson and Company. The original sketches were bought by Donald McKay Frost, a distinguished collector of Western Americana, who presented them to the American Antiquarian Society. The Society consented to their publication in 1970. The collection consists of 86 sketches and watercolors, 71 of which were published.

There are collections of Warre's work in the Sigmund Samual Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum, the Public Archives of Canada and the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. The media used are pencil, pen and ink, in-wash and watercolor. In the choice of medium and subject matter, that is visual documentation of travel, Warre was continuing the tradition of the Englishman abroad. There are probably many other sketches made at various locations during Warre's years of military service. Evidence of these are a second volume of lithographs drawn from sketches made in the Crimea and published in 1856.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Henry James Warre, Sketches in the Crimea (London: Dickenson Brothers, 1856). This publication is listed in the British Museum Catalogue of Published Books; there are no Canadian locations given for this publication, and the U.S. Union Catalogue does not list it.

Warre continued his military career, serving in the Crimea in 1855 where he was active during the siege and fall of Sebastopol. In 1858 he was in command of the 57th Regiment on the Taptee River in Central India. He served in New Zealand from 1861 to 1866. In 1870 he was made Major-General and was in command of the troops in Belfast during the 1870 to 1874 disturbance. During the next four years he suffered ill-health but was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Bombay in 1878 and was active in the British involvement at Kabul in 1879. He was Knighted in 1886 and received other honours for distinguished conduct. He was also a Fellow of both the Royal Geographic and the Historical societies. He died on April 3, 1898.

## Chapter 3

EDWARD PARKER BEDWELL R.N.

When the land boundary between the British and the American possessions west of the Rocky Mountains was settled by the Oregon Treaty, the marine boundary was left open to further negotiations. It was loosely defined as continuing along the 49th parallel to the middle of the Strait of Georgia and from there southward through the Gulf of Georgia, which separates Vancouver Island from the mainland, to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The agreement had not taken into consideration the Gulf Islands and the channels created by them. In 1856 both American and British commissions were appointed to settle the marine boundary and mark the course of the land boundary. It was then discovered that no accurate charts of the Gulf Islands and channels existed. Subsequently the surveying vessel H.M.S. Plumper was commissioned to make a survey of the disputed area and the coasts of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

The crew of the Plumper were under the command of Captain George Henry Richards, a man known for his surveying abilities and zeal. In addition to hydrographic surveys, historic and botanical surveys of the area were made. Documentary sketches and reports made by members of the survey team were published in contemporary periodicals. The

sketches of several draughtsmen on the marine surveys are accessible. Of these men the most prolific and most published seems to have been Edward Parker Bedwell, a Master on the Plumper.

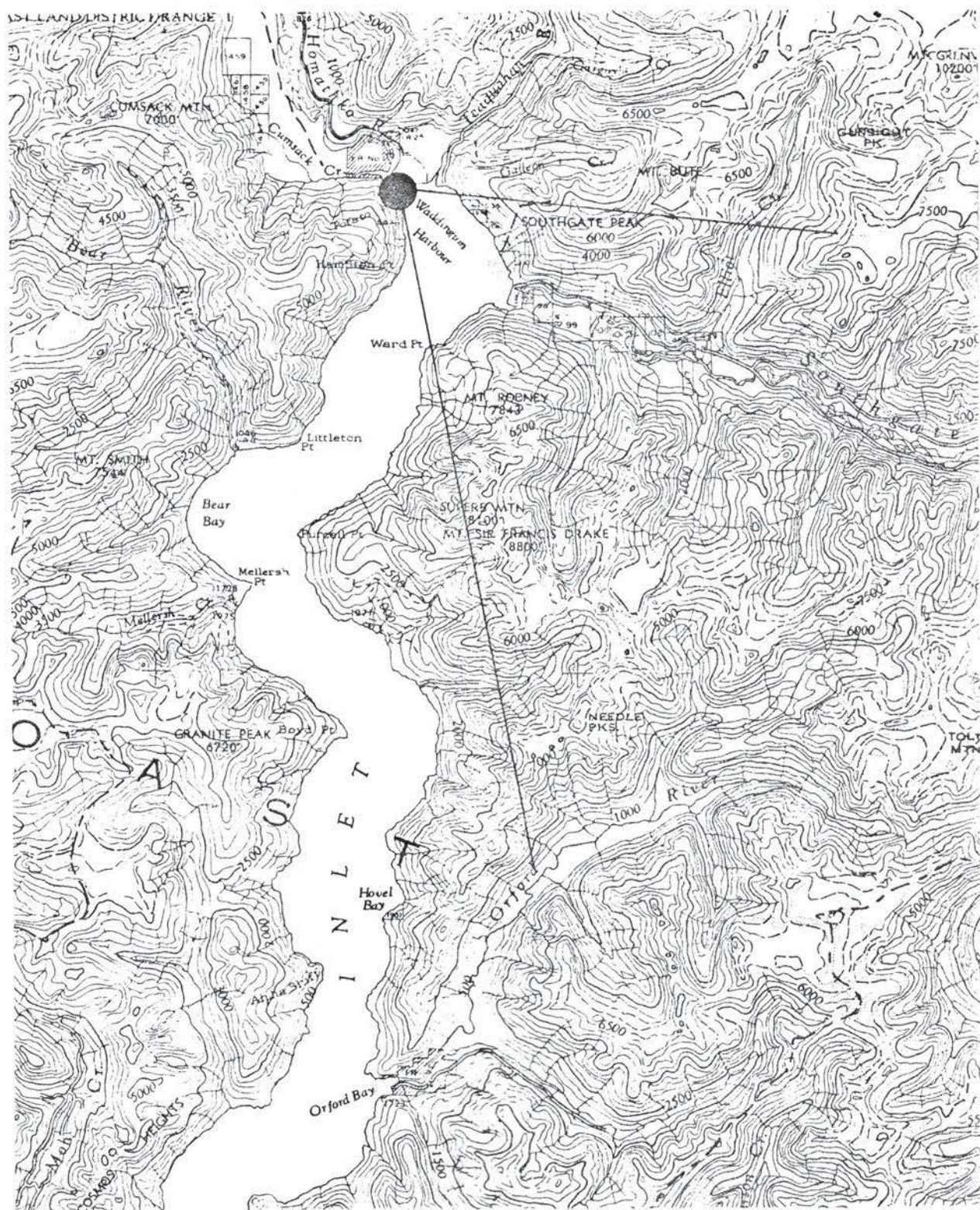
Bedwell joined the navy about 1847 and was promoted to the rank of Second Master in January 1855. He was appointed to the survey ship H.M.S. Plumper in this capacity in 1856.<sup>1</sup> The Plumper reached Vancouver Island in November 1857 and was used as a survey ship until December 1860. The crew was then transferred to a larger, more serviceable ship, the H.M.S. Hecate. Bedwell was promoted to the rank of Master in August 1860 and continued to serve with the Hecate until the ship returned to England in 1863. Throughout the six and one-half years of his service in the northwest Pacific Bedwell took on a large share of the detached duties of the survey. It would seem that an entry in a log book of the Plumper on September 3, 1859, "Cast off Penmace with twelve days provisions in charge of Wm. (E.E.) Bedwell 2nd Master,"<sup>2</sup> refers to this detached service.

The careful accuracy of the surveyor is evident in Bedwell's sketch View in Bute Inlet (Plate 12). A photograph (Plate 13) of the farthest inland point of Bute Inlet (fig. 2), taken in May 1976, when compared with Bedwell's

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<sup>1</sup>Memoirs of Hydrography, compiled by Commander L. S. Dawson. (Eastbourne: Henry W. Keay, The Imperial Library, 1883-1885).

<sup>2</sup>John Thomas E. Gowlland, entry in "Journals, Logs, etc. kept on Royal Navy Ships, 1853-1869," Roll 447A PABC.



● Viewpoint of Bedwell's sketch in Bute Inlet

Figure 2

sketch is an indication of his careful study and the faithful representation of what he saw. The mountain peak on the extreme right is that of Superb Mountain, to the left of which is Mount Rodney. Both the rugged peaks and the scarps and crevasses on the mountain sides indicated in Bedwell's sketch are recognizable in the photograph. To the far left is Southgate peak, the gradation of the slope, the bare rock and treed areas of its face as portrayed in the sketch are consistent with the same in the photograph. Between these prominent mountains, in the middle ground, is the mouth of the Southgate River. In the distance other peaks of the Coast Mountains are visible.

Details of the life and activity of the survey team are documented in the foreground. The ship in full sail is possibly one of the smaller ships attached to the Plumper survey expedition and used in detached duties as referred to in John Gowlland's log book. The boat in the foreground, manned by marines, was necessary for the navigation of areas which were not accessible to the larger ships. One member of the crew has a notebook in his hand, a second is holding an axe and a third is preparing what could be a signal. The signal has been set up at the high water mark which the tide had reached at the time the sketch was made; the photograph was taken at a time when the tide was much lower. At a short distance is what appears to be a coast Indian canoe.

The same detailed depiction of ships and canoes appears in the sketch Point Roberts, British Columbia (Plate

14). The smaller ship in full sail could be the one which also appears in View in Bute Inlet. The sketch is dated 1861 at which time the survey team had transferred to H.M.S. Hecate. The Hecate as indicated in the sketch The "Hecate" on Shore at Neah Bay painted by Bedwell,<sup>3</sup> had two masts; the large ship appearing in this sketch could therefore be the Hecate. The setting of the sketch was of significant interest at the time of Bedwell's service in the area. The first duty of the Plumper crew was to determine the exact point at which the 49th parallel met the sea. It was already known that this was in the vicinity of Point Roberts which was the destination of the Plumper's first mission. The sketch, dated three years later, provides visual documentation of the site.

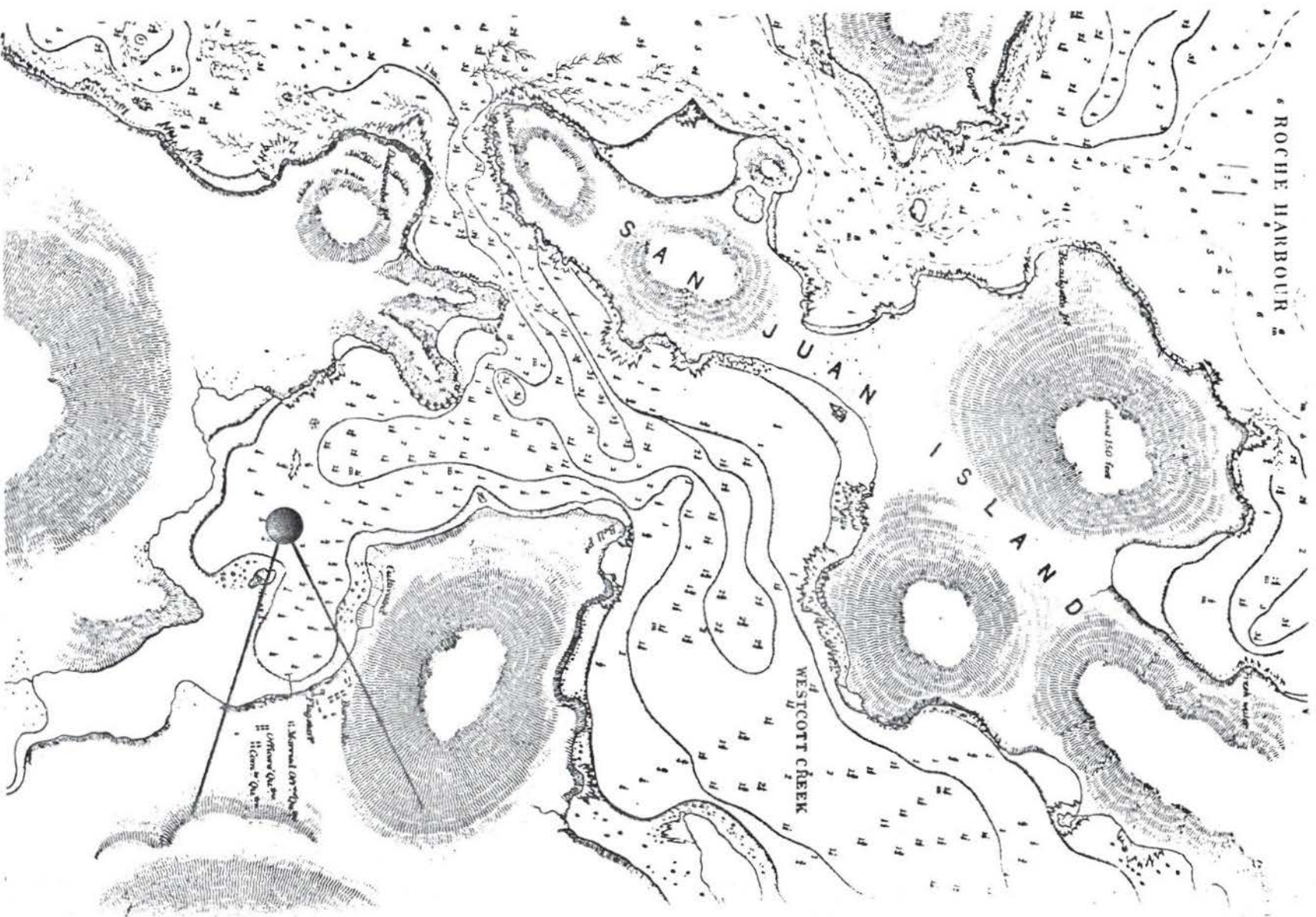
Bedwell's Roche Harbour, San Juan Island (Plate 15) is a sketch of the British camp at Roche Harbour. San Juan Island was an area of considerable controversy during Bedwell's term of service in the Pacific. Several incidents which led to friction between the British and the Americans in the area arose due to the unresolved sovereignty of the Island. A twelve-year term of joint occupation was agreed on, during which the marine boundary was to be settled. The site, now referred to as English Camp, was situated on Garrison Bay, an arm of Westcott Bay in the vicinity of

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<sup>3</sup>The Maritime Museum, Victoria, B.C. has a photograph of the sketch. The sketch is in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

Roche Harbour. The Royal Marine camp was established early in 1860, one year before the Bedwell sketch was made. The installations of the camp appear on an 1869 map of the area (fig 3). They are from left to right the barracks, the flag staff with the blockhouse directly in front of it at the water's edge, on higher ground and set back from the shore are the officers' quarters. What seems to be a pier jutting out into the water next to the blockhouse is also indicated on the map. The elevation behind the camp is Mount Young which rises 710 feet above sea level. The point of land and trees in the right foreground are probably Guss Island, a small island or large rock in Garrison Bay also indicated on the map. The map refers to the entire area as Roche Harbour with no reference to Garrison or Westcott Bay. Bedwell's title Roche Harbour, San Juan Island concurs with the name used on the map of the period. The names English Camp, Garrison Bay and Westcott Bay were probably applied to the area at a later date.

The foreground arrangements of ships, canoes, people and birds in these sketches provide the necessary module to indicate size and distance. In View in Bute Inlet the breadth of the extent of water is indicated by the diminishing size of the distant canoe. The occupants in the canoe indicate that it is the same size as the boat occupied by the surveyors in the foreground. The foreground details in Point Roberts, British Columbia serve the same purpose. These arrangements also serve to indicate the position of



ROCHE HARBOUR

SAN JUAN ISLAND

WESTCOTT CREEK

Viewpoint  
Office Quarters  
Com. Quarters

Viewpoint of Bedwell's sketch in Roche Harbour

Figure 3

the artist when making the sketch which was a consideration for both landscape painters and military surveyors. George Barnard states that when the rules of perspective are properly applied it will:

... at once be evident whether the sketch was taken from high or low ground, or whether more of the subject was to the right or to the left of the spectator.<sup>4</sup>

The need for the spectator to know the point from which a sketch is taken in military draughting is indicated by the directions in the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance, "the heading of the sketch should state the point from which it is sketched."<sup>5</sup> The photograph of View in Bute Inlet is indicative of Bedwell's consideration of this requirement.

The need for the surveyor's sketch to depict things as they are necessarily prohibits invention. However, with the aid of contemporary treatises on watercolor and landscape techniques, an aesthetic interpretation of Bedwell's work is possible. The foreground arrangements of ships, canoes, birds and people are those elements of the sketches which Phillips refers to as auxiliaries. Two criteria governing their use, suggested by Phillips, are the need for consistency in subject matter<sup>6</sup> and consideration for variety, interest and composition in their arrangement.

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<sup>4</sup>George Barnard, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>5</sup>Op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Op. cit., p. 19.

In considering the forms and the arrangement of objects, it must be observed that simplicity and variety should be the prevailing feature of a subject. It should not be so crowded as to produce confusion, nor so spare of objects as to be deficient of interest.<sup>7</sup>

Bedwell's foreground arrangements are never crowded, nor are they lacking in variety or interest and all the subject matter is consistent with the marine settings.

The use of reflections so prevalent in Bedwell's work is another compositional device of this genre. Reflections were used to add interest and contribute to the serenity of the scene. They break the sharp contrast of light and dark by providing a middle tone through the combination of the colors of the canoe, ship or building and the water in which they are reflected. Phillips refers to the

... "sharp cutting effect" which occurs when strong dark and light are placed in direct contact and when prevented will result in a mellow and richer effect.<sup>8</sup>

Uvedale Price in his *Essay on the Picturesque* states that the object of reflections is to soften the cold glare of water.<sup>9</sup> The delicate rose tint of sky and water in Point Roberts, British Columbia and Roche Harbour, San Juan Island is also referred to as a method whereby the cold blue and blue-green of sky and water can be softened. George Barnard refers to a wash of rose madder tint, which, though almost

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<sup>7</sup>G. F. Phillips, op. cit., p. 19.      <sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>p. 220.

imperceptible produces the effect of "a warm aerial glow" and "prevents the blues from looking positive and cold in color."<sup>10</sup> A second purpose served by the rose tinted wash is unity which in Barnard's words

... implies an harmonious connection of colours; thus one colour may be united to another, not by position and concord alone, but by some third condition; such as when a transparent glazing of colour passes equally over the two ...<sup>11</sup>

The tree framing the right side of the sketch Roche Harbour, San Juan Island is another compositional device common in landscape painting. While Bedwell's techniques reflect contemporary aesthetic considerations, the ships, canoes and people which comprise the foreground compositions and the point of land with the tree in the Roche Harbour sketch, are documentary. The point of land is Guss Island, the large ship in the sketch Point Roberts, British Columbia is H.M.S. Hecate and the several types of canoes appearing in Bedwell's sketches were well known on the Northwest Coast.

Studies of the canoes refer to their projecting bow and stern,<sup>12</sup> the height and length of which varied with the different tribes as indicated in a diagram of the principal types of canoes found on the Northwest Coast (fig. 4). The projecting elements and the outward curve of the gunwales served to repel wave crests and ward off the seas.

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<sup>10</sup>George Barnard, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>12</sup>E. Y. Arima, A Report on a West Coast Whaling Canoe Reconstructed at Port Renfrew, B.C. (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1974).

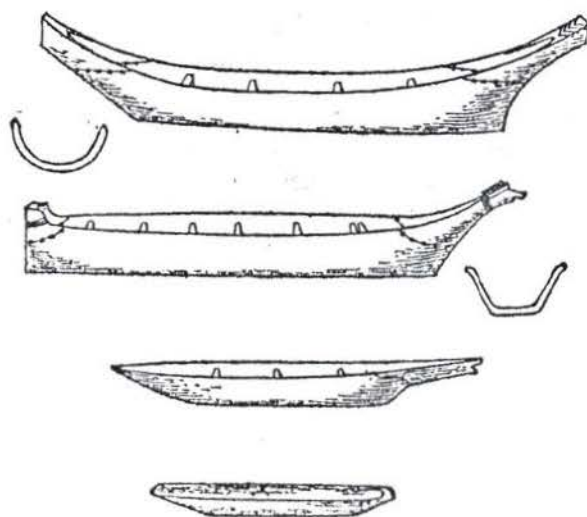


Fig. 14A. These are the principal types of canoes found on the Northwest Coast. All are shown with the bow to the right, the stern to the left. At the top is the "Northern" type and directly below, that of the Nootka. Beside each is a cross-section amidships, showing the important structural differences. Both these canoes were made in various sizes and proportions. For example, a seal-hunting canoe intended to carry two or three men swiftly and silently over the water would have the same general outline but be smaller and narrower than one intended to carry large quantities of freight or a war party. The third example is a Coast Salish version of the "Northern" type with low bow and stern, for travel on sheltered waters. The last is a small "shovelnose" canoe used by many groups for river travel.

Figure 4

Philip Drucker in his study of the Indian canoe refers to the zoomorphic appearance of some of the prow pieces.<sup>13</sup> Though his informants denied any representational intent, the nomenclature suggests that the resemblance was recognized. The uppermost points were called the "ears", the forward projection "tongue sticking out", and the area just below the head-like portion, "throat". The canoes in Bedwell's sketches of Bute Inlet and Roche Harbour appear to be Nootka canoes, while the one in the Point Roberts sketch resembles the Coast Salish version (fig. 4).

The engraving Canoe with Indians (Plate 17) and three other Bedwell sketches: H.M.S. Plumper in Port Hardy,

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John Brandlmayr, "The West Coast Dugout," The Rudder (June, 1948), p. 16, 17, 64, 65.

Wilson Duff, "Thoughts on the Nootka Canoe," in B.C. Provincial Museum Report (1964).

Philip Drucker, The North and Central Nootka Tribes, Bulletin 144 (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1949).

\_\_\_\_\_, Indians of the Northwest Coast (New York: The Natural History Press, 1955).

George Durham, "Canoes from Cedar Logs: a study of early types and designs," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 46, No. 2 (April 1955), p. 33-39.

T. T. Waterman and Geraldine Coffin, Types of Canoes on Puget Sound (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920).

For additional bibliographical material see E. Y. Arima, op. cit., and T. T. Waterman, et al, op. cit.; these two studies include comprehensive bibliographies.

<sup>13</sup>The North and Central Nootka Tribes, p. 83.

Hospital Point, Esquimalt Harbour, Vancouver Island and Part of the Boundary Line between the United States and British Columbia, with Mount Baker in the Distance, were published in the March 1, 1862, issue of The Illustrated London News. The canoe is the type usually referred to as the freight canoe which was used in moving from one station to another with all the family gear. The construction of the packing hampers and manner of dress have been carefully observed and documented. The head of the man in the bow of the canoe appears to have been subjected to the flattening process practised by several tribes of the area. Finally the paddles fit Philip Drucker's description of a paddle used in the area, the shaft of which was flattish at the top, narrowing and becoming rounded at the grip, and then widening to an elliptical blade which tapered to a slender point.<sup>14</sup> The minute depiction of ship rigging and other details in Bedwell's sketches are followed by the engravers who carefully depict the textures of the hampers, hats and capes in the Canoe with Indians. The depiction of the Indians concurs with contemporary visual and written records.<sup>15</sup> While the lithographed reproductions of Warre's

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968), first published by (London: Lonman et al, 1859).

John Mears, Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the Northwest Coast of America, Vol. II (London, 1791).

work tend to romanticize, the engravings of Bedwell's work emphasize the documentary aspect.

A brief inscription "to Miss Douglas with Mr. B's compliments" on the back of the sketch Nanaimo (Plate 16), is an indication that some of Bedwell's work was distributed among local residents. Engravings of his sketches were published in the Illustrated London News already referred to and possibly other periodicals. R. C. Mayne, a fellow officer on the Plumper, used them to illustrate his book.<sup>16</sup> However, as in Mayne's book, individual attribution was rarely made in personal publications; for this reason it is impossible to trace all the published sketches.

After leaving the Pacific Bedwell was appointed chief assistant to Captain F. W. Sidney on the coast survey of New South Wales where he remained until 1866. He was next appointed to take charge of the survey of Queensland during which, in 1870, he was promoted to the rank of Staff Commander. He returned to England from the Queensland survey in 1880 and retired from the navy in 1883. He died on June 30, 1919. Bedwell Harbour off the coast of Vancouver Island, Bedwell Bay in Burrard Inlet, Bedwell Sound, an arm of Clayoquot Sound, and Bedwell Islets, a group of small islets in Quatsino Sound, were named for him.

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John Webber, artist on Captain Cook's voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1785, cited in Michael Bell, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>16</sup>Op. cit.

## Chapter 4

JOHN C. WHITE R.E.

British involvement in the affairs of their Pacific possession grew only in proportion to the demand exerted by local development. The military reconnaissance of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour was organized in response to a territorial dispute. In 1854, during the war with Russia, a naval hospital was built at Esquimalt to receive casualties from Petropoilovski, and Esquimalt became a naval base. The extensive hydrographic surveys which brought E. P. Bedwell to the area were the outcome of a further development in the chain of events involving the territorial boundary. Until reports of the discovery of gold reached the outside world, British traffic to the colony, with the exception of the fur trade interests, was mainly military. And it would appear that the involvement of the British Colonial Office came only with persistent pleas from Governor Douglas.

The first major influx of miners to reach Victoria and the mainland gold fields came from California. In response to Governor Douglas' requests for assistance,<sup>1</sup> and the determination of the Colonial Office to enforce

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<sup>1</sup>Walter N. Sage, Sir James Douglas and British Columbia (University of Toronto Press, 1930), p. 210.

respect for British law in the territory,<sup>2</sup> a corps of Royal Engineers was sent. This force was not sent primarily for military purposes but to a greater extent for their scientific and practical abilities. Their duties included the building of their own living quarters, the surveying and laying out of townsites and road and bridge construction. To encourage settlement in the colony, provision was made whereby, after five years of service, members of the corps could obtain a land grant. Most of the non-commissioned members of the force did remain. One of those remaining was the draughtsman, architect and artist Second Corporal John C. White.

White was born in England on November 25, 1835. Details of his early life are unavailable; however, cadets destined for the Royal Engineers at that time attended the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.<sup>3</sup> White may therefore have received early training at Woolwich. The Royal Engineer Establishment at Chatham was responsible for the training of officers and men of that corps. This establishment was instituted in 1812 and in 1833 added the course in surveying taught at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, to its own course in Practical Architecture.

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<sup>2</sup>Margaret Ormsby, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup>Personal correspondence, Lieut-Colonel J. E. South - Librarian, Royal Engineers Corps Library, The Institute of Royal Engineers, Chatham, Kent, U.K.

Under a Royal Warrant dated July 1, 1850 the objectives of the establishment are described as:

... including Surveying, Topographical Drawing, and Practical Architecture: and since the date of that Warrant, courses of instruction in Photography, and Chemistry have been made available to the officers and men.<sup>4</sup>

The course of instruction indicates that those who showed an aptitude for drawing entered a drawing school and went on to more advanced training.

The men selected to enter the drawing school begin by constructing scales, and practising printing; they then draw sections and plans of fieldworks and permanent fortifications and when they have acquired some facility in the use of drawing instruments, they are taught to make plans, elevations, and sections of articles of furniture or models, or buildings, from actual measurements.

...  
A selection is made from the men who are in the advanced class and in the drawing school, and who have completed their course of fieldworks, for the special schools of topography, chemistry, photography and telegraphy....<sup>5</sup>

This extensive program with its stress on drawing was followed at the time when White was of training age. In the introductory chapter to the History of the Corps of Royal Engineers<sup>6</sup> Whitworth Porter refers to a quote from The World, a newspaper which some ten years earlier, in an

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<sup>4</sup>Colonel H. D. Harness, C.D., R.E., Director, revision, Synopsis of the Course of Instruction, for Officers and Men, at the Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham (1863).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup>Vol. I (London: Green and Company, 1889), p. 4.

article on the "Scientific Soldier," gave them credit for, among other things, administering the art training of the nation.

J. C. White arrived in the colony with the last contingent of Colonel Moody's Royal Engineers. The section was under the command of Captain H. R. Luard and consisted of the main body of non-commissioned officers and men plus 31 women and 34 children. They travelled by way of Cape Horn, arriving at Esquimalt Harbour six months later on April 12, 1859. This enforced period of idleness gave rise to the publication of The Emigrant Soldier's Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle. The paper was read every Saturday to the assembled company by Captain Luard. A theatrical group was formed under the direction of Corporal Howse who called himself the manager of the Theatre Royal. The theatrical performances were continued when the group were settled in their camp at Sapperton in British Columbia. A theatre was built and each winter from November until March members of the corps presented light drama in it. These productions drew on the artistic talent of White, who did stage sets for the Theatre Royal on board the Thames City and at Sapperton.<sup>7</sup> White's artistic talent gained him the honour of the letters R.A. following his name in the text of a

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<sup>7</sup>Francis M. Woodward, "The Influence of the Royal Engineers on the Development of British Columbia," B.C. Studies, No. 24 (Winter 1974-75), p. 48.

poem titled Huthlicaut's Weddin' written by Corporal Sinnett. The poem was written and read on board the Thames City and printed in the Emigrant Soldier's Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle.<sup>8</sup> Judging by the nature of the poem the R.A. could have been a jesting compliment since J. C. White is not listed with the Royal Academy exhibitors apparently never having exhibited with the Academy.<sup>9</sup>

During the five-year period of service with the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, White was involved

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<sup>8</sup>(March 4, 1859).

Huthlicaut's Weddin'

1 I'll sing ye lads a Falkland sang,  
 Wi' thumpin' chorus loud an' lang,  
 I'll tell ye o' the gleesome thrang  
                   At Huthlicaut's braw weddin' O.  
 The first that cam' was Geordie Cann,  
 Then Osment too and Wolfenden,  
 Wi' Jock McMurphy, Dick Bridgemen,  
                   Cam' skippin' to the weddin' O.

Chorus There beauty's smiles baith blithe an' brau  
 Wad grace a palace, cot or ha'  
 Fair dimpled chooks wi' out a flau,  
                   At Huthlicaut's brau weddin' O.

3 There was short wee Flux and tall Whitmore,  
 O' rantin' blades some two three score,  
 Munro and Digby, Hand and Soar  
                   Cam' all to join the weddin' O.  
 There was White, R.A., and "brudder" Yates.  
 The bairns whe ha' the brinflu' pates,  
 And Howell climerin' oure the gates,  
                   Was no behint the weddin' O.

<sup>9</sup>Algernon Graves, F.S.A., The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work, from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904, 4 Vols. (S.R. Publishers Ltd. & Kingsmead Reprints).

with at least two of the major buildings erected by the corps. These were the Government House at New Westminster, built for Colonel Moody, and the Museum for the Exhibition of British Columbia Produce. The first part of Colonel Moody's house was finished in September 1859. During this first summer in the Colony, White was probably occupied with the construction of this house. Drawings of plans for the house are signed by White. The plan for the Exhibition Museum is signed by White and several others including Colonel Moody. Copies of the plans are in the PABC.

After the corps disbanded, White was engaged in designing and building an addition to Colonel Moody's house for Governor Seymour. That same year, 1864, he also designed St. Mary's Church at Sapperton. The following summer and autumn he was in Hope where he worked as a clerk with the Department of Lands and Works.<sup>10</sup>

His painting of the village of Hope (Plate 18) dated January 30, 1866, may indicate that he was still a resident there. Hope was at this time gaining in importance as a cross-road between river navigation and the overland routes to the Interior. The Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Hope at this site in 1848-9 making it the terminal for their Brigade Trail. When gold was discovered on the upper Fraser River, Yale, being the head of navigation, gained in importance. But the discoveries of

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<sup>10</sup>Lands and Works Note Book, 1865, Colonial Correspondance 963s, 963t, P.A.B.C.

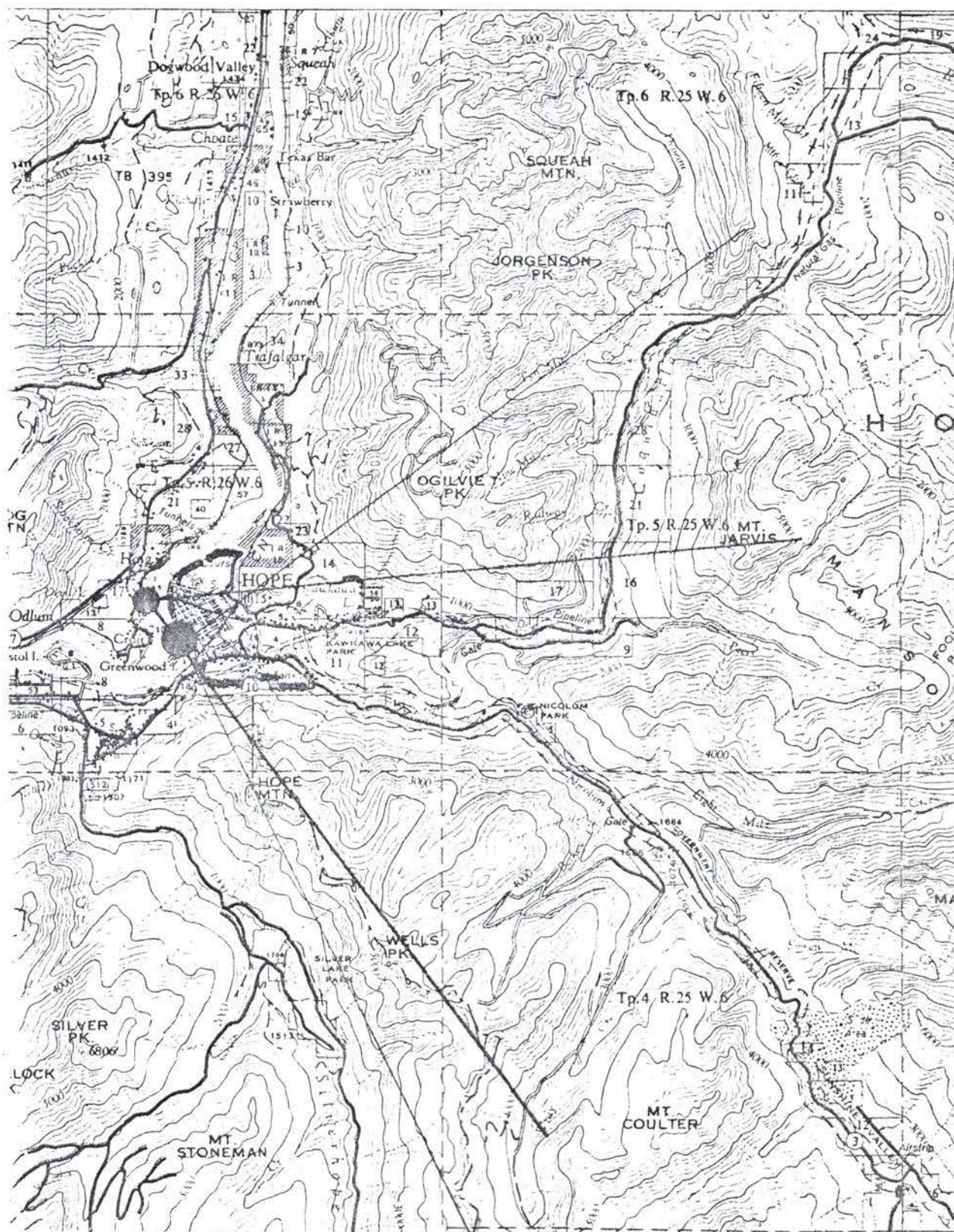
gold at Rock Creek in 1860 restored prominence to the village of Hope.

A photograph of the river bank and background mountains with a few buildings visible among the trees (Plate 19) was taken from the Fraser River bridge at Hope. The viewpoints of the photographer and the painter vary slightly (fig. 5), but the setting is the same. The two conical hills in the centre of White's painting appear to the left of centre in the photograph. This shift accounts for the slight difference in their appearance. The snow-capped peak at the extreme left in White's painting is possibly Mount Ogelvie and to the right of the conical hills is another peak which would seem to be MacLeod Peak.

Further evidence of the documentary nature of White's work is the tree with the grave box and the church, one to the right and the other to the left of centre in the picture plane. Burial in a grave house or grave box was practised by the Stalo Indians who inhabited the area. Large family grave boxes, often ten feet long, some with pitched roofs were placed in trees.<sup>10</sup> The village of Hope boasted a church as early as 1861 when Christ Church was built. The plotting of the viewpoint for White's painting of the town of Hope, like Bedwell's sketches, is an indication of his adherence to the dictates of both military draughting and landscape painting treatises.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Wilson Duff, Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of British Columbia (Victoria: Provincial Museum 1953), p. 49.



● Viewpoint of White's painting of Hope

● Viewpoint of the photograph

Figure 5

The use of pencil outlines, which was considered the first step in landscape painting by treatise writers and for field sketching in military academies, is evident in this painting. The outline is visible along the mountain tops indicating that the lines were used to establish the relative positions of significant topographical features. The use of opaque color seems to be a distinguishing trait in White's work when compared with its limited use by both Bedwell and Warre. In the painting of Hope transparent color is used mainly in the foreground shadows and the foliage; opaque color predominates throughout the picture plane. Because it characteristically blocks out any previous application of color, opaque color conveys a more substantial effect than transparent color does. White's work therefore has a more enduring appearance and seems to fall into the category of a painting rather than a sketch. The use of both opaque and transparent color are, however, technical devices referred to in the watercolor and landscape painting treatises. The most concise is George Barnard's dictum of "always keeping in view the necessity for transparency in the shadows and opacity in the lights."<sup>12</sup> The application of lacquer in White's work, however, may indicate an interest in approximating oil paint with water-

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<sup>11</sup>Op. cit., p. 6, 54.

<sup>12</sup>Op. cit. (London: Wm. S. Orr & Co., Amen Corner, Paternoster Row, 1855), p. 113.

color, an interest also attributed to Paul Sandby.<sup>13</sup> The use of lacquer for this purpose is expressed by Martin Hardy in Water-colour Painting in Britain: The Eighteenth Century.

Using varnish for water-colour pictures . . . , the shadows will be increased in strength and clearness, expressing depth, obscurity and space as great as can be attained in oil.<sup>14</sup>

White's use of lacquer, or varnish, in the shadows of his painting of Hope may therefore be interpreted as evidence that it was his aim to approximate the qualities associated with oil paint and produce work with more affinity to oil painting.

The combination of opaque and transparent color is continued in the Western Union Telegraph Album. In these 28 small sketches opaque color is used in the background but transparent color predominates. Though the sketches are not without aesthetic consideration, the more extensive use of transparent color gives the work a more immediate appearance implying less concern for effect. The sketches are all signed "J. C. White" indicating his association with the Telegraph Company at this time, though no record of his appointment with the company is extant. The sketches are studies from the life of the company employees working north from Quesnel during the summer of 1866. The album

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<sup>13</sup>Op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>14</sup>Ed. by Snelgrove, Mayne and Taylor (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966).

provides a visual supplement to the various documents dealing with the activities of the company during that summer. In a letter to his superior, dated October 29, 1866, E. Conway who was in charge of the British Columbia extension of the company's operations states:

Completed four hundred and forty miles of trail, average cutting twenty feet wide. Constructed three hundred and ninety miles of line. Built sixteen stations and have on hand at Fort Stager large quantity of supplies. My party averaged sixty white men, thirty-two Chinamen and twenty Indians. One third of this force were constantly transporting supplies.<sup>15</sup>

Four sketches from the album included here are number six (Plate 20), number sixteen (Plate 21), number seventeen (Plate 22) and number twenty-five (plate 23).

In the night camp (Plate 20) the workmen, gathered around their camp fires, form two distinct groups. One group is easily recognized as Chinese by their coolie hats. The separate fires may have been a matter of preference, or it may have been the outcome of the military organization followed by the company. Tents, bails of wire, a telegraph pole already strung, fill in the details of the telegraph crew's camp. The outdoor kitchen, complete with Chinese cook, is documented in (Plate 21). The log-cabin is one of the many cabins which had to be built, referred to in Conway's letter, for later maintenance purposes. The need for pack animals, which are included in the sketch, was

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<sup>15</sup>Conway Letter Book, p. 351, J I C76.2, PABC.

constant since all supplies had to be transported over great distances without the aid of roads. The lake behind the camp and the mountain peak at the left edge of the picture are continuous with the same elements in Plate 22. Here workmen are in the process of stacking hay near the log-cabin appearing in Plate 21. The hay-making scene is indicative of the abundant supply of animal feed found in the Bulkley Valley which is referred to in annals of the period. Steven Redgrave, while in the service of the Telegraph Company, made entries in his diary referring to cutting hay and making hay-ricks and transporting materials and supplies along the route to Kispiox.

July 25	Wet day nothing doing get Scythes prepared for hay cutting & c.
July 26	commenced mowing.
July 28	Set 7 Indians to work clearing place for building Stables attending Ha- & c - & Indians all day. Butler making Rakes & c & c. <sup>16</sup>

Kispiox was an Indian village on the Skeena River at the mouth of Kispiox Creek, a few miles above the mouth of the Bulkley River. It was here that Conway built the Western Union Company's Fort Stager, the terminal of the telegraph line.

A final painting from the Telegraph Album (Plate 23) shows the telegraph line and trail through an abandoned Indian village. In the foreground is a grave box in the

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<sup>16</sup>Diary of H. S. Redgrave, June 15 to October 7, 1866, E B R24A, PABC.

form of a killer-whale. Imagery of the killer-whale was predominant with the coast Indians.<sup>17</sup> The territory of the Tsimshian, a tribe of coast Indians, extends along the Skeena River from its mouth to Hazelton and Kispiox.<sup>18</sup> The building of grave houses on four posts and the raising of individual grave boxes on a single pole is referred to by Daniel Harman in Sixteen Years in the Indian Country.

The people on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, erect buildings, in which they deposit the ashes and bones of their dead ... On these boards which are about an inch thick they paint images to represent the sun, moon, stars and different kinds of animals. Within these buildings the remains of the dead are contained in boxes, of different dimensions which in some instances, stand on the top of one upright post, and in other cases are supported by four. The paints which they use, in describing the figures on these buildings, consist of black and red stones, which they grind fine, and of a yellow and red earth. These substances they mix with glue, which they obtain by boiling the feet of the buffaloe or from the inside of sturgion where these fish are in plenty. They put on their paints with a brush, made of the hair which they take from the leg of the moose.<sup>19</sup>

This painting coming near the end of the album can also be placed near the end of the telegraph line reached in 1866, the Kispiox area.

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<sup>17</sup>Franz Boas, Primitive Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), p. 194, 195.

<sup>18</sup>Wilson Duff, The Impact of the White Man, Vol. I of The Indian History of British Columbia (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1964), p. 18.

<sup>19</sup>W. Kaye Lamb, ed. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1957), p. 225.

The abandoned Indian Village, like the painting Hope, British Columbia, is evidence of the influence of British landscape aesthetic in White's work. The ruins of the village are half-hidden by vegetation which has grown through the remaining frameworks and enclosed the whole to the eaves. The appeal of overgrown and half-hidden ruins for the advocates of the picturesque lay in the power of suggestion inherent in the ambiguous. Price refers to the stimulating effect of partial concealment which in his definition of the picturesque necessitates an extension of the term variation to include intricacy.<sup>20</sup> The general ambiguity of the scene is increased by the lowering stormy sky. The loss of detail in the moonlit camp scene (Plate 20) suggests the same interest observed in the abandoned village. The use of stronger light in the foreground of the night camp follows Phillips' suggestion

... and the foreground in such cases must be reserved for the stronger light and more evident display of forms or details.<sup>21</sup>

This quote from Phillips is a continuation of his discussion of "Objects of a vast and sublime character" applied to Warre's work.<sup>22</sup> Though White's color contrasts are not strong, nor are his people overpowered by the landscape as Warre's are, an interest in achieving certain effects is apparent.

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<sup>20</sup>Op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>21</sup>G. F. Phillips, op.cit., p.24.

<sup>22</sup>Op. cit., p. 33.

The sketches Regimental Corporal Major Honeybone - Alias Sweet Ribs (Plate 24)<sup>23</sup> and Boy with a Bubble (Plate 25) indicate White's interest in the portrayal of people. In the painting Hope, British Columbia the people are introduced to establish scale and indicate a road. The same is true in some of the sketches in the Telegraph Album, such as the hunters in the abandoned Indian village. The other depictions of people in the album document the activities of the telegraph crew. The representation of the physical topography seems to be secondary, serving as the setting for the documentation of human activity. While the emphasis on human activity is the natural outcome of documentation, White's interest in the representation of people is evident in his work which concentrates entirely on people such as the sketches of the Regimental Corporal and the boy with the bubble. In the drawing of the Regimental Corporal a rather corpulent gentleman stands at attention with his shoulders back and his hand on his hip. But overriding the major's attempt at dignity is the

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<sup>23</sup>The attribution of the drawing Regimental Corporal Major Honeybone - Alias Sweet Ribs to J. C. White was made on the basis of the signature J.C.W. and a comparison of the handwriting on the drawing with other examples of White's writing. Reasons for questioning the attribution are the date and the use of initials only in the signature. It will be noted that the form of the signature used in all the other work is J. C. White. At the time of the date on the drawing, 1875, White was living in California, and was no longer a member of a military company, which, of course, does not rule out the possibility of sketching a major but it does lessen the possibility.

evidence of his weakness which has gained him the "Alias Sweet Ribs", a nickname obviously derived from the name Honeybone. In the Boy with a Bubble attention is drawn to the preoccupation of a boy in his attempt to prolong the life of his huge bubble. His hat has fallen to the floor as he throws his head back to blow at the descending bubble. The bubble has now reached the point at which the boy must step back onto his hat to allow the bubble to float to the floor or let it burst in his face. The irony of the situation is that while trying to prolong the life of his soap bubble, the boy is losing the very substance from which the bubble came. In these two sketches White's observation of human nature is expressed with an aptitude for the representation of its foibles.

White's popularity with his contemporaries is indicated by the complimentary R.A. placed after his name in Sinnett's poem Huthlicaut's Weddin'. His interest in painting is evident in the use of a wide range of the techniques landscape painters were exploring at that time; but there is no indication that his work was published either as a private collection or for the purpose of illustration. At the present time the known products of his surveys are several maps <sup>24</sup> and the Western Union Telegraph Album.

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<sup>24</sup>Op. cit. p. 134, maps.

White left British Columbia, with his wife and children, sometime during the year 1867. From then until his death he lived in San Francisco where he worked as an architectural draftsman and was also known as an artist and architect. He died at the home of his granddaughter in Berkeley in 1907.

## Chapter 5

## FREDERICK WHYMPER

The discovery of gold responsible for the influx of miners, businessmen and the addition of law enforcement personnel, also stimulated a burst of activity in publication. A number of books and articles appeared relating travels and experience in the colony. Some were travel journals, others appealed directly to the British populace interested in emigration. When E. P. Bedwell's sketches were published in The Illustrated London News in 1862 an accompanying article listed "many inducements to intending emigrants." Among the stream of emigrants drawn to the colony that year was a professional illustrator, Frederick Whympier. During his period of residence in the colony he travelled both to areas which were centres of activity and other areas then under exploration. His activities differ from those of the military draftsmen whose subject matter for sketches was determined by the location of their duties. Whympier, who was a free agent and dependent on the acceptance of his work by the public for his livelihood, went about actively seeking engagements which would offer opportunities to illustrate newsworthy items or satisfy local interest in the landscape of the as yet unexplored areas.

Frederick Whympier was born in 1838. His father was

Josiah Wood Whymper, a well-known London engraver. Both parents were watercolorists and exhibited at the Royal Academy of Art. Whymper was himself an exhibitor with the Academy and is listed as a painter in The Royal Academy Exhibitors<sup>1</sup> with entries in 1859, 1860 and 1861. He was also co-author, with his father and brother, of travel journals prior to his coming to the Colony.

Whymper left England in June, 1862 and travelling on the steamer Tynemouth reached Victoria in the autumn. During the following two summers he made several journeys to various parts of British Columbia and Vancouver Island.

The first of these journeys, in 1863, was to the British Columbia Interior. Five years later when he published his book Travels and Adventures in the Territory of Alaska,<sup>2</sup> in which he also related his experiences in the British Colony, he referred to this journey only briefly. To reach the Interior he went by way of the newly built Cariboo road and saw "lakes, forests, 'ranches' and roadside houses."<sup>3</sup> His main objective was apparently to visit the Cariboo gold fields. In a letter of application written the following year Whymper refers to drawings made for many claim holders and mining companies in the upper country, that is, the Cariboo.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Algernon Graves, F.S.A., 4 Volumes (S.R. Publishers Ltd. & Kingsmead Reprints, 1904).

<sup>2</sup>Frederick Whymper, op. cit.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

The sketch Williams Creek from the Canyon to Middle Town (Plate 26) is a product of the Cariboo journey. Gold was found on Williams Creek above the canyon at Richfield in 1861. Billy Barker's rich strike was made below the canyon in September 1862. The strike was made after sinking a shaft deep into the clay of the stream bed. Middle Town, the settlement referred to in the title of Whympers sketch, was later named Barkerville for Billy Barker.<sup>5</sup>

The topographical accuracy of Whympers sketch is evident when compared with the same in Frederick Dally's photograph (Plate 27). Dally's photograph of Barkerville has been dated 1868, before the fire which swept the village that same year. In the interim, 1863 to 1868, the hills have been stripped of trees. The breadth of the valley, and the delineation of the hills on either side of the valley and the distant mountains are consistent with the same in the photograph. Winding through the centre of the sketch is Williams Creek. Dotted in the valley on either side of the creek are the shanties and installations of the miners working their claims. Because the "pay dirt" at Barkerville lay below the stream bed, shafts had to be sunk to reach it. The flooding of the shafts and subsequent

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<sup>4</sup>Robert Brown Collection, Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition, Applications Received, 1864, A E B8a, PABC.

<sup>5</sup>The Victoria Times, July 12, 1894.

pumping off of the water is reported in a letter from Williams Creek to The Daily British Colonist.<sup>6</sup>

Crowds are arriving every day and starting work.

...  
The Never Sweat Company have sunk a new shaft adjoining the Caledonia Company, and have bottomed but on account of being troubled with water were obliged to erect an over-shot wheel, which was completed yesterday; they expect to have the shaft pumped dry in a day or two.

The flumes in the middle distance brought water from the hillside to drive the overshot wheels, which in turn pumped water from the mine shafts near the stream bed. In the foreground, the groups of men using the windlass are probably digging shafts. On the left mining timbers have been collected in preparation for lining the shafts to prevent them from caving in. The sketch could be an example of the sketches of claims which Whympier made for mining companies and individual claim holders.

Travelling along the Fraser River on the way to or returning from the Cariboo, Whympier saw the Indian Burying Ground, Boston Bar (Plate 28). The identifying objects of the burial ground are the blankets in the foreground; blankets were brought to funerals and given at potlatch by the Indians of this area.<sup>7</sup> The blankets of the Fraser River Indians appealed to the first Europeans who came in contact with them. Simon Fraser observed that

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<sup>6</sup>May 12, 1864, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Wilson Duff, op. cit., (1953), p. 88.

They make rugs, of Dog's hair, that have stripes of different colours crossing at right angles resembling at a distance Highland plaid.<sup>8</sup>

In his sketch Whympers has documented the geometric patterns observed by Simon Fraser.

Whympers' comments on the Indians of British Columbia and Vancouver Island were at no time flattering. He questioned the existence of, "the painted and much adorned native with lofty sentiments"<sup>9</sup> suggesting that the view was probably based on myth. The sketch of the burying ground was not a product of sentiment, as Warre's Indian Tomb on the Cowlitz River (Plate 4) was, but only a documentation of an aspect of Indian culture which deviated from European practices.

On December 1, 1963 the Daily British Colonist, under the heading Fine Arts, reported that

Mr. F. Whympers has shown us some very neat water-colour sketches of scenes in Cariboo and along the wagon road taken by him during the past season. We understand he intends taking them to England where they will be given to the public. Mr. Whympers will be glad to supply copies of the sketches to any parties wishing to procure them.

During his two and one-half year residence in the colony Whympers received newspaper coverage on several occasions. The above reference to his work appearing under the heading Fine Arts is indicative of the level with which the reporter

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<sup>8</sup>W. Kay Lamb, ed., The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806-1808 (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, reprint 1966), p. 101.

<sup>9</sup>Frederick Whympers, op. cit., p. 36.

associated Whympers work. Whympers offer to supply copies of his sketches to anyone wishing to procure them evidently did meet with some measure of success. In a letter of application to the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition Committee he states:

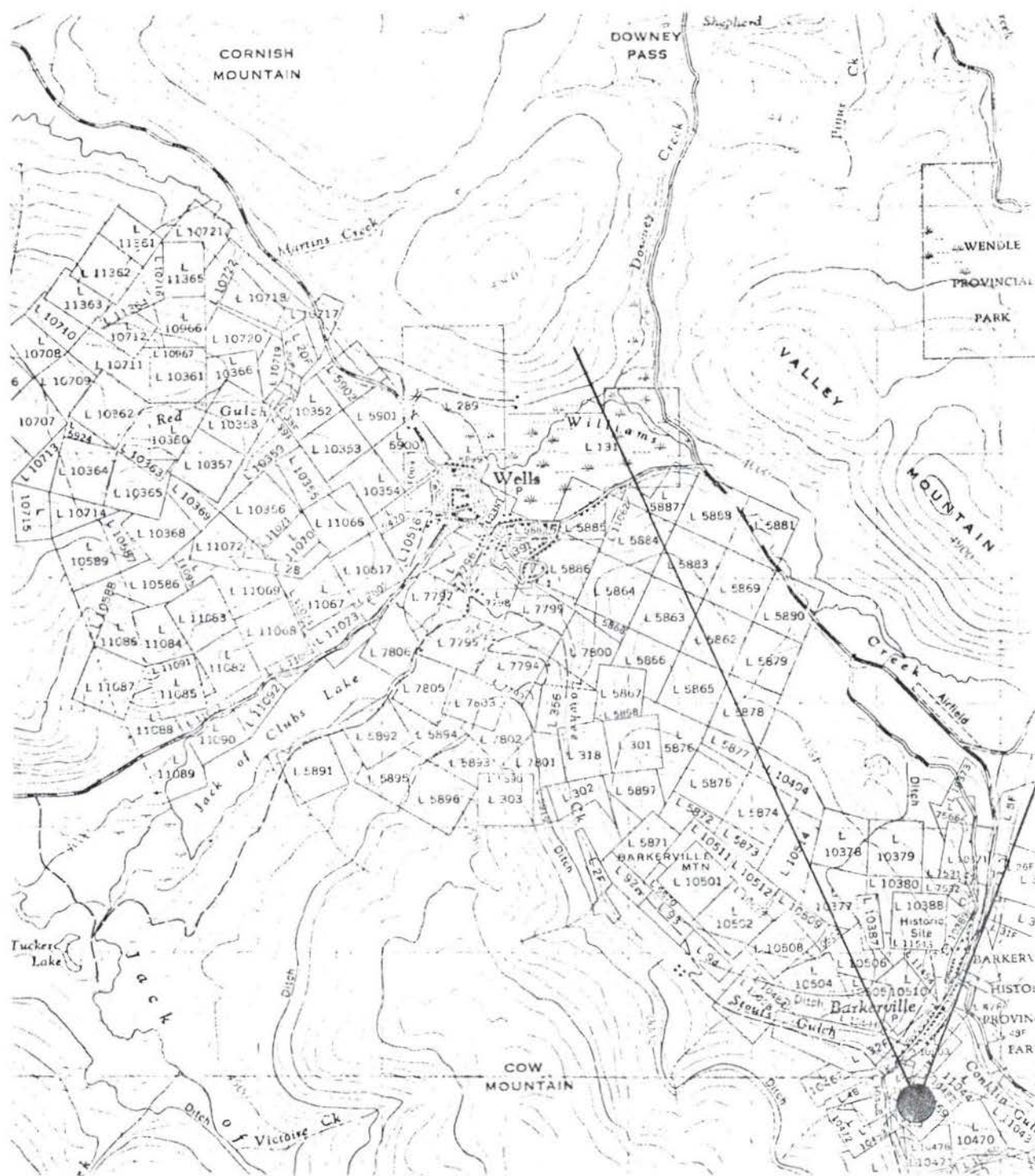
I have had the honour of making sketches and sets of drawings for Mr. Justice Begbie, Lord Milton, Honorable Donald Fraser and Mr. Burnaby, the Ven. Archdeacon Wright, the Rev. Sheepshanks, Brown & Co. and many claim holders and mining companies in the upper country.<sup>10</sup>

The two sketches Williams Creek from the Canyon to Middle Town and Indian Burying Ground, Boston Bar are examples of both the documentary and artistic nature of Whympers work. The former is documentary, concerned with representing mining activities, and meets certain specifications for documentary sketching stated in the Manual of Field Sketching and Reconnaissance.<sup>11</sup> The sketch is basically an outline drawing with minimal shading which is most prominent in the foreground. The heavy foreground shadow indicates the elevation of land from which the sketch has been taken. The same is evident in Frederick Dally's photograph which has been taken from the same vantage point (fig. 6). Contrasting the use of sepia and outlines in the Williams Creek sketch is the use of color in the Indian Burying Ground, Boston Bar. In place of the

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<sup>10</sup>Robert Brown Collection, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Op. cit., p. 6.



● Probable viewpoint of the Barkerville sketch and photograph

Figure 6

panoramic view of Williams Creek the sketch of the burying ground is spacially limited. Atmospheric perspective is indicated by the judicious use of watercolor techniques, but the background trees effectively limit the view to the burying ground. The addition of extraneous detail in the foreground has also been avoided by the use of the oval format which is emphasized by the signature at its lower edge. The dictum of "opacity in the lights and transparency in the shadows" is also followed by Whymp<sup>er</sup>.<sup>12</sup>

In mid-March 1864 Whymp<sup>er</sup> travelled to the glaciers in the vicinity of Bute Inlet and the Homathco River. Hoping, among other things, to provide a more direct route between the coast and the upper Fraser and Cariboo gold fields, Mr. Alfred Waddington, a Victoria businessman, was at this time building a road from Bute Inlet inland. Whymp<sup>er</sup> made the journey at the instigation of Waddington who asked him to make sketches of the scenery along the route, Waddington intended to send the sketches to England.<sup>13</sup> When Whymp<sup>er</sup> visited the area in 1864, road construction was in its second season. He travelled with Mr. Waddington's road crew, leaving Victoria on March 16 on a schooner with men and supplies bound for Bute Inlet. On reaching the farthest camp of the construction party,

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<sup>12</sup>Op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>13</sup>Victoria, The Daily British Colonist, March 16, 1864, p. 3.

Whympers left the road crew and with an Indian guide made his way to a glacier at some distance from the camp. For several weeks he worked in this manner, sketching along the existing road and moving in the company of the road builders. Sometimes he left camp for several days to sketch some more distant point of interest.

The sketch Bute Inlet (Plate 29) shows a section of the road through a canyon of the Homathco River. An engraving after Whympers's sketch (Plate 30) was published in The Illustrated London News on September 5, 1868, with an article on the Bute Inlet route. The engraving is an exact and detailed reproduction of the original sketch. There is no attempt at embellishment of the trail by the addition of a pack train moving along it or the colorful Indians who were so liberally added in the reproduction of Warre's work. It seems the engraver's aim was to reproduce accurately the original drawing just as it was Whympers's aim to present an authentic image of nature. His written discussion of the scenery along the Homathco River expresses poetic interest not immediately evident in the sketch.

This interest is expressed in an article published in The Daily British Colonist in which he related his impressions of the scenery. Bute Inlet was compared with the fjords of Norway. The views are referred to as superb:

Purple cliffs rise pine clad and abrupt whiles below  
the Homathco makes its way to the sea, realizing the  
words of our laureate

'Water between walls

Of shadowy granite, in a gleaming pass'

Afar off a fine ridge of mountains with snow crowned  
peaks and blue valleys complete the picture.<sup>14</sup>

The reference to the lines of the poet laureate, Alfred Lord Tennyson,<sup>15</sup> is in keeping with the close association of poetry and landscape painting at this time. John Ruskin, a mid-nineteenth century art critic, gave poets credit for teaching landscape painters by their vivid poetic descriptions.<sup>16</sup> Whympers application of the poet's description to local scenery extends the inference of the poet's lines to the scenery of the Homathco by association. The pleasure with which the local people viewed Whympers work is evident in a second reference to his work published in the May 18th issue of the same paper.

We have been shown by Mr. Whympers a few water color sketches made by that gentleman during his recent visit to Bute Inlet, which serve to give those who have never witnessed the grand scenery of the Homathco a better idea of the nature of the country than all the verbal description yet published. Mr. Whympers succeeded in taking three views of the magnificent glaciers which have been previously described in our columns and has also a number of sketches in the beautiful valley of the Homathco showing the windings of the trail and some of the formidable obstacles which Mr. Waddington has overcome in carrying it through. The paintings are executed in an artistic manner and taken in conjunction with Mr. Whympers very excellent drawings of Cariboo which we have previously noticed, will be invaluable adjuncts to any future work in British Columbia.

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<sup>14</sup> May 9, 1864, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Tennyson received this appointment in 1850 and held it until his death in October 1892.

<sup>16</sup> John Ruskin, The Art of England (London: Hazell, Watson and Viney Limited, 1864), p. 214.

Whympers confidence in his ability to satisfy the public with his drawings is evident in letters of application written to members of a committee then organizing the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition. In these letters Whympers refers to the satisfaction with which his sketches of the Cariboo and Bute Inlet were received, giving him confidence that they will meet with the approval of the committee, should they contemplate the appointment of an artist to the expedition. The earlier sketches resulted in sets of drawings made for various people who had almost without exception visited the locations of the scenes depicted and, "are in a position to question or testify to the faithfulness of my pencil."<sup>17</sup>

To back his appointment as artist to the expedition Whympers offered to submit a series of drawings to the committee to be used in an exhibition for the Colonial Government and the shareholders. Money to finance the expedition was raised by the sale of shares to the local people. The exhibit would enable these shareholders to view the sketches, and no doubt benefit Whympers in the form of orders for copies.<sup>18</sup>

A further suggestion in Whympers letters of application anticipates a report on the expedition which would be illustrated by a selection from the sketches.

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<sup>17</sup>Robert Brown Collection, op. cit.

Whympers offered to prepare the sketches for publication, stating that he "should be perfectly ready to draw on wood or for the engraver."<sup>19</sup> This offer is clarified to some extent by a later reference in the same letter.

... having been associated before leaving England with my father (J. W. Whympers) and brother in the illustration of Dr. Livingstone's 'Baldwin's Travels' also the 'Peaks of Papes' of the Alpine Club--I have had some experience in this direction--if given out in the ordinary way it would prove much more expensive.

The "drawing on wood or for the engraver" apparently refers to the reversal of the image necessary in print-making. In drawing the image on wood Whympers would be preparing the wood block for the wood cutter or wood engraver which would include the reversal of the image. The engraver probably refers to engravers using metal plates. The drawing for this technique, taking into consideration that Whympers does not refer to preparing the plate, would simply involve the

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<sup>18</sup>It is perhaps because Whympers made copies of his sketches that some of his work was left undated. The dates used here are those dates when the artist is known to have been in the area and the original sketch was made. The copies, of course, were made after the journey to the respective area and therefore at a later date. To some extent due to the limited amount of his work still extant, it is not possible to know which are the original sketches or how much later the later ones were made. This is also the course followed in dating White's Western Union Telegraph Album and Warre's Ascending the Rocky Mountains. There are two copies of the latter, one in the Public Archives of Canada and the other in the American Antiquarian Society Collection. These two sketches differ only in the number of trees on the mountainside. It would therefore seem that one is a copy of the other.

<sup>19</sup>Robert Brown Collection, op. cit.

provision of a drawing in which the image is reversed.

The Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition was undertaken during the summer of 1864. Members included the naturalist Dr. Robert Brown of Edinburgh, astronomer J. P. Leech, the artist and six others. The number was later increased. They left Victoria on June 7th, and returned five months later, in October. During the summer Whympere and Leech wrote reports from Sooke Lake which were published in the July 26th issue of The Daily British Colonist. It was at this time that the existence of gold on Sooke River was reported. The sketches made en route were published in Countries of the World,<sup>20</sup> The Illustrated London News,<sup>21</sup> and personal publications, one of which has been identified and is G. M. Sproat's Scenes and Studies of Savage Life.<sup>22</sup> The local press referred to the sketches as, "really beautiful and interesting views in watercolors of various portions of the Island."<sup>23</sup> An exhibit of the sketches was arranged in a room of the government buildings by permission of Governor Kennedy.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Robert Brown, op. cit., VI Volumes (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1867-81, revised 1884-1889, re-issued 1894-1899).

<sup>21</sup>November 24, 1866 and September 5, 1868.

<sup>22</sup>(London: Smith Elder, 1864).

<sup>23</sup>Victoria, The Daily British Colonist, November 5, 1864.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., November 24, 1864.

The sketch Nanaimo, Vancouver Island (Plate 31) is a product of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition. Both Bedwell and Whympers sketches feature the bastion and the wharf. Whympers view is taken from an elevation behind the village, placing the village in the foreground and allowing a distant view over the water. On the right is Cameron Island, beyond which is Protection Island, then Douglas Island and on the far left is Newcastle Island. Between the latter two is Fairway Channel through which an expanse of Georgia Strait is visible. How accurately the buildings of the village are portrayed is hard to assess; the bastion, still extant, is hexagonal as Whympers indicates (Plate 32) and the proximity of the wharf to the bastion is consistent with Bedwells sketch. Whympers sketch is an ink wash on cream-colored paper and adheres to the oval arrangement also used in the Indian Burying Ground, Boston Bar.

In April 1865 Whympers was appointed artist to the Western Union Telegraph Company by Colonel Bulkley. It appears that he was to join the Telegraph Company crews then working in the Interior of British Columbia. Whympers seems not to have joined the Telegraph Expedition until July 30th when he boarded the company's steamer Wright at Victoria en route to Sitka which was, at that time, the capital of Russian America. A note from E. Conway, who was then in charge of the company's British Columbia operations, to Colonel Bulkley states that the Governor, that is

Governor Seymour of British Columbia, disapproves of employing Whympers in British Columbia due to trouble he had with the Coast Indians.<sup>25</sup> Having left the supply depot two days earlier to return to Victoria, Whympers escaped the Chilcoton massacre which ended the Waddington road scheme. He and his companions were informed of the death of the ferry man on the morning of their departure from the Homathco but did not believe their informants. Investigation of the circumstances of the massacre led the inspector of police, Chartres Brew, to believe the incident not unprovoked.<sup>26</sup> Whympers, though convinced that the incident was unprovoked, refers to the starved condition of the Indians who, "disputed with their wretched 'cayoto' dogs anything that we threw out of our camp, in the shape of bones, bacon rind, or tea leaves and similar luxuries."<sup>27</sup>

On this his first trip to Russian America Whympers visited Alaska and Kamchatka. He returned to San Francisco with Colonel Bulkley at the end of November where he spent the winter. In June 1866 he left San Francisco returning once more to Alaska where he remained until September 1867. He wintered at the Russian Fort Nulato on the Yukon River since he was especially interested in experiencing the

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<sup>25</sup>Conway Letter Book, p. 92.

<sup>26</sup>Victoria, The Daily British Colonist, April 7, 1865.

<sup>27</sup>Frederick Whympers, op. cit., p. 20.

northern winter and observing the northern or auroral light. In the spring he travelled to the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Yukon at the mouth of the Rat and Porcupine Rivers. His travelling companion was Mr. Dall, a collector of nature specimens for the Smithsonian Institute, who had also spent the winter at Nulato. On returning to St. Michaels on Norton Sound late in August, they noted that the telegraph enterprise had been abandoned. Colonel Bulkley arrived at St. Michaels on September 6th and the entire crew of the Company returned to San Francisco. The enterprise was abandoned due to the successful laying of the Atlantic cable.

Whymper's paper Notes on the Glaciers of Bute Inlet, British Columbia was read at the meeting of the Edinburgh Ecological Society in March 1867 by Robert Brown and published in the Edinburgh Geological Society's Transactions.<sup>28</sup> He left California in November of that year to return to England. Presumably he travelled overland to New York visiting parts of Upper Canada en route. In a paper titled From Ocean to Ocean<sup>29</sup> which is a travel log of his 1869 journey from New York to San Francisco, he refers to having travelled by way of Niagara Falls previously and renewing acquaintance with New York. During

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<sup>28</sup>In H. W. Bates' Illustrated Travels, Vol. II (1869), p. 33-40.

<sup>29</sup>Op. cit.

that year in England, from early 1868 to March 1869, he saw the publication of his book Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska<sup>30</sup> and read his paper A Journey from Norton Sound, Bering Sea to Fort Yukon before the Royal Geographical Society. The paper was published in the Society's journal during that same year.<sup>31</sup>

Returning to California from New York by the newly completed railway Whympers visited Chicago and Salt Lake City. In San Francisco he joined the staff of the Alta California, a daily newspaper, as a journalist. During the 1870's he is listed in the San Francisco directory as an artist and mining engineer, giving several business and residential addresses within the city. He was a founding member of the San Francisco Art Association and was elected secretary in 1873. He was also a member of the Bohemian Club.<sup>32</sup> The nature of this club is implied in Whympers' discussion of the Bohemian expeditions undertaken by Californians blessed with leisure time. The expeditions were three or four month campouts in the mountains attended by people from various walks of life, "geologists, naturalists, sketchists, for whom such a 'Bohemian'

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<sup>30</sup>Op. cit.

<sup>31</sup>Vol. 38, (1868), p. 219.

<sup>32</sup>Personal Correspondance, The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California.

expedition proved most profitable as well as delightful."<sup>33</sup>

An insight into Whympers own artistic sentiments might be drawn from a statement made in the article From Ocean to Ocean referred to above. In this article, when referring to the buttes and hoodoos of the Black Hills and Laramie Plain area of Wyoming, Whympers writes:

Gustave Doré is the only artist who would be able to do justice to the eccentric, grotesque yet wonderfully grand scenery of this neighborhood.<sup>34</sup>

In this statement Whympers pays homage to Doré, a popular mid-nineteenth century painter, illustrator, and engraver. The reference to the awesomely romantic vision of Doré conveys just how striking Whympers found the landscape. He obviously found this area different from the North American landscape as a whole. His application of Tennysons lines to the canyon of the Homathco River indicates that he associated what he saw with the vision of the poet and equated this part of the North American landscape with the landscape of England. His approach does not convey the ambivalence evident in Warres work and the writing of Warres four contemporaries in Upper Canada. Edward H. Dahl suggests that:

It is possible—in fact, likely—that the years 1830-1855 represent the period when the traditional bias in Western thought was giving away to an attraction toward wilderness in Canada.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Frederick Whympers, "California and its Prospects," in H. W. Bates' Illustrated Travels, Vol. I (1869), p. 103-110.

Whympers response to nature is therefore exemplary of a period of greater acceptance or attraction to nature which his work indicates.

The appreciation of Whympers work in the Colonies is evident from the favourable press coverage he received. The extent of the coverage, which continued throughout his residence in the Colonies, was of course to some extent due to his active interest in publicity. He was an illustrator and journalist whose livelihood depended on a clientele, who had to be made aware of what he had to offer. The general public must have been receptive or the favourable coverage would not have continued. The appointment to the Telegraph Expedition which eventually took Whympers away from Victoria drew a final eclat from the Victoria press. The Daily British Colonist noted the Appointment. Whympers, it was projected, would return from the expedition with sketches which would enable the public to, "view some of the grand scenery of the comparatively unknown interior through the medium of his clever pencil."<sup>36</sup> From this it is evident that Whympers and others expected that he would join the telegraph crew working in the interior of British Columbia under E. Conway.

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<sup>34</sup>Op. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Edward H. Dahl, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>36</sup>April 7, 1865, p. 3.

Instead, Whympers went to Alaska with Colonel Bulkley. The Western Union Telegraph Album, consisting of 28 watercolor sketches signed by J. C. White, seems to be the outcome of the company's interest in having an artist accompany their expedition in British Columbia. However, the album dates to the following year when the telegraph line was erected from Prince George to Kispiox through the Bulkley Valley.

Frederick Whympers returned to England in the late 1870's or early 1880's. From 1877 to 1880 he published a three-volume series on The Sea: Its Stirring Story of Adventure, Peril and Heroism.<sup>37</sup> His early work Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska had at this time been published in French and German.<sup>38</sup> Shorter articles were published in H. W. Bates' Illustrated Travels,<sup>39</sup> the Royal Geographical Journal,<sup>40</sup> the Ethnological Society of London's

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<sup>37</sup>4 Vol. in 3 (London, New York, Paris: Petter and Galpin, 1877-80).

<sup>38</sup>Ouvrage tr. de l'anglais avec l'autorisation de l'auteur par Émile Jonveaux (Paris: Hachette et cie., 1871).

Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe von Er. Friedrich Steger, Braunschweig, George Westerman, 1869.

<sup>39</sup>"California and Its Prospects," vol. I, 1869, p.103-110. "From Ocean to Ocean - The Pacific Railroad," vol. II, 1869, p. 1-12, 33-40; 65-71.

"A Journey in Alaska, formerly Russian America," Vol. I, 1869, p. 46-48.

<sup>40</sup>"A Journey from Norton Sound, Bering Sea to Fort Yukon," Vol. 38, 1868, p. 219.

Transactions<sup>41</sup> and in the Edinburgh Geological Society's Transactions.<sup>42</sup> His publications were illustrated by his sketches. It is evident from Whympers involvement with the art movement and the Bohemian Club that he took an active part in the social life of San Francisco. His publications on various timely local topics during his residence in San Francisco and Victoria convey a personal interest in his adopted communities.

Frederick Whympers died in London, England, on November 26, 1901. The Victoria Daily Colonist carried a two-column article recounting his accomplishments.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>"Russian America or Alaska," Vol. 7 (1869), p. 167-185.

<sup>42</sup>"Notes on the Glaciers of Bute Inlet, British Columbia," Vol. I (1870), p. 65-67.

<sup>43</sup>December 25, 1901,

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

The sketches from the Colonial Period were made in response to an interest in visual documentation. They were made by draughtsmen on surveys and are one of several forms of documentation carried out by the survey teams. The surveys were largely the result of scientific interest which stimulated exploration in various areas of the expanding British Empire. Scientific interest required visual documentation of the physical distribution of land, its vegetation and people, their customs and buildings. In the Pacific Colonies the artists were drawn mainly from the ranks of military draughtsmen who were trained in topographical sketching for military purposes. In addition the draughtsmen were influenced by the wider field of landscape painting in England, the formative period of which owes so much to Paul Sandby and military draughting. The draughtsmen who came to the Colonies at this time had access to treatises on landscape painting and the use of the water-color medium. Certain theories and devices to achieve pre-determined effects outlined in the treatises are reflected in the work of the draughtsmen. Their sketches are evidence of the facility of the draughtsmen to assimilate the need for documentary accuracy and the wider interests of landscape painters.

The concern for accurate recording made the identification of Bedwell's View in Bute Inlet possible. While there are no photographs of the naval camp to compare with Bedwell's representation of Roche Harbour, San Juan Island, the accuracy of his depiction is confirmed by a map which indicates the British camp at Roche Harbour and identifies the installations. Frederick Whympers reference to the fidelity of his pencil is supported by Frederick Dally's photograph of Barkerville before the fire, 1868. Though aspects of the village itself have changed, the topographical features indicated in Whympers sketch Williams Creek from the Canyon to Middle Town are identical with Dally's photograph. The flumes, water-wheels and other mining activities indicated by Whympers are visual documents of the installations referred to in records of the period. The Western Union Telegraph Album sketches painted by J. C. White document the activities of the telegraph crew and correspond with other records in diaries and letters of team members.

Concern for aesthetic effects is evident in the work of all four draughtsmen. Though their work remains documentary, various details of the sketches have probably undergone a redistribution for compositional purposes. The foreground elements in Bedwell's sketches, which provide a module to demonstrate distance and size, also indicate concern for interest and compositional arrangement. The rose-colored transparent washes add warmth to what would be

predominantly cool blue-green tones due to the natural color of water, forests and distant mountains. George Barnard's dictum concerning the use of transparent and opaque color can be applied to several of the sketches; it is demonstrated in J. C. White's Hope, British Columbia. In this painting opaque white highlights have been added in the light area throughout the picture plane, while transparent color, with the addition of lacquer, is evident in the foreground shadows.

Interest in the picturesque which was a major stimulant in landscape painting in England is also evident in Warre's frequent use of the terms "bold and picturesque" and "extremely grand and picturesque." Warre's work, in its representation of untamed nature, is characteristic of the picturesque as defined by Gilpin and Price. In their definition of the term, landscape provides the necessary variations and is an adequate model for the painters of the picturesque. The term can therefore be applied to all the sketches in which untamed nature is featured.

White's abandoned Indian village with a killer-whale grave post indicates the interest in ruins which was a major stimulus for the cult of the picturesque in England. The ruins characterize the delapidation of time referred to by Gilpin, Price and Iolo Williams. The overgrown ruins of the abandoned village provide the element of surprise and the excitement aroused by the half-hidden included in Price's definition. The stormy sky in the sketch, as

outlined by Phillips, has the effect of heightening the overall feeling of doubtful obscurity.

Phillips' suggested treatment of "objects of a vast and sublime character" in watercolor seems to have been followed by Warre, especially in the two sketches Ascending the Rocky Mountains and Hauling up a Rapid. The overall cool color tones with sudden breaks of opaque white and orange highlights and the extensive use of shadows, which tend to obscure detail, with occasional gleams of light are all devices used to convey vast and sublime character. This interpretation of Warre's sketches is also indicated by his descriptive phrases which suggest the inadequacy of the term "picturesque" to describe the North American scenery.

Warre's terms of reference, "grand and picturesque" and "awful grandeur", his use of techniques suggested in the treatment of the vast and the sublime, and his description of the mountain passes, indicate a response comparable to Price's definition of the sublime. In this definition barrenness or desolation in combination with terror is recognized as an aspect of the sublime.

Whympers' written description of British Columbia and Vancouver Island scenery indicates an appreciation at the poetic level; the words applied to it include borrowing from the contemporary Poet Laureate. These terms indicate an attitude toward untamed nature or wilderness which deviates from Warre's, whose terms more often convey the

desolate or overpowering aspects. Whympers did, however, apply the terms "eccentric, grotesque yet wonderfully grand" to the hoodoos and buttes of the Black Hills and Laramie Plain area of Wyoming. But he added that they could only be of interest to an artist dealing in the grotesque and terrible such as Gustave Doré.

Warre's response to the wilderness suggests an attitude similar to some of his British contemporaries in Upper Canada. He is thus representative of a period of transition in the Canadian perception of nature and must be placed in a different category from the three later draughtsmen. While Warre clearly represents a more traditional viewpoint, Whympers's response to nature is less ambivalent and reveals his greater acceptance of, or attraction to, wilderness.

A change of attitude is also indicated in the reproduced work. Warre's sketches have been embellished by the addition of Indians represented in the traditional romantic manner, disregarding the information Warre provided. In comparison the engraving of Bedwell's Canoe with Indians remains factual, depicting the Indians and canoe in a manner which corresponds with contemporary written accounts. The adherence to information provided by the draughtsman's sketch at this later date is substantiated by the engraved print of Whympers's Bute Inlet. The change indicates a move from an apparent romantic appeal to an interest stimulated by scientific curiosity.

These four people, whose sketches are an example of the pictorial representation of this period, have in common the fact that they were all British transients, remaining in the Colonies for a short period only. Their sketches are a continuation of traditional British topographical documentation and the wider interests of landscape painters. They were made in response to a need for and interest in visual documentation and serve in that same capacity now. In them we read our history.

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Catalogue of work by: Edward Parker Bedwell  
Henry James Warre  
John Clayton White  
Frederick Whympere

Edward Parker Bedwell ? -1919

Provincial Archives of British Columbia Collection

Colwood, Home of George Langford, w.c., 9 13/16 x 13 3/8 in., 249 x 340 mm., pdp85 63L, Acc. No. 28288.

Nanaimo, Vancouver Island, w.c., 4 1/4 x 10 9/16 in., 108 x 269 mm., pdp22 63L, Acc. No. 56418.

Point Roberts, British Columbia, w.c., 5 x 13 in., 120 x 330 mm., Acc. No. 28425.

View in Bute Inlet, British Columbia, 1862, w.c., 6 3/8 x 10 7/8 in., 162 x 276 mm. (view measurement) Acc. No. 28426.

Roche Harbour, San Juan Island, 1861, N.W. America Head Quarters of the Royal Marines, w.c., 8 5/8 x 11 3/16 in., 219 x 284 mm. Acc. No. 28427.

H.M.S. Plumper in Port Harvey, Johnstone Strait, tinted engraving, after a sketch by E. P. Bedwell, 1857, 10 x 14 in. Acc. No. 57058.

H.M.S. Plumper, anchored on Discovery Island, 1858, photograph of a watercolor by E. P. Bedwell, 2 3/4 x 10 7/16 in., 70 x 266 mm., pdp73 63L, Acc. No. 19746.

H.M.S. Termagant, Alert and Plumper, photograph of a sketch by E. P. Bedwell, photograph #533.

Victoria Maritime Museum

H.M.S. Tribune, photograph of a sketch by E. P. Bedwell, from the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, neg. no. A9511.

The "Hecate" on shore at Neah Bay (U.S.A.) - Juan de Fuca Strait - N.W. America, August 1861, photograph of a watercolor by E. P. Bedwell, from the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, neg. no. All3.

Engravings Published after Bedwell's Sketches

The Illustrated London News, March 1, 1862.

H.M.S. Plumper in Port Harvey, Johnstone Strait.

Hospital Point, Esquimalt Harbour.

Canoe with Indians.

Part of the Boundary Line between the United States and British Columbia, with Mount Baker in the Distance.

Charles P. DeVolpi, British Columbia: A Pictorial Record, Longman of Canada Ltd., 1973.

Nanaimo, from the Anchorage--Fort and Coal-Works,  
(Plate 62).

Mount Baker from the Fraser River, (Plate 63).

H.M.S. Plumper in Port Harvey, Johnstone Strait,  
(Plate 68).

Hospital Point, Esquimalt Harbour, Vancouver Island,  
(Plate 69).

Canoe with Indians, (Plate 70).

Part of the Boundary Line between the United States and British Columbia, with Mount Baker in the Distance, (Plate 71).

R. C. Mayne, in his book: Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1862, attributed the sketches used as illustrations to Mr. E. P. Bedwell, R.N., Dr. Lyall and Dr. Lindley. However, individual attribution is not made; therefore it is impossible to know which of the illustrations were contributed by Bedwell.

Henry James Warre, 1819-1898

Provincial Archives of British Columbia Collection

- Above the Cascades, Columbia River, Oregon (drying salmon),  
August 1845, w.c., 6 1/2 x 9 7/8 in., 166 x 238 mm.,  
pdp52 62L, Acc. No. 28414.
- Buffalo Hunting, w.c., 6 3/4 x 10 in., 171 x 253 mm., pdp2  
62L, Acc. No. 28303.
- Buffalo Hunting, sepia, 9 3/4 x 13 5/8 in., 247 x 346 mm.,  
pdp50, Acc. No. 44847.
- Buffaloe Hunting on the Western Prairie, 1840, w.c., 9 3/4  
x 13 5/8 in., 248 x 347 mm., pdp30 62L, Acc. No.  
44846.
- Canyon or Ravine Near the Rocky Mountains, 1845, w.c., 4 1/6  
x 6 3/4 in., 103 x 171 mm., pdp6 62L, Acc. No.  
28416.
- Chinook Point from Cape Disappointment Looking up the  
Columbia River, w.c., 6 7/8 x 9 5/8 in., 174 x 245  
mm., pdp51 62L, Acc. No. 44845.
- Entrance to Les Dalles from below, Columbia River, pencil,  
pen-and-ink wash, 6 5/8 x 9 3/4 in., 166 x 248 mm.,  
pdp3 62L, Acc. No. 28301.
- Falls of the Etchemin (?) River, w.c., 5 5/8 x 12 in.,  
220 x 304 mm., pdp49 62L, Acc. No. 25913.
- Going Through Rapids, w.c., 6 7/8 in., 174 x 255 mm., pdp47  
62L, Acc. No. 28320.
- Hauling Up a Rapid, Les Dalles des Morts, On the Columbia  
River, w.c., 10 1/2 x 14 5/16 in., 268 x 364 mm.,  
pdp57 62L, Acc. No. 28417.
- Looking for a Ford, MacGillivery River, w.c., 6 1/2 x 9 3/8  
in., 165 x 238 mm., pdp54 62L, Acc. No. 28415.
- Making a Portage Through the Bush, w.c., 6 5/16 x 9 in.,  
160 x 228 mm., pdp46 62L, Acc. No. 28302.
- Port Neuf Falls, July 1840, w.c., 6 13/16 x 9 11/16 in.,  
174 x 247 mm., pdp56 62L, Acc. No. 28411.
- Preparing to Make a Portage, Dog Portage, 1846, w.c., 6 7/16  
x 9 13/16 in., 163 x 243 mm., pdp4 62L, Acc. No.  
44844.

- La Riviere Cache and St. Maurice River, 1842, w.c., 8 5/8  
x 12 in., 219 x 304 mm., pdp 58 62L, Acc. No. 28418.
- Stalking Antelope on the Western Prairies, 1842, w.c.,  
8 5/8 x 11 15/16 in., 220 x 304 mm., pdp55 62L,  
Acc. No. 28802.
- Salmon Net Fishing Above the Cascades, Columbia River, w.c.,  
6 1/2 x 9 3/4 in., 165 x 248 mm., pdp36 62L,  
Acc. No. 28300.
- Riviere de Loupe, w.c., 6 7/8 x 10 1/16 in., 174 x 255 mm.,  
pdp48 62L, Acc. No. 28412.
- Vancouver Island Man, Vancouver Island Woman, 1848 (?),  
w.c., 3 3/4 x 7 1/4 in., 178 x 257 mm., Acc. No.  
59586.
- Konza Indians, w.c., 7 x 10 1/8 in., 178 x 257 mm., Acc.  
No. 59587.
- Indians at Michipicotou on Lake Superior, w.c., 4 3/8 x  
7 1/4 in., 111 x 184 mm., Acc. No. 59588.
- Making a Portage, pencil, 4 3/8 x 7 1/4 in., 111 x 184 mm.,  
Acc. No. 59589.
- Moose Hunting on Camp, Camp Life, 1845-1846, w.c., 7 5/16  
x 10 5/8 in., 186 x 270 mm., Acc. No. 59590.
- Indian (Cree) Camp Near Fort Pitt, pencil, 6 7/8 x 9 5/8  
in., 175 x 245 mm., Acc. No. 59591.
- Falls of the Willamette, w.c., 6 7/8 x 10 1/16 in., 175 x  
256 mm., Acc. No. 59592.
- St. Helen's Island (McHargreaves authority) Montreal  
Canada, w.c. 5 1/4 x 8 13/16 in., 133 x 224 mm.,  
Acc. No. 63989.
- St. Helen's Island, Remainder of the Old Fort Standing, w.c.,  
5 1/4 x 8 12/16 in., 133 x 224 mm., Acc. No. 63990.
- My sleigh in Canada, 1844, w.c., 6 15/16 x 10 in., 177 x  
244 mm. Acc. No. 63991.
- River St. Lawrence, Ric Point, w.c., 3 5/8 x 7 in., 95 x  
177 mm., Acc. No. 63992.
- Mouth of the Sanquinna, w.c., 3 3/4 x 7 in., 95 x 177 mm.,  
Acc. No. 63993.
- Basalle Island, Lake Superior, Near Fort William, pencil,  
4 3/8 x 7 3/4 in., 111 x 184 mm., Acc. No. 63994.

Untitled Landscape, (landscape with water), sepia, 4 5/16  
x 6 1/8 in., 110 x 156 mm., Acc. No. 81602.

Lithographs

Fort Astoria, 1845, hand colored, 13 x 8 1/2 in.

Fort Garry, 1845, hand colored, 15 x 10 1/2 in.

Columbia Lake, 1845, hand colored, 16 x 11 in.

Kootenay River, 1845, hand colored, 13 x 8 1/2 in.

Mount Hood, 1845, hand colored, 16 x 10 1/2 in.

Rocky Mountains from the Upper Columbia, hand colored,  
16 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.

H. J. Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon  
Territory, London: Dickenson and Company, 1848.

Copy I, bound, hand colored lithographs with text, overall  
size 14 6/16 x 20 1/2 in., 365 x 525 mm.

Fort Garry, 9 1/2 x 14 1/4 in., 357 x 243 mm.

Falls of the Kamanistaquoia River, 9 15/16 x 14 13/16 in.,  
252 x 376 mm.

Buffalo Hunting on the Western Prairie, 7 3/8 x 11 11/16 in.,  
186 x 296 mm.

Forcing a Passage through the Burning Prairie, 7 9/16 x  
11 11/16 in., 192 x 296 mm.

Distant View of the Rocky Mountains, 10 1/16 x 16 1/4 in.,  
256 x 214 mm.

The Rocky Mountains from the Columbia River, 9 7/8 x 15 11/16  
in., 151 x 397 mm.

Source of the Columbia, 10 x 15 3/8 in., 254 x 395 mm.

Fort Vancouver, 7 1/2 x 11 7/16 in., 190 x 287 mm.

Indian Tomb, 7 1/2 x 11 11/16 in., 190 x 296 mm.

Mount Baker, 7 3/8 x 11 13/16 in., 187 x 297 mm.

Cape Disappointment, 7 1/2 x 11 3/4 in., 190 x 297 mm.

Valley of the Willamette River,  $9 \frac{3}{8} \times 18 \frac{3}{16}$  in., 299 x 361 mm.

The American Village (Oregon City),  $9 \frac{3}{4} \times 13 \frac{1}{4}$  in., 247 x 333 mm.

Fort George (formerly Astoria),  $7 \frac{7}{16} \times 11 \frac{11}{16}$  in., 188 x 297 mm.

McGillivray's or Kootenai River,  $7 \frac{5}{16} \times 11 \frac{5}{8}$  in., 188 x 296 mm.

Mount Hood from the Dalles,  $10 \frac{1}{8} \times 15 \frac{1}{2}$  in., 256 x 393 mm.

Les Dalles, Columbia River,  $10 \frac{1}{4} \times 15 \frac{3}{8}$  in., 260 x 390 mm.

Mount Hood,  $9 \frac{11}{16} \times 15 \frac{1}{8}$  in., 246 x 385 mm.

Falls of the Peloes River,  $10 \frac{9}{16} \times 13 \frac{15}{16}$  in., 268 x 354 mm.

The Rocky Mountains from the Columbia River Looking N.W.,  $10 \frac{1}{2} \times 15 \frac{3}{4}$  in., 266 x 399 mm.

Copy 2, portfolio of unbound, hand colored lithographs with text, overall size  $14 \frac{1}{4} \times 21 \frac{1}{4}$  in., 362 x 540 mm.

Les Dalles, Columbia River,  $12 \frac{7}{16} \times 15 \frac{6}{16}$  in., 260 x 390 mm.

Valley of the Willamette River,  $9 \frac{6}{16} \times 14 \frac{1}{4}$  in., 239 x 362 mm.

The Rocky Mountains from the Columbia River Looking N.W.,  $10 \frac{1}{2} \times 15 \frac{11}{16}$  in., 265 x 399 mm.

Distant View of the Rocky Mountains,  $10 \frac{1}{8} \times 16 \frac{1}{8}$  in., 257 x 414 mm.

Source of the Columbia River,  $10 \times 15 \frac{5}{16}$  in., 253 x 389 mm.

Mount Hood from the Dalles,  $10 \frac{1}{4} \times 15 \frac{5}{16}$  in., 257 x 393 mm.

Mount Baker,  $7 \frac{3}{8} \times 11 \frac{3}{4}$  in., 187 x 298 mm.

Cape Disappointment,  $7 \frac{1}{2} \times 11 \frac{3}{4}$  in., 199 x 297 mm.

## American Antiquarian Society Collection

Sketches published in H. J. Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, with an introduction by Archibald Hanna Jr., Imprint Society, Barre, Massachussetts, 1970.

Malbose, on Murray Bay, near Saguenay River, St. Lawrence

Tadoussac, Saguenay River, below Quebec

Valcour, Quebec

Canadian Fishers

Jacques Cartier River Near Quebec

Canadian Cabriolet

Montreal from St. Helen's Island, Jan. 3, 1840

Village of St. Andrew, Near Ottawa River

Madawaska, 1843

Falls at the Kamanistaquoioh River

A Portage Through the Bush, May 1845

Camp, June 18, 1845

Fort Garry

Lac La Pluie Rapids from the Fort

Fort Ellice on the Assiniboine River, June 23, 1845

H.B.C. Fort Pitt on the Saskatchewan River, July 7, 1845

Traverse of Saskatchewan River, South Branch

Breakfast, July 19, 1845, Our First View of the Rocky Mountains

The Rocky Mountains, July 23, 1845

Crossing Bow River, July 24, 1845

Pass in the Mountains, July 24, 1845

Camp in the Mountains, July 24, 1845

Looking for a Ford, McGillivray's River, July 1845

Crossing a Ford, McGillivray's River, July 1845

Near the Forcat River, August 1845

Salmon Packing above the Cascades, Columbia River

Looking North, July 26, 1845

Valley of the Columbia River, August 1845

On the Columbia River above the Cascades

On the Columbia River above the Cascades

Mount St. Helens from the Settlement on Cowlitz River

Buffalo, Columbia River Valley

Mount St. Helens, September 1845

Mount Coffin and Mount St. Helens

Castle Rock on the Columbia River below the Cascades

Entrance to Les Dalles, Columbia River

On the Columbia River

Mount Hood seen over the Dalles

Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River

Hunting After Wild Cattle

Fort Astoria on the Columbia River

Nesqually Half-caste Indians Gambling

Columbia River, Tongue Point from Astoria

Chinook Indian Lodge, Opposite Fort George

Cape Disappointment at the Mouth of the Columbia River

Cape Disappointment from the Interior

Cape Disappointment from the Anchorage

View of Puget Sound Looking South

Puget Sound En Route to Vancouver Island, September, 1845

Mount Baker from Puget Sound

Protection Island, Straits of Juan de Fuca

Mount Rainier from Puget Sound

Oregon City and Falls, 1846

The American Institute, Oregon (erected 1843)

H.B.C. Settlement and Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island

Dalles Des Morts, April 29, 1846

Mount Washington from the Gamble River, Willamette Country

American Settlement, Willamette River, called Oregon City

Falls of the Pelloos River, April 1846

Sandstone and Basaltic Rocks on the Snake River

Rocky Mountains from Boat Encampment on the Columbia River

Boat Encampment on the Columbia River, May 1, 1846

Pere De Smet on the Athabaska River, May 1846

Rocky Mountains, May 1, 1846

Dogsled, Athabaska River, 1846

Ascending the Rocky Mountains

"Naksa," Cree Indian

Fort La Roche

Michilimakinak, Lake Huron, Fort Makinak

Lake George

Unpublished Sketches in the American Antiquarian Society  
Collection

Osage River

Osage River

Looking South across the river to Cape Disappointment

Washington--1843

Fort (indecipherable word) August 1844

FallsJuly 26, Looking NorthPawnee Fort, Arkansas RiverJanuary 3, 1840, from St. Helen's

and three additional untitled sketches

## Royal Ontario Museum Collection

Sketches published in Mary Allodi, Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: R.O.M., 1874.

Winter Sleighing on the St. Lawrence at Quebec, w.c, over pencil, 6 1/6 x 9 3/4 in., 157 x 247 mm., 1609, 956.87.2.

Lesser Fall of the Shawnigan, River St. Maurice, pencil and grey wash, 7 1/2 x 10 15/16 in., 190 x 277 mm., 1610, 956.83.9.

Snowshoe Party on the Mountain at Montreal, pencil and coloured crayons, 7 7/16 x 10 15/16 in., 189 x 278 mm., 1611, 956.83.16.

Ice Shove at Montreal, w.c. over pencil, 6 7/8 x 10 in., 174 x 254 mm., 1612, 956.83.13.

Niagara Falls and Terrapin Tower seen from below on the American Side, wash and chalks, 6 7/16 x 8 11/16 in., 163 x 221 mm., 1613, 956.83.12.

Camping on the Prairie, pencil, w.c., pen-and-ink, 5 1/2 x 9 1/8 in., 139 x 232 mm., 1614, 956.83.11.

Buffalo Hunting on the Prairies, pen, ink and wash, 6 7/8 x 10 1/16 in., 174 x 255 mm., 1615, 956.83.10.

Cabin in the Foothills of the Rocky Mountains, w.c. over pencil, 6 7/8 x 9 7/8 in., 174 x 251 mm., 1616, 956.83.17.

Camp de Fusil, Rocky Mountains, w.c. and gouache over pencil, 6 7/8 x 20 3/16 in., 174 x 512 mm., 1616, 956.83.14 A&B.

Camp in the Rocky Mountains, w.c. over pencil, 6 3/4 x 9 1/2 in., 171 x 241 mm., 1618, 956.83.3.

Jasper's House, Athabaska River, Rocky Mountains, w.c. with  
gouache over pencil, 6 7/8 x 10 1/16 in., 174 x  
255 mm., 1619, 956.83.6.

View from the Top of the Grande Cote, Rocky Mountains, 1846,  
w.c., gouache and pencil, 6 7/8 x 10 1/8 in., 174  
x 257 mm., 1621, 956.83.8.

Crossing the Canoe River West of the Rocky Mountains, May 5,  
1846, brown wash over pencil, 6 7/8 x 10 1/8 in.,  
174 x 256 mm., 1622, 956.83.5.

On the Columbia River, w.c, gouache and pencil, 6 7/8 x  
10 1/16 in., 174 x 255 mm., 1623, 956.83.1.

Mount Hood from near Fort Vancouver, w.c., gouache, pen and  
ink, and pencil, 6 7/8 x 10 in., 174 x 254 mm.,  
1624, 956.83.2.

Mount Hood seen from the Columbia River, w.c., over pencil,  
6 7/8 x 9 5/8 in., 174 x 244 mm., 1625, 956.83.4.

Fort Nesqually on Puger's Sound, w.c. over pencil, 6 1/2 x  
9 15/16 in., 165 x 252 mm., 1626, 956.83.15.

#### Lithographs

H. J. Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon  
Territory, London: Dickinson and Company, 1848.  
Album of 20 lithographs, overall size 52.8 x 36.8 cm.

#### Canadian Collection

Indian Tomb, 189 x 297 mm., OS310 D.

Forcing a Passage through the Burning Prairie, 191 x 291 mm.,  
OS310 C.

Les Dalles, Columbia River, 258 x 388 mm., OS310 H.

Fort George Formerly Astoria, 187 x 296 mm., OS310 E.

Valley of the Willamette River, 242 x 364 mm., OS310 G.

Fall of the Pelcos River, 270 x 355 mm.,

The American Village, 246 x 330 mm.,

Cape Disappointment, 191 x 297 mm., OS310 A.

## Public Archives of Canada Collection

Published in Overland to Oregon in 1845: Impressions of a Journey across North America by H. J. Warre, a Public Archives of Canada Publication, Ottawa, 1976

Old Cree Guide, 1845-46, w.c. and pencil, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm., Inventory No. 1-51.

Passing the Line: Hauling a Canoe up a Rapid on the Ottawa River, c. May 8, 1845, w.c., crayon and pencil, 4 8/16 x 7 5/16 in., 114 x 186 mm., Inventory No. 1-51.

Squall on Lake Superior, c. May 19, 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm., Inventory No. 1-28.

Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a Bowsman, 1845, pencil, Inventory No. 1-26.

The Rocky Mountains from near the Bow or Askow River, July 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 14 10/16 in., 113 x 372 mm., Inventory No. 1-30.

The Rocky Mountains near the Bow River, July 23, 1845, w.c., 9 12/16 x 13 11/16 in., 248 x 349 mm., Inventory No. 1-60.

The Rocky Mountains, 1845, w.c.m. charcoal and pencil, 9 12/16 x 15 9/16 in., 248 x 396 mm., Inventory No. 1-18.

Pass in the Rocky Mountains, July 28-29, 1845, w.c., 9 12/16 x 13 11/16 in., 248 x 348 mm., Inventory No. 1-55.

Fording the McGillivray River, August 4, 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm., Inventory No. 1-29.

McGillivray and Kootenai River, 1845, w.c., charcoal and pencil, 10 x 15 in., 259 x 388 mm., Inventory No. 1-13.

Indian Canoe Crossing the Askow or Flatbow Lake, August 10, 1845, w.c., and pencil, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm., Inventory No. 1-52.

Indian Fishing Station on the Kalispel Lake and River, August 15, 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm., Inventory No. 1-50.

Mount Hood from Les Dalles, August 24, 1845, w.c. and pencil, 9 8/16 x 15 5/16 in., 241 x 389 mm., Inventory No. 1-14.

Les Dalles, Columbia River, Mount Hood in the Background,  
August 1845, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.,  
Inventory No. 1-53.

Fort Vancouver, 1845-1846, w.c. and pencil, 7 6/16 x 10  
14/16 in., 188 x 277 mm., Inventory No. 1-8.

The American Village, Oregon City, in the Willamette  
Valley, September 2, 1845, w.c. and pencil, 9 5/16  
x 13 2/16 in., 237 x 334 mm., Inventory No. 1-10.

Valley of the Willamette River, September 5, 1845, w.c.  
and pencil, 9 13/16 x 14 9/16 in., 250 x 371 mm.,  
Inventory No. 1-12.

Mount Coffin and Mount St. Helen's from the Columbia River,  
September 13, 1845, w.c., 10 7/16 x 14 8/16 in.,  
265 x 369 mm., Inventory No. 1-58.

Fort George, formerly Astoria, September 14, 1845, w.c. and  
pencil, 7 5/16 x 11 8/16 in., 186 x 293 mm.,  
Inventory No. 1-6.

Mount Rainier from La Grande Prairie, Nesqually, West of  
Puget Sound, September 21, 1845, w.c., 7 3/16 x 10  
4/16 in., 183 x 260 mm., Inventory No. 1-62.

Crossing the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, en route  
to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island, September 27,  
1845, ink wash, 8 11/16 x 11 12/16 in., 221 x 299  
mm., Inventory No. 1-54.

Indian Chief's Tomb on the Cowlitz River, October 1845,  
w.c., 6 9/16 x 10 in., 167 x 254 mm., Inventory No.  
1-20.

Falls of the Palouse River, April 6, 1846, w.c., charcoal  
and pencil, 10 9/16 x 13 15/16 in., 269 x 355 mm.,  
Inventory No. 1-11.

The Rocky Mountains from the Boat Encampment on the Columbia  
River, May 2, 1846, sepia, 6 15/16 x 10 3/16 in.,  
177 x 259 mm., Inventory No. 1-63.

Ascending the Rocky Mountains, May 3, 1846, w.c., 10 1/16  
x 5 15/16 in., 256 x 178 mm., Inventory No. 1-61.

Buffalo Hunting, 1846, pencil, 4 6/16 x 7 in., 111 x 178 mm.,  
Inventory No. 1-21.

Falls of the Kaministikwia River, June 1846, sepia, 7 x 10  
2/16 in., 178 x 258 mm., Inventory No. 1-49.

Sketches from the series entitled *Sketches taken en route to the Columbia River and Oregon, 1845*, published in *Overland to Oregon in 1845*, 1976.

Hudson's Bay Company Post, Fort Pic on Lake Superior, May 22, 1845, (Warre had originally written Fort Pitt), pencil, 4 8/16 x 7 5/16 in., 114 x 186 mm.

Lake Superior, c. May 23-24, 1845, pencil 4 8/16 x 7 6/16 in., 114 x 188 mm.

From Fort William on the Kaministikwia River, May 24, 1845, pencil, 4 8/16 x 7 5/16 in., 114 x 186 mm.

Baptiste, Iroquois Bowsman and our Canoe, 1845, 7 5/16 x 4 7/16 in., 186 x 113 mm.

Indian Woman, Dog River, c. May 26, 1845, pencil, 7 5/16 x 4 7/16 in., 186 x 113 mm.

Our Camp and Party, 1845, pencil, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

Crossing the Assiniboine River at Beaver Creek, June 22, 1845, pencil, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

Carlton House on the Saskatchewan River, July 1, 1845, pencil, 4 8/16 x 7 5/16 in., 114 x 186 mm.

Distant View of the Rocky Mountains, July 1845, w.c., 4 8/16 x 7 5/16 in., 114 x 186 mm.

Mountain Trail approaching the McGillivray River, July 25, 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

Descending the McGillivray River, Looking West, July 28, 1845, pencil, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

McGillivray River, August 3, 1845, w.c. and pencil, 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

Kalispel Lake, August 12, 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

Mount Hood from the Columbia River, August 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 5/16 in., 113 x 186 mm.

Salmon Fishing, Head of the Cascades on the Columbia River, August 25, 1845, w.c. and pencil.

Salmon Packing Above the Cascades on the Columbia River, c. August 25, 1845, w.c., 4 7/16 x 7 4/16 in., 113 x 184 mm.

Sketches from Warre's journal, Inventory No. MG 24 F 71,  
Vol. I, published in Overland to Oregon in 1845,  
1976.

Plan of Fort Garry at the junction of the Assiniboine and  
the Red River, June 7-16, 1845, pen and sepia,  
6 4/16 x 7 13/16 in., 159 x 197 mm., p. 936-937.

Fort Ellice near the Assiniboine River, June 22, 1845,  
pen and sepia ink, 4 7/16 x 7 4/16 in., 113 x 184  
mm., p. 976.

Sketches from Warre's journal, Inventory No. MG 24 F 71,  
Vol. II, published in Overland to Oregon in 1845,  
1976.

H.M.S. America, Captain Gordon Commander, Protection Island  
near Cape Discovery, September 24, 1845, pencil,  
4 6/16 x 7 2/16 in., 111 x 181 mm., p. 1336.

Fort Victoria, September 27, 1845, pencil 4 6/16 x 7 2/16  
in., 111 x 181 mm., p. 1333.

The Bay of Fort Victoria, September 27, 1845, pencil, 4 6/16  
x 7 2/16 in., 111 x 181 mm., p. 1331.

Grand Ball at Fort Victoria, October 6, 1845, pencil, 4 6/16  
x 7 2/16 in., 111 x 181 mm., p. 1341.

My Partner at a Grand Ball at Fort Victoria, October 6,  
1845, pencil, 7 2/16 x 4 6/16 in., 181 x 111 mm.,  
p. 1335.

Meeting with Pere De Smet in the Rocky Mountains, May 7,  
1846, pen and sepia ink, 8 18/16 x 7 2/16 in.,  
224 x 182 mm., p. 2086.

Lithographs published in Overland to Oregon in 1845, 1976

Fort Garry, 9 8/16 x 14 2/16 in., 241 x 359 mm., Inventory  
No. Cov. 449.

The Rocky Mountains, 10 x 15 12/16 in., 254 x 400 mm.,  
Inventory No. Cov 453.

Source of the Columbia River, 10 x 15 5/16 in., 254 x 389  
mm., Inventory No. Cov. 454.

Fort Vancouver, Inventory No. Cov. 455.

The American Village, Oregon City, in the Willamette Valley,  
9 13/16 x 13 2/16 in., 294 x 333 mm., Inventory No.  
Cov. 458.

Valley of the Willamette River, 9 7/16 x 14 4/16 in., 240  
x 362 mm., Inventory No. Cov. 457.

Cape Disappointment at the Mouth of the Columbia River,  
7 8/16 x 11 11/16 in., 190 x 297 mm., Inventory No.  
11 - 5a.

Mount Baker from the West of Protection Island, Puget Sound,  
7 6/16 x 11 13/16 in., 188 x 300 mm., Inventory No.  
II-3a.

Indian Tomb on the Cowlitz River, 7 8/16 x 11 12/16 in.,  
190 x 299 mm., Inventory No. Cov. 455.

Falls of the Palouse River, 10 10/16 x 14 in., 270 x 356  
mm., Inventory No. Cov. 463.

The Rocky Mountains from the Boat Encampment on the Columbia  
River looking North West, 10 8/16 x 15 12/16 in.,  
267 x 400 mm., Inventory No. II-19a.

Falls of the Kaministikwia River, 10 x 14 14/16 in., 254 x  
378 mm., Inventory No. II-16b.

A second volume of lithographs after sketches by Henry James Warre was published under the title Sketches in the Crimea, by Dickinson Brothers, London, 1856. The volume, consisting of 15 lithographs is listed in the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books. No copies of this work have been located in North America.

A number of the lithographs were republished in print form, in Charles P. DeVolpi, British Columbia, A Pictorial Record, Longman Canada Ltd., 1973.

Fort George, formerly Astoria (Plate 33).

McGillivray or Kootenai River, (Plate 34).

Les Dalles, Columbia River, (Plate 35).

Mount Hood from Les Dalles, (Plate 36).

Mount Hood, (Plate 37).

The Falls of the Pelooos River, (Plate 38).

Rocky Mountains from the Columbia River looking North West, (Plate 39).

Distant View of the Rocky Mountains, (Plate 40).

The Rocky Mountains, (Plate 41).

Source of the Columbia River, (Plate 42).

Fort Vancouver, (Plate 43).

Indian Tomb on the bank of the Cowlitz River, (Plate 44).

Mount Baker, (Plate 45).

Cape Disappointment, Columbia River Entrance, (Plate 46).

The American Village, 1846, (Plate 47).

Valley of the Willamette River, (Plate 48).

John Clayton White, 1835-1907

Provincial Archives of British Columbia Collection

Hope, British Columbia, January 30, 1866, w.c. and pencil  
with touches of lacquer, 9 3/8 x 13 1/4 in., 238 x  
463 mm., Acc. No. 23183.

New Westminster, Government House, 1866, w.c., 10 3/8 x 18  
1/4 in., 269 x 464 mm., Acc. No. 23645.

New Westminster, July 10, 1865, w.c., 11 1/4 x 18 5/8 in.,  
186 x 473 mm., pdpl642 60L, Acc. No. 23646.

Boy with a Bubble, w.c., 9 1/4 x 6 1/8 in., 235 x 156 mm.,  
Acc. No. 28345.

Boy with a Pole, w.c., 9 1/8 x 5 13/16 in., 232 x 148 mm.,  
Acc. No. 28391.

Western Union Telegraph Album containing 28 w.c. sketches  
signed J. C. White.

Maps

Plan of Lillooet, British Columbia, on linen,  
S 615pBC R888br 1862.

Clinton (Cut off valley) New Westminster, lithograph,  
buildings and Watson's pre-emption added by hand,  
1:2,500. (In Colonial Office Correspondence  
F514-22).

Architectural Plans

Design for a Government House, New Westminster, British  
Columbia, neg. photostat, 12 x 24 in., 2 sheets,  
ground plan; west elevation; south elevation; north  
elevation and front view, Index #BP3 10.

Museum for the Exhibition of British Columbia Produce, 1861,  
neg. photostat, scale 1" to 1', 17 x 23 in., front  
side and end elevations, various signatures, Index  
# BP3 27.

## The Bancroft Library Collection

## Maps

American Division. Route of Western Union Telegraph line, Yale to Quesnel Mouth, British Columbia. Drawn by J. C. White from notes by J. McClure, 1866. 3 colored MS maps 29/5 x 21 in., 75 x 53 cm. ea. sheet. Shaded relief, shows drainage, settlements, etc. Map # 17.B8 C7T 1866. C.

American Division. Route of Western Union Telegraph line, New Westminster to Yale, British Columbia. Drawn by J. C. White, 1866. Colored MS map 21 x 29.5 in., 54 x 75 cm. Shaded relief, shows drainage, settlements, etc. Map # 17.B8 C7T 1866a. C.

American Division. Route of Western Union Telegraph line, Quesnel mouth to Fishery north of Fort Stager, British Columbia, 1866. Colored MS map 25.5 x 39 in., 65 x 99 cm. Shaded relief, shows drainage, etc. Astronomical observations by P. J. Leech, from notes by J. McClure. Map # 17.B8 C7T 1866d. D.

Route of telegraph line constructed and working ... 1866. Drawn by J. F. Lewis and J. C. White 1866. 6 colored MS maps 24 x 20 in., 61 x 51 cm. or smaller, ea. sheet. Covers telegraph line from Monterey, Calif. to Fort Stager, B.C. Partly hachured. Shows drainage, etc. Map # 12(W) C7T 1866.C.

## Frederick Whympers, 1838-1901

## Provincial Archives of British Columbia Collection

(Spur of) Rocky Mountains from the Hill above Richfield,  
1863, sepia, 8 11/16 x 12 in., 22 x 305 mm., Acc.  
No. 25720.

Williams Creek, from the Canyon to Middle Town, 1863, sepia,  
5 5/8 x 12 1/16 in., 219 x 206 mm., Acc. No. 25721.

Indian Burying Ground, Boston Bar, British Columbia, 1863,  
w.c., 4 9/16 x 6 5/16 in., 116 x 161 mm., Acc. No.  
28276.

The Fraser River from Nicaragua Slide (Near the Zig Zag),  
1863, w.c., 7 11/16 x 4 5/16 in., 186 x 110 mm.,  
Acc. No. 28278.

Camp Cowichan Lake, Vancouver Island, 1864, w.c., 9 x 12  
13/16 in., 229 x 325 mm., Acc. No. 28358.

Fort Yale, British Columbia, 1863, w.c., 6 11/16 x 9 1/8  
in., Acc. No. 28646.

Falls and Indian Lodges, Ouchurklesrt, w.c., 6 7/16 x 8 3/4  
in., 164 x 222 mm., Acc. No., 39862.

Mouth of the Homathco, Bute Inlet, 1864, w.c., 6 1/8 x 9  
5/8 in., 156 x 234 mm., Acc. No. 29863.

Bute Inlet, 1864, w.c., 12 3/4 x 8 6/8 in., 324 x 219 mm.,  
Acc. No. 39864.

Quesnel Forks, 1863, w.c., 6 5/8 x 9 9/16 in., 168 x 244  
mm., Acc. No. 51730.

## Glenbow-Alberta Institute Collection

Nanaimo, Vancouver Island, 1864, black ink wash, 61.104.1

Western Union Telegraph Company Fleet at Sitka, Russian  
America, ink wash, 61.104.2

Sitka or New Archangel, Russian America, black ink wash,  
61.104.3

Chichaloiniskoi Volcano, Ounimak Island, Aleutian Island,  
black ink wash, 61.104.4

The Volcanoes of Koriatske Avatcha and Koseloskai on  
Kamchatka Peninsula, Siberia, black ink wash,  
61.104.5.

California Historical Society, San Francisco

View of San Francisco Bay from Oakland, 1870, w.c., 18 1/2  
x 35 1/2 in., Acc. No. 62-79-1-2.

Published Engravings after Whymper's Sketches

The Illustrated London News, Nov. 24, 1866.

The Laughing Waters Rapids, on the Puntledge,  
Vancouver Island.

Whyack Village, Vancouver Island.

The Illustrated London News, Sept. 5, 1868.

Valley Below the Defile at the Head of Bute Inlet.

Foot of Tiedemann's Glacier.

Upper Entrance to the Defile at the Head of Bute  
Inlet.

Robert Brown, Countries of the World, London: Cassell  
Petter and Galpin, 1876.

View of Sooke Lake, Vancouver Island.

Junction of Brown's River with the Puntledge,  
Vancouver Island.

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life,  
London: Smith Eder and Co.

View near Sproat's Lake, Vancouver Island.

"An Artist in Alaska," Harpers Magazine, Vol. 38, (April  
1869), p. 589-602.

Fort St. Michael's, or Michaelovske, Alaska.

Sitka, or New Archangel, Capital of Alaska.

Malemute Native.

Camp with "Blaze," or Camp Mark.

Tanana Indian.

Indian Summer Encampment.

Arrival at the Yukon.

Aurora at Nulato.

Breaking up the ice in the Yukon.

Fort Yukon.

Moose Hunting in the Yukon River.

Indian Deer-Corral.

Illustrated Travels, ed. by H. W. Bates, London, Paris and  
New York: Cassell, Petter and Galpin.

Volume I.

The Grand Cascade of Yosemite, p. 105.

The Father of the Forest, p. 109.

Volume II.

The Railway Station at Omaha, p. 1.

The "Prairie Schooner"--Emigrant Waggon on the  
Plains, p. 4.

Discovery Of The Skeletons of Soldiers Who Had Been  
Surprised and Killed by Indians (June 1867), p. 5.

Indians Hunting Bison, p. 8.

Pawnee Camp, p. 9.

Pawnee Indians, p. 11.

Cemetery of the Sioux Indians, p. 33.

Sioux Squaw and Sioux Indians burning a Prisoner,  
p. 36.

Sioux Village Near Fort Laramie, p. 37.

A Cheyenne Chief, p. 40.

Street in Salt Lake City, p. 65.

Saw mill in a Forest of Pines, p. 68.

Salt Lake City, p. 69.

Frederick Whymper, Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska, London: John Murray, 1868.

Auroral Light seen from Nulato, Yukon River.

Loading a sledge in Alaska.

The Great Glacier, Bute Inlet.

Island forest conflagration in the Gulf of Georgia.

The "Raft Rampant".

Aht native, west coast of Vancouver Island.

Example of mask worn by Aht natives of Vancouver Island.

Camp with "blaze" or camp mark.

Sitka, or New Archangel, capital of Alaska.

Kalosh Indian grave-boxes.

Indian stone-carving, representing a Russian soldier at Sitka.

Tchuktchi skin-canoe--Frame-work of Tchuktchi house.

Tchuktchi pipe.

Petropaulovski, Kamchatka.

Monument to Bering, Petropaulovski.

The volcanoes of Koriatski, Avatcha, and Koseldskai, Kamchatka.

Fort St. Michael's, or Michaelovski.

Malemute native.

Malemute skin-clothing.

Malemute pipe.

Diagram of underground-house.

Snow-shoe.

Arrival at the Frozen Yukon.

Fish-traps on the Yukon.

Co-Yukon four-post coffin.

A Co-Yukon deer corral.

Co-Yukon goggles.

The Yukon River at the break-up of the ice.

Indian summer encampment, Newicargut, Yukon River.

Yukon fire-bag, knife, and sheath, &c.

Indian child's birch-bark chair.

Tanana Indian.

Moose hunting in the Yukon River.

Yukon Indian's knife.

Fort Yukon, Hudson's Bay Company's Post.

Fort Yukon sledge (loaded).

Map--the course of the Yukon, &c.

Charles P. DeVolpi, British Columbia, A Pictorial Record,  
Longman of Canada Ltd., 1973.

Whyack Village, Vancouver Island, (Plate 94).

Laughing Waters Rapids, on the Puntledge, Vancouver  
Island, (Plate 95).

Upper Entrance to the Defile at the Head of Bute  
Inlet, (Plate 96).

Valley Below the Defile at the Head of Bute Inlet,  
(Plate 97).

Foot of Tiedemann's Glacier, (Plate 98).

"A Visit to the Capital of Alaska," Arctic Digest, (April 1974), p. 15.

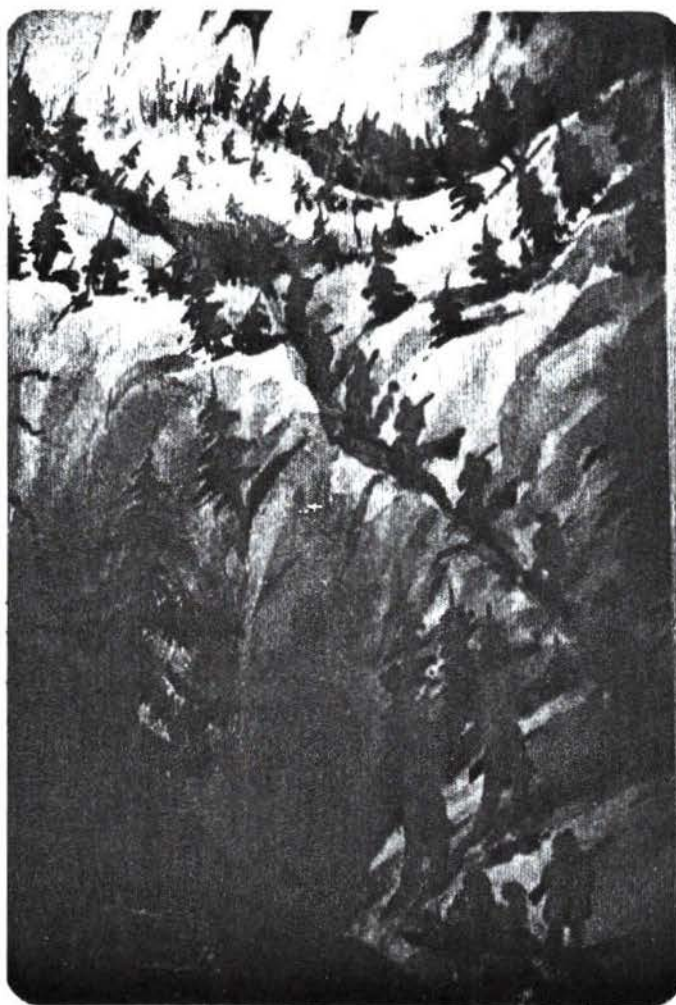
Sitka, The Capital of Walrussia or Russian America.



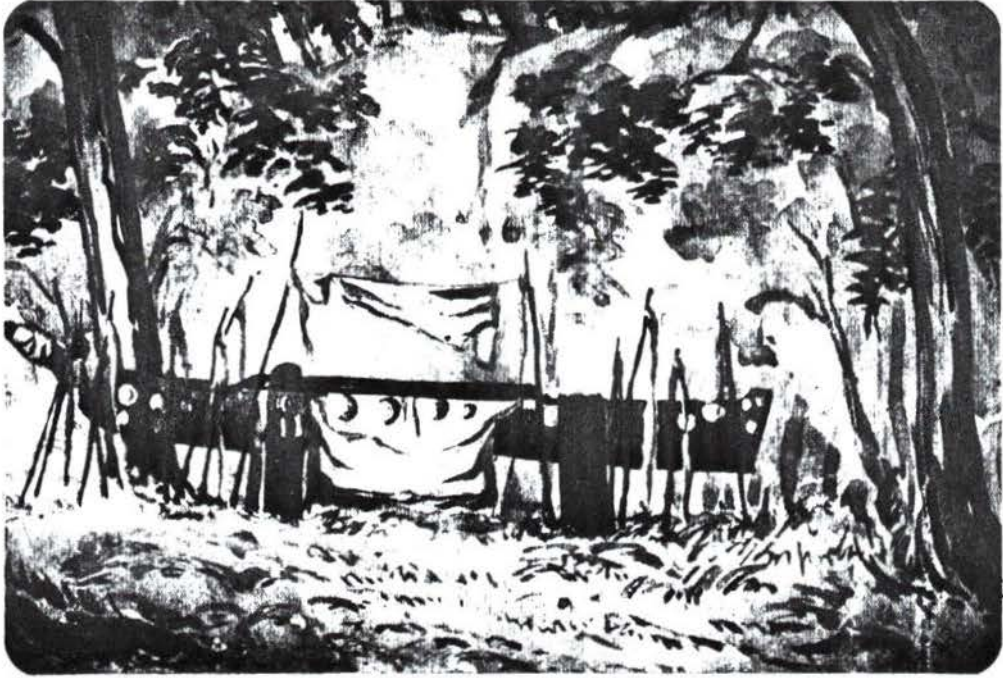
1. Paul Sandby: Bangor, North Wales.



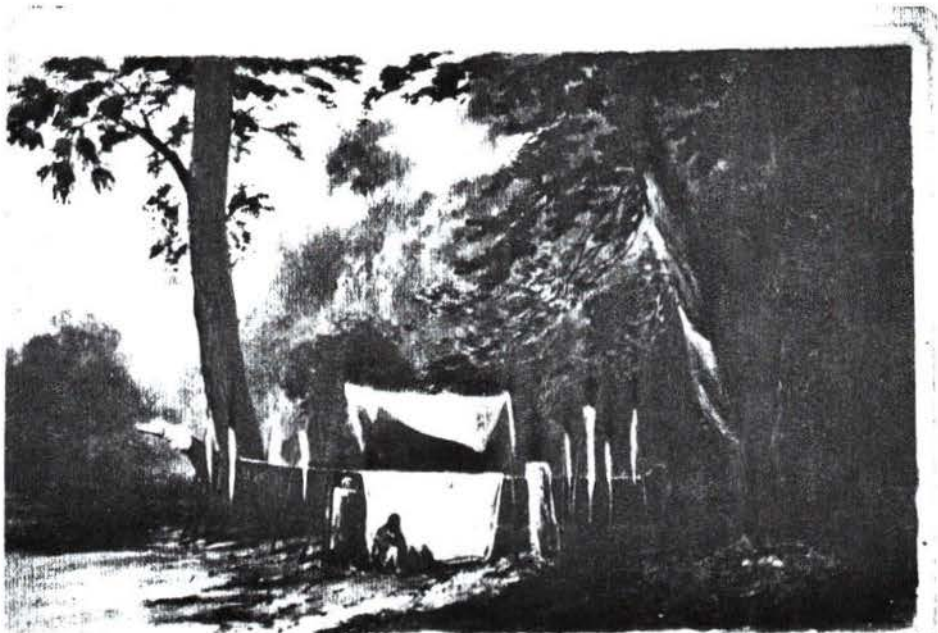
2. Paul Sandby: Castle and Stream.



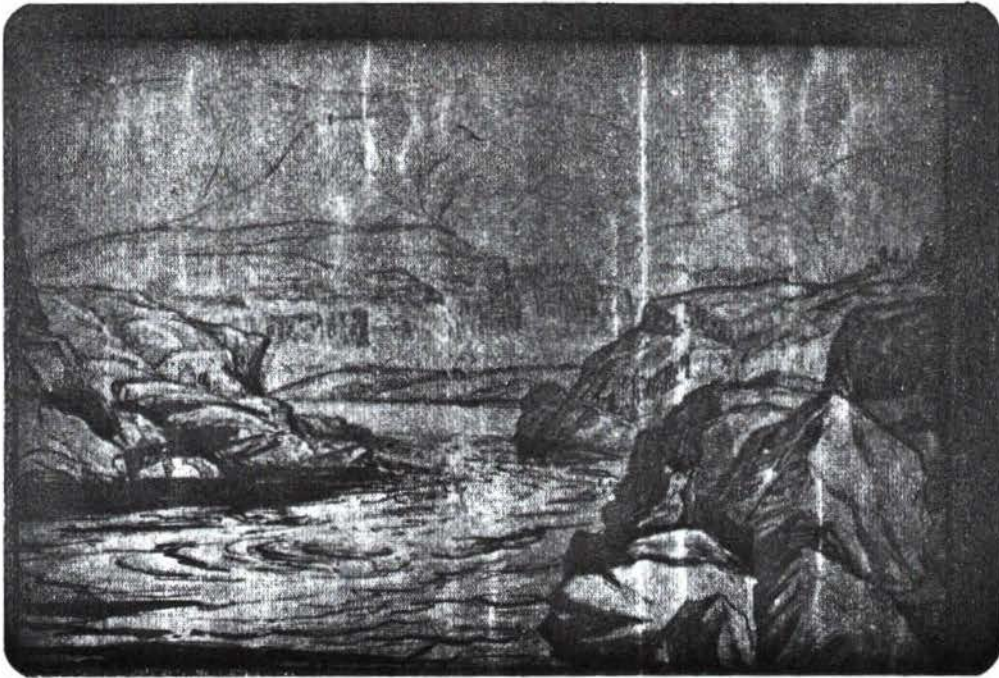
3. H.J. Warre: Ascending the  
Rocky Mountains, 1846.



4. H.J. Warre: Indian Tomb on the Cowlitz River, 1845.



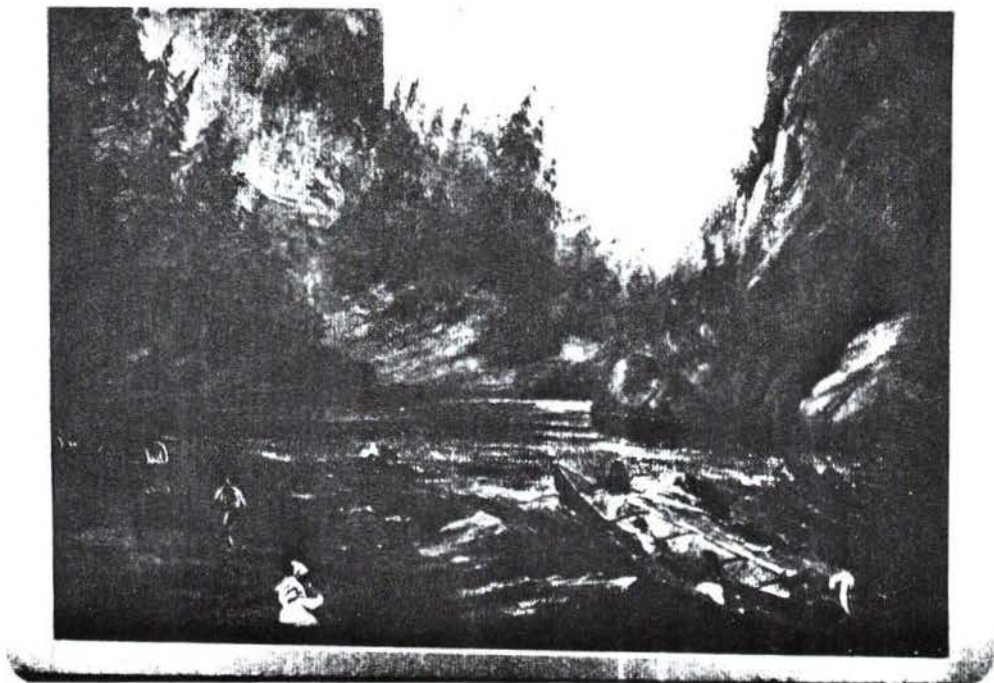
5. Indian Tomb on the Cowlitz River, Lithograph, 1848.



6. H.J. Warre: Entrance to Les Dalles from the Columbia River, 1845.



7. Entrance to Les Dalles from the Columbia River, Lithograph, 1848.



8. H.J. Warre: Hauling up a Rapid, Les Dalles, 1845.



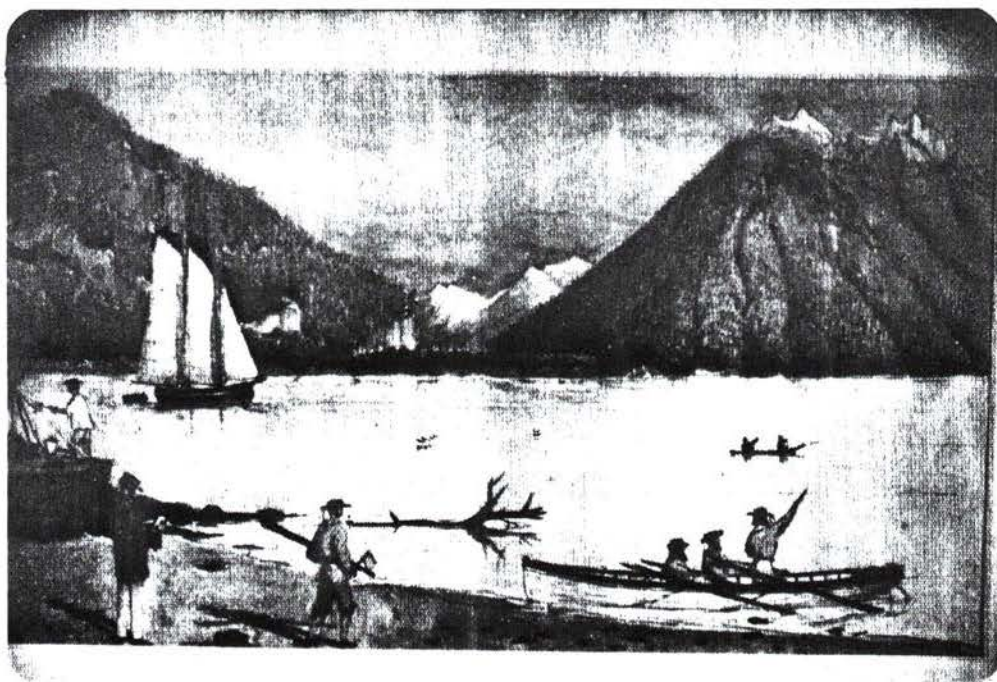
9. H.J. Warre: Buffalo Hunting, Undated.



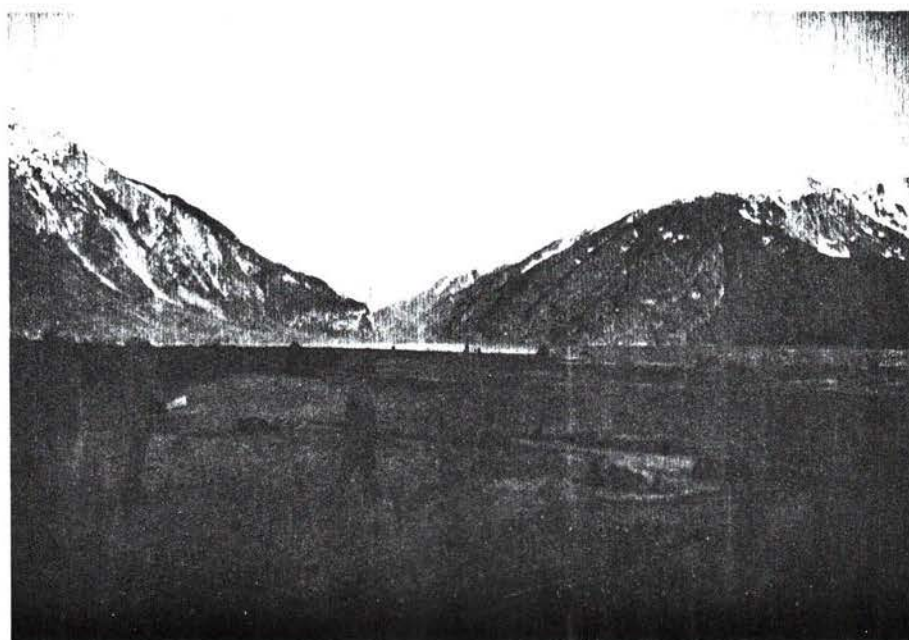
10. H.J. Warre: Fort Vancouver, 1845/6.



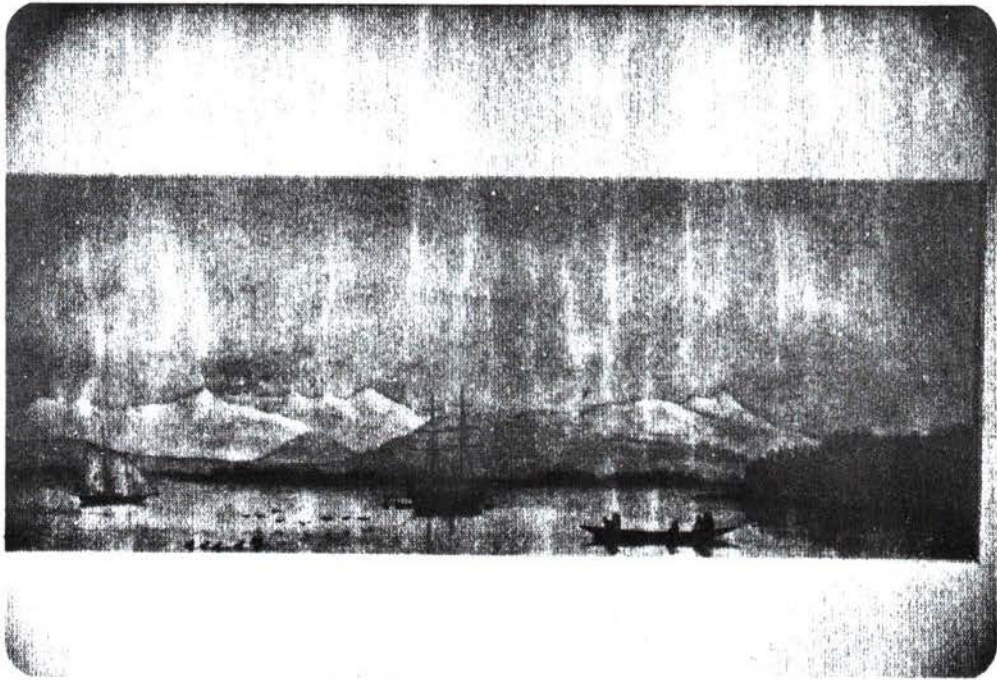
11. Fort Vancouver, Lithograph, 1848.



12. E.P. Bedwell: View in Bute Inlet, 1862.



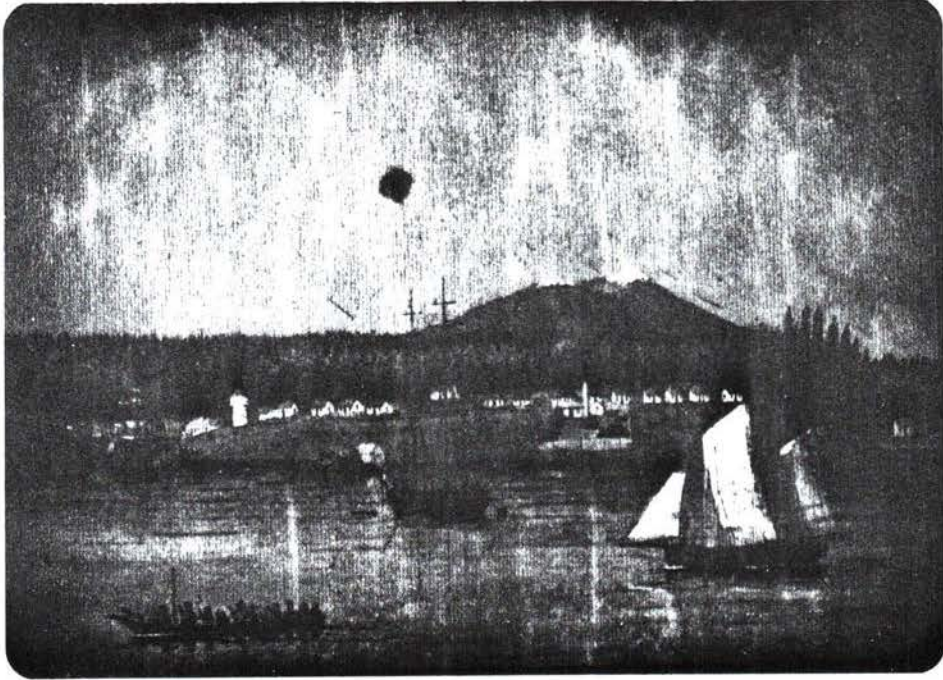
13. Photograph: View in Bute Inlet, Mouth of the Southgate River, 1976.



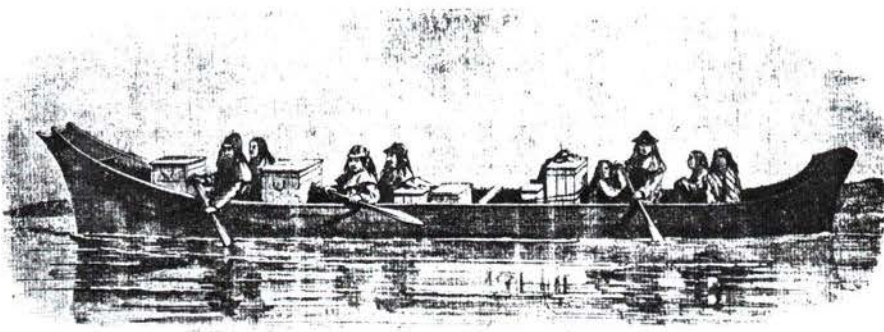
14. E.P. Bedwell: Point Roberts, British Columbia,  
1861



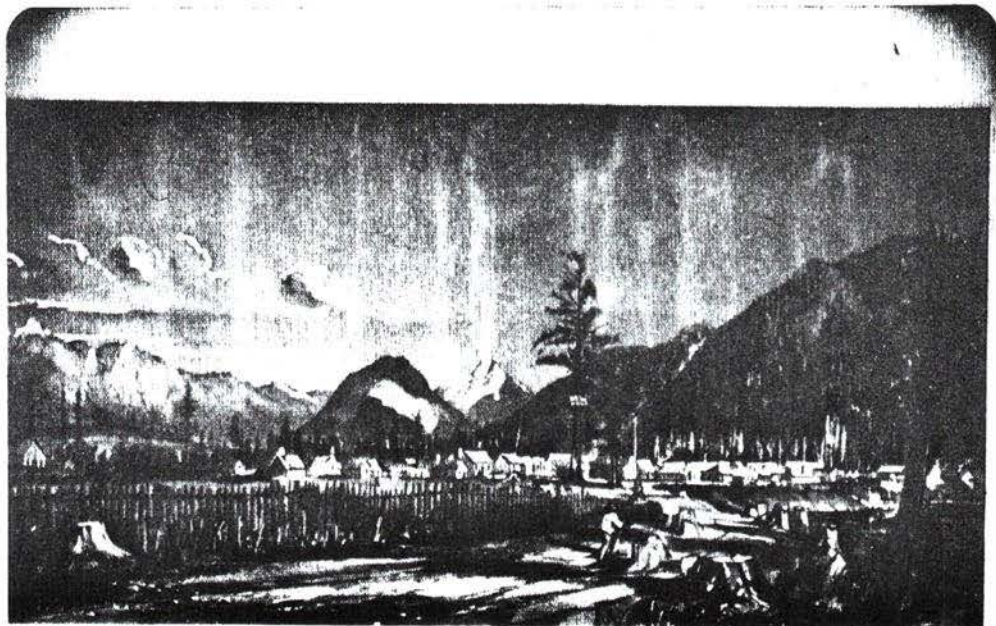
15. E.P. Bedwell: Roche Harbour, San Juan Island,  
1861.



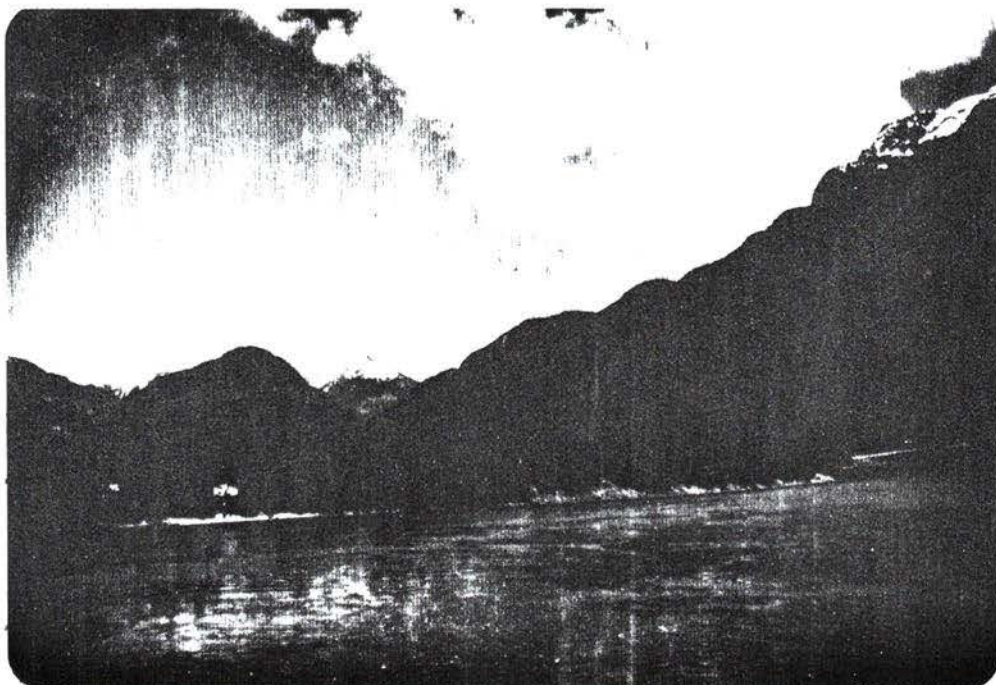
16. E.P. Bedwell: Nanaimo.



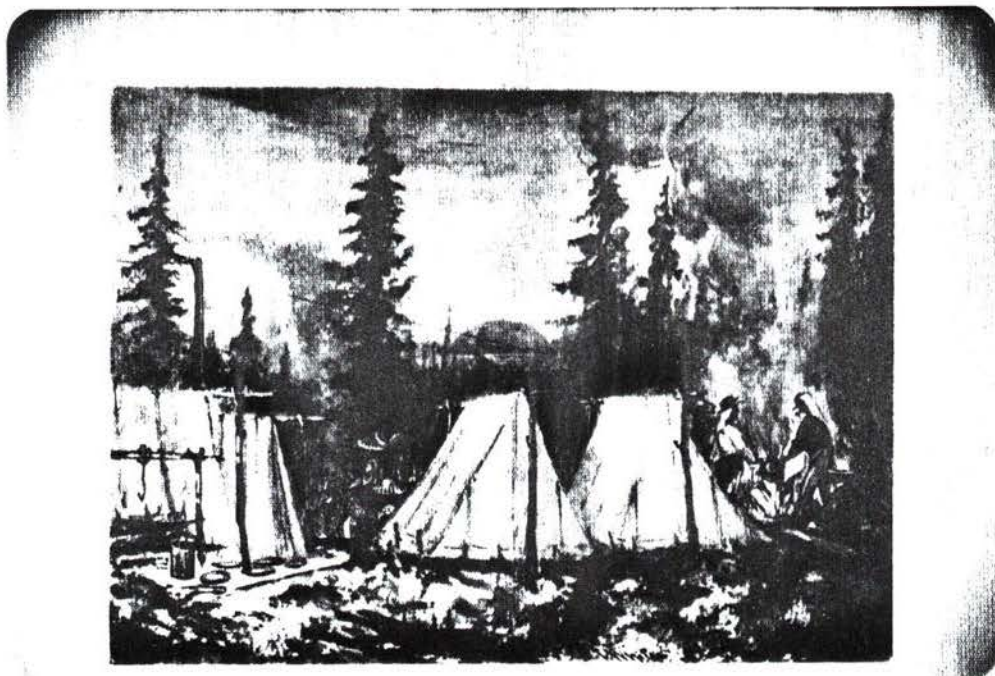
17. Canoe with Indians, Engraving, 1862,  
after a drawing by E.P. Bedwell.



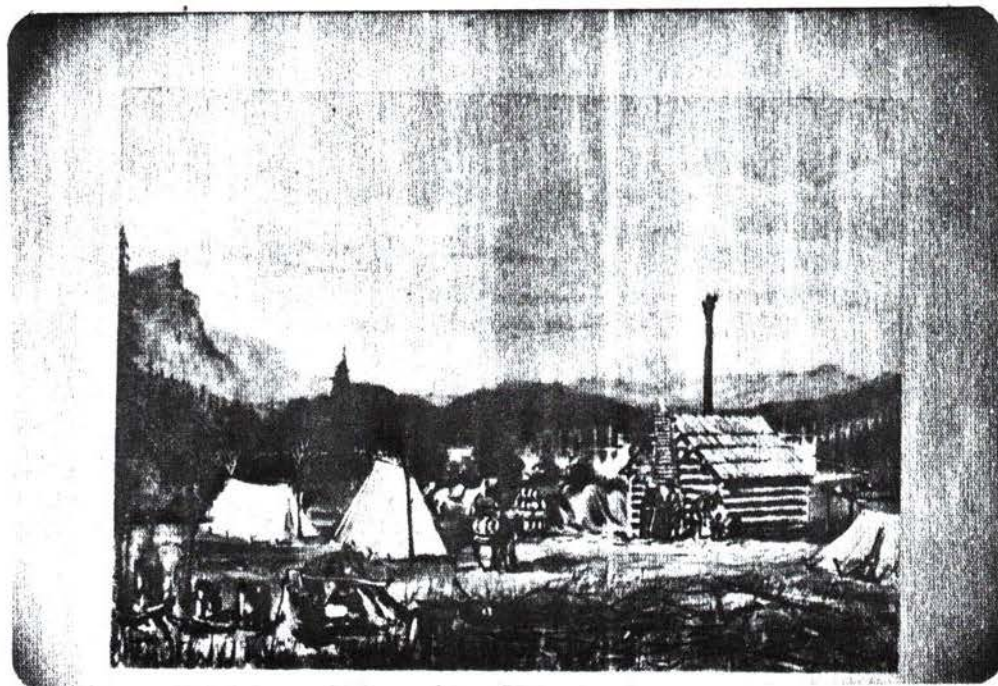
18. J.C. White: Hope, British Columbia, 1866.



19. Photograph: Hope, British Columbia, 1977.



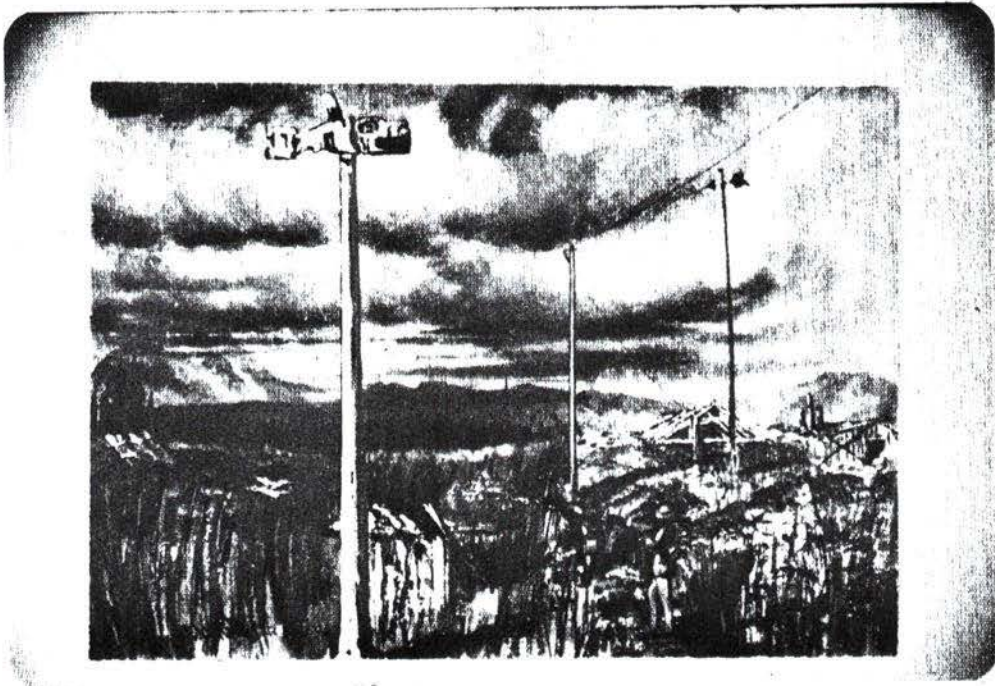
20. J.C. White: Sketch, Western Union  
Telegraph Album, 1866.



21. J.C. White: Sketch, Western Union  
Telegraph Album, 1866.



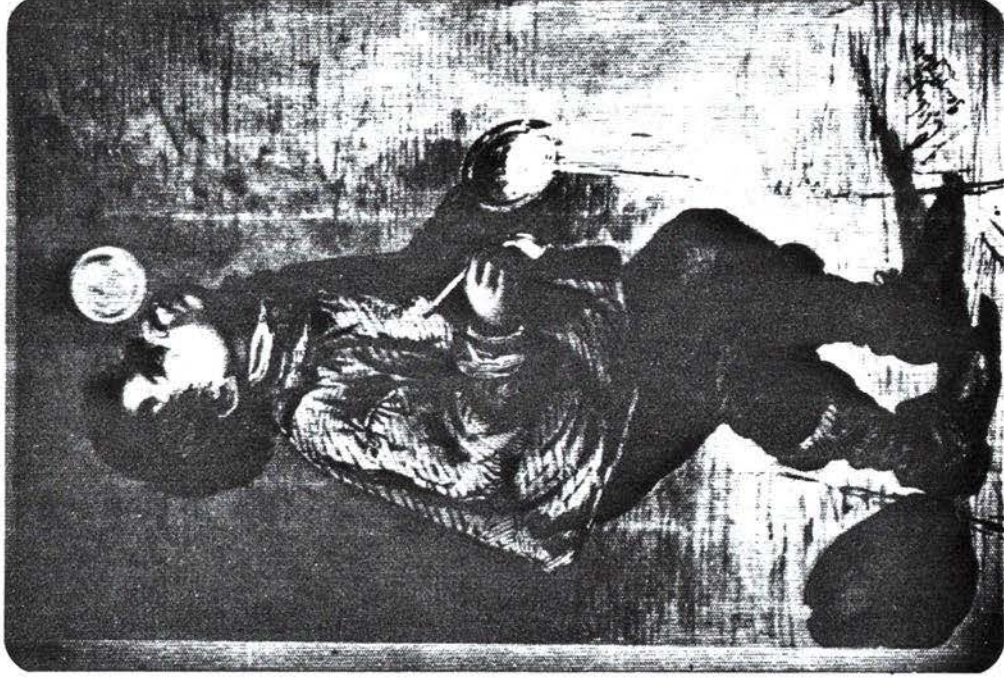
22. J.C. White: Sketch, Western Union  
Telegraph Album, 1866.



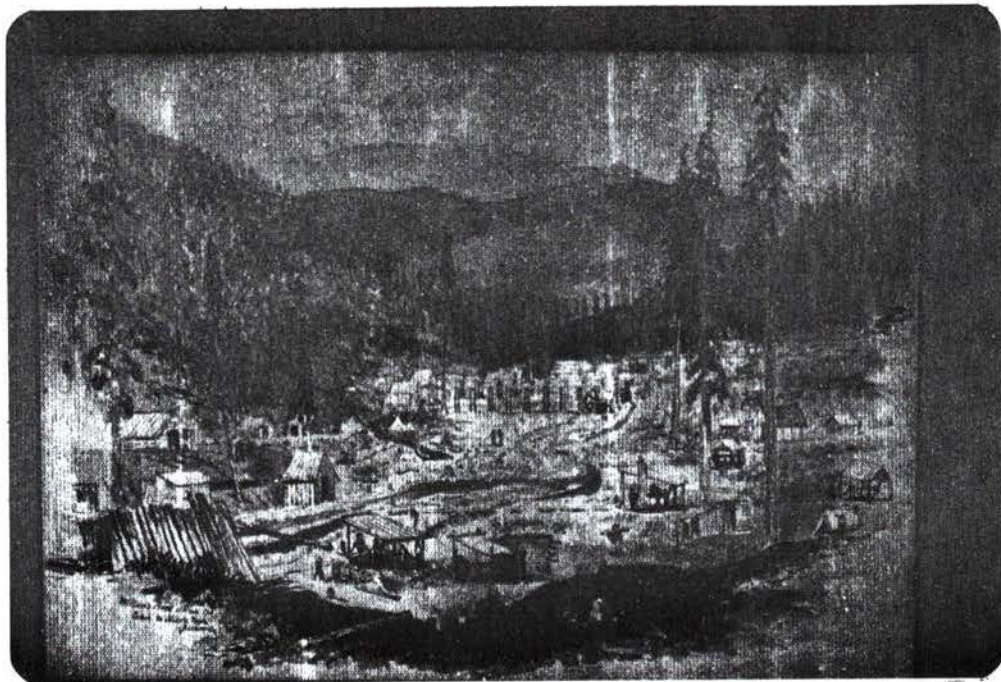
23. J.C. White: Sketch, Western Union  
Telegraph Album, 1866.



24. J.C. White: Regimental Corporal  
Major Honeybone -- Alias Sweet Rib,  
1875.



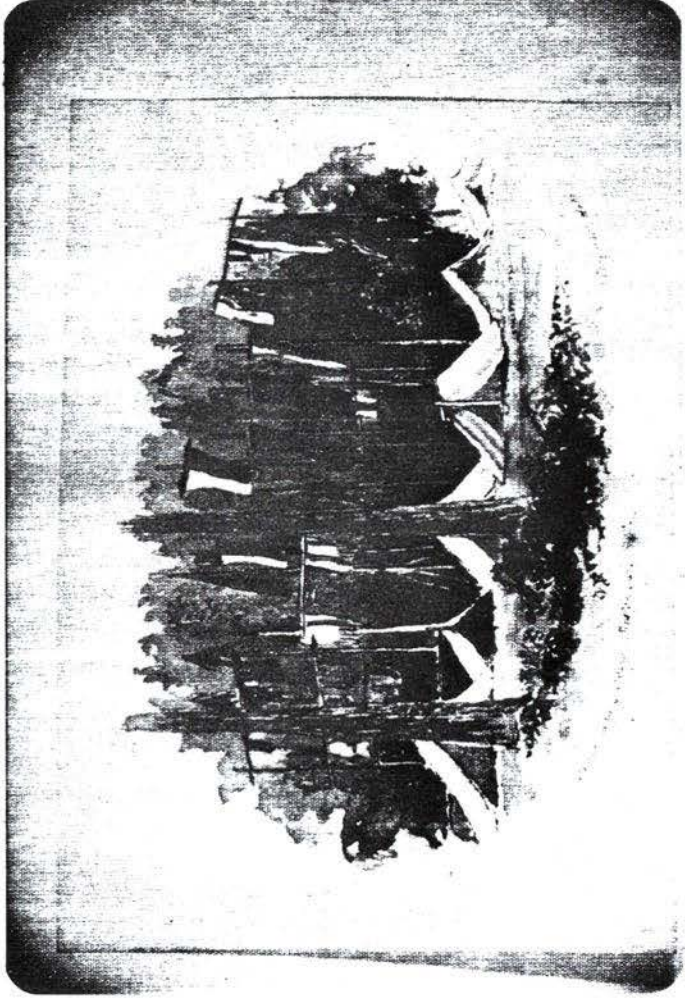
25. J.C. White: Boy with a Bubble, 1864.



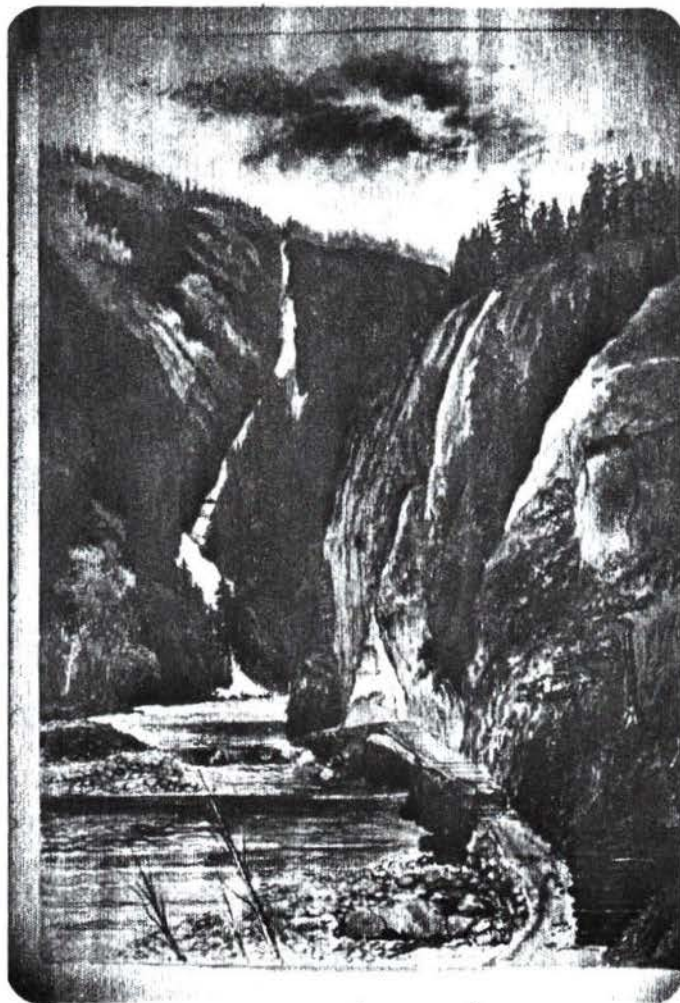
26. F. Whymper: Williams Creek from the Canyon to Middle Town, 1863.



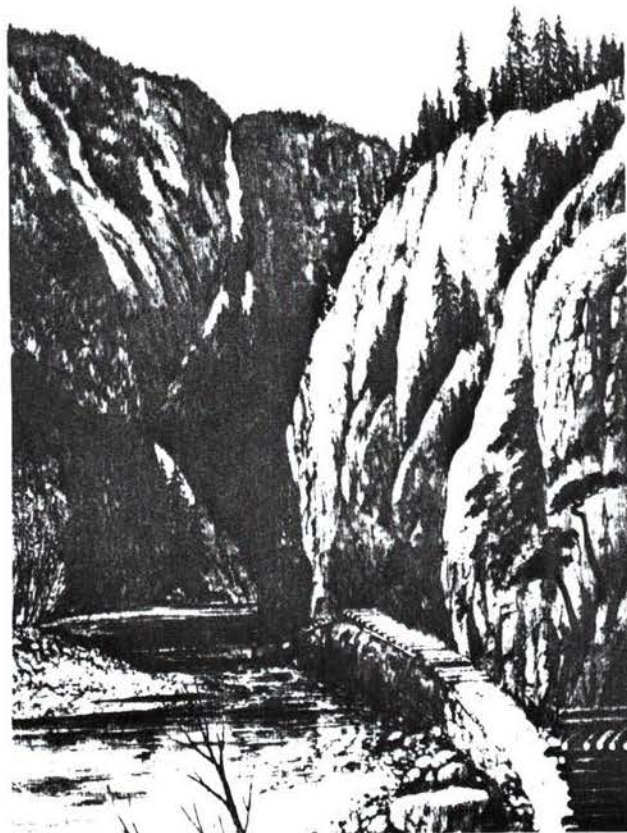
27. Photograph: View of Barkerville before the fire, 1868.



28. F. Whympere: Indian Burying Ground,  
Boston Bar, 1863.



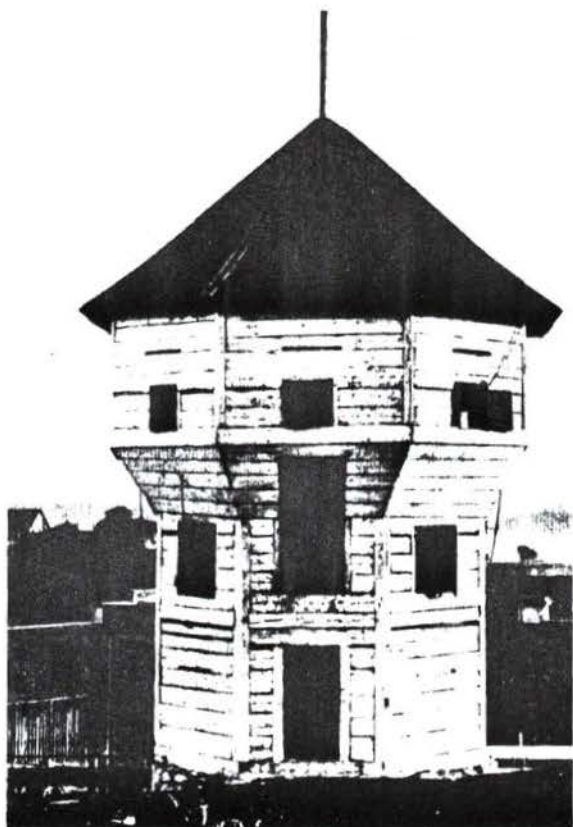
29. F. Whympers: Bute Inlet, 1864.



30. Bute Inlet, Engraving, 1868,  
after a sketch by F. Whympet.



31. F. Whympers: Nanaimo, British Columbia, 1864.



32. Photograph:  
Nanaimo Bastion,  
before 1891.

VITA

Surname: Peters Given Names: Helen

Place of Birth: Russia Date of Birth: 4-8-1925

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

<u>University of Lethbridge</u>	<u>1968-1971</u>
<u>University of Victoria</u>	<u>1973-1974</u>
<u>University of Victoria</u>	<u>1974-1978</u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

<u>B.A.</u>	<u>May, 1971</u>	<u>University of Lethbridge</u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
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